

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. letter	To Maggie Williams from James R. Christiansen re: health care (partial) (1 page)	05/20/94	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Maggie Williams (Correspondence)
OA/Box Number: 4259

FOLDER TITLE:

No Response Needed April - June '94 [3]

2013-0359-S

ry1353

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

*Walter Hewitt
other people
mail*

WALTER HEWITT
45 Maidstone Place
Southampton, New Jersey 08088
(609) 859-9136

July 5, 1994

Ms. Maggie Williams
Chief of Staff to the First Lady
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Ms. Williams:

Were it to be published in a leading newspaper (as a "trial balloon"), the enclosed article could rather quickly lead to a revival of the corpse of the Clinton health care reform - and presidency!

Does anyone care? I, for one, shudder at the prospects of a President Bob, or Rush, Ross or Pat in '97!

For your convenience I also enclose an extracted, accented version of the article.

Sincerely,



Walter Hewitt
Attorney-at-Law

2nd Floor WW

NRA

*Enclosed
article on
Health Care
Reform*

Health Care Reform: A LOST CAUSE?

Clinton's universal health care is D.O.A. or foundering, reduced to a future hope. Back to square one, perhaps the time has come to get down to basics. Programs that directly and sensibly address cost containment (and lessen avoidable anguish), that could make basic health care affordable and available to all, are being almost totally ignored. The White House and Capitol Hill should first give us these uncomplicated, fairly obvious reforms. Then political games could be played with the more sophisticated - and more contentious - definitions and applications of "managed competition".

The Oregon Plan refuses Medicaid payment for the most rarely utilized, most costly and least effective treatments.

Were we to federalize the Oregon Plan and also adopt the uncomplicated living will program briefly outlined below, universal health care would become immediately possible and very easily affordable.

90 percent of Americans would not want extraordinary steps taken to prolong their lives if they were dying. If these honest and sensible wishes were respected, we would save the \$2 or 3 billion a week now wasted on the dying, the comatose. Only about 20% of us actually prepare a living will.

The federal government could/should automatically provide for every one of us, in effect, a form of living will.

Those who may oppose the practical limits on health care imposed by the Oregon plan could offer no objection to this purely volitional living will program.

Exorbitant (automatic and unwanted!) care, almost always idle, should not be a charge against Medicaid, other taxpayers or our growing national debt.

It is, rather, our obligation to make basic and preventive health care available to every American. This can and should be an immediate right, as in every other advanced and industrialized nation, and not merely a political promise, a maybe-one-day possibility.

Health Care Reform: A LOST CAUSE?

There is general agreement that the time is long overdue for us to control the spiraling costs of health care and provide health security for every American. Despite this consensus, Clinton's universal health care is D.O.A. or foundering, reduced to a future hope. Back to square one, perhaps the time has come to get down to basics. Whatever their respective merits, every health care plan we hear about requires new taxation, employer mandates, triggers and phased-in operation to maybe, one day, give most of us what we all should have now; they all seek to dampen but continue the through-the-roof trajectory of costs. Programs that directly and sensibly address cost containment (and lessen avoidable anguish), that could make basic health care affordable and available to all, are being almost totally ignored. The White House and Capitol Hill should first give us these uncomplicated, fairly obvious reforms. Then political games could be played with the more sophisticated - and more contentious - definitions and applications of "managed competition" that now beguile our experts and leaders, and the news media - to the exclusion of basics.

The Oregon Plan now in effect refuses Medicaid payment for "exotic" or "heroic" medical treatment - the most rarely utilized, most costly and least effective treatments. For example, Medicaid funding in Oregon is no longer available for heroic efforts to save premature infants weighing less than two pounds. Average costs per infant run into the hundreds of thousands of dollars, usually to add a few days or weeks of technically supported "life". The limited number who gain longer-term survival are likely to be severely handicapped. Such infants now are left to the more tender mercies of God. The many millions of dollars saved in this one medically realistic and ultimately decent determination are far better utilized to extend more basic and effective care to the medically indigent. Heroic or ineffectual medical care in Oregon now requires personal payment or supplemental insurance, rather than taxpayer or governmental subsidy through Medicaid. As a result, the one state of Oregon now has universal and affordable health care, widely approved by its residents.

Were we to federalize the Oregon Plan and also adopt the uncomplicated living will program briefly outlined below, universal health care would become immediately possible and very easily affordable. The savings realized through the two programs would not only permit this, they would lessen our tax burden or generate a huge new surplus available for long-term care, prescription drugs or other urgent needs - health related or otherwise.

Surveys reveal that 90 percent of Americans would not want extraordinary steps taken to prolong their lives if they were dying. This desire for only reasonable and merciful medical care, without unnatural intervention when one's "time has come", is normally ignored. If these honest and sensible wishes were respected, we would save the \$2 or 3 billion a week now wasted on the dying, the comatose. To be honored, such directions for terminal care must be in a written living will - to overcome an outmoded legal and medical presumption that we want avoidable and prolonged pain and expense for ourselves and our loved ones when our life is ending. Unfortunately, in this sensitive area too many of us avoid reality and decision. We tend to procrastinate. We deny our eventual mortality. Perhaps most significantly, many of us are confused as to the proper form. Only about 20% of us actually prepare a living will.

Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis and Richard Nixon have recently demonstrated the way of intelligent responsibility and foresight, preparing a living will to assure dying with dignity.

The federal government could/should automatically provide for every one of us, in effect, a form of living will, negating the presumption that we want our death to be a prolonged torment. Anyone who so wishes would be able to substitute their own form for the one provided. The tiny minority of Americans who might object could be given the easily exercised option of dropping out of the new program.

Those who may oppose the practical limits on health care **imposed** by the Oregon plan could offer no objection to this purely **volitional** living will program.

Those dying without a living will incur triple the costs of those protected by a will. Let those who demand or permit money-is-no-object care, treatments that disregard medical opinion and odds, secure supplemental insurance or directly pay for their unrealistic expectations. Exorbitant (automatic and unwanted!) care, almost always idle, should not be a charge against Medicaid, other taxpayers or our growing national debt.

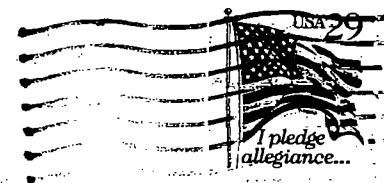
It should not be the burden of society nor of the medical profession to sustain life regardless of its quality, regardless of the cost involved. It is, rather, our obligation to make basic and preventive health care available to every American. This can and should be an immediate right, as in every other advanced and industrialized nation, and not merely a political promise, a maybe-one-day possibility.

Walter Hewitt
45 Maidstone Place
Southampton, NJ 08088

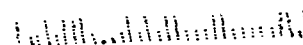
WHITE HOUSE MAIL
RECEPTION & SECURITY

JUL 7 1994

Processed by: 6



Ms. Margaret Williams
Chief of Staff to the First Lady
The White House
Washington, DC 20500



J. Walter Thompson

NEW YORK 466 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10017 212 210 7000

June 28, 1994

Ms. Margaret Williams
Assistant to the President and
Chief of Staff to the First Lady
The White House
Old Executive Office Building
Room 100
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Maggie:

We had a long and enlightening conversation last fall in New York at the annual Halloween party given by Michael and Ellen Schwartz. I was particularly intrigued by our discussion of your career path, since I was considering my own options and deciding whether or not to attend Georgetown Law School.

As I was leaving the party, you gave me your card and said to "call if you're ever in Washington..." Although it has been some months since Halloween, I will finally be in Washington toward the end of July and would love to talk with you when I'm in town.

Since we last met, I have changed and solidified my career goals. After serious reflection, I have decided not to attend law school, but to focus instead on a career in Washington in government service.

Currently, I am employed by J. Walter Thompson as a manager of recruitment and training and development. Recently my responsibilities have grown to include drafting speeches and internal communications for senior executives and organizing major company functions. I know my diverse experience would benefit your office.

I will call you in two weeks to see if we could schedule an appointment to meet when I'm in Washington. You can reach me at 212-772-8157 if you would like to speak with me before then.

I look forward to talking with you again.

Sincerely,

Melissa Statmore

Melissa Statmore

Done 7/12/94
Dianna
Call Melissa
tell her the
last two weeks
in July I'll
be in hearing
prep - can't
commit to a
date to see
her but
will
work
Speak
to her
by phone
when
I am
in
Wash

file
"No response
necessary"

(JWT)

MELISSA STATMORE

321 East 75th St., Apt. 2RE

New York, NY 10021

(212) 772-8157

WORK EXPERIENCE:

3/90 - **J. WALTER THOMPSON, NEW YORK, NY**

present **Human Resources Manager** (2/91 - present)

Report to Vice President, Director of Human Resources of this major international advertising agency with worldwide billings in excess of \$5 billion.

- o Responsible for recruitment, employee relations, staffing, training and development, and salary planning for a population of 500 employees
- o Recruit professional staff at all levels
- o Manage on-campus interviewing: develop recruitment literature, oversee presentations, interview candidates
- o Draft speeches and internal communications for senior management
- o Organize and run training programs
- o Oversee summer internship program: select candidates, choose assignments, plan seminars
- o Manage company special events

Human Resources Associate (3/90 - 2/91)

- o Recruited entry-level and non-exempt employees
- o Revised evaluation procedure of secretarial staff
- o Planned and scheduled on-campus recruiting
- o Conducted new employee orientation sessions
- o Coordinated training programs

4/89 **NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, SCHOOL OF CONTINUING EDUCATION**

2/90 **Advisor/Recruiter**

- o Recruited students to tutorial program
- o Interviewed students to assess academic needs
- o Administered and evaluated admissions tests

EDUCATION:

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK, NY

Bachelor of Arts, December 1989

Major: Journalism

GPA: 3.8

Dean's Honor List

African
Violet

USA 29



Ms. Margaret Williams
Assistant to the President and
Chief of Staff to the First Lady
The White House
Old Executive Office Building
Room 100
Washington, DC 20500



Melissa Statmore
321 East 75th Street, #2RE
New York, NY 10021

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 17, 1994

James R. Christiansen
Attorney and Counselor at Law
418 Chapala Street, Suite G
Santa Barbara, CA 93101-5002

Dear Mr. Christiansen:

I am sorry to have been delayed in responding to your letter of March. I did want you to know -- even at this late date -- that I very much appreciated your most interesting suggestion. I have seen similar comments in the press from time to time, but certainly a grass roots movement such as yours would attract attention.

Thanks for taking the time to write.

Sincerely,

Maggie Williams

Maggie Williams
Chief of Staff to the First Lady

*File
Whenever
these
things are filed*

NRN

*No answer needed
to the previous letter*

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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*Can my
I see my
letter*

JAMES R. CHRISTIANSEN
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELOR AT LAW
418 CHAPALA STREET, SUITE G
SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA 93101-5002
TELEPHONE 962-8141
(AREA CODE 805)

May 20, 1994

Ms. Maggie Williams
Chief of Staff to Hillary Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, D.C. 20000

Dear Ms. Williams:

Thank you very much for your letter of May 17, 1994. Unfortunately, Santa Barbara is in sort of a "political backwater," except for a few very wealthy people who are tapped for large campaign contributions.

While I would be more than happy to communicate my thoughts to someone who would be able to disseminate them on a much wider basis, at this point in time, I do not even know who to contact. In any event, I think that it would be well worthwhile to pass it on to someone who could convince the news media that it is a "hot" news item.

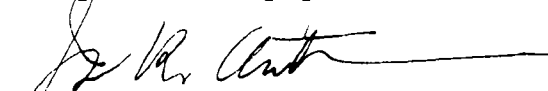
I, of course, am very sensitive to healthcare problems. Years ago I was on the California State Bar Committee for Healthcare, and I managed to convince the State Bar of California to retain a health coverage plan. Blue Shield cancelled their policy, but we were able to obtain coverage with Blue Cross. While I did not know it at the time, I was later able to benefit from that coverage. Up to that time, my wife and I usually put in more in premiums than we ever got back, but a few years ago

(b)(6)

[001]

If you have any questions or comments, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Very sincerely yours,


James R. Christiansen

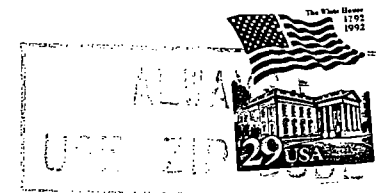
JRC:cdo

JAMES R. CHRISTIANSEN

ATTORNEY AND COUNSELOR AT LAW

418 CHAPALA STREET, SUITE G

SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA 93101-5002



MS MAGGIE WILLIAMS
CHIEF OF STAFF TO HILLARY CLINTON
THE WHITE HOUSE
1600 PENNSYLVANIA AVE
WASHINGTON DC 20500



Alan - it's just
file this - it
seems to be a
"f.y.i" letter and
doesn't make much
sense anyway

Su NRN
— 1/8

to
Develop a
business plan
for the Marrowbone
La Mazonca coop.

Marrowbone La Mazorca

1309 S. Sierra Bonita
Los Angeles, CA 90019
(213) 935-6998
(213) 938-6739 fax

Thursday, June 16, 1994

Margaret A. Williams
White House
The White House
Room 100, OEOB
Washington, D.C. 20500

Full

Dear Ms. Williams:

One of the follow-up activities I agreed to accomplish this summer was to develop a business plan for the Marrowbone La Mazorca cooperative. Since we are a cooperative whose business is to serve our members, our membership is the primary database for the business. So, I will be calling those folk schools, associations, and resource persons who have sent in their letters of intent and earnest money (or in some cases letters of intent to send in earnest money) to interview you about your organizations' projected needs and priorities.

One intention of this letter is to get you all to think about the interview questions before I call. Some questions only affect a few people. The question of start-up costs for the cooperative will be addressed to some of the resource persons, including myself, our legal resources, David Etezadi and Barry Dicker, and our bookkeeping resource, Linda Kenson. I will want to know projected start-up costs from our attorneys such as how many estimated hours it will take to set up our for-profit cooperative corporation as well as a separate non-profit corporation that we will need to receive foundation grants. I will also need to know any fixed costs associated with this work, such as filing fees. And, with respect to on-going costs, time projected for contracts for service and association.

From Linda, I will need to know how many hours it will take to set up Marrowbone La Mazorca's accounting system, whether we will be required to purchase the software, and how many hours she thinks it will take per month to update our books and produce financial reports. And, I will myself need to ascertain how many hours per month administration of the cooperative will take (communication, banking, etc.).

I would like the folks schools and associations to give a little thought to the following questions before I call:

1. *What are your organization's primary technical assistance needs (i.e. legal, organizational development and management, fundraising pedagogy/program development, business planning, real estate)? What needs do you think you will have in years one, two, and three of the cooperative?* If you give these questions some thought, I can help you figure out what the technical assistance might look like in terms of time and service to accomplish your objectives. If I can't, at least I will have useful information to discuss with the appropriate resource staff.

2. What do you think a fair hourly rate for consulting services would be? The draft by-laws, for example, assume that resource stakeholders will receive at least \$50 per hour. I am assuming that the hourly rate for our resource people includes their phone and fax bill, office supplies and postage, benefits and taxes. It does not include out of town travel, specialized materials they may have to produce, and filing fees for legal and real estate documents.

Please note that whatever hourly rate we choose to pay our resource staff will be less than the hourly rate we charge our members for the service, because we need to generate a surplus. The purpose of the surplus is to pay for the administrative costs I described earlier, to gradually build reserves for the business, and, if any is left over, to redistribute to our members as dividends.

3. Finally, I would like to have a brief discussion with you regarding which services you think need to be tailored directly for your folk school, and which can be delivered in a collective manner (a regional workshop, at an annual meeting such as the one we will have at Highlander, etc.). For example, I think general information about how to develop a business plan, a donor base, or a real estate pro forma are appropriate workshop topics and may help people make informed decisions about retaining technical assistance from the cooperative. On the other hand, the actual technical support in developing a business plan, local donor and fundraising program, and specific real estate deal will have to be very specifically focused to the needs of the individual organization.

So, now that you are forewarned, please feel free to call me with any questions you may have or to let me know when the best time would be to have this discussion with you. I am really looking forward to it.

I have attached an accounting of the letters of intent and checks I have received from the folk schools, resource shareholders, and supporting organizations for your information.

Yours,



Marrowbone La Mazorca
Update 6/16/94

LETTER OF INTENT RECEIVED	EARNEST \$ RECEIVED	SUB-TOTAL
Camp Sister Spirit	\$200	
Center for Ethics and Economic Policy	"check requested" 6/9/94	
Escuela Popular Nortena	\$200	
Green Mountain Folk School		
Instituto Paz	\$100 (first installment)	
Pine Tree Folk School	\$200	
Pioneer Valley Folk School	Fundraiser 6/21	
	Sub-Total Folk Schools	\$700
Frank Adams		
Steve Berger	\$100	
Gilda Haas	\$100	
Kjeld Laang	\$100	
Neal Richman	\$100	
Sally Richman	\$100	
	Sub-Total Resource Stakeholders	\$500
Folk Education Association of America	"Asked Treasurer to send check" 5/24	
Highlander Center	\$200	
	Sub-Total Established Organizations	\$200
	TOTAL CASH RECEIVED	\$1400

6-24-84

Mrs Margaret Williams
Chief of Staff to the
First Lady
Washington, D. C.

Veteran hopes
Health care is
success and
sends personal
history

Dear Official,

Thanks for your letter of 6-6-84.

Hopefully the First Lady (Mrs. Clinton) will make progress with health care and welfare reform.

My letter on denial of a Veterans Affairs Pension was sent to Secretary Jesse Brown. Really a long-term problem for me since 1954. The insurance people can deny proper care to those quite worthy.

Former Pres. Carter and Mrs. Rosalyn Carter have tried to help in the past. Allowing me to enter the Naval Home, Gulfport, Ms. would be a positive for 20 years service.

In 1952 I was an aide to Coach Black at West Point (U. S. Military Academy) but was under contract with the Navy (inactive duty). Later in 1953 my duty was at Naval Hospital, Annapolis, Md. (Coysman).

Yes - I'm taking the time to - have
Cord

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

my voice count. Especially for
Veterans of past and forthcoming.

One of my first trips out of High
School was going to the Manor of
George Washington.

And Gen Norm Schwarzkopf was a
cadet during my time at West Point as
Major Jerry Hogan (W.P. 1156) can attest.

With regards to all.

Sincerely,

William Mitchell

Meyer J.H.

436-3196

(513)

Address

142 Northwood Ave

Dayton, Ohio 45405-2208

Video tape
was included &
sent to First -
Lady correspondence

DEMOCRATIC ★ NATIONAL ★ COMMITTEE

David Wilhelm, Chairman

2/21/94

Room 100

Dear Maggie.

Hope all is well. Enclosed you will find information that was forwarded to me by Atty. Rose Sanders for Mrs. Clinton.

I promised Atty. Sanders that I would get this information directly to Mrs. Clinton's office.

I have seen the video & I also understand clearly, the issue of "tracking" and how it impacts children.

I am confident that Mrs. Clinton will find this information

DEMOCRATIC ★ NATIONAL ★ COMMITTEE

David Wilhelm, Chairman

Particularly useful once she begins her work on crime and violence.

I would appreciate it deeply if you could take the time out of your already busy schedule + review this information.

If you need further details please do not hesitate to contact me at (202) 863-7112.

Thanks for your attention
of this matter.

Sincerely
Mingor Moore

C. A. R. E.

(Coalition of Alabamians Reforming Education)

February 17, 1994

Hon. Hillary Rodham Clinton
United States Capitol
White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear First Lady Clinton:

Our paths have crossed once. Our spirits have crossed on many missions to save our children from the pain of poverty, abuse and the terrible "isms" that divide and weakens them, our nation, and our world.

We met briefly at the National Child Labor Committee's 1988 Lewis Hinds Awards ceremony where you, I and eight others were recognized for our work with children. When you were at Yale, I was at Harvard Law School. I wrote you doing the presidential campaign because I also received the undeserved spotlight of being too aggressive and outspoken to be the wife of a national, elected official. This letter, however, is the most important I shall write in my lifetime.

For the past ten (10) years, I have been enmeshed in a battle to end "tracking," or so-called "ability grouping" in our nation's public schools. Tracking is an insidious form of discrimination that is destructive to the human spirit and potential. It impacts every aspect of a child's life and future. It determines if a child will be a criminal or a physician, a welfare recipient or business woman.

It is premised on the assumption that some children are too inferior to learn geometry, chemistry or a foreign language. Most of these children are black, brown, red and white, if they are poor. As a mother of brilliant foster children who had been taught to accept their inferior status, I have experienced the pain of seeing children turn to criminal activity when they could see no other way out. I have also experienced the joy when one of these children rejected that inferior status, and graduated from high school last May. It was hard, for his self-esteem had been

P. O. Box 2516 Selma AL 36702-2516 (205) 418-0800

Education Summit '93

shattered by years of poor schooling and low expectations. Several years ago, I successfully demanded that children on his low track be allowed to take algebra, chemistry and other challenging courses. He was intimidated by the courses, but with care and support, we convinced him that he could do it. He did. He turned away from drugs and is now in the U. S. Navy.

It is impossible to address problems of drugs, teen pregnancy and violence without first addressing the ills of tracking and accompanying conditions that compound the mis-education of children assumed to be too poor, too inferior and too deprived to master a course of study necessary to compete in today's technological world.

Recently, a state judge in Alabama declared tracking in this state illegal. The Court found that many of Alabama's children were being inadequately educated. This was a major victory, but the struggle is far from over. We are still fighting to implement Brown v. Board of Education, by ending separate and unequal education once and for all.

As documented in an excellent three-part NBC Peter Jennings's News Special, tracking is a national problem that relegates countless children of color and poor whites to an inferior education and an unfair chance to make it in life.. For example, only one hispanic child in the Boston School System was taking calculus when the special was aired on television. The link to inadequate education and crime has been well documented. Ninety percent (90%) of prisoners in Alabama are high school dropouts. They are also victims of "tracking." In the final analysis, everyone is victimized by inadequate public education.

I have enclosed a copy of the ABC tape which I urge you to watch. It is fifteen minutes of powerful knowledge and insight which reveals how we can save America's children from senseless violence, apathy and under achievement, if we listen.

I have talked with our mutual friends, Elaine Jones and Marion Elderman, about this issue, but they had not seen the news special. I was in Elaine's office two weeks ago, but unfortunately, the film was defective. This letter is probably inadequate, but I assure you the news special will move you to take note of the most pressing problems facing our nation.

It is impossible to address welfare reform, crime, homelessness or economic issues without first addressing tracking and the inadequacy of public education. Ironically, white business persons are leading the fight to reform education in Alabama because they realize the importance of education in their industries.

Thank you for your time and your untiring efforts to make

America live up to her creed of liberty and justice for all.

I will do whatever is necessary to respond to your request or concerns.

Sincerely


Rose M. Sanders

RMS:jcc

(205) 875-9266 /PVT
(205) 875-9264 /off.
(205) 875-1395 /hm.

Herman Askew, 77, a lifelong resident of Loachapoka, feeds freshly cut sugar cane into a juice mill early Saturday morning at the 22nd annual Loachapoka Syrup Soppin' Festival. Mr. Askew has been present for all 22 events celebrating sugar cane and the homemade syrup made from it. Mr. Askew has been making the syrup all his life, producing his first batch with his father when he was 7 years old.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Reformers seek classroom equality

By Blair Robertson

ADVERTISER STAFF WRITER

TUSKEGEE — A coalition of civil rights organizations and educators pledged at a summit here Sunday to finish another chapter in the struggle for equality by ensuring that education reform translates into educational justice.

Several participants among the 100 who attended pointed to equity as the leading con-

cern.

But some activists and educators struck a chord when they said the number one enemy for blacks in the classroom is tracking, the practice of steering students into academic levels based on test scores.

✓ The issue of tracking in Alabama's schools

INSIDE:

■ **Task:** The Legislature must approve a plan to upgrade schools and find a means to pay for it. **3B.**

reached a national stage three years ago when black leaders in Selma protested what amounted to

classrooms segregated by race.

Throughout the nation, educators have been re-evaluating the practice of tracking.

Please turn to **EQUALITY, 2B**

and struck Mr. Womack's broadside, ejecting him, troop said.

In Baldwin County, troop said Daniel Lee Parnell, 21, Bay Minette was killed about 6 a.m. Sunday when the vehicle was driving ran off County Highway 138 about one-half mile west of Bay Minette, struck a pole and overturned, ejecting him.

A Hazel Green man died Saturday morning in a two-vehicle collision on U.S. 231 in Madison County, troopers said. Am Leroy Brazier III, 25, was a passenger in one of the vehicles that collided when one of the drivers failed to yield about 10:10 a.m. 10 miles north of Huntsville.

Two people died in separate wrecks in Calhoun and Washington counties, but details were immediately available.

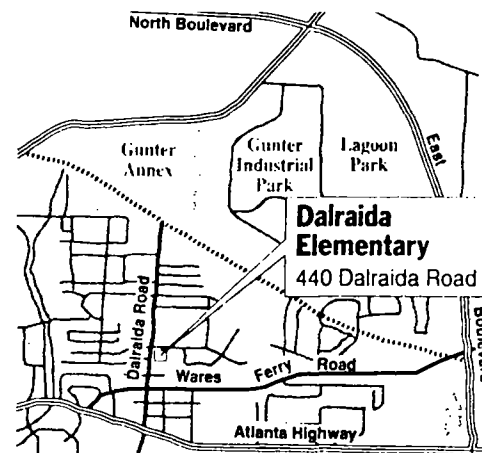
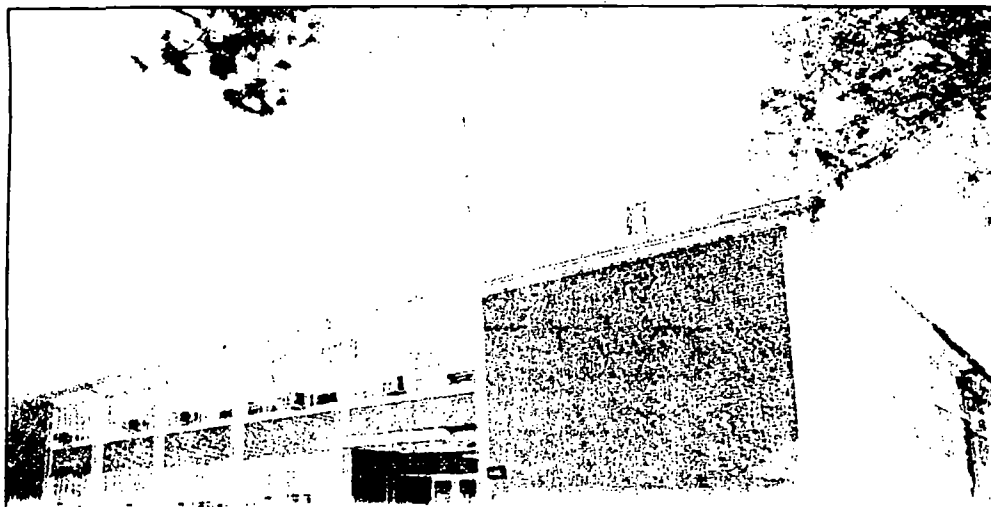
In Decatur, two men died when their truck collided with another vehicle and then ran into the supports of an awning at a service station on Upper River Road.

Christopher Lee Springer

Please turn to **DEAD,**

SCHOOL SNAPSHOT

DALRAIDA ELEMENTARY SCHOOL



PRINCIPAL

This is Jean C. Houser's fourth year as principal of Dalraida Elementary School and her 30th in the Montgomery County public school system.

Before moving to Dalraida, Mrs. Houser served as principal of Peterson Elementary School for four years and Daisy Lawrence Elementary School for four years. Before then, she taught at Davis, Bear and Daisy Lawrence elementary schools. She also worked as an administrative assistant at Davis.



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3 Citizen of the Year

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Emily Marks Curtis,
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Montgomery, AL

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ers include M. Taylor
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man, who lives in
Alabama, admitted
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in February 1988.
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notel that August.

testified that no con-
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from page 1B

his passenger, Brian Creel, both 21 and of Decatur, were killed shortly after midnight Saturday. They were ejected from the truck in the collision.

In Russell County, a 50-year-old Smiths man was killed in a two-car accident on County Highway 427, one mile north of Phenix City. State troopers said Roscoe McCloud was killed about 4:30 p.m. Saturday.

In Jackson County, Ronald Lynn Davis, 21, of Scottsboro was killed about 6:50 p.m. Friday when he lost control of his car on Alabama 79 four miles

EQUALITY

from page 1B

concluding that such divisions are
often racially skewed and that
steering students into low-achiev-
ing classes lowers expectations,
hurts self-esteem and increases
drop-out rates. → Crime-Job

Rose Sanders, a Selma attorney
who led the cry for change in a
city that has come to symbolize
racial polarization, said Sunday
that tracking is "the most insidi-
ous form of discrimination that
has ever existed."

Ms. Sanders urged those in
attendance to consider education
reform as a new fight for civil
rights, one overlooked a genera-
tion ago by activists who thought
integration would solve injustice

impregnating Ms. Bible.

Mr. Bowman's attorney, John
F. Porter III, declined to provide
Mr. Bowman's hometown and
said his client would not com-
ment on the suit. Ms. Bible could
not be located for comment.

The jury pool for the 1991 trial
included 24 women and 12 men.
The judge excused two men and
one woman.

Attorneys hired by Jackson
County to file the paternity claim
for Ms. Bible removed nine men
from the pool through perempto-

in the school systems.

Norward Roussell, superin-
tendent of Macon County's pub-
lic schools, has had plenty of ex-
perience in the battle to eliminate
tracking. He was fired as Selma's
superintendent by the white-con-
trolled school board when he at-
tempted to eliminate tracking and
expose all levels of students to a
rigorous curriculum.

"My concern in this whole re-
form movement is not so much
the money because the law will let
us have the money. My concern is
with what we do after we have the
money," he said.

Dr. Roussell said black stu-
dents in segregated Alabama took
tougher classes than most black
students today because many are
automatically placed in low-level
courses that will not allow them
to get into a four-year college. He

his peremptory strikes to remove
10 women and the last man.

Mr. Porter argued that an all-
female jury should not hear the
case, but the trial went ahead.
Jurors decided Mr. Bowman was
the father, and a judge ordered
him to pay child support.

The 9th U.S. Circuit Court of
Appeals in San Francisco has al-
ready barred lawyers from using
peremptory challenges to remove
jurors because of their sex. The
Clinton administration contends
a broader ban would not harm

from page 1B

A Tennessee woman died when the car she was riding in hydroplaned on Interstate 10 in Mobile County and struck the rear of a tractor-trailer about 9:20 p.m. Friday, one mile west of Mobile. Troopers identified her as Tonya Rae Postoak, 19, of Mil- lington, Tenn.

Mrs. Wade was wearing a seat belt, troopers said. Mr. Brazier, Mr. Davis, Mr. McCloud, Mr. Parnell, Mr. Postoak and Mr. Womack weren't wearing seat belts.

The Associated Press counts weekend traffic fatal- ities from 6 p.m. Friday until midnight Sunday.

stressed that education reform
must deal with revamping the
curriculum to allow more stu-
dents to take more difficult
classes.

Another speaker, Wythe Holt,
a professor at the University of
Alabama Law School, called rac-
ism "the biggest single factor that
needs reform in the educational
process."

Following the presentations,
the summit participants discussed
issues in workshops. The summit
was sponsored by C.A.R.E., the
Coalition of Alabamians Reform-
ing Education. Organizers includ-
ed the New South Coalition, Ala-
bama Legislative Black Caucus,
the Southern Christian Lead-
ership Council, the Macon Coun-
ty Board of Education and the
21st Century Leadership Council.

age and religion, all factors that
could bear on decisions in specific
cases.

"The court has made it clear
that nobody has a right to have
any particular makeup of a jury,"
said Lois Brasfield, an assistant
state attorney general.

Deborah Brake, an attorney
with the Washington-based Na-
tional Women's Law Center, said
Mr. Bowman's case represents the
best chance since the early 1980s
for women to get more legal pro-
tection from sexual discrimina-

for humani ies a

STAFF REPORT

Nominations now are being
accepted for the 1993 Humanities
Award, presented by the *Mont-*
gomery Advertiser to the individ-
ual who best exemplifies the high-
est ideals of Judeo-Christian
compassion.

Each year, this award is pre-
sented to an outstanding area res-
ident whose entire life truly and
without fanfare reflects the aspi-
ration of humanity to follow

white

Montgomery busine announces two sem

STAFF REPORT

The Montgomery Council of
Small Business Enterprises will
hold two seminars on telephone
techniques and public contact
skills during November.

The first, from 8 a.m. to 11:30
a.m. Wednesday, will cover both
subjects at SouthTrust Bank in
Montgomery. It will be led by
Sylvia Stamm, an education in-

Chess championship s

STAFF REPORT

The newly formed Montgomery Chess Ch
ery Open/Maxwell-Gunter Base Chess Chan
12. The club meets from 4:30 p.m. to 6 p.m.
munity Activities Center at Maxwell Air For

The entry fee for the five-round tourna
After that date, it will be \$20. Membership
year. For more information on the club or
hary Kinney at 834-5847.

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han 400 refugees. Many survivors of the massacre initially blamed guerrillas loyal to rebel leader Charles Taylor.

NATION BRIEFS, page A3

World

Rabin, Mubarak to meet on peace

JERUSALEM (AP) — Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak planned to meet Sunday in a summit on Middle East peace issues. The Press Office said Rabin would spend several hours with Mubarak.

WORLD BRIEFS, page A5

Action Ads

Bed sell quickly
BEDS — King-size bed with mattress; Two twin beds with box springs. To take advantage of our special classified rates, call our ad takers between 8 a.m. and 6 p.m. Monday through Friday at 875-2110.

CLASSIFIED, pages B5-8

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Montgomery because of pre-trial publicity about the case in north Alabama.

Acquaintances of the Wilsons testified Saturday about the couple's strained relationship and about Mrs. Wilson's involvement in Alcoholics Anonymous.

The jury at Mrs. Wilson's trial heard testimony that she had sex with a black man, sometimes at her home. One of Mrs. Lowe's attorneys, Herman "Buck" Watson of Huntsville, said Saturday "that was why she was convicted."

He said because of the testimony about interracial sex at Mrs. Wilson's trial "some of the people

See AFFAIR, page A5

Sanders named to school panel

Special to Times-Journal
MONTGOMERY — Gov. Jim Folsom on Friday named 17 parents, business people, civic leaders and educators to the Alabama Commission on School Performance and Accountability. Included on the list is Selma attorney Rose Sanders.

Mrs. Sanders is an attorney with Chestnut, Sanders, Sanders & Pettaway in Selma. She is a graduate of Harvard Law School and is the author of 15 musicals that address African American youth and their communities.

Mrs. Sanders was out of town and unavailable for comment.

"I am very pleased that these outstanding individuals have offered their services toward reforming education in Alabama. When we can assemble a group this distinguished, we cannot help but be successful in this most important endeavor," Folsom said.

Created by an executive order issued in August, the commission will be the primary authority for developing the policy and



Mrs. Sanders

recommend to the State Board of Education student learning goals and performance objectives that support the court order issued last spring in the school equity funding lawsuit.

The governor has asked the commission to submit its proposal no more than six months after Judge Gene Reese approves the education reform plan.

As outlined in his executive order, the learning goals composed by this commission should take into account prior recommendations of the State Department of Education, the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, the National Governors Association, the U.S.

See SANDERS, page A7



Old Depot gear up for

By SUE HITE
Times-Journal Writer

The ultimate yard sale scheduled for Saturday, Sept. 2 behind the Old Depot Museum. The museum once again is banking on the assumption that one man's trash is another man's treasure.

For about 10 years the annual yard sale has helped pay the museum's operating costs. The sale

PLO veteran

By ED BLANCHE
Associated Press Writer

In a half-dozen Arab countries from Egypt to Yemen, thousands of veterans of the PLO's long war against Israel are preparing for a new mission: keeping the peace in Yasser Arafat's emerging mini-state.

That may mean having to fight those among their own people who feel betrayed by Arafat's landmark peace pact with Israel.

But PLO officials believe that the threat of inter-Palestinian bloodletting has been exaggerated, and that the biggest task the Central

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Sanders

Continued from page A1

Department of Education, the National Research Council, the International Council for Exceptional Children and other educational entities.

Folsom has asked Samford University president Tom Corts to serve as commission chairman. Corts is in Europe on sabbatical until later this year.

The other commission members include:

Caroline Novak is president of A+ The Coalition for Better Education. As part of her duties with that organization she has participated in the National Policy Makers Congress on Systemic Education Reform.

Ed Starnes is senior marketing representative for the First Financial Group of the South Inc. He is a former president of the Huntsville Board of Education and former

member of the Alabama Association of School Boards, for which he served as president for two terms.

Ted Kennedy is chairman and chief executive officer of BE&K Inc. one of the nation's largest engineering, construction and contract maintenance firms. Kennedy, active in civic affairs, has served on the board of directors for the Alabama School of Fine Arts and on the board of directors for INROADS, a national career development organization for minority youths.

Dennis Johnson is controller at CooperTools Nicholson File, a division of Cooper Industries in Cullman. He is a member of the Cullman County Area Vocational Center Advisory Committee and has served as coordinator of the Adopt-A-School program with the Cullman County Area Vocational

School.

Katherine Mitchell, who has a Ph.D. in early childhood and elementary education, is assistant director of Student Instructional Services with Alabama Department of Education. Among her responsibilities is the overall supervision of curriculum development and staff development.

William Howard Bronson Jr. is president, publisher and chief executive officer of the Mobile Press Register. He is a member of the boards of directors of the Mobile Area Chamber of Commerce, the United Way of Southwest Alabama and the Business Council of Alabama.

Cheryl Deaton holds an Ed.D. in administration and supervision is principal of West Forest Intermediate School in Opelika. She is a member of the National Association of Elementary School principals and a number of other professional associations.

Cleveland Hammonds, Birmingham superintendent of schools, has served in similar positions in two other cities, Durham, N.C., and Inkster, Mich. He is a member of the Alabama Association of School Administrators and a member of the A+ board of directors.

Eunice Horton is a second teacher at Gardendale Elementary School. She is the current president of the Alabama Education Association.

William Michael (Mike) Warren is president and chief operating officer of Energen Corp., Alabama Gas Corp. and Taurus Exploration Inc. He is chairman of Alabama Co.'s Education 2000 and has recently completed a term on the Mountain Brook school board.

Bob Tomlinson is chief executive officer of Foundry of the Shoals in Florence. He is president of the Alabama Cast Metals Association, past president of the YMCA of Northwest Alabama and director of



Photo by RAY TINSLEY

From left, Otha Carneal, Greg Bjelke and Lois Marsey look through items donated for sale

Depot

medical kit dated 1815.

Selma Stationery Co.
Christmas Cards
Are Available
21 Broad St. 874-7474



Sports
Selma woman brings in
45-pound catfish catch

See page 9

Inside
Blount seeks Clinton's
aid in bid for governor

See page 10



Business
Peoples Bank to assist in
funding for Habitat homes

See page 7

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Selma, Alabama

Monday, August 9, 1993

12 Pages in 1 Section

50 cents

Weather



Partly cloudy,
high lower 90s

WEATHER page 23

State

Folsom collects
before session
MONTGOMERY (AP)
Gov. Jim Folsom will push

School task force targets tracking

By JANIS L. MAGIN
Associated Press Writer

MONTGOMERY — The task force assigned by Gov. Jim Folsom to overhaul public education in Alabama agreed Sunday to eliminate curriculum clusters that group students according to their abilities. The panel also moved toward accepting a system of school-based decision making.

Task force Chairman Charlie Waldrep said Alabama students will no longer be divided into different tracks gearing them toward college preparatory, technology preparatory or occupational preparatory courses. The practice of tracking has been criticized as racially discriminatory.

The task force, meeting Sunday to avoid schedule conflicts, discussed a recommendation to phase in a system of school-based decision making.

Bill Smith, chairman of the grassroots education group A-Plus, noted there was no dissension among task force members as they discussed ways to implement and refine the recommendation.

School councils composed of half school employees and half parents would be responsible for most decision-making at individual schools. Each school's principal would automatically be a member of the school council.

Consultant David Hornbeck said the plan amounts to centralizing "what" children learn and decentralizing "how" they learn. "This is not a dumb-down effort," he said.

Tom Walker, a state PTA representative on the task force, said the idea of school-based councils goes back to 1920, when the Legislature provided a similar notion.

"It was an effort by the state to

say 'this is a community school,'" Walker told task force members.

Nancy Worley, the only active teacher on the board, said teachers would support the notion of giving a greater voice in the operation of the school.

"What teachers want is full decision-making power within a school," she said.

But Ms. Worley told task force

See TRACKING, p 3

Clinton's battles must



Selmian to receive communion from Pope

College

Continued from page 1

Youth Development Center. Spellman she plans to major in psychology. "I like science and math," she said. "I plan to go to medical school because I like helping people and I like seeing people suffer or not."

Berry already has given thought to how she will spend her college hours.

"I will volunteer the hours I'm already doing here," she said. "I'm already doing here."

In addition to the Bonner Scholarship, Ms. Berry won scholarships from the Culturama Club of Alpha Kappa Alpha, Black Belt Arts & Cultural Center, McRae Learning Center, an athletic scholarship from Selman College and the J.A. Scholastic at Selma High School.

Berry said she will participate in a program at SHS to

familiarize other students with the Bonner scholarships.

"The Bonner Scholarship is a program to help students meet college education costs while still giving back to the community," she said. "Sometimes students have to give up community involvement to get financial funds for school."

In addition to her volunteer hours during the college year, Ms. Berry will work in Selma next summer where she will clock 240 service hours helping restore the old Tremont School. She will be paid for those hours by the Bonner Foundation.

Ms. Berry feels a responsibility to give her time as a volunteer.

"It's important because everyone gains something from their community, whether it's just support from people or services," she said. "If we move on and neglect to return some of the things the community gives to us, the community won't be able to thrive and give to others."

Tracking

Continued from page 1

members she was concerned about the makeup of school councils. In some small schools where athletics play a large role in the school's identity, a school council could be dominated by coaches and parents who belong to booster organizations.

"I could see how you could get a super booster club with the council," she said.

But both Hornbeck and John Tyson, vice president of the state Board of Education, said all councils would have to meet any academic standards the task force eventually approves.

"If standards are not met, then the coaches' booster club will fall flat on its face," Tyson said.

The school-based decision-making plan calls for a pilot program involving schools in 24 systems to be conducted during the 1994-95 school year. The following year, at least four schools in the state will join.

The plan aims to switch all Alabama schools by the 2001-02 school year.

Waldrep said tracking and clustering students is completely out of the task force's plan.

"I think when you cluster students, you cluster them according to their socio-economic group," said Ms. Worley, a Latin and English teacher at Decatur High School.

Ms. Worley said students are often type-cast into different tracks at an early age according to their parents' income or what color their skin is. That makes it difficult for the student with the ability to do better to break out of the track assigned, she said.

Waldrep said the new plan would affect all public school levels, from kindergarten to grade 12.

"There is no place for tracking," Waldrep said.

This plan, he said, would implement the same level of teaching while permitting students to learn on different timetables.

Costs

Continued from page 1

loss they suffer, Corboy said. The ABA has long opposed limits on non-economic damages, and a group released a report that said states with such limits are not seeing any overall reduction in their health care costs.

"There is no reduction in non-economic damages that had the dramatic impact reporters think," said Clifford Rosenberg of Washington, D.C., an attorney of the ABA's working

group of health care reform.

Massachusetts and California, which do limit such damages, saw their per-capita health care costs double between 1982 and 1990, the report said. Per-capita costs rose by about 95 percent in Arkansas, Kentucky and Mississippi, which do not have limits.

Medical malpractice insurance premiums are less than 1 percent of overall health costs, while administrative costs are one-fourth

Sevart said. The vast majority of medical malpractice cases are won by the defense or result in relatively small damage awards or settlements, he said.

Justin L. Vigdor of Rochester, N.Y., said he might favor some limits on malpractice damage awards if they were coupled with other changes, such as limits on the amount of money doctors can spend to defend against malpractice lawsuits.

for a health care plan that would provide coverage for all Americans.

The Clinton administration plans to unveil a health care plan next month that would require employers to provide health insurance to their workers. The plan is expected to involve health care provided through regional alliances that would emphasize prepaid care from networks of doctors and hospitals.

"I think there should be a fair

WHEN GEORGE FREY SET OUT TO REFORM THE STUDENT TRACKING
system in the San Diego schools, he started something he didn't
expect—a heated, often nasty, controversy.

To Frey, it all seemed pretty straightforward. As a high school principal, he had seen that students tracked into remedial courses were flunking the lowest-level math classes his school offered, so he figured it could do no harm to enroll them in higher-level, more stimulating courses such as algebra. He did and found that most of these low-achieving students performed just as well in the tougher classes, and some performed better. But when he became an assistant superintendent in San Diego and tried to make similar changes in the entire school system, he ran head-on into vigorous opposition from some of the community's more outspoken, influential members—the predominantly white, middle-class parents of high-achieving students.

One of the changes Frey hoped to make was to de-emphasize ability grouping. He planned to eliminate remedial classes and

BY DANIEL GURSKY

**Civil rights activists,
decrying the
overrepresentation of
minorities in low-level
classes and their
underrepresentation in
honors courses, say
tracking produces
resegregation even in
'integrated' schools.**

place more minority students in mixed-ability classes. But many parents of students in the honors tracks took strong exception. "If tracking is abolished," the mother of a gifted student wrote to district officials, "bright and highly motivated children who now respond to the rousing of their creativity will probably lose their incentive to do more than is required of them, or they may become too bored to participate."

After months of intense, sometimes harsh, debate, San Diego implemented a core curriculum for all students in 1987. But advocates for gifted students convinced the district to preserve the high-track programs. Instead of eliminating them, Frey says, the district has attempted, with some success, to increase the number of minority students in the honors courses.

San Diego is certainly not the only city where tracking has flared tempers and raised angry voices. Conflicts have been played out across the country as schools and districts struggle to promote educational equality and improve academic performance. In Selma, Ala., a dispute over tracking recently erupted into one of the most tense and widely reported racial confrontations since the landmark civil rights marches there 25 years ago. At issue in Selma was the future of

a black superintendent who tried to change a tracking system he said relegated a disproportionate number of black students to the low-track classes. After the superintendent's contract was not renewed, protesters—mainly black students and parents—closed the schools for a week; tensions continued to simmer even after students returned to heavily guarded schools. (See page 48.)

The Selma protesters see tracking very differently from the outraged parents in San Diego. Their criticisms are shared by a growing number of people who denounce tracking for what they say are its damaging effects on students unfortunate enough to be placed in the low tracks. They also maintain that tracking permanently condemns many students—a disproportionate number of whom are minorities—to an inferior education, both in what and how they are taught. As one group recently put it, tracking "effectively seals the child's fate, sometimes for life." Their protests could make tracking one of the central civil rights issues of the 1990's.

Although much of the headline-making controversy over tracking has been fueled by factions outside of the school, teachers find themselves at the center of the issue, and they are far from united. One National Education Association official calls tracking "probably the most professionally divisive issue in the association." Those who teach specialized groups of gifted or learning-disabled students have an extra stake in the grouping process. But for most teachers, the issue boils down to how to give slower students the extra attention they need without shortchanging the more able students who may lose interest. For every teacher who believes in tracking, there's one who views it as harmful.

Still, tracking is by far the most widely used method for dealing with student diversity, particularly in secondary schools. But more and more districts, schools, and individual teachers are trying to loosen or eliminate the practice. Not surprisingly, they have found that simply abandoning tracking is not enough. Managing a more diverse group of pupils in mixed groupings requires innovative approaches such as cooperative learning, small-group work, peer tutoring, and team teaching. In effect, they say, doing away with tracking requires rethinking the way we educate children.

CRITICS OF TRACKING CITE HISTORY AND

research on current educational practice to support their arguments. Jeannie Oakes, an associate professor in the graduate school of education at the University of California at Los Angeles and author of *Keeping Track: How Schools Structure Inequality*, traces tracking's advent to the turn of the century. At that time, Oakes says, most children in public schools

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were from upper-middle-class families, but large numbers of black and working-class students were starting to enter the schools as the result of compulsory schooling laws and rising immigration. Tracking became standard practice in response to this influx of lower-class students. Separate curricula were developed for the relatively small percentage of students destined for higher education and for the masses who went on to menial industrial jobs.

Although the world outside of schools has changed, tracking remains, Oakes argues, because society still expects its schools to sort students and prepare them for different roles as adults. "The idea of grouping makes sense," she concedes. "But we're not very good at sorting kids into homogeneous groups. Instruction is aimed at one level in a classroom that is really full of very diverse kinds of kids. Tracking masks the diversity of classrooms and fools teachers into believing that the same lesson plan works for all kids."

Oakes has examined the skills and content that are taught in various tracks. In math and science classes—disciplines that typically use the most rigid tracking—she has found obvious inequities in the education each group receives. The high-track students tend to learn concepts, reasoning ability, and the sort of critical-thinking skills necessary to succeed in college and beyond. Low-level classes, by contrast, focus much more on simple skills, facts, and memorization, which leave the students unprepared for either higher education or fulfilling, well-paid jobs.

Vocational classes are seen as one possible alternative to remedial academic tracks, but they, too, receive less-than-favorable reviews from Oakes and other opponents of tracking. "Lots of times, in lots of schools," she says, "vocational education is used as a dumping ground. The classes are for kids who are seen as not capable of making it in more challenging courses." Oakes cites data indicating that, except for students who take a lot of practical business courses in high school (girls preparing to become secretaries, for example), most students in vocational tracks aren't even prepared for entry-level jobs after graduation. In California, she adds, there's evidence that vocational-track students don't fare any better after high school than their peers who dropped out.

Well before the racial tensions in the Selma schools hit the headlines, some educators and civil rights activists were decrying the overrepresentation of blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans in these low-level remedial and vocational classes, and the corresponding lack of minority students in the college-prep honors tracks. These inequalities, they assert, produce a form of resegregation, even in schools with seemingly mixed student populations.

One group, Quality Education for Minorities, has made the elimination of tracking a significant piece of

One Teacher Finds An Alternative

The students in Marilyn Rethwisch's 2nd grade class never know which classmates they'll be working with in their daily reading groups. Some days it depends on what they had for breakfast in their rural Winside, Neb., homes. Or what color shirt they're wearing. Or the first letter of their name.

Whatever the system, the groups are different every day, and no one is labeled as a fast or slow learner. Everyone does the same assignments.

"None of the students feel like they're at the bottom of the class," says Rethwisch, now in her 19th year as a teacher. "I think it's a positive situation for all of them."

For years, Rethwisch taught by using ability groups, but she found that many of the placements were arbitrary; there had to be equal numbers in each group, but many students didn't clearly fit into one. With three groups progressing through the material at different rates, she had to explain the same material three separate times. And, she says, the students in the "slow" group never really caught up.

Now, Rethwisch presents the basic material to the whole class, then breaks them up randomly for the day's reading groups. Better readers become role models for the slower readers. If the faster readers need more of a challenge, they can work on computers or in extra reading labs. And the time Rethwisch saves by not having to repeat the lessons can be used for one-on-one help with students who need it.

"You're not worried about whether you should move the kids up and down," Rethwisch says. "You don't have all these social pressures that go on with groups. I think the kids are all more satisfied."

She has adopted a similar strategy for math, where good students often tutor ones who are having trouble. Rethwisch's colleagues at Winside Elementary School are following her lead. Many of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd grade teachers have recently started their own mixed-ability groups.

—D.G.

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its ambitious reform agenda for the nation's schools. The group's recent, widely publicized report, *Education That Works: An Action Plan for Educating Minorities*, paints a grim picture of the effects of tracking on some students: "In the first few days of school, judgments are made about children in the classroom. . . . In most school systems in our nation, this decision effectively seals the child's fate, sometimes for life. Students classified as slow almost never catch up, and school rapidly becomes a forum for failure, not an arena for success. By the time these children are in middle school, tracking intensifies and options begin to close.

"Minority children are more likely to be placed in nonacademic tracks because they do not fit the stereotypical, middle-class images our present educational system holds up as ideals."

Project director Shirley McBay says that even the youngest children understand when they've been placed in a low-level group. "The students internalize that and start to think they're something less than others," says McBay, who is dean of student affairs at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. "It affects their self-esteem and confidence."

Across the Charles River from McBay and MIT, a children's advocacy group has looked at the effects of tracking in one city school system. The Massachusetts Advocacy Center's year-long study of the Boston public schools concludes that "tracking is harmful to kids' achievement," says Ann Wheelock, a policy analyst for the center.

"We saw a funny cycle emerging," Wheelock explains. "Kids are labeled as unready, and then they are given a curriculum that is pretty impoverished, so they never get ready. They get this kind of education all the time, and they simply never become ready for anything more challenging or more educational. They fall further and further behind, and then they don't score at grade level."

Critics of tracking also argue that special-education and remedial academic programs can lock students into those tracks. "Everybody wants the classes to work those kids out of special education," says Jeffrey Schneider, a program development specialist for the National Education Association. "But the reality is that once students are placed in special education, they tend to stay there until the end. All placement is supposed to be designed to meet the skill needs of students at a given time. If that placement becomes destiny, you've got a real problem."

Widely unequal distribution of wealth and resources can create a form of tracking between schools within districts, as well. Schneider uses math classes to illustrate this point. Poor schools with high concentrations of minority students, he says, tend to have one or two 9th grade algebra classes and only one high school calculus class, if that. A wealthy neighboring school, however, might have enough of these high-level math classes to accommodate four or five times as many students. The same holds true for advanced science courses such as chemistry and biology. And, as Oakes has pointed out, with many academic subjects organized around a strict sequence of classes, if a student doesn't complete algebra or basic physical

science by 9th grade, it's unlikely he or she will finish high school with the academic background needed to enter college as a math or science major.

THE ARGUMENTS FOR TRACKING ARE certainly more subtle today than they were 90 years ago, but efficiency still overshadows equality. Tracking proponents say that it is easier to teach relatively homogeneous classes and unrealistic to expect everyone to master the same curriculum, and that students feel more comfortable and learn better when they're grouped with peers of similar abilities. They say tracking enables teachers to tailor instruction to

Worried that gifted-and-talented programs will suffer, middle-class parents have fought hard to preserve tracking. They argue that students feel more comfortable and learn better with peers of similar abilities.

the needs of respective groups of students.

Some of the strongest support for ability grouping comes from the Council for Exceptional Children, a 55,000-member advocacy organization for both special-education and gifted-and-talented programs. Fred Weintraub, CEC's communications director, is fond of making his case by drawing analogies. He compares the main body of American education to a railroad, with a limited number of cars, destinations, and departure times. Special education, on the other hand, more resembles trucking, with a much wider array of services to reach every part of the system.

"Children differ in both what they need to learn and how they learn," he says. "Any educational system that fails to recognize that will serve some children well and some children poorly. If you have a system with one curriculum, one track that everyone is on, that's fine for the kids who can make it on that track."

But what about the 5-year-old who reads *The New York Times* and does advanced math? Weintraub asks. "I would suggest that the local kindergarten is not a valuable learning program for that child," he says. "We clearly believe that there are kids who require a different curriculum."

The CEC also contends that students at the other end of the spectrum—those with learning disabilities—can benefit most from the targeted programs of special education. But Weintraub says special education is usually relegated to the "oh, by the way" part of the system; it has rarely even been mentioned in the major reports that have flooded education during the past decade. "After reading those reports," he says, "you'd basically conclude that these kids do not exist," when in fact, they make up 15 or 16 percent of the total school population.

NEITHER THE NEA NOR THE AMERICAN Federation Of Teachers, the nation's two major teachers' unions, has voiced an official position on tracking. But the fate of an antitracking resolution presented at the NEA's annual convention a few years ago shows how contentious the issue can be among teachers. Former NEA president Mary Hatwood Futrell often criticized tracking and questioned its benefits for students, so when the resolution condemning tracking came before the union's Representative Assembly, there was widespread speculation that the measure would pass. Instead, the NEA's Schneider says, it was soundly defeated, largely because of opposition from special-education teachers. The vote led Futrell to appoint an executive committee task force to take a closer look at tracking and prepare a final report that will be presented at the group's convention this summer.

Based on his experience with that task force,
(Continued on page 50)

Replacing Tracking With Team Teaching

Team teaching students of varying abilities has proved a mixed blessing for Roene Cammack of Cedar Rapids, Iowa. The 7th grade language arts teacher says her students are thriving under the new arrangement, but she has lost some of her individual identity as a teacher. It's a trade she's happy to make.

"I'd have a hard time going back to the old way because I feel this is so good for the kids," says Cammack, who teaches at Harding Middle School.

The "old way" was Cammack with her own classroom, teaching students who had been grouped by ability. The new way is Cammack and another English teacher working together with about 60 students of varying abilities.

"We present information to them in a large group," she says. "Then we break them up as frequently as we can in a variety of ways."

For example, the students read a novel of their own choosing (there are about 150 to pick from), and then they all answer the same general questions about plot and character. Other assignments are intended to be more interdisciplinary—students might read Japanese fairy tales in conjunction with their social studies lessons on Japan.

Each week, the students turn in a work packet, which allows the teachers to see how everyone is progressing. Fast learners can move on to new books, and students who appear to be struggling can be offered help on specific skills.

Cammack believes the team setup makes for more effective teaching; while one of the two teaches a large group, the other can walk around the room and work with students alone or in small groups.

"I think it helps everyone," she says. "Some of the slow kids for years just thought they were slow, but now they're really starting to contribute."

Cammack says many other teachers in the district seem threatened by the experiment, which is now in its third year.
—D.G.

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PROTEST IN SELMA:

Tracking ignites a powder keg

NORWARD ROUSSELL, THE EMBATTLED superintendent of public schools in Selma, Ala., says he first became aware of his district's tracking policy when "my daughter came home and said she was in a level-one class."

"When I looked at it closely," he says, "what I saw was that, in terms of students' ability on standardized tests, there were many students who were placed in the lower levels who could in fact compete with other students in higher levels and were not justifiably placed where they were."

"And of course," he adds, "as you might imagine, the majority of students in levels two and three, the bottom levels, were black."

Henry Pitts, a black parent of three of Selma's 5,900 students, first learned of the "leveling" system after Roussell's effort to change it touched off public controversy. When he inquired at their schools, he discovered that each of his children was assigned to the lowest level.

"I was very upset about it," he says. "It's wrong; it's very wrong. If I'm paying taxes for your kid to get an education, I think my kid should get the same education that yours gets."

Roussell's move to change Selma's tracking policy lost him much of the support he had previously enjoyed among the city's white community. His supporters say the move also set off the chain of events that culminated in the explosive protests by black students, parents, and civil rights activists that made headlines around the country in February. The demonstrations reached their peak just a few weeks before the 25th anniversary of "Bloody Sunday," the day marchers from Selma to Montgomery were beaten by state troopers. Reports of the violence disturbed the nation's civil rights conscience and helped ensure passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

The recent explosion came as no surprise to Hank Saunders, a state senator and leader of the protest movement. "There's been a lot of concern about tracking for a long period of time," he says. "We had the powder keg here all the while, but we didn't have a match."

The board's vote not to renew Roussell's contract,

and its later decision to reassign him, "were the matches that lit it," Saunders adds.

It is ironic that Roussell's strongest support in the controversy comes from blacks who believe tracking is inherently unfair, because the superintendent believes ability grouping is "a sound pedagogical technique." He agrees with the protesters, however, that the system he inherited in Selma was unfair to students.

Under the "leveling" system used in the district since the early days of court-ordered integration, he says, students were placed in levels or advanced-placement and honors courses "based primarily on teachers' judgments and somewhat on grades."

"I think we were in violation of the rights of our students to arbitrarily place them in groups," he says. "This was not just for black students; we also had a significant number of white students who were not taking the kinds of challenging courses they should have been taking."

At Roussell's urging, the school board last year adopted a new "grouping for instruction" policy that uses students' test scores and grades to determine their placements and eliminates input from teachers. Grouping was abolished altogether in middle school science and social studies classes.

Parents also gained the right to challenge their children's placements.

Says Roussell: "Parental input is important because the parents ought to be able to say, 'I think my child ought to be in this group,' and if they perform successfully, they ought to be able to stay in that particular group."

The superintendent also convinced the board that all of the district's high school students should be required to take Algebra, Biology 1, and Computer Applications—courses required for higher education that had historically been unavailable to many of the district's students.

Selma's teachers seemed to accept the changes, though not always enthusiastically. Grace Hobbs, a veteran teacher, says that she thought the tracking issue "had pretty much been dropped" after many of the worst fears of parents and teachers proved

unfounded. "There seemed to be no general dissatisfaction," she says, "until the nonrenewal came up."

Some teachers in the untracked classes, she says, complained about having to teach unmotivated students. But, she adds, "You're always going to hear that."

Hobbs herself defends ability groupings, saying it need not be used to separate black and white students. "I know that among national leaders and top-level administrators it's very much in vogue to be antileveling," she says. "But I think it has its good points, too. It's very difficult to teach a lot of different levels of ability in the same classroom."

The reaction of others in Selma's white community was not so mild.

Kimbrough Ballard, a member of the Selma City Council, which appoints the school board, says he "first crossed swords" with Roussell after the superintendent altered the leveling system. "I am of the opinion," Ballard says, "that you don't teach down to the lowest students, you teach up to the highest."

However, Ballard and other white leaders in the city dispute the protesters' claim that the tracking controversy played a role in the school board's decision last December not to renew the superintendent's contract, which expires in June. The board opted not to rehire Roussell, the white leaders assert, because his leadership style was too "dictatorial" for Selma.

The black protest leaders insist that the issues of tracking and Roussell's contract were inextricably intertwined, even though the media paid scant attention to the tracking issue in their coverage of the Selma disturbances.

"Only when he moved to get rid of this tracking system did they move to get rid of him," says Rose Saunders, the leader of a local citizens' group that has spearheaded the protests.

The board tried to remove Roussell in February by reassigning him and appointing an interim superintendent in his stead. (All six white members on the board voted in December not to renew Roussell's contract and in February to reassign him. The five black members showed their support for Roussell by walking out of the December meeting before the vote and boycotting all meetings after that.) When the

decision to remove Roussell set off demonstrations and school boycotts, the board quickly rescinded it; they did not, however, agree to renew his contract.

The board also closed the district's 11 schools, fearing the tensions would escalate into violence. More than 100 black students turned the situation into a stalemate by occupying Selma High School, and both veteran and college-age civil rights workers descended on the city to participate in daily marches and rallies.

The situation was defused after six days when Roussell convinced the students to leave the school by telling them he would resign rather than see them suspended or dragged out of the building by National Guardsmen.

A six-week occupation of Selma City Hall by the protesters did not end until March, after a state judge ruled the protests illegal because they were interfering with the conduct of city government.

In one of the few light moments of the drama, Dallas County Commissioner Perry Varner quipped to reporters that the protesters might be slow to comply: "We just got the order and it might take us two days to read it because they've tracked us into the lower levels, you know."

The city's white political leaders were openly angered about

the protests. "Leveling is not the issue; the issue is power," said city council member Ballard. "This is a political power play." He and other council members charged that the protests were being orchestrated by a group of black lawyers overly eager to assume the reins of power in the city, which may soon have a majority of registered black voters.

But the protesters continued to insist that the real issue in Selma is that tracking has created a system of "neo segregation," and some vowed that the Selma protests were a precursor to a national "direct action" movement to abolish tracking.

"In the 60's, it was the Selma movement that brought down the walls of disenfranchisement in this country for black and brown Americans," says Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. "Now in the 90's we are starting again in Selma to bring down the walls of unequal education."

—William Snider, *Education Week*



Students return to school amid heavy security.

(Continued from page 47)

Schneider offers this somewhat informal assessment of teachers' opinions on the issue: "Our figures show that about one-third of the teachers like academic tracking for one reason or another, one-third dislike it intensely, and the other third find it useful but don't like it."

Likewise at the AFT, tracking is a topic of spirited and seemingly endless discussion and disagreement, says Pat Daly, an AFT vice president. "You can find as many studies that support it as oppose it," he notes. "But I think the trend is definitely in the direction of not tracking."

Still, as the NEA figures suggest, a large percentage of teachers endorse the philosophy and practice of tracking. Many would likely agree with Charles Nevi, director of curriculum and instruction for the Puyallup (Wash.) School District, when he says that "tracking can be made to work."

Unfortunately, he adds, it has become such a "loaded term" that many people are quick to oppose tracking without really examining the issue objectively. "Sometimes, what is traditionally called tracking is a reasonable option," Nevi maintains. "If it's done as a means of empowering students, as a means of teaching them information and skills they can use, then it's not inherently bad."

"When you take large numbers of students and organize them for instruction, you have to group them on some basis. And there are times when the groupings themselves lead to improved instruction. They enable us to provide programs that are more appropriate."

Catherine Schwartz, who has taught in Howell, Mich., for 30 years, believes mixed groups can work with younger students. But by the time they get to her high school writing-composition classes, she's a firm believer in tracking.

"I am totally opposed to heterogeneous grouping in 11th and 12th grade," says Schwartz. "The needs of the college-prep students are not met, and the needs of the average and low students are not met; nobody's needs are met. They should be tracked so they feel comfortable with a group that is like they are. I know a lot of what I say flies in the face of a lot of Ph.D. researchers, but I'm a classroom teacher and I know what works."

ALL THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE DEBATE

over the relative merits of tracking and mixed-ability classes can find research studies to back their arguments. But most recent research does show that heterogeneous classes can benefit all students, particularly the slower learners. These studies, however, also come with a caveat: It is not enough simply to eliminate tracking. Lumping students of all abilities together in one lecture-oriented class won't work;

teachers must adopt new methods of instruction and flexible curricula to cope with these more diverse groups of students.

"The studies seem to show that [heterogeneous grouping] doesn't harm the higher ability kids, and it may help students of lower ability," the AFT's Daly says. "But at the same time, from the teachers' point of view, unless you have some understanding or training in how to do it, it's not easy to balance high- and low-ability students with traditional forms of teaching."

Daly, who taught social studies for 30 years, knows what it is like to go from tracked classes to heterogeneous grouping. The social studies department at his Dearborn, Mich., high school eliminated tracking when he was there. "It required you to learn how to do some things differently, to get students to help one another," he says. "But I didn't find that to be a handicap. On balance, I found it to be a more positive experience."

Large public school districts are starting to follow the lead of Dearborn and the many other districts that have experimented with mixed groupings on a small scale. Denver and Orlando are among the urban districts that have joined San Diego in moving away from rigid tracking. Denver plans to eliminate

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to heterogeneous
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researchers, but I'm a
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remedial classes at all grade levels and place those students in regular classrooms. In Orlando, many of the changes focus on the middle schools, which are now structured around mixed-ability groups of 120 students who work with an interdisciplinary team of four teachers in English, math, science, and social studies.

"This has allowed us to work without having to label groups of kids as slow achievers," says David Sojourner, an associate superintendent for the Orange County, Fla., school system, which includes the city of Orlando. "If anything, kids who are labeled as slow live up to those expectations. But if you expect them to be successful, they pretty much live up to those expectations."

One of the largest experiments at the elementary school level is the Accelerated Schools Program, led by Henry Levin, a Stanford University education professor. Some 40 elementary schools nationwide, primarily in urban areas, are implementing sweeping changes aimed at bringing all students up to grade level by the 6th grade so that they can compete equally with their peers for the rest of their school careers. The project staff hopes to extend its efforts into middle schools in the next few years, according to project coordinator Wendy Hopfenberg.

She says the accelerated program combines a relevant, challenging, interdisciplinary curriculum; instructional changes, such as cooperative learning and peer tutoring; and a school-management plan that gives teachers a central role in decisionmaking.

The growing number of schools that are attempting different ways of grouping students adds credibility to Daly's belief that one day rigid tracking will be "a relic of the past." But the arguments over the issue probably won't go away anytime soon: Even when there's agreement that tracking harms some students, there's no clear consensus on what should replace it.

Although some teachers are starting to change their own grouping practices, it's not easy for them to think about alternatives. "They are part of the same process that everyone is part of," says Schneider of the NEA. "Teachers, like everyone else, are going to have a great deal of difficulty giving up the ability-grouping process that's been around them forever. Whether they like it or dislike it, it's one that they understand, that they know how to deal with."

In the end, he maintains, the focus will have to be local if schools are going to better serve the entire spectrum of students. "Can we devise an educational system which effectively meets the needs of students, assuming that all students are special and have special needs?" he asks. "Can it take all students as far as they need to go in order to productively meet their own needs and the needs of society? That's the challenge, and the changes will have to take place one school at a time." □

Mixed-Ability Groups Win Teacher Converts

The noise level is a little higher these days in some of the high school language arts classes in Saginaw, Mich. It's not that the students are misbehaving; rather, it's that the classes are structured around small-group exercises, cooperative learning, and other activities that require the students to talk about their work and help each other.

The classes are part of Project 98, a University of Michigan-sponsored experiment in heterogeneous English classes at Saginaw's two public high schools.

"Teachers find that they are really unable to teach to the middle, which is what we've all tended to do for so long," says Jane Denton, an English teacher at Saginaw's Arthur Hill High School and K-12 language arts coordinator for the city's schools. "Now, we have to remember to challenge that higher-skilled student and to bring along the lower-skilled student."

In addition to the different grouping practices, some teachers also keep the same set of students for two years. Instruction mainly revolves around reading and writing; vocabulary, spelling, and grammar are related to the assignments when necessary.

As a result of these changes, students are doing as well or better than before, when they were in tracked classes, says Sharon Floyd, a teacher and head of the language arts department at Saginaw High School. Floyd tells of one student who had struggled for years in low-level classes. She was placed in one of the newly grouped classes where she was able to emulate the behavior of the top students, and she was thrilled when she earned a C in the class, Floyd says.

The new system has Floyd herself excited about teaching. "It's more work, but it's more fun," she says. "I enjoy going to work every day."

Adds Denton: "The teachers say they will never, no matter what happens, teach the way they did before. They can see the growth their kids have made in class."

—D.G.

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Copy of Letter to
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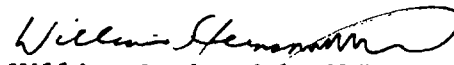
Your 29 May arraignment of organized medicine's turnabout on the fundamentals of clinical implementation of "managed competition" (The AMA--Deja Vu, Again) was trifling and obscurantist.

Though doubtless true that the AMA's "inglorious 50-year record of steadfast opposition" to pressing fiscal and clinical reform was a key historic confluence to the present crisis, its recent volte-face has origin and significance quite separate from the reactionary obstructions of yore.

The defining event of AMA betrayal of public and profession was its sabotage of the authentic national health care plan first advanced by the Truman administration in 1945. Over the decades following this Pyrrhic triumph, the chieftains of organized medicine avidly embraced the cancerous expansion of insurance trust "indemnity financing," while conniving at incremental public programs (Medicare, Medicaid) whose nascent forms were cast in the same golden image. Though a silenced minority of ethical clinicians recoiled at what was happening, the mainstream profession was massively corrupted by the escalating billions poured in by private and public paymasters. All of the vices which now disfigure the American medical establishment -- grandiose plethora, atrophy of bedside clinical art, billing racketeering, malpractice shakedowns, torment of dying patients in intensive care units, galloping research fraud -- have origin in the two-generation hypertrophy of this peculiarly American hybrid of private-public financing shaped by the insurance trust. In the 1970s -- with the "healthcare system" overripe for both a single-payer public plan and massive reform of the rotting clinical establishment -- the insurance trust and its Jackson Hole retainers cooked up the "HMO," "managed care," and "managed competition," pretentious huckster-lingo for the final subordination of clinicians to stockjobbers.

It is the growing awareness of these historic realities in widening circles of American clinicians that compelled the beleaguered AMA bosses to spurn this conspiracy against a learned profession. Your increasingly frantic and demagogic editorial cover for the insurance trust may backfire.

Sincerely,


William Steinsmith, M.D.

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The A.M.A. — Déjà Vu, Again

Until recently, it looked as if the American Medical Association would vigorously support national health reform and thereby end an inglorious 50-year record of steadfast opposition. In 1990, the A.M.A. embraced employer mandates (the requirement that employers pay for their workers' policies) as the swiftest route toward universal coverage; and last year it supported, with conditions, managed competition (President Clinton's system of providing private health insurance through huge purchasing cooperatives).

But now that the debate over reform is approaching a climax, the A.M.A. is changing its tune. It has backed away from employer mandates and last week proposed a bill, laughably named the Patient Protection Act, that could eviscerate the Clinton plan. Same old A.M.A.

Physicians, especially specialists, have been scared silly by the surge of managed care. These health plans are clamping down on costs by squeezing out inappropriate treatment that layers of unnecessary specialists are providing. The clamp-down has proved so strong that several specialty groups are wondering if they would be better off practicing under government regulatory agencies — which, with the help of an open spigot of campaign contributions, could be co-opted — rather than going up against the likes of Aetna, Cigna and Kaiser Permanente. After all, surgeons and other specialty groups have a history of wringing favors out of Congress.

Flagging support for the President's bill has emboldened the A.M.A. The Patient Protection Act offers some useful provisions. For example, it would require health plans to disclose pertinent information to enrollees. But the bill also blatantly attempts to wall off physicians from competition. For example, the A.M.A. would prohibit health plans from firing doctors "without cause" — a pernicious provision that could stymie efforts to get

rid of mediocre physicians. After all, health plans ought to be in position to assure patients that their doctors are excellent — and not just innocent of serious miscues.

Under the A.M.A. bill, a health plan could deny payment for a service provided by one of its doctors only if the attending doctor was overruled by a physician in the same specialty. The provision is unwarranted because medical conditions often cut across disciplines; the bill would lead to the ludicrous situation where a neurosurgeon could not second-guess an orthopedic surgeon's treatment of lower-back pain.

Prohibitions laced through the bill could cripple a health plan's ability to guarantee the best care possible. Health plans need the flexibility to make judgments. That is the only way they can get at unnecessary or inappropriate procedures — whose risks outweigh potential benefits — that account for as much one in every three health dollars that Americans spend. By insulating doctors from sensible supervision, the bill would lock in bad practice.

The A.M.A. is also calling on Congress to exempt doctors from antitrust rules so they could form cartels to bargain with health plans. If Congress grants the A.M.A.'s request, it will undermine reforms, like those of President Clinton, that attempt to harness competitive forces to drive down health costs.

The A.M.A. raises the fear that health plans would grab for profits by firing good doctors who provide expensive care. But the best way to stop such behavior is to require purchasing cooperatives to collect data on each plan's treatment practices, medical outcomes and consumer satisfaction and report the results to enrollees.

Once upon a time the A.M.A. seemed poised to push reform forward; now, sadly, it seems poised to return to form and become an obstacle for Congress to overcome.

Unhealthy Maintenance Organizations

By Kip Sullivan
and Keith W. Sehnert

ST. PAUL

Few states have a higher percentage of their citizens enrolled in health maintenance organizations than Minnesota. For that reason, Hillary Rodham Clinton and other advocates of managed competition cite Minnesota's health care system as a model. The two of us think our system is a warning, not an example.

There is no conclusive evidence that Minnesota's H.M.O.'s have reduced health care costs. (There is debate

Kip Sullivan is research director for Minnesota Citizens Organized Acting Together, a consumer organization. Keith W. Sehnert is a physician.

over whether the costs have increased.) But there is abundant evidence that in a state dominated by large H.M.O.'s, doctors have less time to see patients, doctor-patient relationships are more vulnerable to disruption, and doctors and patients have lost substantial control over decisions affecting patients' health.

Since 1975, H.M.O.'s — the cornerstone of managed competition — have acquired such market power through growth and mergers that competition in the health-plan industry in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area has been crippled. And since 1982, to create countervailing power, nearly all of the area's 24 independent hospitals have formed three chains, thereby destroying what little competition had existed among the hospitals.

Today, the HealthPartners and Medica H.M.O.'s and Blue Cross/Blue Shield (a managed care company) enroll half the state's 4.4 million people. And the hospital chains control about 60 percent of the Twin Cities market. (Many economists argue that when four companies control more than 40 percent of a market, competition is damaged.)

Neither of us oppose small, locally

controlled H.M.O.'s. We both oppose what Minnesota's H.M.O.'s have become. As the H.M.O.'s grew in size and income, exorbitantly paid executives and management companies — oriented to revenue, not service — took them over.

In the late 1980's, the three hospital chains began aggressively buying up physicians' practices. When doctors go to work for hospitals, they and their patients inevitably cede some authority over decision-making to hospital management.

A year ago, the state enacted a managed competition law, which encouraged the H.M.O.'s and Blue Cross to merge or sign agreements with some of the remaining independent hospitals and two of the hospital chains. They have signed agreements with clinics and networks of doctors throughout the state as well.

**Minnesota is no
model for costs,
care, competition.**

HEALTH CARE

SECOND OPINIONS

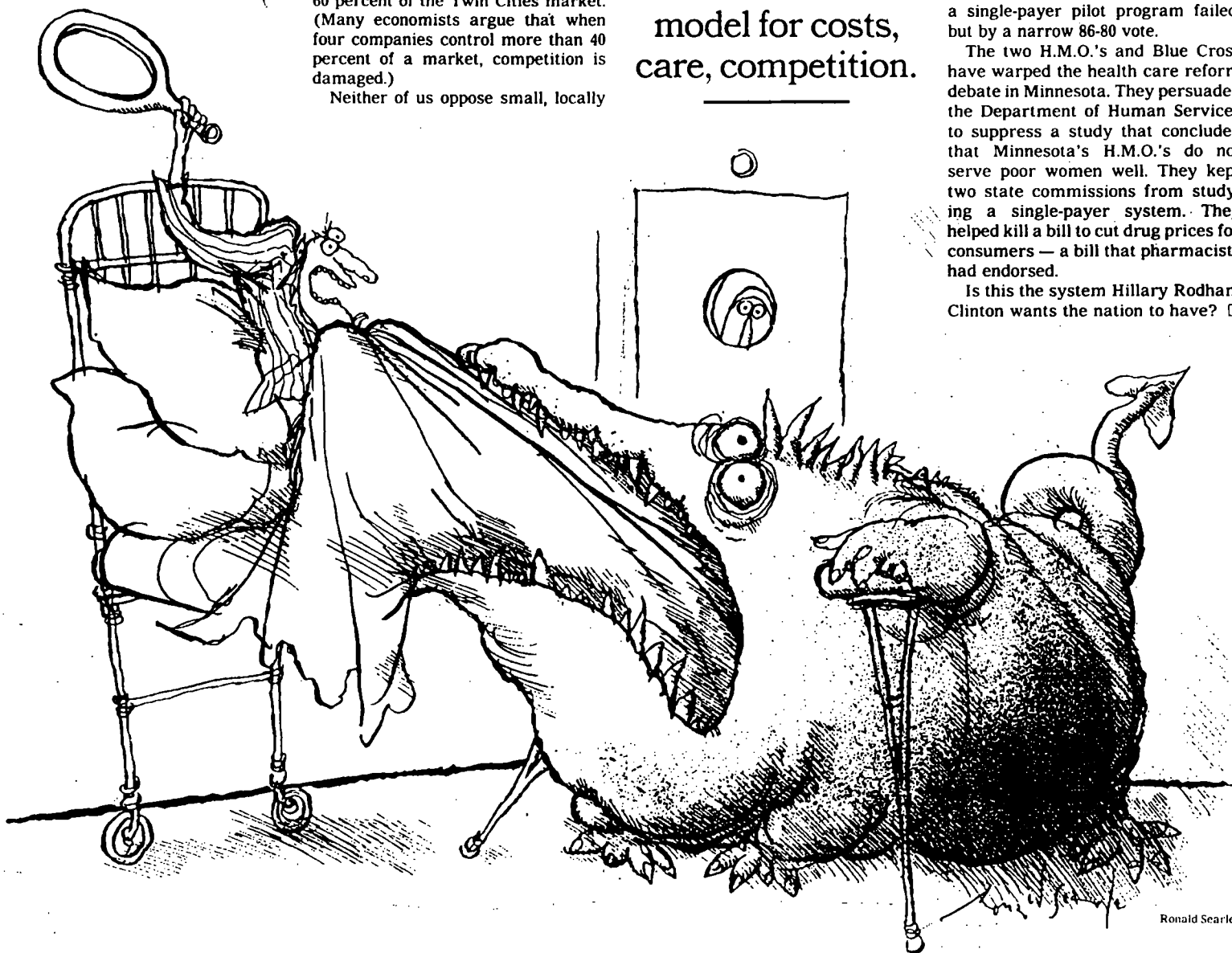
An occasional series.

Rural hospitals and clinics have responded by initiating or accelerating efforts to organize provider networks. One of the largest is the network developed by the Mayo Clinic, in Rochester, Minn. Most of the rural networks will ultimately ally with one of the H.M.O.'s, Blue Cross or a hospital chain. If that happens, most rural Minnesotans will buy care from monopolies with ties to a sugar daddy in the Twin Cities.

Many doctors, especially those in rural areas, feel that their independence and relations with patients are threatened by the consolidations. That hostility found an outlet at the convention of the Minnesota Medical Association in October. A resolution to endorse a single-payer pilot program failed, but by a narrow 86-80 vote.

The two H.M.O.'s and Blue Cross have warped the health care reform debate in Minnesota. They persuaded the Department of Human Services to suppress a study that concluded that Minnesota's H.M.O.'s do not serve poor women well. They kept two state commissions from studying a single-payer system. They helped kill a bill to cut drug prices for consumers — a bill that pharmacists had endorsed.

Is this the system Hillary Rodham Clinton wants the nation to have? □



Ronald Searle

WILLIAM STEINSMITH, M.D.
239 CASTENADA AVENUE
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94116



Margaret Williams
Old Executive Office Bldg.
Washington, DC 20501

4-6-94

DEAR MS. WILLIAMS.

THE BUSINESS PLAN ATTACHED IS
OUR WAY TO SAVE WATER, CLEAN
UP THE U.S. AND HELP YOUNG BOYS
AND GIRLS START THEIR OWN BUSINESS.

PLEASE SHOW THIS TO EITHER MRS.
CLINTON OR THE PRESIDENT. IF
MORE COMPANIES LOOK FOR WAYS TO
HELP OUR YOUNG PEOPLE, AMERICA
WILL GROW AND PROSPER.

THANK YOU -

EVERKEEN ENTERPRISES.

EVERKLEEN ENTERPRISES

**2049 SOUTH HELLMAN AVENUE
UNITS R & S
ONTARIO, CALIFORNIA 91761
909-947-6068**

OUTLINE OF BUSINESS PLAN

MANAGEMENT

KWAKU SEFA-BOAKYE - PRESIDENT OF EVERKLEEN ENTERPRISES CAME TO THE UNITED STATES FROM GHANA, WEST AFRICA AS A FOREIGN EXCHANGE STUDENT. HE GRADUATED FROM CAL POLY UNIVERSITY IN POMONA WITH A DEGREE IN FOOD SCIENCE IN 1983. POST GRADUATE STUDIES WERE TAKEN AT UNIVERSITY OF LA VERNE AND AZUSA PACIFIC UNIVERSITY. OVER THE LAST TEN YEARS HE HAS WORKED WITH MAJOR CORPORATIONS IN PACKAGING TECHNOLOGY, PRODUCTION AND OPERATIONS MANAGEMENT, WITH EMPHASIS IN MICROBIOLOGY, CHEMISTRY, HIGH SPEED BOTTLE AND CAN MANUFACTURING. HE ESTABLISHED EVERKLEEN ENTERPRISES IN 1990 TO DEVELOP AND IMPROVE VARIOUS HOUSEHOLD AND COMMERCIAL CLEANING PRODUCTS. THESE PRODUCTS ARE FORMULATED TO BE ENVIRONMENTALLY SAFE, NON-TOXIC, NON-HAZARDOUS AND BIODEGRADABLE. HE HAS BECOME A U.S. CITIZEN AND IS WORKING WITH YOUNG PEOPLE TO HELP THEM COMPLETE THEIR EDUCATION.

THOMAS D. DILL - PRESIDENT OF TD RESEARCH AND CONSULTING SERVICES, GRADUATED FROM CAL STATE UNIVERSITY, DOMINGUEZ HILLS WITH A B.S. DEGREE IN BIOLOGICAL SCIENCE AND CHEMISTRY. FOR THE LAST FIFTEEN YEARS HE HAS BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR FORMULATION AND NEW PRODUCT DEVELOPMENT OF PHARMACEUTICAL, SOAPS AND DETERGENT PRODUCTS. MANAGER OF QUALITY CONTROL, RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT FOR SUCH LARGE COMPANIES AS PUREX, HELENE CURTIS AND ALLERGEN PHARMACEUTICAL. HE HAS SUCCESSFULLY DEVELOPED ENVIRONMENTALLY SAFE AND BIODEGRADABLE CHEMICAL PRODUCTS FROM PROTOTYPE TO PRODUCTION, INCLUDING WATERLESS CAR WASH, GRAFFITI REMOVER, CARPET AND MULTI-PURPOSE CLEANERS. MEMBER OF THE AMERICAN CHEMICAL SOCIETY, SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA SOCIETY OF COSMETIC CHEMISTS, AMERICAN OIL CHEMICAL SOCIETY AND NATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF BLACK CHEMISTS AND CHEMICAL ENGINEERS, WHERE HE IS THE PRESIDENT OF THE SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA CHAPTER.

BECAUSE OF THE UNIQUE PRODUCT LINE OF EVERKLEEN ENTERPRISES, AND A STRONG DESIRE TO HELP UNEMPLOYED YOUNG BOYS AND GIRLS GAIN JOB EXPERIENCE, THE FOLLOWING DISTRIBUTION PLAN IS NOW BEING IMPLEMENTED. THE DISTRIBUTION PLAN IS BEING MODELED AFTER AMWAY, AVON AND TUPPERWARE PROGRAMS. HOWEVER THIS PLAN IS PRIMARILY FOR 12 TO 18 YEAR OLD YOUNG ADULTS.

TO PARTICIPATE IN ANY EVERKLEEN DISTRIBUTION PLAN, THE YOUNG BOY OR GIRL MUST HAVE SIGNED CONSENT FROM THEIR PARENT OR GUARDIAN.

PART I OF DISTRIBUTION PLAN

"WATERLESS WASH AND WAX"

NOW YOUNG BOYS AND GIRLS AGES 12 TO 18 CAN START THEIR OWN CAR OR OTHER VEHICLE WASH BUSINESS. THEY WOULD BUY A ONE QUART BOTTLE OF "WATERLESS WASH AND WAX" FOR \$3.75 FROM EVERKLEEN. EACH QUART BOTTLE SHOULD WASH AND WAX 5 AVERAGE SIZED CARS. THEY WOULD OFFER TO GIVE AN EXTERIOR WASH FOR A MINIMUM OF \$3.00. AT \$3.00 A WASH THEY WOULD EARN \$15.00 BY DOING 5 CARS. SUBTRACT THE COST OF THE PRODUCT AND THEY WOULD NET \$11.25. IT TAKES ONLY 20 TO 30 MINUTES TO COMPLETE A CAR. THAT BREAKS DOWN TO 5 WASHES IN 2½ HOURS. THE \$11.25 NET IN 2½ HOURS EQUALS \$4.50 AN HOUR. THE BOYS AND GIRLS CAN OFFER OTHER SERVICES AT THE END OF THE WASH AND WAX JOB. AS THE DAYLIGHT HOURS ARE LONGER FROM APRIL TO OCTOBER, IT WOULD BE EASY TO WASH AND WAX 5 CARS AFTER SCHOOL HOURS AND STILL HAVE TIME FOR HOMEWORK AND OTHER ACTIVITIES. ON THE WEEKENDS IT WOULD BE EASY TO DO 10 OR MORE CARS. THE AVERAGE YOUNGSTER CAN EARN \$25.00 TO \$50.00 A WEEK. THAT IS BETTER THAN HAVING NO MONEY OR NO JOB AT ALL.

"GRAFFITI GONE"

THESE SAME YOUNGSTER COULD OFFER TO CLEAN UP ANY GRAFFITI ALONG WITH THEIR CAR WASH BUSINESS. THEY COULD ASK ANY BUSINESS OWNER, HOMEOWNER, ETC. TO REMOVE THE GRAFFITI FROM THEIR PROPERTY. SMALL JOBS OF REMOVAL CAN BE DONE IN A SHORT PERIOD OF TIME AND AT A GOOD PROFIT. EVERKLEEN WOULD SELL A ONE QUART BOTTLE OF "GRAFFITI GONE" FOR \$6.00. THE YOUNG BOYS OR GIRLS COULD CHARGE \$10.00 OR MORE FOR EACH REMOVAL. THE PRICES SET WOULD DEPEND ON THE SIZE OF THE JOB AND HOW MUCH "GRAFFITI GONE" WAS USED.

OTHER EVERKLEEN PRODUCTS

AT THIS TIME, EVERKLEEN PRODUCES 19 OTHER CLEANING PRODUCTS. IF THE BOYS AND GIRLS WANTED TO TAKE ORDERS FOR ANY OR ALL OF THE VARIOUS CLEANERS, THEY WOULD EARN A COMMISSION ON EACH PRODUCT SOLD. THIS PRODUCT DISTRIBUTION BUSINESS CAN GO ON ALL YEAR AT THE CONVENIENCE OF THE YOUNGSTER.

THE ABOVE CHOICES ARE A BASIC WAY FOR YOUNG PEOPLE TO GO INTO BUSINESS FOR THEMSELVES. THEY WILL LEARN A GREAT MANY LESSONS ONLY JOB EXPERIENCE CAN GIVE THEM. THIS IS A RARE CHANCE TO EARN EXTRA MONEY, WITH LITTLE INVESTMENT OF MONEY.

PART II OF DISTRIBUTION PLAN

THIS PART OF THE PLAN IS FOR YOUNG PEOPLE TO WORK WITH VARIOUS CITY, COUNTY AND STATE DEPARTMENTS OR AGENCIES.

EXAMPLE #1 - HIRE A FEW YOUNG PEOPLE TO WASH AND WAX CITY POLICE VEHICLES, MAINTENANCE TRUCKS, ETC. ON A REGULAR BASIS.

EXAMPLE #2 - HIRE CREWS OF YOUNG PEOPLE TO WORK WITH CAL-TRANS, DEPARTMENT OF MAINTENANCE, DEPARTMENTS OF PUBLIC WORKS, DEPARTMENT OF PARKS AND RECREATION, ETC. TO CLEAN GRAFFITI.

IF LARGE PUBLIC UTILITIES LIKE PACIFIC GAS AND ELECTRIC, SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA EDISON, SAN DIEGO GAS AND ELECTRIC, SACRAMENTO MWD. LOS ANGELES DEPARTMENT OF WATER AND POWER, WOULD ALSO HIRE YOUNG CREWS FOR THEIR VEHICLE WASHES AND GRAFFITI REMOVAL, THEN A GOOD MANY YOUNG PEOPLE WOULD HAVE JOBS. THE SAVINGS OF WATER WOULD BE HUGE AND A BIG JOB OF GRAFFITI REMOVAL WILL BE DONE.

BIG CORPORATIONS CAN SPONSOR SOME OF THESE PROJECTS OR SET UP WASH AND WAX DAYS, WHERE YOUNGSTERS WASH CARS AND TRUCKS OWNED BY EMPLOYEES AT A REDUCED PRICE.

"WATERLESS WASH AND WAX" SERVICE CAN GO ANYWHERE, IN ANY KIND OF WEATHER.

EVERKLEEN ENTERPRISES WILL SET UP A CITY SPONSORED DISTRIBUTION CENTER AS FOLLOWS.

A. TRAINING ROOM

1. HELP TEENAGERS LEARN HOW TO UNDERSTAND AND SAFELY USE PRODUCTS.
2. HELP TEENAGERS SELL THE VARIOUS PRODUCTS.
3. HELP THEM ACCOUNT FOR MONEY, EXPENSES, SUPPLIES, ETC.

B. PRODUCT SUPPLY ROOM

1. STORAGE OF PRODUCTS
2. WASHER AND DRYER FOR RAGS
3. RECYCLE BOTTLES IF POSSIBLE

C. ACCOUNTING

1. CHECK OUT SYSTEM FOR PRODUCTS PURCHASED OR RETURNED
2. SALES TAX COLLECTION IF REQUIRED

STAFF NEEDS CAN VARY - VOLUNTEERS ARE WELCOME, OFFICE WILL NEED DESK, CHAIRS, PHONE AND SUPPLIES

THIS PROGRAM IS FOR ALL YOUNG PEOPLE BETWEEN THE AGE OF 12 TO 18. OLDER UNEMPLOYED PEOPLE ARE ALSO WELCOME. NO JOB DISCRIMINATION DUE TO RACE, CREED, COLOR, HANDICAP, OR RELIGION IS ALLOWED.

EVERKLEEN ENTERPRISES WELCOMES THE SUPPORT FROM THE P.T.A, YMCA, YOUTH CENTERS, VOLUNTEERS AND CHURCH AND RELIGIOUS GROUPS.

WE CAN ALL HELP CLEAN UP AMERICA, SAVE BILLIONS OF GALLONS OF WATER AND HELP OUR YOUNG PEOPLE GET JOBS.

EVERKLEEN ENTERPRISES IS A MINORITY OWNED BUSINESS

INDIVIDUAL AND CORPORATE SPONSOR PLAN

EVERY YEAR MILLIONS OF TEENAGE BOYS AND GIRLS ARE LOOKING FOR WAYS TO GET A JOB. SOME GET LUCKY AND FIND AN AFTER SCHOOL OR SUMMER JOB. FAR TOO MANY NEVER GET A CHANCE TO GAIN VALUABLE WORK EXPERIENCE. NOW EVERY BOY OR GIRL WHO WANTS A JOB CAN HAVE ONE. ALL THEY NEED IS THEIR PARENTS PERMISSION AND A BOTTLE OF "WATERLESS WASH AND WAX."

NOT ALL OF THESE YOUNG PEOPLE CAN GET THE \$3.75 TO START A BUSINESS. SOME WILL NEED A SPONSOR TO HELP THEM GET STARTED. A SPONSOR CAN HELP 10, 100, 1,000, 10,000 OR EVEN 100,000 BOYS AND GIRLS START THEIR OWN BUSINESS. WITH 10 LARGE SPONSORS IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO PROVIDE A BUSINESS OPPORTUNITY FOR **ONE MILLION** TEENAGERS THIS YEAR.

IF A SPONSOR BUYS THE FIRST QUART OF "WATERLESS WASH AND WAX" FOR THOSE WHO CAN NOT GET THE \$3.75 THEMSELVES, THESE YOUNG PEOPLE CAN START A BUSINESS TODAY.

TEN QUARTS COST \$37.50, ONE HUNDRED QUARTS COST \$375.00, ONE THOUSAND QUARTS COST \$3,750.00 ETC. THIS WOULD NOT BE A TAX DEDUCTION, BUT A WAY TO HELP A LOT OF JOB SEEKING BOYS AND GIRLS. THEY CAN EVEN PAY BACK THE SPONSOR THE \$3.75 ONCE THEY GET SOME "CASH FLOW". IN THAT WAY, THE SPONSOR ONLY LOANS THE MONEY. THE TEENAGERS COULD PAY BACK THE SPONSOR WITHIN A DAY OR TWO OF WORK.

WITH A SMALL AMOUNT OF MONEY, AN INDIVIDUAL OR A CORPORATE SPONSOR CAN HELP AN ABLE, WILLING, HARD WORKING YOUNG BOY OR GIRL BUILD THEIR OWN BUSINESS. THIS JOB OPPORTUNITY CAN POSSIBLY CHANGE THEIR LIFE AND WORK ATTITUDE FOREVER.

**TO BECOME A SPONSOR, OR FOR MORE INFORMATION, PLEASE CALL
(909) 947-6068 OR FAX (909) 947-7171.**

THE IDEAL CORPORATE SPONSOR

MC DONALD'S CORPORATION

IF FOR EXAMPLE, MC DONALD'S CORPORATION BECAME A CORPORATE SPONSOR FOR 100,000 YOUNG BOYS AND GIRLS IN THE GREATER LOS ANGELES AREA, THE FOLLOWING PLAN MIGHT WORK.

THOSE PARTICIPATING MC DONALD'S RESTAURANTS WOULD HAVE A DESIGNATED TIME FOR TEENAGERS TO COME IN AND GET A FREE BOTTLE OF "WATERLESS WASH AND WAX". WHEN THE BOTTLE WAS USED AND THEY NEEDED MORE PRODUCT, THEY WOULD COME BACK TO MC DONALD'S AND PAY FOR THE FIRST BOTTLE AND THE SECOND BOTTLE ALSO. THAT WAY MC DONALD'S WOULD NOT BE OUT OF POCKET ANY OR LITTLE MONEY. THEY WOULD ONLY HELP IN THE INITIAL DISTRIBUTION AND SPONSORSHIP. AFTER THAT THE YOUNG PEOPLE WOULD HAVE TO GET THEIR "WATERLESS WASH AND WAX" FROM A REGULAR SUPPLY SOURCE.

MC DONALD'S WOULD BENEFIT FROM THE ADVERTISING EXPOSURE SUCH A SPONSORSHIP WOULD BRING. IT WOULD SHOW THAT MC DONALD'S IS WILLING TO HELP YOUNG PEOPLE FIND JOBS. THE YOUNG PEOPLE WHO WENT TO MC DONALD'S TO PICK UP THEIR SUPPLIES MIGHT ORDER A BIG MAC OR OTHER FOOD AND DRINK ALSO.

IF OTHER BIG CORPORATE SPONSORS WHO HAD MANY RETAIL OUTLETS COULD BE OF HELP IN SUCH AN INITIAL DISTRIBUTION PLAN, - MAYBE A MILLION OR MORE YOUNG PEOPLE COULD START THEIR OWN BUSINESS.

COMPANIES LIKE, ARCO, BANK OF AMERICA, CHEVRON, LUCKYS, RALPHS, THRIFTY DRUGS AND OTHERS COULD BE IDEAL IF THEY WOULD BE WILLING TO BECOME SPONSORS.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 6, 1994

Everkleen Enterprises
2049 South Hellman Avenue
Units R&S
Ontario, CA 91761

Dear Managers of Everkleen Enterprises:

Thank you very much for the materials concerning the Everkleen Enterprise: "Outline of Business Plan" information. Your interest in the environment and in our youth is commendable. I appreciate your initiative to write in to express your concerns.

Sincerely,

Margaret A. Williams
Chief of Staff to the
First Lady

Draine —
letter thanking
for your
info
MAGGARD

*No response
- necessary
just an open
invitation*

1429 Central Avenue
Deerfield, Ill. 60015
708-945-2875

April 14, 1994

*Draine -
Look at
my other
letters -
draft -
thanks
for
words
of encouragement
Mas*

Margaret Williams
The White house
Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20,000 something

cc: CAROLEE HAZLET
212 CREST DRIVE
Moberly, Mo. 65270

In follow-up to that luvverly feature on thee in the April 12 WALL STREET JOURNAL:

- 1) To provide you with a slight respite from the pressures of your job, enclosed are a few poems you may like which ordinarily wouldn't have come to your attention.
- 2) Indulge yourself. Give yourself a break. Get away from it all. Play hookey from work April 21 and get thee to Moberly, Mo. Jr. College to hear Gwendolyn Brooks read her poetry that evening.

'Tis one of a series of Jack Conroy Memorials funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities to prove big time stuff can go on in small places. Take a coupla your staff people with you.

Enclosed is a flyer on this series. By copy of this letter, I'm asking the human dynamo that runs this series, the first citizen of Missouri, (and former Mayor of Moberly), Carolee Hazlet, to send you the Brooks program notice PDQ.

If you're tempted to go, phone Carolee @ 816-263-3345. She'll pick you up if you fly into St. Louis or Columbia or Kansas City, getcha lodging, and drive you back to the airport whenever you wanna return. Notice the surety with which I make that statement without checking with her. (Since she done it for pipqueak me, no question she'd do it for thee.)

And if you foolishly are gonna let your job interfere with your following my suggestion-well, OK, all of us are prisoners of circumstance to some extent, just go ahead and continue to wow 'em doin' whatcher doin'!

Mike Hecht

Citizen Mike Hecht
AKA Ye Ole Geezer

Alexander BREGMAN

THE CHRONICLER

I shall note first
the ones I loved.
They were you
They were all
except a few outside
The four hundred with their coteries
The hatchet men with manicures
The icy ghosts, the unreal people
nourished by decay.

Then let me note
the ones who loved me,
the great-hearted strangers
who fought in my causes
who knew my miseries
but never asked my name.

[16]

And after these, my parents' names
my father and my mother
the poor little laundry man
who could have been a shoemaker
or a fish peddler
who could have been any man
weeping in the world that night
and my tired mother beside him
as always, weeping too.

And next to these I name
the conscious ones,
who knew before the bullet hit the mark
whereof they died;
men without distinguishable names
except at home
around their own small dinner tables.
These have a special place.

And for the rest
go look upon great rolls of honor
cut in bronze, in stone
in chronicles of little towns.
Glance quickly at the cemeteries
the long daily lists in every land
of those who merely died.

I mention these because they lived
before tomorrow's dawn
and they too must wish

[17]

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

to be remembered then.

None whom hunger marked, or want
none who shared defeat or victory
in the long red dawn of human history
will be forgotten in the final count
when all the chronicles of suffering are done
and the new lists for new honors have begun.

MY FATHER AND MOTHER

Propped up in bed awake
and slowly aware of morning
pale blue in the hospital courts:
a truck going by
and noises of morning out in the hall,
clatter of pans and hissing of water,
the hurried, harried walking already begun.

After the pale breakfast
walls turning red,
windows burning with sun;
footsteps left in the snow in a single line
and the rasping sound of shovels
clearing the walks.

Last night when the lights went out
I turned my face to the street
and looked at the windows of homes.

[18]

TOP SI

Their lights were yellow, orange, and red,
and they dotted the night like islands of life,
and I was a swimmer far out at sea.

I saw the shadows of people pass
between the glass and the lamp
and called to them to comfort me.
I saw them eating at the familiar table,
chewing bread and reading a favorite book
as late as they liked.

I thought of the music
sounding from dark mahogany
the deep seats of comfort and warmth.
I saw their friends and folks coming home,
the commonplace gladness
of being home safe and together

Last night when the lights went out
I turned my face to the street
and wept for my mother and father.

APRIL 29TH

Will it be remembered
that this day was beautiful?
That all its history
was not recorded in communiqués,

[19]

conflicting headlines,
and the secret archives of chancelleries?
It was an ideal day for scouting flights
and strafing enemy concentrations.

Not loud, nor hidden by design,
but still more secret than the plots
and plans that charted ways to death,
were the small, common deeds
of men who made no headlines,
gave no statements to the press,
men who made no choice of war or peace.
And in the Parliaments the guilty leaders said,
The whole people are responsible.

Of these the substance of the day was made,
by these the day survived,
on these hope nourished and for these
the final war is fought.

It will be remembered that this day
was beautiful with usual skies,
with constant earth,
with sleep and work and love.
It was a perfect day for flying kites.

DISCOVERY

*for my son who saw a photograph of one of the victims of
the last war, an Italian lad blinded and handless, learning
to read braille with his tongue*

do not cry
in your sleep
because the boy
has no hands

they are the wind
sprinkling seeds
in the crippled lands

do not cry
under the steps
because the boy
has no eyes

the refugee
has them

do not cry
when you wake
with the lamps

dying

seeing the boy
reading braille
with his tongue

he is following
the feet of sandpipers

be not bewildered
by midnight
O child
weeping among
the weeds

look
hear
the dance of his flute

his stump is around
your shoulders

PHOTOGRAPH OF STARVED CHILD DUMPED IN A BURIAL CART

No one recognizes you
Who can know you now

Child without name
Flesh once elastic and human
Born without being born
Stitch in the quilt of the dead and dying covering
the earth

Bones sharp as the points of stars
Shriek of the bombed blood
Look for your mother
In the stones that do not see this picture news

Sleep
Target of the goose step and the ostriches
Child of man
Cinder bedded in the eyeball of the world

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 6, 1994

Mr. Mike Hecht
1429 Central Avenue
Deerfield, Illinois 60015

Dear Mr. Hecht:

Thank you for your kind invitation to Gwendolyn Brooks' poetry reading at Moberly Junior College on April 21st. While I appreciate your invitation, my schedule did not permit me to accept.

Encouragement and support are always welcome. Thank you again for your thoughtfulness

Sincerely,

Margaret A. Williams
Chief of Staff to the
First Lady

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. Mike Hecht
1429 Central Avenue
Deerfield, Illinois 60015

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

*file who
response*

March 10, 1994

Margaret Ann Williams
Assistant to the President and
Chief of Staff to the First Lady
The White House Office
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20500

forget

Maggie

Dear Ms. Williams,

I know you must be extremely busy so I'll be very brief in explaining my reason for this letter to you.

I've enclosed a copy of a letter which I sent to President Clinton several months ago which, upon arrival, was apparently forwarded to the Dept. of the Navy. I did receive a response from the Director of the White House Liaison Office for the Secretary of the Navy on behalf of the President. Although I appreciate someone taking the time to answer my letter, I'm disappointed that President Clinton did not have an opportunity to read it, himself.

Therefore, I thought I would send you a copy of that letter and ask that you please take a few minutes out of your busy schedule to read it. I'm hoping that after reading it, you'll realize the importance of what we are attempting to do for the Marines who were killed and their family members who have no idea what their Marines accomplished when they gave their lives for their country. I realize that our President must receive countless requests such as this and couldn't possibly give consideration to them all but this is an extremely unique situation which we, the survivors, feel President Clinton would give serious consideration to if he were informed.

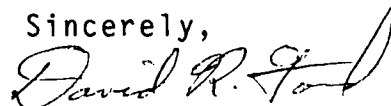
If, after reading the letter you feel it is worthy of his time, we would only ask that you please give it to Mrs. Clinton at your earliest opportunity or at your next meeting with her. We realize that we are asking a lot of you by making this request but we feel that this may be the only chance we'll have to reach him.

There is so much I could say about Hill 64's historical significance as it pertains to the siege of Khe Sanh but I've already taken up too much of your time so I'll close this letter with one final thought. The Marines who fought and successfully defended Hill 64 did so without thoughts about politics or whether the war effort was right or wrong. The men of the 1st Platoon, Alpha Company who were nearly annihilated defending their outpost, fought only for their country and their Corps. The Navy, Marine Corps and indeed our nation should and could be proud of their sacrifice and

performance against overwhelming odds if our platoon was finally recognized officially as it should have been 26 years ago. I pray this letter reaches your desk and hope with all my heart that you will be moved to help these men finally receive the recognition they have long deserved.

Thank you for your time and I wish you the best of luck and success in the future. Semper Fi

Sincerely,



David R. Ford

David R. Ford
1639 Wagonwheel Dr.
Semmes, ALA 36575

205-649-0132



IN HONOR AND REMEMBRANCE OF OUR BROTHERS
FROM THE FIRST PLATOON OF ALPHA COMPANY
1ST BATTALION - 9TH MARINES
KILLED IN ACTION, FEBRUARY 8, 1968 AT KHE SANH
DURING THE BATTLE FOR HILL 64

CPL	Jerry Clark Burkhead	Lee Mont, VA
PFC	Gerald Richard Clemson	Geneva, OH
PFC	William Karl Colegate	Red Bud, IL
PFC	Thomas R. Craig, Jr.	Atlanta, GA
PVT	Guy Douglas Dickie	Pittsburgh, PA
PFC	Kenneth Charles Fordham	Macon, GA
LCPL	William L. Glasper	Baton Rouge, LA
PFC	Leonard Jackson, Jr.	Chicago, IL
CPL	Thomas Charles Lewer	Bemidji, MN
CPL	Roy Dean McDaniel	Kansas City, MO
PVT	Allen McKinley	Gary, IN
SSGT	Bernard B. McKinney, Jr.	Helen, WV
PFC	Patrick Michael Murphy	Merrill, MI
PFC	Ronald Lee Pembleton	Nicholasville, KY
PFC	John Christopher Pondoff	East St. Louis, KY
LCPL	James Patrick Rizzo	Bratenahl, OH
2-LT	Terence Raymond Roach	Birmingham, MI
LCPL	Ronald Corbin Roundtree	Sherman Oaks, CA
LCPL	James Frank Scott	Mobile, AL
LCPL	Arvid Burdeen Skuza	Ada, MN
LCPL	Tommy Lane Stewart	Washington, DC
CPL	Manuel Prieto Torres	Piru, CA
LCPL	Jeffrey Michael Walsh	Bethel Park, PA
CPL	Henry York	North Babylon, NY

A part of us died with you, but a part of you lives on within us.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

At 0415 on 8 February 1968, Alpha I Outpost came under a heavy ground and mortar attack. At the same time, the Battalion perimeter began receiving mortar, rocket and artillery fire which was continued throughout the attack. The initial attack was beaten back. At 0610 the enemy regrouped and attacked again, penetrating the wire and were again beaten back. The attack continued in waves and the enemy managed to take the northwest slope of the perimeter. At 0740 a relief column consisting of the Alpha Command Group and Alpha II left to retake and consolidate the Alpha I Outpost. At 0825 the relief column reached the crest of the hill. Fighting continued until approximately 1100 when the Outpost was retaken. At the same time Company "D" observed a large number of enemy withdrawing from the Alpha I Outpost. Company "D" opened fire with all available arms. The results after the days fight was twenty-four friendly KIA, 29 friendly WIA and over one hundred and fifty enemy bodies were found by Companies "A" and "D". Between 0400 and 1400 on 8 February the 1st Battalion, 9th Marines received over three hundred and fifty rounds of enemy supporting arms fire.

On 9 February 1968, five rounds of 82mm mortars landed within the Battalion perimeter seriously wounding three Marines. All three were medevaced.

At 0230H on 10 February 1968, a six man listening post from Company "C" made contact with approximately twelve NVA on the north side of the perimeter. Small arms fire was exchanged with three NVA seen fall by the LP, resulting in three NVA KIA (Prob). At the same time, CL1 received two grenades from an unknown position. No casualties were sustained. Air strikes were controlled by the FAC Party, silencing enemy positions and partially destroying a possible anti-aircraft position in a village south of Khe Sanh. During the air strikes personnel were observed running into nearby treeline. Company "D"'s FO called artillery on the treeline and destroyed one bunker. Other results could not be observed.

On 11 February 1968, Company "A" moved to Alpha I Outpost, their mission was to recover four MIA's, all useable gear and destroy all positions on the hill. The mission was completed by 1245. While on the hill Alpha Company received three rounds of 60mm mortars. No casualties were sustained.

On 12 February I/9 received four rounds of 82mm mortar. No casualties were sustained. Work on anti-personnel and anti-tank minefields was begun with assistance from the Marine Corps Engineers.

At 1945 Company "D" used the NOD to spot four NVA on the former Alpha I Outpost. Six rounds of 106mm recoilless rifle and an artillery mission were fired, resulting in four NVA KIA (Conf). At 2145 Company "D"'s short range LP observed two men, threw grenades and saw them fall, resulting in two NVA KIA (Prob). The area was checked at first light with negative results.

ENCLOSURE (1)

UNCLASSIFIED

Feb. 9, 1994

Dear Mr. President,

With Memorial Day approaching I thought I'd take this opportunity to make a request of you on behalf of my fellow Marines with whom I served in Vietnam and also their family members. I know how extremely busy you are so I'll be as brief as possible.

During the Tet Offensive in 1968, the combat base at Khe Sanh was surrounded and under siege for approximately three months by an overwhelming enemy force. President Johnson was so worried that the base would be captured that he kept a scale model of it in the White House and had daily briefings by the Pentagon to keep him informed as to its status. Well outside of the main base perimeter of Khe Sanh was a small hill (Hill 64) on which our platoon was placed to act as an outpost for the main base. Its military designation was Alpha One outpost.

Our platoon, the 1st Platoon of Alpha Company, 1st Battalion 9th Marine Regiment (3rd Marine Div.) totaling 64 Marines, was attacked on February 8, 1968 by what some historians believe was a reinforced battalion of North Vietnamese Army regulars. The attack lasted for many hours in the early morning darkness preventing any help from the main base from attempting to reach the outpost for fear of an ambush. The fighting was fierce, hand to hand at times, and before it was over the few Marines who could still fight, were running out of ammunition and actually threw rocks at the enemy out of desperation.

Of the 64 Marines on this small outpost, 24 were killed and 29 were wounded, most of them severely. That left 11 who were able to walk down the hill after the battle. I am one of those 11 who was fortunate enough to walk down that hill, that is, after carrying the bodies of my friends down and helping with the wounded.

The assault on our platoon by such a large NVA force and their resulting failure to take the hill was a turning point in the siege of Khe Sanh. That attack was the last ground assault against the Marines because the NVA realized they couldn't take the territory we held with ground troops in face to face combat. 150 enemy bodies were found on and around our outpost when the assault was over.

During that period of the war the Pentagon did not want any more press coverage of heavy casualties and so General Westmoreland's daily report to Washington simply noted

(about Hill 64) "The enemy penetrated the wire of the platoon outpost but was repulsed. The enemy broke contact." The report admitted casualties of "one Marine killed and two wounded and evacuated." It was a carefully worded statement to hide the extremely high casualty rate for this one platoon from not only Washington but the general public as well, but in so doing it also hid the fact that our platoon had done the impossible in defeating an overwhelming enemy force. A battle of this severity was extremely rare during the war in Vietnam and indeed our platoon's actions would have been legendary in previous wars.

If a similar incident like that which happened to our platoon happened in Somalia or the Gulf War it would have made worldwide headlines which brings me to the reason I am writing to you now. On behalf of the families of the 24 Marines who were killed, the 29 who were so terribly wounded and those of us who were a part of that platoon, I would ask you Sir, to officially recognize their performance and sacrifice for their country. The actions of our platoon were above and beyond the call of duty but deliberately overlooked for political reasons and I hope you'll see it in your heart to right this wrong. Our platoon commander, Lt. Terence Roach received the Bronze Star posthumously and our machine-gunner, Arnold Alderete received the Silver Star for their actions that morning but the rest of the men who fought so hard and died have no witnesses to their heroism because those who witnessed their bravery were also killed.

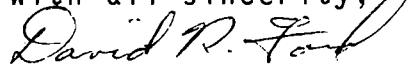
I don't know what form the official recognition would or could be under Presidential and military guidelines, possibly a Presidential Unit Citation or Meritorious Unit Citation. I know that any recognition would mean a lot to the families of these men as well as to all Vietnam veterans as a whole to know that they are not forgotten and that their sacrifice still means something.

I've enclosed a page from the 1st Battalion, 9th Marine Regiment's chronology during the war which shows the official Marine Corps' description of the assault on Hill 64 (Alpha One Outpost). I've also enclosed a photo of a plaque that my wife and I had made this past Memorial Day for the men who died that day. It saddens me to know that this is the only recognition these men, boys really, most of them, will receive from their country for their incredible heroism and it hangs on our wall remembered only by us who knew them. Among them is Manuel Torres, a Mexican-American from California, James Scott, an African-American from Alabama and Guy Dickie who was Canadian born and wanted to be an American citizen. The bottom line of the plaque speaks for all veterans but I wish it was how our nation felt, too.

We, the survivors of Hill 64, realize that the military has time restrictions on granting personal and unit awards and we understand the need for them. However, this is a unique situation in that an award could not have been granted or even submitted within the time limit of 3 years without acknowledging the fact that one platoon of Marines had suffered over 90% casualties. With the political climate being what it was at that time and the anti-war movement gaining strength, it is understandable that our military would not want the story of Hill 64 in the press, for any reason. That is why we decided to appeal to you directly, Mr. President, hoping that you might officially recognize our platoon's accomplishment in spite of the time restrictions.

If this letter gets as far as your desk, I thank you for taking the time to read it. Good luck and God speed in the difficult task you have before you and as we say in the Marine Corps, Semper Fi.

With all sincerity,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "David R. Ford". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name.

David R. Ford

David R. Ford
1639 Wagonwheel Dr.
Semmes, Ala. 36575

205-649-0132

file
"No Response"
Necessary"

Reminder to watch
"BC: Answering
Children's Questions"
viewing guide encl.

March 8, 1994

NYNEX

Ms. Margaret Williams
Chief of Staff
Office of the First Lady
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Ms. Williams:

Mark your calendars now to watch ABC on Saturday morning, March 19, at 11:30 a.m., when NYNEX will once again sponsor an ABC News Special entitled "President Clinton: Answering Children's Questions." It will be broadcast live from the White House and will be conducted in a town meeting format moderated by Peter Jennings.

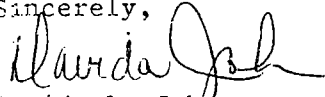
As with a similar program broadcast in 1993, the President will answer questions posed by a group of 30-40 children. Topics are expected to range from the most personal issues confronting young people today to problems that concern everyone -- violence in the schools, Bosnia, the environment, and health care. The President will also share his thoughts on his first year in office and will offer insights into how the government works.

In sponsoring this and the three similar programs that preceded it, NYNEX is continuing its longstanding commitment to children and education. The previous programs earned high marks from parents, teachers, children and community leaders for their frank treatment of issues such as diversity, violence and other sensitive subjects.

A condensed version of the March 19 broadcast will be distributed with teaching materials to schools throughout the NYNEX region in an effort to increase the educational impact of the program. With these materials, NYNEX hopes to encourage children to become more knowledgeable about the political process. If you would like a copy of the edited video tape of the program for yourself or a favorite grade school teacher, please indicate your interest below and fax this entire letter to me at 202/336-7921.

I hope you can watch this major television event on Saturday morning, March 19th, and that you will encourage others to do the same. A viewing guide is enclosed for your convenience. If you have any suggestions or questions, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely,


Davida L. Johnson

FAX to 202/336-7921
OR CALL 202/336-7900 for further information

Yes, I would like a copy of the edited tape of "President Clinton: Answering Children's Questions."



(continued from front page)

2. On a map in your classroom, indicate all the foreign countries the President has visited during his first year in office.

3. Make a list of some of the heads of state who have come to visit the President. On a map in your classroom, indicate where their country is located.

4. Make a montage of newspaper articles which illustrate the many roles of the President.

5. Create a cartoon or picture to illustrate that the President has many helpers and/or a cartoon that symbolizes the Clinton presidency.

6. Write a letter to the editor of your local newspaper expressing your evaluation of the President's first year in office, including suggestions for his second year in office.

7. Interview members of your community and ask them which of President Clinton's actions have had the greatest effect on your community.

8. Role play activity: Role play the President and the Cabinet drawing up the priorities for the coming year.

9. Select three Presidents and describe the physical changes they made to the White House.

VIDEOTAPING POLICY

Under the congressional off-air taping guidelines, ABC Television Network programs may be videotaped and shown to students within the first 10 school days after the broadcast. Tapes may be kept up to 45 days after broadcast for preview purposes, after which the recording is to be erased.

NYNEX CORPORATION

NYNEX has a strong commitment to education and communications. We hope this program will encourage young viewers to discuss the issues affecting their lives and become more involved in the political process.

FREE VIDEOTAPES AND STUDY GUIDES

NYNEX will be sending your school an edited videotape and a companion study guide of *President Clinton: Answering Children's Questions*. For more information, write:

KidsNOW,
c/o KIDSNET
P.O. Box 56642
Washington, D.C. 20011

RESOURCES

ABC NEWS InterActive® has available an interactive videodisc series, *Powers of the United States Government*, which brings the Constitution to life by providing visual support of the powers of the three branches of Government to the classroom. The *Powers* series consists of three videodiscs: *Powers of the President*, featuring former President Jimmy Carter; *Powers of the Congress*, featuring Speaker of the House Thomas Foley; and *Powers of the Supreme Court*, featuring Chief Justice William Rehnquist. For further information on the *Powers* series contact:

Optical Data Corporation: 1-800- 524-2481

Social Studies School Service: 1-800-421-4246

Coronet/MTI: 1-800-621-2131

Other resources include:

Bailey, Harry A., and Shafritz, Jay, eds. *The American Presidency: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*. Dorsey, 1988.

Neustadt, Richard E. *Presidential Power: The Politics of Leadership From FDR to Carter*. New York: Macmillan, 1980.

Rossiter, Clinton. *The American Presidency*. Philadelphia, PA: Johns Hopkins, 1987.

Schlesinger, Arthur M., Jr. *The Imperial Presidency*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1973.

General information in *Magruder's American Government*, Prentice Hall, 1992 which contains referenced guides to ABC NEWS InterActive® videodisc, *Powers of the President*.

PRESIDENT CLINTON

Answering Children's Questions

ABCNEWS



Saturday, March 19, 1994 11:30 a.m. - 1:00 p.m. ET Sponsored by **NYNEX**

SYNOPSIS

President Clinton: Answering Children's Questions is a 90-minute ABC News Special anchored by Peter Jennings that will air on the ABC Television Network on Saturday, March 19, 1994 (11:30 a.m. - 1:00 p.m. ET). Sponsored by the NYNEX Corporation, the program is the latest in ABC's *Answering Children's Questions* series of open forums on topics relevant to children.

Live from the White House, this broadcast marks the second time President Clinton answers questions posed by children from around the country and the world. Last February, ABC brought 50 children to the nation's capital for a unique conversation with the President.



Now, a year later, this personal dialogue continues as a diverse group of young people between the ages of 8 and 17 are brought together with the President in the White House to discuss the issues that they care about.

Issues we all care about

Topics on the program are expected to range from personal issues confronting young people today, to problems that concern us all – violence in schools, Bosnia, the environment, and health care. "The conversation between President Clinton and the children is especially exciting because both the questions and the President's answers are unscripted and unrehearsed," said Patrick Roddy, executive producer.



President Clinton: Answering Children's Questions also features special videotape messages from several children, who in personal and compelling essays, tell us what is on their minds.

Life in the White House

ABC News cameras will give viewers a behind-the-scenes look at the workings of the White House, plus a special tour of some of its historic rooms. Young viewers will be reminded that the White House is in fact a home and the Clintons are a family too. All of this may help children dream of occupying the White House themselves some day.

President Clinton: Answering Children's Questions is designed to provoke thought and encourage critical thinking and high aspirations in the generation of young Americans that will eventually lead our country.

Grade Levels: 3-12
Content Area: Social Studies,
Language Arts & Government



TEACHER CURRICULUM

Background questions and activities to prepare students for viewing:

QUESTIONS

1. In his first year, how well has the President fulfilled the different roles and responsibilities of his office?
2. What limits the President's power in each role?
3. How has the role of Hillary Rodham Clinton differed from other first ladies?
4. What should be the role of the First Lady?
5. How has the role of vice president expanded under President Clinton?
6. How has the President used new technology and the media to inform American people of his policies?
7. Has the President lived up to his campaign promises during his first year in office?
8. President Theodore Roosevelt referred to the Presidency as a "bully pulpit" because the President can focus the nation's attention on a specific issue. Has President Clinton used the "bully pulpit"? If yes, on what issue has he focused?
9. What groups have provided the main opposition to the ideas and programs of President Clinton? For each group identified, list their objections and how the President has countered those claims.
10. How have the demands of the presidency affected the Clinton family?

ACTIVITIES

1. Interview five individuals and ask them what they believe were the President's greatest accomplishments, failures, and most difficult decisions in his first year. Compare the interviews with the responses of the class.

(continued on back page)

NYNEX

KidsNOW

1095 Avenue of the Americas

New York, New York 10036

Sponsored by **NYNEX**

ABCNEWS
PRESIDENT CLINTON
Answering Children's Questions

March 19, 1994 11:30am - 1pm ET

This Teacher's Guide was produced by ABC News InterActive® for The ABC Classroom Connection
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BEFORE VIEWING

1

My question for the President after his first year in office is:

THE ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE PRESIDENT

- A. For each role and responsibility, list one Presidential action or decision.
B. What or who limits the President's power in each action or decision?
C. For each role, who aids the President in carrying out his decision?

2

	Action or Decision	Limits	Helper
Chief of State			
Chief Executive			
Chief Diplomat			
Commander in Chief			
Chief Legislator			
Manager of the Economy			
Chief of Party			

3

Match the Cabinet position with the responsibilities of the office.

CABINET POSITION

- Vice President •
- Secretary of State •
- Secretary of Education •
- Secretary of Defense •
- Secretary of the Treasury •
- Secretary of Labor •
- Secretary of Commerce •
- Secretary of Interior •
- Attorney General •

RESPONSIBILITIES

- Coordinates education programs
- Casts vote in case of tie in the Senate
- Advises President on foreign policy
- Aids business in domestic and foreign trade
- Supports the rights of workers
- Manages the nation's finances
- Provides military advice
- Supervises the legal work of the government
- Oversees the nation's natural resources

If the President is unable to serve, who will succeed him?
List the first four positions in order of succession.

- 1 _____
2 _____
3 _____
4 _____

5

What has been the role of the First Lady during her first year in the White House?

6

GRADE What grade (A-F) would you give the President for his first year in office in each category?
Presidents are often rated by historians and political scientists on the basis of:

- _____ **The Person** - political skill, sense of history, sense of humor, spokesperson for the American people.
_____ **Advisors and Assistants** - choice of appointments, accomplishments of appointees.
_____ **Accomplishment** - the record of the successes or failures of Presidential policy, laws passed, treaties signed, legislative initiatives, economic policies.
_____ **Overall** - my rating of President Clinton's first year in office.



WHILE VIEWING

Make a list of the accomplishments mentioned by President Clinton during the show. Do you agree or disagree with the President's actions and decisions? List the individual the President mentions who helped him carry out his job.

1

ACCOMPLISHMENT

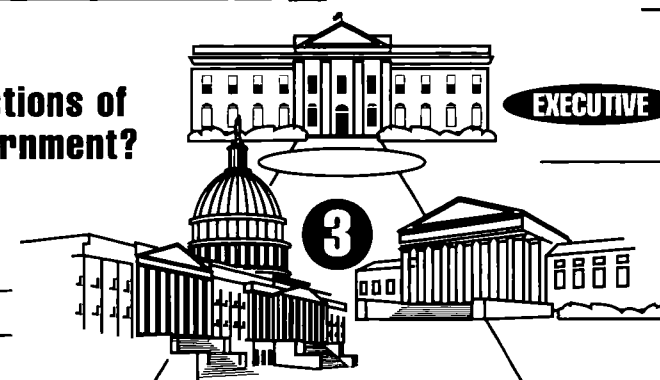
AGREE
DISAGREE

HELPER

_____	☐	☐	_____
_____	☐	☐	_____
_____	☐	☐	_____
_____	☐	☐	_____

What are the main functions of the 3 branches of government?

LEGISLATIVE



EXECUTIVE

3

JUDICIAL

According to the President's answers, fill in the following:

- His greatest accomplishment _____ What groups provided the greatest
His greatest failure _____ opposition to the President's agenda?
His top priority _____ His most difficult decision? _____

4



AFTER VIEWING

1. What follow-up question would you have asked the President?

2. After viewing the program, have your attitudes and evaluation of the President changed?

3. While viewing the program with an adult or other student, compare and contrast your answers to the following question: Which were the President's most effective answers and why?

4. What should the President's priorities be for 1994? List 5 in their order of importance.

5. What would you like the President to accomplish before he leaves office?

6. Write a letter to President Clinton evaluating his first year in office; provide

suggestions for his next year in office.

PRESIDENT CLINTON
1600 PENNSYLVANIA AVE.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

8. Would you want to be President? Explain.

9. What are some of the special features of the White House? How does the White House differ from your house?

10. Write a letter to President Clinton evaluating his first year in office; provide

2

A. What does the President see as his greatest challenge in 1994?

B. What do you think are his greatest challenges in the upcoming year?

CARLSON Publishing Inc

January 27, 1994

Ms. Maggie Williams
c/o Evelyn Lieberman
Office of the First Lady
Old Executive Office Building, Room 100
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Ms. Williams:

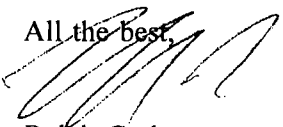
You'll remember that we corresponded last year regarding Darlene Clark Hine's splendid publication, *Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*. I'm pleased to report that the volume has been an enormous critical success and I enclose here a number of recent reviews.

We still would love to do something with the White House on this publication, although I don't have any brilliant ideas on what would be appropriate now. If you would like any suggestions for events for Black History Month/Women's History Month, just let me know and I'll send lots along.

On our part, we'd be more than happy to send you a complimentary set of the volumes, if you would like. Just let me know where they should go.

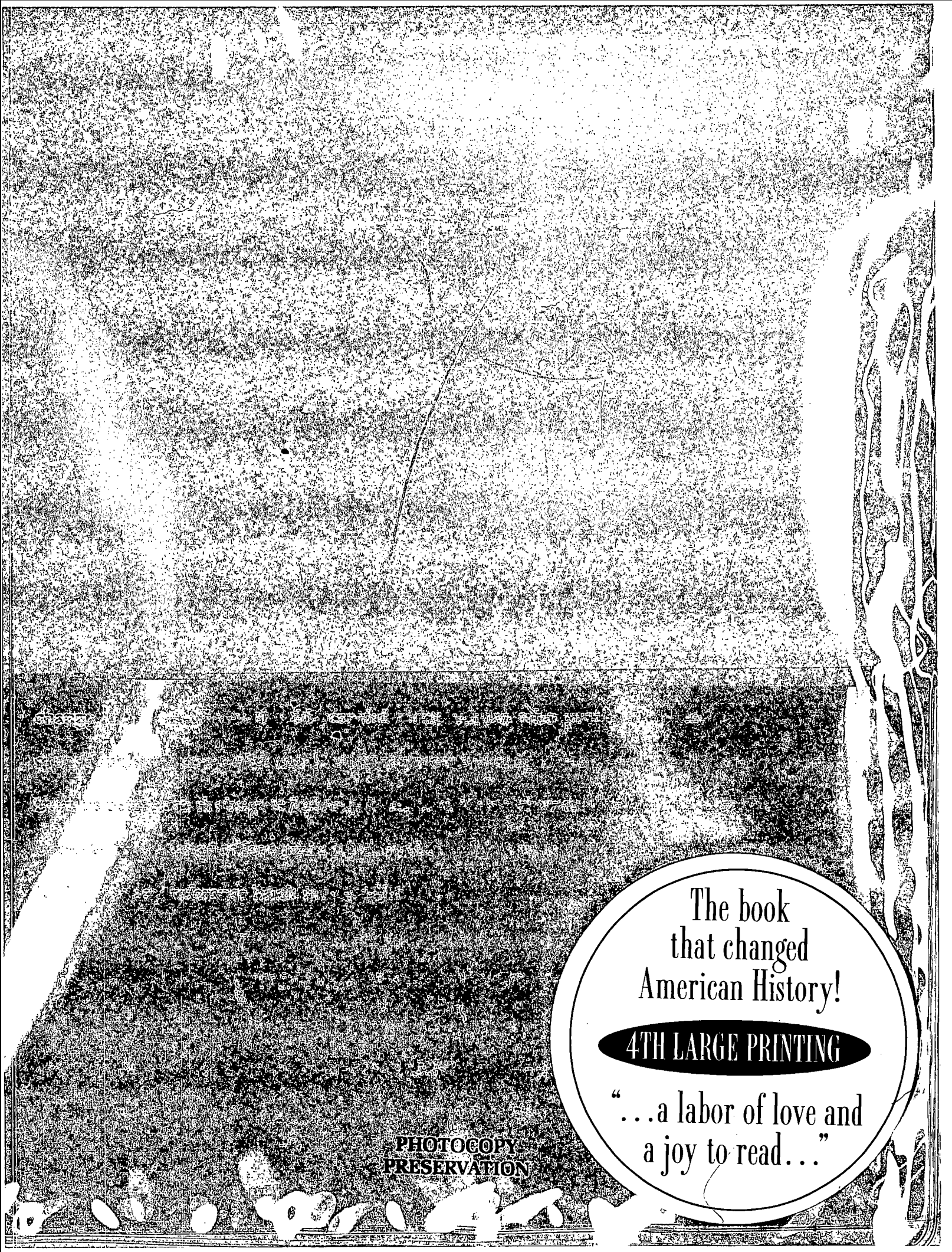
Thanks again for your help.

All the best,


Ralph Carlson
President

RC:cjb

*"No Response
Necessary"*
Diane's files



The book
that changed
American History!

4TH LARGE PRINTING

“...a labor of love and
a joy to read...”

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

BLACK WOMEN IN AMERICA

**An
Historical
Encyclopedia**

Darlene Clark Hine
EDITOR



36. *The Oakland Tribune*, March 21, 1993, p. 11
37. *People Magazine*, February 22, 1993, p. 18
38. *The Portland Scanner*, February 24, 1993, p. 23, Section I
39. *Publishers Weekly*, March 15, 1993, p. 22
40. *Reference Books Bulletin (Booklist)*, May 1 1993, p. 1614
41. *RQ*, Summer 1993, p. 561
42. *San Jose Mercury*, March 9, 1993, p. 8C
43. *School Library Journal*, May 1993, p. 137
44. *Sojourner: The Women's Forum*, November 1993, pp. 1B-2B
45. *The Spokesman-Review*, March 27, 1993 p. E1 (Spokane, WA)
46. *Upscale*, October 1993 p. 122
47. *USA Today*, March 1, 1993, p. 10A
48. *U.S. News and World Report*, February 22, 1993, p. 1448
49. *The Virginian-Pilot and The Ledger Star*, April 1, 1993, p. 15, "Hampton Roads Woman" Section (Norfolk, VA)
50. *Vital Signs*, April, May and June, 1993, p. 29
51. *Washington Afro-American*, February 24, 1993, p. 4, "Every Wednesday" Section
52. *The Washington Post Book World*, February 21, 1993, p. 10
53. *Wilson Library Bulletin*, May 1993
54. *The Women's Review of Books*, October 1993, pp. 1, 3-4
55. *ysb: the magazine for young sisters & brothers*, December/January, 1993/94, p. 25

RADIO AND TELEVISION INTERVIEWS

1. *National Public Radio*, "Anchor Morning Edition", January 29, 1993
2. *News Talk* - Chicago; interviewed by Jerry Hall, February 11, 1993
3. *Voice of America* - Washington, D.C.; interviewed by Mimi Levitch, February 11, 1993
4. *WBAI* - New York; interviewed by Carolotta Jay Walker, May 21, 1993
5. *WKAR* - East Lansing, Michigan; interviewed by Doug Massey, March 24, 1993
6. *WQBH* - Detroit; interviewed by Charmane Cohill, April 29, 1993
7. *WVON* - Chicago; interviewed by Mr. West, March 11, 1993
8. *WWRL* - New York; "Drive-Time Dialogue," interviewed by Dell Shields and Donna Wilson, March 24, 1993

AWARDS

1. *Anna Julia Cooper Award for Distinguished Scholarship* (1993), presented by Sage Women's Educational Press
2. *Letitia Woods Brown Memorial Anthology Prize* (1993), presented by the Association of Black Women Historians
3. *Outstanding Academic Book—1993*, awarded by *CHOICE: Current Reviews for Academic Libraries*

BLACK WOMEN IN AMERICA

An Historical Encyclopedia

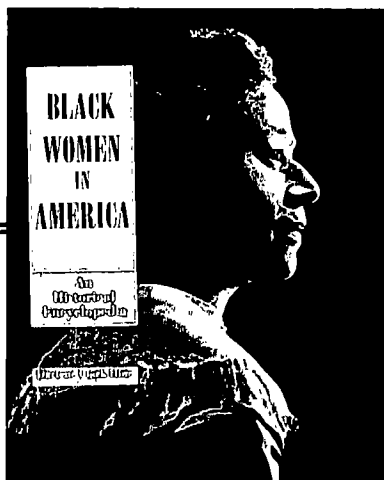
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MAGAZINE AND NEWSPAPER REVIEWS

1. *American Libraries: The Source*, May 1993, p. 423
2. *Book Report*, September/October 1993, p. 64
3. *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, March 8, 1993, p.c1
4. *Black Enterprise*, November, 1993, p. 137
5. *Chicago Defender*, March 6, 1993, p. 6 "Weekend Section"
6. *Chicago Tribune*, February 21, 1993, p.3 section 6
7. *Choice*, June 1993, p. 1596
8. *Christian Science Monitor*, March 22, 1993
9. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, February 17, 1993, p. A6
10. *Columbus Dispatch*, March 10, 1993, p. D-1
11. *Connections - The Newsletter of The African Diaspora Research Project*, Michigan State University, April 1993
12. *Dallas Morning Star*, March 10, 1993, p. 5C
13. *The Detroit News*, February 6, 1993, p. C-1
14. *Ebony*, September 1993, p. 18
15. *Feminist Collections - A Quarterly of Women's Studies Resources*, Spring 1993, p. 25
16. *Fort Worth Star Telegram*, March 25 1993
17. *Highlander Reports*, April/June 1993, last page
18. *The Houston Post*, February 21, 1993, p. C-4
19. *The Indiana Daily Student*, February 15, 1993, p. 7
20. *The Indianapolis News and Observer*, March 8, 1993, page 1 - Women's Section
21. *The Indianapolis News*, February 12, 1993, p. B-1
22. *The Informer & Texas Freeman*, April 17, 1993
23. *The Journal of Intergroup Relations*, Spring 1992, p. 77
24. *Lansing State Journal*, May 25, 1993, p. 1 of Today section
25. *Library Journal*, February 15, 1993, p. 156 (* starred review)
26. *The Miami Herald*, February 28, 1993, p. 7I
27. *The Michigan State News*, January 28, 1993, p. 1
28. *The Michigan State University Alumni Magazine*, Spring 1993, p. 5
29. *The Michigan State University News Bulletin*, March 18, 1993, p. 1
30. *Michigan State University Today*, Spring 1993, p. 4
31. *Ms. Magazine*, Volume III, Number 6, p. 70
32. *Muses - MSU College of Arts and Letters Magazine*, 1992-1993, p. 17
33. *The New York Times Book Review*, April 11, 1993
34. *New Directions for Women*, March-April 1993, p. 5
35. *News and Record*, March 21, 1993, p. D8 (Greensboro, NC)

(continued over)

Additional Praise for . . .



BLACK WOMEN IN AMERICA

An Historical Encyclopedia

"America would not be *America* without us Black women. And, this latest work adds fuel to our flame."

Susan L. Taylor, Editor-in-Chief, Essence

"This fine encyclopedia belongs in *every* American home, school and library. The struggles and triumphs of African American women serve to inspire us all."

Marian Wright Edelman

"... a resource that should be used in every school in the country. Both students and teachers will be enriched and inspired by it. And they will learn the *real* history of America."

Barbara Van Blake, Director

Human Rights Department, American Federation of Teachers

"I was truly moved to read page after page of the stories and history of so many strong, beautiful and inspirational African American women. This . . . excellent resource should be available to all Americans."

Congresswoman Cardiss Collins

"America's history has been taught to *all* Americans from an Eurocentric perspective. Now there is . . . a book that will enlighten America's population about their true history."

Camille O. Cosby, Ed. D.

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The Women's Review of Books

"... superb . . . [a] two-volume treasure trove of information."

Ebony

"... one can hardly find fault with this exhaustive effort. It is long overdue."

The New York Times Book Review

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An Ambitious Portrait of the History and Culture of America's Black Women

Encyclopedia focuses on remarkable figures and issues, from slavery to feminism

By Denise K. Wagner

FOUR BLACK WOMEN stare earnestly into the camera. Wrapped in winter coats with cloches and turbans, they could be on their way to the market, but for the leather satchels at their sides. The photo (left), blurry around the edges, captures them barely smiling. Clearly they have more important things to do than pose for a picture.

It is the Depression era, and they are members of a black women's group called the Housewives' League of Detroit. Their task is to help black families survive, and they do it by urging their neighbors to buy goods at black-owned businesses and pressuring merchants to hire black employees.

Until recently, the photograph was tucked away at the Detroit Public Library. Now it can also be found on Page 585 of an ambitious new reference work, *Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*.

The two-volume set, out this month from Carlson Publishing, seeks to provide something largely unavailable in any other single reference work: a comprehensive portrait of the history, life, and culture of black women in America.

"The central theme of the encyclopedia—if there is one—is resistance," says Darlene Clark Hine, the book's editor and a professor of history at Michigan State University. "From the first entry, which starts with the Abolition movement, all the way to the end, you are going to find black women who are fighting back against racism, sexism, economic oppression.

"There's a lot of beauty and a lot of pain in that struggle."

641 BIOGRAPHIES OF INDIVIDUALS

Black Women in America appears at a time when reference works are increasingly popular in the academic world and when interest in the history and culture of women and minority groups is strong.

The 1,530-page encyclopedia contains 804 essays. Of the 804, 641 are biographies of individuals, from Billie Holiday and Ida B. Wells-Barnett to Daisy Lee Bates and Vanessa Williams. The remaining 163 essays discuss general topics and organizations, such as the black middle class, infanticide among slave women, and the National Association of Colored Women. The encyclopedia, arranged alphabetically, covers women and topics from 1619 to the present.

The essays vary in length from a two-paragraph entry on the lesbian entertainer Gladys Bentley to a 25-page piece on slavery. Each is accompanied by a bibliography and some are illustrated by photos. More than 450 black-and-white photographs are scattered through the text. The



MEMBERS OF THE HOUSEWIVES' LEAGUE OF DETROIT. BURTON HISTORICAL COLLECTION AT THE DETROIT PUBLIC LIBRARY; THE GOSPEL SINGER MAHALIA JACKSON; MOORELAND-SPRINGARN RESEARCH CENTER AT HOWARD U.; BARBARA HARRIS, THE FIRST BLACK FEMALE EPISCOPAL BISHOP, AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS; JACKIE JOYNER-KERSEY, THE FIRST WOMAN IN OLYMPICS HISTORY TO WIN BACK-TO-BACK GOLD MEDALS IN THE HEPTATHLON, AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

encyclopedia also includes a 23-page chronology of black women in the United States and an 11-page bibliography.

Carlson hopes to sell the \$195 set to faculty members, college and school libraries, and black families who may want it for their homes.

FILLING A GAPING HOLE

Female scholars say the encyclopedia fills a gaping hole in the reference shelf on black women.

Some biographical dictionaries and reference books on black women are available, says Nellie Y. McKay, a professor of American and Afro-American literature at the University of Wisconsin at Madison, but most are narrow in focus, concentrating on a particular field or time.

"Darlene Clark Hine has really attempted to do an historical survey of black women in America," says Ms. McKay, who served on the encyclopedia's all-female editorial advisory board. "We have nothing else like it."

The kind of information found in the encyclopedia was available before but never this easily, says Nell Irvin Painter, a professor of history at Princeton University. "It was what we called 'fugitive material,'" says Ms. Painter, who also served on the advisory board of 21 women, most of them black. "You'd spend your time going through all sorts of sources to find it. *Black Women in America* really is the fruit of the revolution in higher education that's been going on for the last 20 years."

FROM SLAVERY TO FEMINISM

Many female scholars say the only reference book that comes close to the scope of the encyclopedia is *Notable Black American Women*, a biographical dictionary published last year by Gale Research. The book was edited by Jessie Carney Smith, university librarian and professor at Fisk University. *Notable Black American Women* contains entries on 500 women but has no essays on general topics. Then there's the *Dictionary of American Negro Biography*, published in 1982 by W. W. Norton & Company, but only about 85 of its 600-plus entries are on women.

What distinguishes the encyclopedia is its range. It moves beyond biographical data to address major themes in black women's history, from religion to slavery to feminism to blues music.

Still, it's not the first book to attempt such a broad portrait of black women, says Elsa Barkley Brown, associate editor of the encyclopedia and an assistant professor of history and black studies at the University of Michigan.

"In the 1890's," she says, "there were several publications intended to be encyclopedic histories of African-American women that were combinations of biographical and thematic entries."

One such text, she says, was *The Work of the Afro-American Woman*, published in 1894 by Gertrude E. H. Mossell. (Ms. Mossell is herself the subject of an essay in *Black Women in America*.)

"People tend to think of black women's history as a recent phenomenon," Ms. Barkley Brown says. "The encyclopedia is on a much larger scale, but I see the things done in the late 19th century as a predecessor and a kind of model for our work."

Despite such earlier works, however,

Continued on Following Page



SUSAN TUSA FOR THE CHRONICLE

Darlene Clark Hine, editor of "Black Women in America" and a professor of history at Michigan State U.: "The central theme of the encyclopedia—if there is one—is resistance."

An Ambitious Portrait of the History and Culture of America's Black Women

Continued From Preceding Page
black women's history was given scant attention until 10 to 20 years ago.

In the preface to the encyclopedia, Ms. Hine relates the odyssey that led her to begin writing about black women's history and ultimately to edit the encyclopedia. "When I first became a historian," she writes, "few of my colleagues considered black women as worthy of separate and distinct study."

A SCHOOLTEACHER'S CHALLENGE

Her own "transformation" began with a telephone call from an Indianapolis schoolteacher who urged her to write a history of black women in Indiana. Ms. Hine resisted, thinking the topic impossible to document, but the schoolteacher persisted and challenged her to combine her background as a historian with her identity as a black woman. The result was her 1981 book, *When the Truth Is Told: Black Women's Community and Culture in Indiana, 1875-1950*, published by the Indianapolis section of the National Council of Negro Women.

Research on black women has grown rapidly since the 1970's, Ms. Hine says, adding that the encyclopedia pulls together much of the new work.

The idea for the encyclopedia came from Ralph Carlson, the president of Carlson Publishing in Brooklyn, N.Y. He had worked with Ms. Hine on an earlier project, a 16-volume compilation of previously published essays and monographs on black women, *Black Women in United States History: From Colonial Times to the Present*, published in 1990.

"What we realized in editing that project," he says, "was that when we wanted to quickly check some fact about a black woman, a spelling of a name or a date, there was nowhere to turn."

Mr. Carlson approached Ms. Hine in 1989 about editing the encyclopedia. She in turn recruited two associate editors, Ms. Barkley Brown and Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, a history professor at Morgan State University.

The editors' first task was deciding which women and topics to include and which to exclude.

"We circulated lists of our own themes, topics, and personalities," Ms. Hine says. "We asked woman historians and librarians to add names or subtract from the list."

Some of the choices about whom to include were obvious: historic figures such as Phillis Wheatley and Harriet Tubman and nationally known contemporary women such as Toni Morrison and Rosa Parks.

CHOOSING LESSER-KNOWN WOMEN

More difficult, Ms. Barkley Brown says, was selecting lesser-known women who were important only in a particular region but whose work was representative of that done by many black women.

For example, the editors included an entry on Anna De Costa Banks, a nurse in South Carolina who worked to meet the health-care needs of blacks in her community. "I'd never heard of her before," Ms. Barkley Brown says. "But she's representative of black women entering the nursing profession and the kind of roles they played in the development of health-care facilities."

Sometimes the editors were un-

able to include an essay on a topic because not enough research had been done to write definitively about it.

Mr. Carlson says: "A classic example of something we didn't include is an essay on black women in the Republican Party. Through-

" 'Black Women in America' really is the fruit of the revolution in higher education that's been going on for the last 20 years."

out the 20th century there have been black women active in national Republican politics, certainly at a local level, too. But we couldn't think of anyone who could write about it."

Once the editors assembled a list of potential topics, Ms. Hine says, "then the problem became, Who is the best person to write about such-and-such a topic?" Sometimes those people were unavailable, and someone else had to be found.

Ultimately, more than 400 persons contributed essays to the encyclopedia, from well-known academics to graduate students and even some undergraduates.

Catherine Clinton, a visiting professor of Afro-American studies at Harvard University who served on the encyclopedia's advisory board, set up a workshop for students to do research and write essays. One of her students, Angela D. Brown, wrote an entry on women in the

Black Panther Party. Ms. Brown is now a graduate student at Stanford University.

Among the most politically sensitive essays are those dealing with stereotypical images of black women: Mammy, Aunt Jemima, and the Sapphire are all dissected in separate entries.

"These are ubiquitous, negative stereotypes of black women," Ms. Hine says. "We thought the encyclopedia would do a great service by discussing them in depth."

She adds: "Once people understand these historical images, they will better understand the negative images that prevail today from MTV and rap: the images of the 'Ho' and the Bitch as well as the Welfare Queen."

The editors also took the unusual step of including biographical essays on three black men. They are Frederick Douglass, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Booker T. Washington. They are included not so much for their general achievements as for their actions, writings, and speeches in support of women's suffrage or women's education. In addition, an essay on the Universal Negro Improvement Association discusses Marcus Garvey's views on women. But no other biographical entries are included on black men or any white women and men.

"When I go around the country talking about black women's history," Ms. Hine says, "invariably someone will raise their hand and ask a question about black men or white women and veer the conversation away from black women."

She adds: "This was an encyclopedia about black women, and we wanted to keep the focus on them." ■



DARLENE CLARK HINE: The Michigan State University history professor edited *Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*.

the National Council of Negro Women had collected material from all over the state, and that she would bring it to her.

Herd showed up with a pile of letters, photographs, newspaper clippings and other documents. Hine says that after six months of immersion in the material, she "discovered a new universe."

After 18 months of work, she produced *When the Truth Is Told: A History of Black Women's Culture and Community in Indiana, 1875-1950*. She says Herd's group was pleased, and sold 3,000 copies.

Then something unpredictable happened. She had been thinking about how historians determine what is history, and what counts as "legitimate evidence" in the writing of it.

"My conscience bothered me terribly," she said. "I called Shir-

ley Herd and said, 'We have to do this all over again, and we have to do it with adequate funds and structure.'"

Her aim was to create a black women's archive. And her way was to seek a National Endowment for the Humanities grant.

She asked for \$300,000 for three years to cover five states, and ended up with \$150,000 for 18 months.

"It was the height of the Reagan administration. They stipulated we could only do two states, Illinois and Indiana. They said, 'What have black women ever done? If they had done something, they would already be there.' I was stupefied!"

When that project ended, Hine's emphasis had shifted.

"By then, I'd become a new type of historian," she said. "I'd been transformed."

In 1987, Ralph Carlson, president of Carlson Publishing, asked her to edit a series of essays on black women's history. Two years later, Hine published *Black Women in White: Racial Conflict and Cooperation in the Nursing Profession, 1890-1950*.

From there, the encyclopedia was the next logical step.

The encyclopedia costs \$195 plus 5 percent shipping. To order the books or a free poster with 17 photographs from them, write Carlson Publishing Co., Box 023350, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11202, or call (800) 336-7460, or fax: (718) 875-4837.

Encyclopedia offers first full history of black women

By **ELINOR J. BRECHER**
Herald Staff Writer

Mention black women in the arts, sports, science, literature, academia, politics, law, religion or civil rights, and just about anyone can reel off a list of big names spanning a century.

Blues singer Billie Holiday. Cosmetics magnate Madam C.J. Walker. Olympian Florence Griffith Joyner. Astronaut Mae Jemison. Poet Maya Angelou. Florida educator Mary McLeod Bethune. Senator Carol Moseley Braun. Law-school professor Anita Hill. Barbara Harris, the country's first female Episcopalian bishop.

And desegregation pioneer Rosa Parks.

But just inches off the well-worn paths of common knowledge, the fields of American history are rich with the deeds of women in these fields and many others, who have gone largely unrecognized for nearly 400 years.

How many Americans have even heard of Sallie Martin, the "mother of gospel music"? The 19th Century San Francisco businesswoman and abolitionist Mary Ellen Pleasant? Susan McKinney Steward, who became New York State's first black

woman doctor in 1870? Crystal Bird Fauset of Pennsylvania, who in 1938 became the first black woman ever elected to a state legislature?

A single work

For the first time, information about black women, famous and obscure, has been collected in a single, comprehensive work: *Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*. The two-volume, 1,500-page set was edited by Michigan State University history professor Darlene Clark Hine, with associate editors Elsa Barkley Brown, who teaches in the Department of History and Center for Afro-American Studies at the University of Michigan, and Morgan State University history professor Rosalyn Terborg-Penn.

From the Abolition Movement to Zeta Phi Beta sorority, the encyclopedia includes more than 800 entries and 400 photos — many of which have never been published — and a chronology of black women's history in the United States. It was assembled with help from 414 scholars, Pulitzer Prize winners to graduate students, and published by Carlson Publishing of Brooklyn.

Hine, 46, spent 12 years compiling the information, a task she never imagined she'd take on. She was all but dragged into it in 1980 while teaching at Purdue University in Indiana.

It began with a call from Indianapolis high-school teacher Shirley Herd, who wanted her to write a history of black women in Indiana.

Hine told Herd she couldn't simply order a book from a historian the way you would order a Wendy's hamburger.

But Herd was unshakable. She told Hine that the local section of

ENCYCLOPEDIA ENTRIES

Excerpts from Florida-related entries in *Black Women in America*:

■ **Mary Elizabeth Lancaster Carnegie**: Born in 1916 in Baltimore, Carnegie "made a lasting mark on the profession of nursing and the history of black women in it." She is currently working on an updated version of her 1986 book, *The Path We Tread: Blacks in Nursing 1854-1984*.

After serving as assistant director of nursing at Hampton University, she became the first dean of the School of Nursing at Florida A&M University, in 1945.

"She also became active in the battle that black professional nurses were waging to become members of the Florida State Nurses' Association. Eventually, she became the first black American to be elected to the board of that or any other state association."

■ **Ida Cox (1896-1967)**: Cox "sang blues in minstrel shows, vaudeville, nightclubs and on

records during the heyday of blues recording in the 1920s."

As a child, she ran away from home to join White & Clark's Black & Tan Minstrels, later traveling with some of the best-known troupes in the country, including the Florida Cotton Blossom Minstrels.

At her most popular, she played theaters and clubs with such big-name figures as Ferdinand "Jelly Roll" Morton and "King" Joe Oliver.

"In 1934, billed as 'The Sepia Mae West,' she appeared with Bessie Smith at the Apollo Theatre in New York in the Fan Waves Revue," and later recorded for the Riverside label.

■ **Hattie Bessent**: The Jacksonville native born in 1926 is an administrator, psychiatric nurse, teacher, author and researcher, currently deputy executive director of the Ethnic/Racial Minority Fellowship Programs of the American Nurses Association, which helps nurses prepare for doctorates.



Anna Julia Cooper (1858-1964), Washington, D.C., educator and author in 1892 of the first book of black feminism. She also earned a Ph.D. from the Sorbonne, Paris, at age 66.

History is a combination of reality and lies. The reality of History becomes a lie. The unreality of the fable becomes the truth.

— Jean Cocteau, 1953

By Scott Martelle
THE DETROIT NEWS

To Darlene Clark Hine, the lie of history isn't so much one of fabrication as it is of omission, resulting in a historical record that mostly credits white men with making America great. Sure, a few dollops of reality have been admitted over time — a black man acknowledged here, a white woman there — but Cocteau's "unreality" pretty much remains the "truth" in American history.

And that irks Hine. "You have to ask the questions, 'Who is writing the history? Who has access to the publishing houses? Who determines what is history?'" says Hine, Michigan State University's John A. Hannah Professor of American History.

"Once you understand how history is written and who writes it, you can understand why achieving black women would remain marginal, neglected and obscured in the historical record, and in the current record."

Hine's mission is to right the record through a two-volume encyclopedia, *Black Women in America* (Carlson; \$195; 1,530 pages), which details in more than 800 entries the notable achievements of African-American women. Though it's not the first attempt to address the topic, most others have simply collected previously written material, mainly essays. Thus Hine's encyclopedia could well be the most inclusive and accessible compilation of freshly researched and written material on the subject ever to be published.

The scope of material covered ranges from topics one would expect — black women and slavery — to historical surprises, such as Jenny Slew, a free-born mulatto who in 1765 Boston successfully represented herself in a civil trial against a woman who had kidnapped and enslaved her. Slew won her freedom, four pounds (the currency of the day) in damages and court costs.

For Hine, much of the personal reward in the project came from discovering the unknown, like Jenny Slew. "There were so many little things, so many details about women's lives that you just flat out don't know and never suspected," she says.

The achievements of black women came despite a society that traditionally traffics in accepted gender — male — and color — white, and rewards those who inherit power.



"In terms of social and economic capital, (black women) have almost nothing," Hine says. "Then on top of that, you have these tremendous stereotypes that are so deeply entrenched — black women are lazy, unattractive, sexually loose and immoral, and ignorant. These are the stereotypes — the welfare queen, the Mammy. Black women are essentially nothing in this society."

Still, they achieved. "If they could do so much with so little, then perhaps all of us could be doing a bit more than we do in dealing with the problems that confront us," Hine says. "And there are lessons to be learned that would be beneficial to all Americans."

"There," she says with a self-deprecating laugh, "that's History 101."

And it's a deep history, including — not just the legendary accomplishments of Rosa Parks and Lena Horne and Sojourner Truth — but people like Carlene Polite, a Detroit dancer/performer who turned to

political activism and writing in the 1960s and '70s. She now teaches English at the University of Buffalo, N.Y.

"Polite's novels have not achieved the recognition they deserve," writes contributor Madhu Dubey, an English professor at Northwestern University. "Their dense prose and uneven style are offset by the dazzling originality and exuberance of her writing. In her attempts to introduce the rhythms of Black oral expression into her novels, and her playful experimentation with form, Carlene Polite helped to shape the development of Black fiction, opening the way for later innovators such as Gayl Jones and Ishmael Reed."

The encyclopedia extends beyond individuals. Hine herself wrote an entry on the Housewives' League of Detroit, a private organization begun in 1930 to shore up the disrupted lives of blacks who had moved to

Members of the Housewives' League of Detroit, which one historian credits with saving 75,000 jobs for blacks during the Great Depression. The activist group urged blacks to use their economic power to help black businesses.



Darlene Clark Hine, MSU history professor and editor.

"If (black women) could do so much with so little, then perhaps all of us could be doing a bit more than we do in confronting problems."

DARLENE CLARK HINE

Please see **History, 2C**

FEBRUARY 6,
1993

BLACK
HISTORY MONTH

The Detroit News

RIGHTING HISTORY

BLACK WOMEN'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICA HAVE BEEN LARGELY IGNORED, SO SHE WENT TO WORK TO SET THE RECORD STRAIGHT

History: Setting the record straight about black women

From page 1C

Detroit from the South. During the Great Depression, the League helped save countless black businesses by pressuring the community to patronize black-owned shops or shops with black employees. One historian argues that the League, once it spread to other cities, helped secure some 75,000 jobs for blacks. In the mid-'60s, the League faded away behind the successes of the civil rights and black power movements.

Yet the achievements of those women have gone largely unrecorded.

"For a while there, if it wasn't for the black press, I don't think any of these women would have had the public visibility that they did have," Hine says of many of the encyclopedia's entries. "Now it's even more difficult to get anybody's attention, unless you are a performer . . . It's hard to attract people's attention if you're a black woman. Aside from politicians, what black woman in ordinary life has attracted any attention lately?"

Hine believes that the same spirit that propelled those earlier mutual aid societies can help market her encyclopedia. At \$195, it's too expensive for most people's home libraries. Hine hopes organizations and well-off individuals will make gifts of *Black Women in America* to schools and libraries.

"That's one of my dreams," she says. "If everybody donates a couple dollars or so, you can buy this volume and put it somewhere where it will serve a black clientele."

Oddly, the project began with a suggestion from a white male, Ralph Carlson of Carlson Publishing Inc. in Brooklyn, N.Y. Carlson and Hine had collaborated on the 16-volume anthology *Black Women in United States History* and during the project Carlson discovered a void.

"When editing that and trying to put it together and make it consistent and make some sense out of it, we realized there was no place to look up information we wanted to verify," says Carlson, 48. "We thought, 'Clearly, what's needed is an encyclopedia.'"

Finally gave in

Carlson approached Hine to edit



Carlene Polite, a native Detroit whose prose helped shape current black fiction.

the encyclopedia after the anthology was completed. At first she turned him down, wary of delving into such a large and complicated project. But after six months of badgering he wore her down and she began rounding up professional acquaintances to serve as associate editors, including Elsa Barkley Brown of the University of Michigan's Department of History and Center for Afro-American and African Studies.

"The biggest problem that we encountered was deciding what it would include, and how much about what topics or individuals to include," Hine says. "The second problem was finding the right persons to write the essays. As with all projects, some people don't come through and your back is up against the wall. It can be very frustrating."

"As a consequence, for a two-to-three-year period I don't think a day passed that I didn't think about or work on the encyclopedia. That's one of the reasons I was so reluctant at first — I knew that this project would take over my life."

Hine slips jokes such as this gently into conversation, coming off as something of a reluctant celebrity. She has been interviewed in recent weeks by journalists from around the country, and has been on national broadcasts such as National Public

Radio's *All Things Considered*.

Her humor even crops up in the preface to the encyclopedia, as Hine explains how she first came to mine this forgotten vein of American history. Hine writes that in 1980, while she was an associate professor of American history at Purdue, an Indianapolis elementary school teacher called out of the blue and asked her to write a history of black women in Indiana, based on material collected by the Indianapolis section of the National Council of Negro Women. Hine admits to having been standoffish at first.

Lesson in humility

"I proceeded to explain to her that she could not call up a historian and order a book the way you drive up to Wendy's and order a hamburger."

Hine writes, going on to describe her subsequent lesson in humility as she pored through boxes of old diaries, club minutes, letters and other written artifacts of strangers' lives. The records revealed a society that raised funds for churches; served as soldiers for political campaigns; taught, soothed and healed as teachers, social workers and nurses; and generally provided the drive beyond community events ranging from bake sales to concerts.

In short, black women were the soul-strength of a community that had gone on to ignore them.

"How could I have been so blind and ignorant of the contributions and significance of Black women to the survival of Black America?" Hine writes.

So she has atoned for that initial-

ly errant vision. And in one sense, the sudden media attention is her penance.

"I'm a little daunted," Hine says with an easy laugh. "I tell you the difficulty I'm having is because being a historian is a very solitary kind of existence. You don't really talk to people. You certainly don't go out and

"All I would like to do

is say, 'Here is the

book. ... Take it. Read

it. Be strong. Be

powerful. Be happy.

And learn from it."

DARLENE CLARK HINE

pump yourself up. You try not to intrude into your work. And here this media attention is all of a sudden making it seem as though I have to come outside or something . . . and it's raining.

"All I would like to do is say, 'Here is the book. I spent 12 years working on this project. This is the culmination of it. Take it. Read it. Be strong. Be powerful. Be happy. And learn from it."

"Now, you don't need me anymore."

Front and center

Black females claim their place in shaping history

By Vicky Edwards Gehrt

Among the landmark events in American history, many black women literally and figuratively have refused to take seats as second-class citizens. Rosa Parks' historic arrest for failing to give her seat on the bus to a white man is just one example of the battles that such women have waged.

In honor of Black History Month, we highlight four women who have made significant contributions to contemporary history: entertainer Anne Wiggins Brown, former Congresswoman Barbara Jordan, journalist Charlayne Hunter-Gault and Du Sable Museum co-founder Margaret Taylor Goss Burroughs. The women are among some 800 saluted in a new two-volume collection, "Black Women In America: An Historical Encyclopedia" (Carlson, \$195).

"The overall tone is celebratory," said Earlene Clark Hine, encyclopedia editor and professor of history at Michigan State University. "There have been tremendous strides [recently] for black women. Before, black women may have been behind the scenes, but this visibility we have now is extraordinary."

To bring attention to the roles black women played throughout history, Hine and an advisory committee developed a list of themes and women they deemed essential.

The 1,500-page result, three years in the making, is a guide to the well-known—Harriet Tubman, Anita Hill, Whoopi Goldberg—and the lesser-known—educator Matine Elizabeth Fields, anti-slavery poet Charlotte Grimké—proceeding chronologically from 17th Century slaves through Carol Moseley-Braun's U.S. Senate win in November 1992.

Among famous "firsts": Janet Bragg, the first black woman enrolled at Chicago's Curtis Wright School of Aeronautics in 1928 and one of the first to earn a commercial pilot's license, and track star Wilma Rudolph, first American woman to win three Olympic gold medals, at the 1960 event in Rome.

Anne Wiggins Brown

George Gershwin's musical was called "Porgy" before he met Anne Wiggins Brown. After working with the 23-year-old singer, Gershwin retitled and revised "Porgy and Bess" to be her star vehicle in 1935.

"It was called 'Porgy' until we started rehearsal," Anne Wiggins Brown said. "I wouldn't be so bold as to say Gershwin renamed it for me; but, yes, he changed the title and rewrote it" to expand her role.

Brown, who spoke by phone recently from her home in Oslo, Norway, where she moved in the late '40s after touring there, broke several racial barriers in the mid-1930s. To that point, traditional roles for blacks on stage



Brown: Best of "Bess"



Photos courtesy of Carlson Publishing



Jordan: Voter's advocate

primarily had been supporting ones, as servants or as characters in self-parodying comedies; Brown was one of the first black women to receive co-star billing in a major Broadway production, Hine noted.

Brown also began a personal protest in 1935 against discrimination at the National Theatre in Washington, D.C.

"The National Theatre did not allow blacks to come in [as audience members]," she recalled, "and I said I wouldn't sing if my family and my sister and my friends couldn't come in. I simply wouldn't sing. The cast said I was crazy. I had a contract, and I said, 'I'll just faint in the first act, and they'll have to use the understudy or close the curtain.'"

Brown said that she could be "undiplomatic" at that age, but "Gershwin got wind of it—he was more diplomatic—and he got together with the theater guild and the cast, and we all asked for a change in policy. The policy was changed for that one week we played the theater, but after that was back to their old policy. It was 20 years before they changed."

Still, Brown said she thinks she did the right thing.

"Every protest that doesn't bring forth violence," she said, "is a step in the right direction."

Respiratory problems ended Brown's active singing career in 1953, but she still teaches privately, and also spends time with four grandchildren and one great-grandchild. She has two daughters: One lives in Norway; the other, in Zambia, where she works in the Peace Corps.

"I'm in very good form for an 80-year-old," she said. "I still teach three days a week and travel. I visit Todd Duncan [who portrayed Porgy] every once in a while when I visit America."

Has she found racial equality in Norway? "There's not racial equality anywhere in the world," Brown said.

While Brown feels "very much at peace with myself," she said there is still more work to be done toward racial equality. If another battle came up, "and I had the strength and energy, I'd certainly take part," she said.

Barbara Jordan

Barbara Jordan started a career in government when she became administrative assistant to a county judge in 1965.

She went to win a Texas state senate seat in 1966 and eventually became a three-term U.S. Congresswoman.

"To hold public office gives one the opportunity to do good things for hundreds and thousands of people," said Jordan. "I know of no other activity that allows people to impact the lives of so many."

Elected to the House of Representatives in November 1972, Jordan was thrust into the national spotlight during televised Watergate hearings. She voted in favor of impeachment proceedings for Richard Nixon, saying, "My faith in the Constitution is whole, it is complete, it is total."

Her talent for public speaking, and the positive, intelligent image she presented made Jordan a sought-after speaker; she delivered the keynote address at the Democratic National

Conventions in 1976 and 1992.

Jordan, born in Houston in 1936, opened a private law practice there in 1960. She was elected to the Texas Senate in 1966, the first black elected to that body since 1883.

Jordan said that her major political accomplishment was having sponsored legislation to eliminate barriers to minority voters in Texas in 1978. Furthermore, Jordan said, "I hope what I did is to instruct women to keep pushing the limits."

"I hope I brought to white and black women an expanded horizon; that is, we do not need to be confined and contained in little boxes. As long as this country is founded on equal opportunity, women can keep pushing the limits."

Retired from politics since 1978, Jordan spoke by phone from the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas at Austin, where she is a professor teaching seminars in political values and ethics.

Jordan said she is pleased by the changes she has seen: "America has dramatically moved in the direction of fulfilling its historical promise. Much still remains to be done, but I think the public policy makers are in place to make the last push for bringing equality of opportunity to everybody."

Margaret Taylor Goss Burroughs

When Chicagoan Margaret Taylor Goss Burroughs speaks to school children, she carries a mirror.

"I say, 'Look at yourself! You are the most beautiful thing there is!'" Burroughs said.



Hunter-Gault: Segregation fighter

Burroughs' career has been devoted to the visual arts; she taught art and humanities in Chicago public schools for 27 years and in junior colleges for another 10 years. In 1961, she and her husband, Charles Burroughs, founded the Du Sable Museum of African American History, now in a 75,000-square-foot building at 5700 S. Cottage Grove Ave.

"To start something like that in your living room, then see it grow into what it did gives a great feeling of satisfaction," says Burroughs, emeritus director and a lifetime board member.

The encyclopedia calls her "an inspiration for and a major participant in the black cultural movement" in the late '60s, largely because of her poem, "What Shall I Tell My Children Who Are Black?," from her first poetry volume of that name.

Its message, which stresses the need for a positive image, is one she still advocates.

"Every group of people has their own beauty," she said. "We should recognize that individuals have their own beauty and accept them as they are."

Now in her 70s and retired, Burroughs still travels around the nation speaking in schools about preserving African culture. Her plans for the museum include developing a repertory theater, dance troupe, a ceramics studio and a research center.

"You always have to have a vision of the next step," Burroughs said. "I'm just as busy now as when I was working, but I think you live longer if you're doing something you want to be doing."

Charlayne Hunter-Gault

When Charlayne Hunter was admitted to the



Track star Wilma Rudolph, (far left) shown here with teammates at the 1960 Olympics, became the first American woman to win three gold medals; Janet Bragg (above), was a pioneer woman aviator



Burroughs: Promoting pride

University of Georgia in Athens in 1961, it was a major step toward equal educational opportunities.

Supported by civil rights activists fighting to integrate the university, Hunter and Hamilton Holmes had fought legal battles for more than a year to gain admission. The case was one of the first major tests of the 1954 Brown vs. Board of Education Supreme Court ruling that separate but equal schools were unconstitutional.

"We never thought we wouldn't get in," said Hunter-Gault, now 50. "We just didn't know how long it would take. We knew that sooner or later the [segregation] system would crumble, but we didn't know if it would be sooner or later."

Hunter-Gault attended Wayne State University in Detroit, while awaiting admission in Georgia, journeying to her home state for testimonials and court appearances. In January 1961 she and Holmes became the school's first two black students.

Hunter-Gault credits being raised with a healthy sense of self-worth for her ability to withstand the pressures following her entrance.

"I don't know that we ever used the word self-esteem," she said, "but in looking back, I see that's what my grandmothers instilled, and my parents always raised the most money for PTA drives, and I would be named queen of the drives. So when I walked the campus, and they were yelling, 'Nigger, nigger,' I thought they couldn't be talking about me because I was the queen."

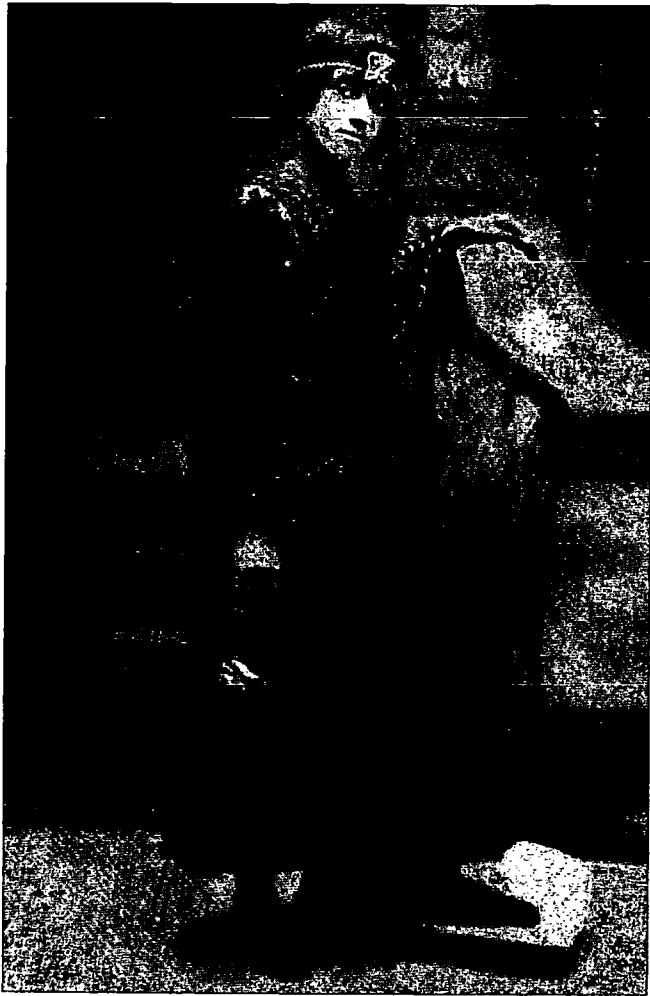
Hunter-Gault, who received a journalism degree from the University of Georgia in 1963, said her self-assurance wasn't merely youthful optimism.

"There was a youthful idealism in that I didn't focus on the potential for danger," she said, "but I was never truly afraid. I had a lot of faith in human beings, and faith that I could overcome any obstacles I might encounter."

After graduation she worked as a staff writer at the New Yorker magazine and the New York Times. In 1978 she joined the "MacNeil/Lehrer News Hour," where she is national correspondent. Most recently she has written a book, "In My Place" (Farrar, Straus & Giroux, \$19) about her experiences.

"There's a long tradition and history of black women activists that have been inspirational to us," Hunter-Gault said. "Black women have long been engaged in a dual struggle of both gender and race. The struggle in which I was engaged was one in which race was the first and foremost challenge we had."

"The civil rights movement was first an effort to change laws that kept a whole race enslaved; then I think many black women felt they could attend to the problems unique to them." ■



Dorothy Champ gave up her Broadway acting career to promote the Baha'i faith.

seven different multivolumed encyclopedic collections about the exploits of "great men." *History of Nations*, *History of the World*, *History of England*, *History of the United States*. Without exception and unapologetically, there is not a woman anywhere to be found, and certainly no blacks, not even in *History of Africa*, published in 1906, which moves from "North Africa—the Ancients to the Arabs, 2000 B.C.—1800 A.D." in exactly 11 pages; and boasts chapter headings like "Preliminaries to Partition, 1875–1883" and "Germany Enters the Field, 1884." I am revisited by my life's bewilderment at the enormous power it has taken to ignore, to eradicate, to write these women out of history.

What is this strange power, like shame, that entangles my pride? In the pluperfect universe of our post-civil rights world, I hear daily accusations that teaching or talking about black history is self-privileging, arrogant, and irrelevant. Is an encyclopedia of black women just repeating the *History of Nations*? Is it flawed for its exclusivity? Isn't this about filling in the gaps? Why am I so worried, given the preponderance of my own bookshelves, never mind the weight of the world, that it is *they*

who will be obliterated by the newly sprouted assertion of ourselves, that this very staid room-of-our-own will undo the master's house? Have they convinced me that I'll bring down the property values? And will my new-found "we" wall "them" off forever?

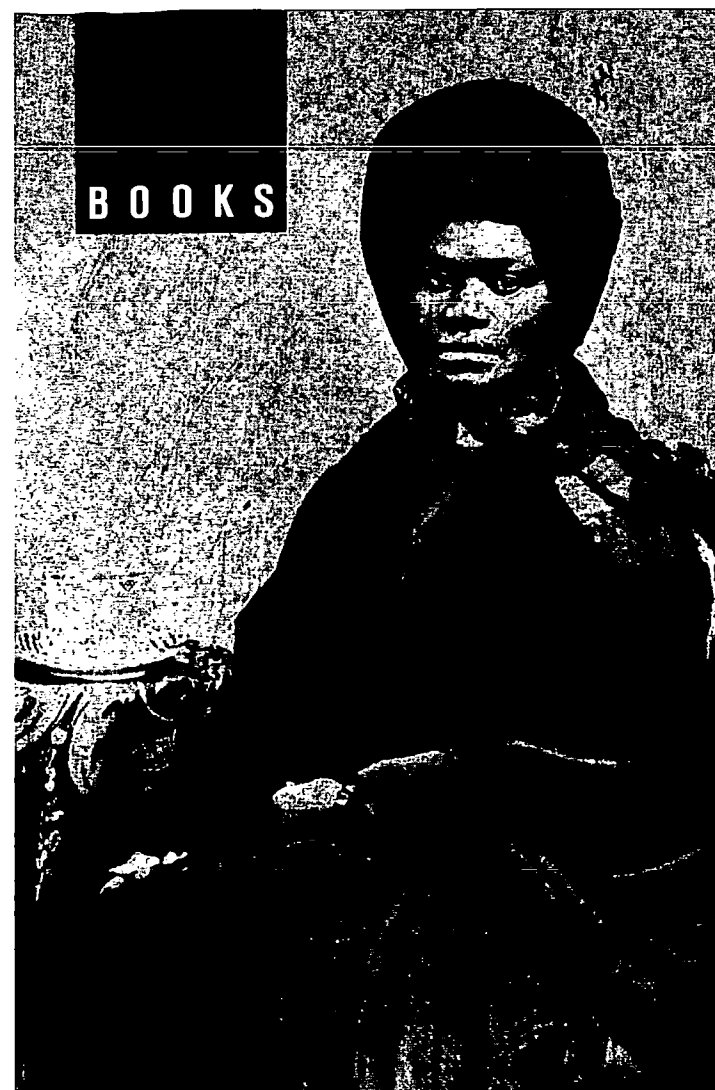
And yet, isn't the power that comes from reading this stuff how they feel reading about their forefathers? Isn't this the power that means I am related to, rather than disinherited from, history?

As I read through these brief stories, a layered sense of relation emerged. On the one hand, the encyclopedia gave voice to women whose public image has spoken louder than themselves; thus it particularized my vision of many black women I thought I knew. Butterfly McQueen, for example, lives on in most people's minds as Scarlett O'Hara's scatterbrained slave who knew "nuthin' 'bout birthin' babies." Who knew she went on to graduate from City College of New York at the age of 64 with a major in Spanish, and today dedicates her life to childhood education, her back firmly turned on her Hollywood career? "I didn't mind being funny," she is quoted as saying, "but I didn't like being stupid."

On the other hand, I began to build a collective sense of myself. I began to role model myself with the gift of the embodied possibility of these women. How clear it became why the words of white politicians are not enough to inspire generations of "inner-city youth." This stuff about making it on your own is a lot of baloney. Most of us make it by hitching our wagons onto a vision, a sighting of the community to which we might belong. Throughout the history of this country, black women have had little in society that mirrors our place in the world of positive value and accomplishment (not even to the extent that white women at least have had Great Wives, or even negative-positives, like Barbie). Emerging from such stereotypes, for all of us, black and white alike, involves the building of a New Composite Woman.

I, for one, might start with the Fannie Lou Hamer Dream Doll collection, complete with plain cloth coat, her own private rainbow-colored bus-with-no-backseat, little plastic picket signs (blank, with a set of Magic Markers to encourage creativity), a miniature recording studio for making compact discs of Barbara Jordan's Greatest Hits, a lifetime supply of Angela Davis wigs and "Ain't I a Woman?" buttons—and best of all, a nice overstuffed toy Barkalounger, so little girls everywhere can practice letting the Dream Fannie Lou Hamer sit down for a while, those weary flat feet up, for a change. **MS**

Patricia J. Williams is the author of *"The Alchemy of Race and Rights"* (Harvard University Press), and a professor of law at Columbia University.



BY PATRICIA J. WILLIAMS

I'm sick and tired of being sick and tired.

—Fannie Lou Hamer

Coming out of the subway, I see a little black child of about seven accompanied by her mother. She is wearing a bright pink hat that says "Barbie" in white knit letters, with a little white knit copyright symbol after the name. I guess, but I do not know, that this means there is a black Barbie doll on the market, hunkered down in her Barbie Dream House waiting bravely for Ken. This leads me to believe that there may even be a black Ken doll, clean-shaven, crew-cut, with knees that don't bend. What does the black Barbie look like, I wonder—does she have a Porsche and a sequined bikini and ankle-length hair that can be styled in more than 100 ways? Does she look more like Diana Ross or Janet Jackson? Wouldn't the black Ken have to bear an unfortunate stony-jawed resemblance to Shelby Steele or Clarence Thomas?

Is Barbie, that anorexic instrument of white women's oppression, *capable* of being black? It's pathetic enough that little white girls lust after the conical breasts and vaulted arches of a trophy-wife-in-training, but when little black girls don blond wigs and spike heels they pass home and go all the way to straight-out prostitution.

Am I just too old and cynical? The little girl bounces down the subway stairs, chattering happily about her day at school, unafflicted with the sense of social foreboding that has made me such a pain to live with since about the age of three. I take life way too hard, I'm told.

...

The earliest dolls I remember were in Kenneth Clark's famous study of black schoolchildren who loved their white dolls better than their black ones. I remember my parents and their friends discussing that phenomenon and the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. Proud "race" people and committed integrationists, they geared themselves up for the Kresge boycotts. Nevertheless, as I recall, the only dolls I ever had were white. I remember my father saying the black dolls made then were "stereotypical." He was holding out for a Rosa Parks doll. I guess it's no wonder my favorite toy was a stuffed dog named Cicero. Is there *yet* a Rosa Parks doll?

Although the toy industry has certainly improved since the 1950s, certain themes have remained constant: if there was a prevalence of stereotypical mammy dolls back then, there is a striking absence of positive archetypes today. Who is it that little black girls are supposed to grow up to be? President of the United States? To Be Sure. Firefighters? But Of Course. But, like, in cross-your-heart-and-hope-to-die, honest-to-god real lifetime, what are we supposed to do? Become mothers? Let's Hope Not!! Models? Well . . . as I ponder this, an advertisement for Revlon lipstick comes on TV, featuring a famous German model. The words "Claudia's Lips!" flash across the screen, and Claudia poufs her lips for the zoom lens and smears what appears to be Red

*A spirit of happy, shared,
even amazed arrival bubbles
through these volumes . . .*

Dye No. 2 on their thick sensuous expanse. I sit for a moment trying to imagine, unsuccessfully, that this heralds a multimillion-dollar campaign on behalf of, let's say, LuWanna's Lips.

Oh, well, how about we just become an astronaut.

In fact, not play, the absence of black women from any kind of romantic or professional archetype is a complicated phenomenon. When Marjorie Vincent, a black Duke University law school student, won the 1990 Miss America Pageant, she paid a visit to her former school,

FROM STEREOTYPE TO ARCHETYPE

where I was visiting at the time. In the halls, I overheard a group of her white male classmates declare they would not attend the reception for her because her crown was a "clear case of affirmative action beauty." My distress at this should not be understood as romanticizing the value of the white or black male gaze, but that the ruthless process of *deromanticization* can also impose significant personal and social costs. The reality is that most black women will spend most of their lives without mates, and although the birthrate among blacks basically reflects national trends, the birthrate among professional black women is much lower. At the same time, a distressing number of people believe that most black women spend their time smoking crack, having addicted babies at public expense, putting skirts on their male children, and generally plotting the ruin of Mike Tyson's chances to become as rich as Donald Trump. Perhaps it is this peculiar combination of social hypervisibility and individual isolation that has made *Waiting To Exhale*, Terry McMillan's soap opera fiction of lonely black women, so enormously popular, not just on the New York Times Best Sellers list, but among real black women.

...

Real black women. For more than a month now, I have been grazing my way through Darlene Clark Hine's *Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia* (Carlson Publishing, 1993). With Elsa Barkley Brown and Rosalyn



Terborg-Penn as associate editors, this double-volume set is filled with accounts of Real Black Women: great mothers, great astronauts, bishops, orchestra conductors, mayors, welders, psychiatrists, bankers, maids, doctors, first lieutenants, zoologists, prima ballerinas, lawyers, coaches, tycoons, choreographers, senators, physicists, and slaves. (There's even a great model or two.)

This remarkable assemblage of heroines, healers, and hope draws its power from the *collective* rescue of this or that pioneering voice from the relentlessly fragmenting hyperindividualization that occurs when blacks Do Good. The "exceptional" black has always served literally as the exception that proves the rule about all the masses of shiftless, faceless stereotypes. If there has always been, in U.S. consciousness, a Harriet Tubman here and a Rosa Parks there, in virtually no instance have they had the formative inspiration of "a collective a priori beneath the personal psyche" that Jung attributes to archetypes, those "vestiges of old experiences" that inform "our living being."

Thus, *Black Women in America* is most emphatically not about knowing ourselves through rebuttal of Teeming Underclass stereotypes, rendering us Singular Black Females, dignified, lonely, profiled in courage, and oh, did I mention *ever* so lonely. My nightmare mirror image is

(Facing page) Ex-slave Elizabeth Denison Forth bequeathed her fortune to build a church; (left) Estelle Massey Osborne fought the army and navy nurses' corps color ban; (above) Dorothy Porter Wesley founded one of the world's largest repositories of the history of people of African descent.

BOOKS

contained in the view I used to have from the back window of an apartment I once had in Brooklyn: another black woman lived in the apartment directly across from mine. Her roof deck was very neat, very Mediterranean. She had a barbecue, three potted plants, two long trays of geraniums, four white chairs, and a chaise longue. It was like seeing an echo of my deepest isolation: chairs expectant for others. She rotated sitting in one chair after another. She was the only one there, in two years of my observation.

...

In contrast, *Black Women in America* is about knowing ourselves shoulder-to-shoulder, story after story, in that ultimately unaesthetic vessel of Western knowledge, the encyclopedia. It's true that if the histories of great men have defined the traditional norm of this culture, it does not necessarily follow that an encyclopedia would be an effective way to normalize black women.

But I think this one works. As friends, coworkers, and repairmen have wandered through my apartment and seen these volumes lying around on my dining room table, everyone has flipped through a few pages and volunteered some opinion. Through breakfast, brunch, yuppie tea, and buppie dinner parties (they really are dining, not coffee table, books), these volumes have engaged my friends and me in some of the most provocative conversations I can remember. For some, particularly whites, it's just a matter of bridging the ahistoricism that segregation breeds, by finding out that there has ever been another black woman more successful than me. For some, particularly blacks, it's a more intimate matter of counting up the contacts, looking to see if this friend or that ancestor was included. In all cases,

*Is it O.K. to be this fascinated
by ourselves? A dawning
that it's maybe even healthy?*

the discussions produced acute confrontations of community and reexamination of social boundary—either in terms of the reader's felt sense of inclusion or exclusion or in terms of the encyclopedia's perceived breadth or lack thereof. In this sense alone, *Black Women in America* succeeds, despite minor or even major omissions. (There is a focus in this book on "firsts," not just greatness—thus, I looked in vain for entries about composer Tania León or Judge Amalya Kearse. And although the title says "American" women, it is about U.S. history, and not about Canadian or Caribbean or Latin American black women. Still there was an odd sense of comfort in the

thought that there are so many candidates even an encyclopedia cannot hold all their accomplishments.)

Black Women in America is a living project. Entries are written not just in the past tense, but present and unfolding. Photos accompany almost every entry—soft faces, familiar—an intimate scrapbook rather than an encyclopedia. The women described do not originate full-blown from their own convictions, but are born to families; mothers and fathers are named and occupations of parents, where known, are given—not in the sense of "how far they have come" but as placement, credit, and connection. If anonymity, the condition of namelessness, has been an affliction since the Middle Passage, encyclopedic knowledge of our forebears' forebears is a nice antidote. In this collection, even the names of our namelessness—like Sapphire and Aunt Jemima—get their historical due. Under "Memorabilia" one can find such interesting notes as the nearly successful attempt of the United Daughters of the Confederacy to erect a monument to "the mammy" in Washington, D.C., in 1923.

The tone of this volume is—what shall I say? Quilted? I want to avoid the word "uneven"; what I mean is that you can tell the entries are written by a lot of different people in different disciplines and different moods. Some strain for the dispassion of the traditional encyclopedia. Others go for the passion—as in author Toni Morrison's entry, which just sings and shouts her praises: "She is healer and prophet; she is nurturer and guide." And isn't this as it should be? Like Morrison's, some of the entries are written with such evident love. I wanted to say Amen out loud. And, again, why not? (I called a colleague at Columbia Law School and got the following answering-machine message: "Hello. It is Thursday, February 18, the birthday of author Toni Morrison. I am not in my office at the moment . . ." We have arrived, I thought happily, as I waited for the beep.) It is that spirit of happy, shared, even amazed *arrival* that spurts and bubbles through the revelations of these volumes.

These volumes do not just place people in time or by their books, music, or other accomplishments but by a series of vignettes that are actually fun to read. Am I enjoying this too much. I kept asking myself, isn't this too easy to be education? Is it O.K. to be this fascinated by ourselves? A dawning that it's maybe even healthy? What is this guilt of enjoyment, this whiff of forbidden fruit that makes me feel that learning the name of the first black woman to get a Ph.D. in physics from MIT is a bit like reading the *National Enquirer* for the latest Chuck and Di thing? Odd, I sit writing this in my study, surrounded by floor-to-ceiling collections of the great works of Western civilization. Without even swiveling my head, I can see

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An alphabet of achievement

by Robin Kilson

Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia, edited by Darlene Clark Hine. Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Publishing, 1993, 2 volumes, 1530 pp., \$195.00 hardcover.

Like all encyclopedias, these volumes begin with A and end with Z, although in this case A starts with the abolition movement and Z consists entirely of the Zeta Phi Beta sorority. And like all good encyclopedias, the two volumes are hefty; together they comprise 1530 pages of material in an 8½" by 11" format.

They are almost all here, from every conceivable field of endeavor, in 641 individual biographies. "Contemporary women who are in mid-career" get the least amount of attention, but pick almost any letter, and the assortment of lives will amaze. In the Cs, children's author Lucille Clifton sits next to Olympic gold medalist high jumper Alice Coachman, who is followed by gospel singer, composer and arranger Dorothy Love Coates and biologist Jewel Plummer Cobb, who is flanked by eighteenth-century freedwoman and slaveholder Coincoin, who bought freedom for ten of her children and an unknown number of grandchildren, and founded a dynasty of wealthy black Louisiana landholders. There are four Halls: émigré singer and actress Adelaide; mezzo-soprano and Broadway star Juanita; doctor Julia; and Congresswoman Katie, responsible for the legislation that designated Martin Luther King's birthday a national holiday. There are five Jacksons, six Williamses, eight Washingtons and eleven Smiths.

By editorial decision, none of the white women who have been "some of the most active champions of black women" are included, but four black men are—Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. DuBois, Booker T. Washington and Marcus Garvey. The focus is on the specific significance of these critical figures' ideas and actions for the lives of black women.

The vast majority of the entries are eminently readable; it's very clear that most of the contributors felt a personal identification with their subjects.

There are also 163 entries dealing with general topics and organizations, from black sororities to black women's religious orders, as well as groups and events in which black women's determining role has been slighted or ignored, such as the Baptist Church, the National Urban League, slavery and the Left. There are three full pages on sexual harassment, beginning with the sexual exploitation of domestic servants, outlining black women's "important role in the development of legal redress," and ending with Anita Hill.

Each entry is an individual essay; many are substantial. Domestic workers are treated geographically, with separate entries for North and South. All include bibliographies of primary and secondary sources. The index alone is 150 pages. A short biography of every editor and contributor is included. There is a bibliography of basic resources pertaining to women in the field of African American studies, including major reference books, historical works, and research collections and archives specific to black women. In an extremely thoughtful effort to provide a detailed historical context for the entries, the editors have compiled a 25-page chronology of black women in the United States, covering every year from 1619, when the first three black women landed at Jamestown, Virginia, up to 1992. This listing includes proportional population figures from 1790, broken down by gender for every decade since 1820, when there were some 750,000 black women in the country.

The pages are filled with photographs and illustrations that, in and of themselves, represent a stunning achievement. We have here not just a collection of names and things, but visual images of enormous power and range. English professor Eva Dykes, the third black woman to get a doctorate in this country, sits in an easy chair, reading a history book, wearing white gloves. Carlotta Stewart-Lai, principal of a Hawaiian elementary school at 28 years of age, is shown with her graduating class at Oahu College in 1902: eight solemn young people, five women and three men, Polynesian, Asian, black and white. Four members of the Housewives' League of Detroit, an organization founded in 1930 to promote economic self-determination in the black community, stand poised to go out and organize, briefcases in hand.

There are two group photographs, on facing pages, of students at Spelman College, one taken in the 1890s and the other in the late 1960s. The two pictures juxtapose books, pregnancy and a parrot in a cage on the one hand with grim expressions and the black power salute on the other. The cover of the first issue (May 1970) of *Essence* magazine is here, pushing stories on afros, revolution and careers in data processing. Many women, like Ethel Waters, Mary Church Terrell, Maggie Lena Walker and Modjeska Simkins, are shown in both youth and old age.



Eva Beatrice Dykes. From *Black Women in America*.

THESE VOLUMES, emblematic of the exponential growth of black women's studies, might not have been published if not for a single woman, Darlene Clark Hine, John A. Hannah Professor of American History at Michigan State University. Hine has played a pivotal role in the establishment and development of black women's history as a field of study. Her involvement with the field began, "rather inauspiciously," just thirteen years ago, when she was asked to write a history of black women in Indiana by the Indianapolis section of the National Council of Negro Women. Hine nearly declined the commission, based on what she saw then as her ignorance of the subject.

[T]he only black women I had ever heard of throughout my formal education were Phillis Wheatley, Harriet Tubman, and Sojourner Truth. I then declared that it was impossible to write any history of Black women because to my knowledge there were no manuscript collections or other primary documents and sources in the libraries and archives. I added that no one could write a history of Black women without records. (Vol. I, p. xx)

Shirley Herd, president of the Indianapolis NCNW, told Hine that her chapter had been collecting records, and that the fact that Hine was both a trained historian and a black woman ought to give her what she needed to write the book. Hine agreed when she saw how much material the Indianapolis women had gathered; *When the Truth Is Told: Black Women's Community and Culture in Indiana, 1875-1950*, appeared in 1981. It signaled the beginning of a process which would transform Hine's scholarly work on the history of blacks in the medical profession into a specialization in black women nurses, culminating in the publication of *Black Women in White: Racial Conflict and Cooperation in the Nursing Profession, 1890-1950* in 1989. It would also profoundly affect the course of her career.

In 1990, an especially happy collaboration between Hine and publisher Ralph Carlson resulted in the publication of a sixteen-volume collection of 248 scholarly articles and five monographs, *Black Women in United States History*. Two years into the project, frustrated by the dearth of reference materials specifically about black women, Carlson persuaded Hine to undertake the compilation of an encyclopedia on the subject. Hine, associate editors Elsa Barkley Brown and Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, an editorial advisory board of 21 women scholars and some 400 individual contributors completed the project in just four years.

The agenda behind this enormous effort is clear. Hine's preface starts out by stating her most obvious and accessible goal, "to reclaim and to create heightened awareness about individuals, contributions, and struggles that have made African-American survival and progress possible." A comprehensive listing of the individuals, organizations and events that have shaped black women's history in this country certainly can

be expected to do that. Hine finishes, however, by affirming her conviction that what black women really need is power. "I have learned in the past decade of working with and listening to thousands of black women from all walks of life that special kinds of power exist in our history," she writes. After having lived with, and worked with, these books for a number of months now, I think Hine is absolutely right in this belief, and that it represents a grander strategy at work here.

IT TOOK A WHILE to understand how that might operate in something as commonplace as a reference work. It is very easy to get caught up in these volumes and forget that they are just that: an encyclopedia. Many of the stories related here are gripping, poignant, even heroic. In the midst of so much drama, the women who quietly worked to advance their sisters in various small ways can seem completely pedestrian. These books are loaded with firsts: the first black woman doctor in Denver, the first lawyer in any Southern state, for example. Is it absolutely necessary to catalog every aviatrix, teacher, clubwoman, athlete and army officer? In an encyclopedia, the answer is yes.

This is the significance of these volumes: the cumulative weight and force of the individual stories and their collective ability to caution, inspire or enrage. It isn't a question of finding role models, or even heroines. Here are women of courage of all kinds, many of whose stories have been forgotten or misinterpreted. Women like Adah Menken, in the mid-1860s the highest paid actress of her time, who scandalized audiences on two continents with her nearly naked horseback ride in the finale of *Mazeppa*. She died at the age of 33 with three husbands to her credit, and a liaison with Algernon Swinburne. Women like the revolutionary Lucy Parsons, who helped to organize the general strike of May 1, 1886 and was one of only two women present at the founding meeting of the International Workers of the World. Her ex-confederate husband, Albert, was hanged as one of the Haymarket defendants. Women like

NAACP field representative Ruby Hurley, who, in 1955, "went from plantation to plantation, asking questions about the death of Emmett Till," finding witnesses to his murder in the midst of Klan country.

When you feel overwhelmed by the text, the pictures can compel you on. Adella Hunt Logan—a gifted teacher and early faculty member at Tuskegee Institute—standing on her verandah with her husband and six of her nine children, the youngest born when she was 46, seems so separate from her prosperous-looking family. Her entry tells us she threw herself off a roof two years after the photograph was taken, despondent over defeats for the suffrage movement, tensions in her marriage and the death of Booker T. Washington.

I was drawn to Aida Overton Walker because she looks as if she posed just yesterday. Her caption reveals her to have been the leading cakewalk dancer of her day; her entry tells of her command performance before



Aida Overton Walker. From *Black Women in America*.



Laundry workers on strike. From the entry "Labor Movement," in *Black Women in America*.

British royalty in 1903, and her death at 34 in 1914 from a kidney infection. I wonder if Adella ever saw Aida perform? I wonder if Aida was inspired by the stage legend of Adah Menken? It's clear to me that Lucy Parsons' anarchist politics were far removed from Adella Logan's commitment to Tuskegee and Booker T. Washington, but surely the woman who "passed" to infiltrate white suffrage groups in order to keep the National Association of Colored Women informed of the white women's progress would have understood Ruby Hurley's activities in Alabama sixty years later.

Black women have taken a lot on the chin in the last couple of years. The public ordeals of Anita Hill, Desirée Washington and Lani Guinier, and the insidious rhetoric generated by recent electoral campaigns about black "welfare queens," brought new anxieties and indignation for many of us, and left us waiting for the next attack. Counters to these alarming trends have been very sparse indeed. Recent months provided me with two that raised my spirits. One was Carol Mosely

Braun's election to the Senate, and her subsequent challenges to the institutional racism of that institution, the Senate Judiciary Committee, and Dixie-whistling good ole boy Jesse Helms. These have seemed like personal victories. The other was the publication of *Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*.

Opening these volumes for the first time made me yearn for daughters. Like most black women, I learned about the wonderful diversity and resourcefulness of my female kin from them, from my mother and my grandmothers and my aunts. The information was simply unavailable elsewhere. In the face of our past and present oppressors and the pervasiveness of the stereotypes that have been constructed about us, I have had moments when I despaired that anyone outside the sisterhood of black women would ever know what we have done and what we are capable of doing. The women of *Black Women in America* blast Mammy, Prissy and Sapphire to smithereens. I'd like to send a set to the Senate Judiciary Committee. ♦♦

The New York Times

Book Review

April 11, 1993

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Their Place in History

Full of colorful and informative vignettes and anecdotes, **BLACK WOMEN IN AMERICA: An Historical Encyclopedia** (Carlson Publishing, \$195) breathes life into the unsung heroines and tireless workers whose contributions have often been omitted or overlooked in the chronicles of American history. The two-volume set contains more than 800 entries and more than 400 photographs, illustrating the activism and enterprise of black women, from domestics to librarians to entertainers to laundresses. Entries range from Butterfly McQueen to Barbara Jordan and offer a telling chronicle of black American life, describing the political, economic and social involvement of black women, who were in the vanguard of the abolitionist, suffrage and civil rights movements. The editor, Darlene Clark Hine, who teaches history at Michigan State University, acknowledges that not every woman worthy of inclusion can be found among the entries in the encyclopedia, which is primarily devoted to those who played a role on the national stage or who she thinks typify black women throughout the country. But one can hardly find fault with this exhaustive effort. It is long overdue.



SCHEMWERG CENTRE PHOTOGRAPHIC COLLECTION
Susan McKinney Steward (1847-1918), the first black woman to practice medicine in New York State.

LENA WILLIAMS

People weekly

February 22, 1993
Vol. 39, No. 7



BLACK WOMEN IN AMERICA: AN HISTORICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA

Darlene Clark Hine, editor

The Montgomery bus boycott of 1956, the first pitched battle of the modern civil rights movement, catapulted its general, Martin Luther King Jr., to national fame. But as this exceptional two-volume encyclopedia

► **BLACK WOMEN IN AMERICA** In the '20s, black performers worked what was sometimes called "the chitlin circuit," a vaudeville tour exclusively for black acts.



demonstrates, the unsung organizers, officers and (often literally) foot soldiers of the 381-day protest were working-class black women. As Erna Dungee Allen, financial secretary of the boycott committee, recalled, "They were the power behind the throne."

Reaching from the present back to colonial slave times, the encyclopedia boasts dozens of meticulously researched and highly absorbing thematic essays like "Montgomery Bus Boycott." With 604 full-scale biographical entries (and more than 450 photographs), the engagingly written 2,267-page work promises to become an invaluable school and library tool. Editor Hine, a professor of American history at Michigan State and author of several other reference works on black history, has lifted into sight stories of determination, dignity and daring

that weave through every area of American life, and has given even the quietest its due. Butterfly McQueen, the actress who played the squeaky-voiced maid, Prissy, in *Gone with the Wind*, later gave up acting rather than accept demeaning roles and began working with minority students in Harlem. "I didn't mind being funny," she said, "but I didn't like being stupid." (Carlson, \$195) ■ ERIC LEVIN

SCURLOCK STUDIO

Book World

The Measure Of Their Success

BLACK WOMEN IN AMERICA An Historical Encyclopedia

Edited by Darlene Clark Hine
With Elsa Barkley Brown and
R.yn Terborg-Penn
Carlson Publishing. 2 vols. 1530 pp. \$195

By David Nicholson

WITH MORE than 800 entries—641 biographies and 163 essays on organizations such as the Colored Women's Progressive Franchise Association and topics such as the abolitionist movement—this massive and meticulously researched encyclopedia stands as a welcome companion to the *Dictionary of American Negro Biography* (1982), edited by Rayford W. Logan and Michael R. Winston. Both the *Dictionary* and *Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia* discuss the lives of men and women, but while the dictionary contains biographies of, for example, W.E.B. Du Bois and Paul Laurence Dunbar, it mentions their wives only in passing. The *Encyclopedia* aims to rescue black women from the margins to which conventional histories have assigned them, and so it contains biographies of composer, playwright, biographer and activist Shirley Graham Du Bois and journalist and editor Alice Dunbar-Nelson.

Editor Darlene Clark Hine, John A. Hannah Professor of American History at Michigan State University, writes in her preface that the *Encyclopedia* is a celebration of "the successful struggles that generations of foremothers waged against virtually insur-



Harriet Tubman



Mary McLeod Bethune



Ella Fitzgerald



Aretha Franklin

mountable obstacles." She makes clear, however, that the burgeoning field of black women's history should do more than tell stories of sexism and oppression. Instead, writes Hine, "We also owe it to ourselves to experience the thrill of knowing about the heroism of Harriet Tubman . . . and [to] delight in the tremendous creative artistry of a pantheon of Black women writers, performers, and thinkers."

In this the *Encyclopedia* succeeds admirably. The depth and range of the biographical entries (many based on interviews, as well as documentary sources) are astounding: From gospel singer and composer Doris

Akers to zoologist Roger Arliner Young, whose research was conducted in the 1920s and '30s, with many, many familiar names in between. Some, like Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman and Mary McLeod Bethune, are undeniably a part of history; others, like Aretha Franklin, Marian Wright Edelman and newswoman Carole Simpson, are still very much part of the contemporary scene.

While there are men here, too—Du Bois, Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington—we are forced to consider their lives and their work in relation to black women. Thus the essay on Douglass notes his support for women's suffrage, yet concludes

that for Douglass "ultimately the concerns of Black men were more crucial than those of Black Women." Similarly, the essay on Washington opens with the observation that "like his positions on many important issues of the day, Booker T. Washington's views on the gender roles of, and education for, Black women also were ambiguous."

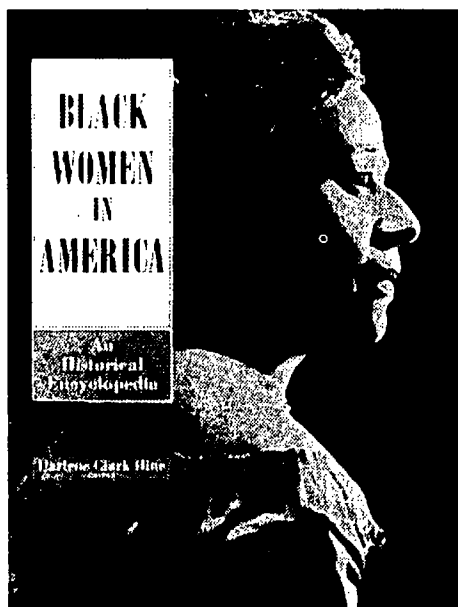
The value of this encyclopedia is, however, not limited to the biographical entries. There are long, detailed discussions of topics ranging from the obvious (abolition, slavery, feminism) to the not-so-obvious (the Baha'i faith, the Federal Writers Project Slave Narratives, black nationalism), all focused on the activities of black women. We learn, for example, of the schools black women founded in the South during and after the Civil War, of the black nurses who sought, unsuccessfully, to serve, as black men served, during World War I, of Howard University dean Lucy Diggs Slowe's winning the national black women's tennis championship in 1971.

THERE ARE a few flaws here. It may be old-fashioned to ask but, in a scholarly work of this kind, does the phrase "passionate sexuality" truly belong in a list of accolades for anyone's life? Then, too, there are questions of emphasis. Does Oprah Winfrey truly deserve an entry almost as long as those of jazz singers Ella Fitzgerald and Betty Carter combined? Winfrey's achievements—among them, starting her own production company—are admirable, but Fitzgerald's contributions to the body of jazz singing are immeasurable, and Carter, who has long controlled her career, began her own record company in 1971. Finally, while *Black Women in America* is handsomely designed and produced, copiously illustrated with photographs and reproductions of engravings, the slightly fuzzy type appears to have been generated on a laser printer. This is a silly cost-cutting measure for a project of this magnitude and importance.

Quibbles aside, *Black Women in America* is an essential book, one that will be of enduring value to students, researchers, and anyone interested in a fuller, richer understanding of American history. ■

1 Nicholson is an assistant editor of *Book World*.

EBONY BOOK SHELF



Darlene Clark Hine, professor of American History at Michigan State University, is the editor of **Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia** (Carlson Publishing, \$195), a mammoth, two-volume treasure trove of information about the contributions of Black women in

scholarship, science, medicine, sports, entertainment, politics and social organizations.

Among the notable Black women cited are Sadie Tanner Mossell Alexander, the first Black woman to receive a doctorate in economics and the first to practice law in Pennsylvania; ex-slave Elizabeth Denison Forth, who bequeathed her fortune to build a church in an exclusive, White community; Carlotta Stewart-Lai, principal of a multiracial Hawaiian elementary school in 1909; and Madam C.J. Walker, the first self-made U.S. woman millionaire.

The breadth of topics addressed in these superb reference books include infanticide and slave women, the abolitionist movement, the military, nursing, religion, education and theater.

U.S. News & World Report

FEBRUARY 22, 1993

\$2.50

SCIENCE & SOCIETY

THEY INCLUDE NURSES, NUNS AND AN ASTRONAUT

The \$195 encyclopedia that Carlson Publishing is releasing next month, *Black Women in America*, was not compiled as a commentary on the woes of Zoë Baird and Kimba Wood. But the two-volume, 1,530-page work makes it clear that getting household help has not been nearly as difficult as providing it. In 1925, domestics in the North averaged roughly \$5 a week. In the South, weekly pay barely reached \$1. Nearly a century after Lincoln freed the slaves, domestic jobs remained the only jobs most urban black women could hope to hold.

Editor Darlene Clark Hine's encyclopedia profiles more than 400 black women who did more than clean and cook, including 116 educators, 101 political activists, 39 physicians, 19 nurses, 17 abolitionists, 5 nuns and 1 astronaut. Among the 77 writers is inaugural poet Maya Angelou, who as a teenager became San Francisco's first black streetcar conductor. One of the 17 entrepreneurs was Madam C. J. Walker, a former cotton picker and washerwoman who became America's first self-made female millionaire. (She got rich selling skin lighteners and hair straighteners, phenomena that are critically examined in an article entitled "Beauty Culture.") Among the 38 actresses was Hattie McDaniel, who was criticized by fellow blacks for playing servile roles even before she won an Oscar portraying Mammy in "Gone With the Wind." Her response: "I'd rather play a maid than be one."

Black women, of course, had child-care problems, too. Ida B. Wells, a Mississippi-born journalist who became a nationally known advocate of black people's rights and women's rights at the turn of the century, brought along her son on her monthlong lecture tours. He was, she said, the most traveled baby in America.



Wells and son. *They stuck together.*

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BLACK WOMENS ENCYCLOPEDIA SWEEPS THE COUNTRY

February is officially Black History Month. March is officially Women's History Month. The book that brings them together is the book that writes Black women into American history and culture for the first time—*Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*.

Published only a year ago and already in its **FOURTH LARGE PRINTING** *Black Women in America* has been reviewed everywhere from *People Magazine* to *The New York Times Book Review* (see enclosed reviews and list). It is the most widely reviewed specialized reference book ever published.

And people of all races and all educational levels are finding that the books can change their lives. From the 86-year-old black woman who protested on seeing her granddaughter's copy—"so much on Black women—they must have been keeping it from us before" to the august *Reference Books Bulletin* which rhapsodically described the books as "... a labor of love and a joy to read ..." these volumes are having an impact far beyond any reference book ever published.

THE IMPACT OF THE BOOKS

**** Eleven undergraduate dorms at the University of Michigan banded together to qualify for discounts so all of their libraries could own the books.

(continued over)

**** What do the Daughters of the American Revolution have in common with the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department? Both immediately bought *Black Women in America* for their libraries.

**** From the White House to the libraries of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* and the Supreme Court, to Girl Scout Councils and grade schools, people are literally lining up to read *Black Women in America*—the first publication that tells the complete story of Black women in the United States.

RESOURCES AVAILABLE TO THE PRESS

1. FREE BOOKS—Call toll-free for a complimentary press copy of the two-volume set itself. Also ask for additional copies of the enclosed poster reproducing 17 of the splendid photographs from the books.

2. FREE INTERVIEW—Call toll-free for an audio copy of the interview with the *Encyclopedia* editor from *Soundings* (transcript enclosed). The interview is also available to radio stations FREE OF CHARGE through the NPR satellite and on compact disk. Call Ralph Carlson for information.

3. EDITORS AND CONTRIBUTORS AVAILABLE FOR INTERVIEWS—the Editor, the Associate Editors, and the over 400 contributors are available for radio, television, and print interviews. Call Ralph Carlson for additional information.

WP: Here’s a wonderful name, Madame C. J. Walker.

DCH: Madame C. J. Walker was the first self-made woman millionaire in this country.

WP: Black woman, or the first female?

DCH: The first female self-made millionaire in this country, and she made her fortune in the cosmetic industry.

WP: How about Ruby Hurley?

DCH: Ruby Hurley was an NAACP field representative, who in 1955 went from plantation to plantation, questioning people about the murder of Emmett Till.

WP: We’re going to hear about a fictionalized account of that terrible incident in American history later on, on *Soundings* during Black History Month. The novelist Lewis Norton will be here to talk about his book *Wolf Whistle*. That’s just a little forward promotion there, Darlene. A couple of more names for you. Jackie Joyner-Kersey?

DCH: One of the greatest women athletes of all time.

WP: How many gold medals did she win?

DCH: At least a half dozen.

WP: We all know the name Ella Fitzgerald, we know the name Lena Horne. How about the person whose picture appears on the cover of your *Encyclopedia*? And that would be Anna Julia Cooper.

DCH: Anna Julia Cooper wrote in 1892 a book that is considered the first black feminist text. It was called *A Voice from the South by a Black Woman of the South*.

WP: And this was what? This was fiction, nonfiction?

DCH: No, this was a collection of essays, her own writings, and I should also add that at the age of 66, she went to the Sorbonne, and received her Ph.D. degree. She lived from 1858 to 1964.

WP: Darlene Clark Hine, we’re talking about *Black Women in America*. You were the editor of this two-volume *Encyclopedia*. I want you to read to me yet again from this wonderful collection.

DCH: [reading] Fanny Lou Hamer, in an interview in 1965 said, “I was determined to see that things were changed. I am determined to give my part, not for what the movement can do for me, but what I can do for the movement to bring about a change.” She continues, “I do remember one time a man came to me after the students began to work in Mississippi, and he said the white people were getting tired, and they were getting tense, and anything might happen. Well I asked him how long he thinks we have been getting tired. I have been tired for 46 years, and my parents were tired before me. And their parents were tired. And I have always wanted to do something that would help some of the things I would see going on among Negroes that I didn’t like and that I don’t like now.”

WP: Darlene Clark Hine, we just heard you read to us yet again from *Black Women in America*. This is the voice of Fanny Lou Hamer, in an interview in 1965. This is the lady who said, “I’m just sick of being sick and tired.”

DCH: “I’m sick and tired of being sick and tired.” And to that I say, “Amen.” But the thing that excites me now—I think Fanny Lou Hamer would be very very proud of this *Encyclopedia* and what it represents. And what it represents is that black women have finally arrived.

WP: Now let me be argumentative with you yet a third or fourth time here, Darlene Clark Hine. There are critics who say that the kind of history that you do isn’t really history or education. It’s a form of therapy, it’s a form of self-help, that kind of thing. What do you say to these critics?

DCH: [Laughs] I’ve heard it often, that black history is “feel-good” history, that we need to move away from black history, we don’t need to teach it anymore, it should be totally integrated into American history. And I’m somewhat bewildered and puzzled by it, because it seems that just when black women arrive in American history, everyone wants to change the rules of the game. History has always been “feel-good” history. We always have taught history in order to inspire people. Black history is no different, and as long as we live in a racist, sexist, classist society, we need black history.

WP: Do you think that we’re moving . . . that’s pretty strong, that statement you just made, Darlene Clark Hine . . . are we moving at all in the right direction, given the impulses that inspired and the aims that underscore your *Encyclopedia* here?

DCH: Well, I’m very optimistic, and I’m very excited. I think we are moving, we are making progress. And we are making progress in the intellectual arena by producing the kinds of histories that are inclusive. I mean, black women have been excluded from the American historical record. This *Encyclopedia* puts them in your face and says, “you cannot exclude us any longer.” And you think about what it is that we read, the kinds of books that we study from. As long as any group is left out, then that history is inaccurate. It’s a lie. So we are making strides.

WP: Darlene Clark Hine is the John A. Hannah Professor of History at Michigan State University. She is also the supervising editor of *Black Women in America*, a two-volume historical encyclopedia. Her co-editors are Elsa Barkley Brown, of the University of Michigan, and Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, of Morgan State University. *Black Women in America* is available from Carlson Publishing.

For an audio cassette of today’s broadcast send \$10 to: National Humanities Center; Research Triangle Park, North Carolina; 27709. Please ask for program 697.

The Interviewer: Wayne Pond has produced *Soundings* for over eleven years and describes it as the best job in the world. He received his Ph.D. from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

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BLACK WOMEN IN AMERICA

An Historical Encyclopedia

An interview with Darlene Clark Hine to be broadcast on *Soundings*, a program to be aired on National Public Radio during the week of February 7th.

WP: This is Wayne Pond at the National Humanities Center. Join me now for the first of four programs for Black History Month 1994. Historian and editor Darlene Clark Hine is here now to read from and talk about *Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*.

DCH: Black women have been excluded from the American historical record. This *Encyclopedia* puts them in your face and says, “you cannot exclude us any longer.” And you think about what it is that we read, the kinds of books that we study from. As long as any group is left out, then that history is inaccurate. It’s a lie.

WP: Historian and editor Darlene Clark Hine. She’ll be back in just a moment, with readings and a conversation about *Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*. This program is Part One of *Soundings* for Black History Month 1994. Partial support comes from Carolina Power and Light, where listening generates powerful ideas. *Soundings* is a cultural affairs service of the National Humanities Center.

WP: Just before the holidays last year, an activist coalition called “The Congress of Black Women” took a stand against gangster rap music. The coalition denounced gangster rap as demeaning to women, and especially black women. While this criticism is recent, such groups have long been a part of American society, and now they are increasingly the subject of serious attention from professional historians. In Part One of a series of programs for Black History Month 1994, *Soundings* is proud to present a conversation about *Black Women in America*. That’s the title of a new historical encyclopedia. The supervising editor of *Black Women in America* is Darlene Clark Hine, a professor of history at Michigan State University. Her books include studies of black women in the profession of nursing, and black women’s culture and community in the Midwest. *Black Women in America* presents more than 800 entries, including nearly 650 biographical summaries and a comprehensive chronology. It features contributions by more than 400 experts in African-American culture and history. In scope, *Black Women in America* ranges from slave plantations to civil rights activists, spanning 300 years, from 1692 through 1992. Coretta Scott King called the two-volume *Encyclopedia* “an indispensable guide to the achievements of African-American women who helped to shape the nation’s history and culture.” Darlene Clark

Hine begins now with a reading that suggests the purpose of *Black Women in America*:

DCH: (reading) Frederick Douglass wrote to Harriet Tubman in 1868. He said, “The difference between us is very marked. Most that I have done and suffered in the service of our cause has been in public, and I have received much encouragement at every step of the way. You, on the other hand, have labored in a private way. I have wrought in the day, you in the night. I have had the applause of the crowd, and the satisfaction that comes of being approved by the multitude, while the most that you have done has been witnessed by a few trembling, scared, and sorefooted bondmen and women, whom you have led out of the house of bondage, and whose heartfelt ‘God Bless You’ has been your only reward. The midnight sky and the silent stars have been the witness of your devotion to freedom.”

DCH: One of the important dimensions of black women’s lives has been resistance to racism, to sexism, to all forms of oppression, and Harriet Tubman epitomizes black women’s resistance.

WP: Now, how do you put that impulse into the covers of a book, Darlene? I mean, you had a massive task here in front of you. You have more than 800 entries, 641 biographical entries. How did you organize this project?

DCH: Well, we wanted to be as inclusive as possible. But we wanted to search out the women who were known in their local communities. We wanted to redefine what “average” means. And we searched the country to find those women who had made outstanding contributions on the local level, as well as the national level, but who have been invisible in the historical record.

WP: Now one of your reviewers talks about getting excited over the fact that the reviewer finds in your book, or your books, *Black Women in America*, what she calls “real” black women. [laughs] How about that?

DCH: Yes, real black women, as opposed to fictional constructs. Real black women, as opposed to the stereotypes and the distorted images that pervade in our society about black women. We wanted black women who were actually on the front lines, who were constructing communities, who were developing institutions, who were educating and nursing, and providing all kinds of inspiration to black people.

WP: What about the term “fugitive material”? One of your colleagues, a historian up at Princeton, uses that term to characterize what the sources or the themes that you’re dealing with.

DCH: Nell Painter, who is on the Editorial Advisory Board, and one of the Sponsors of the project, wrote an excellent essay on Sojourner Truth, used that phrase, “fugitive history,” meaning that the materials have been there all along, but scholars and writers have ignored them, and this *Encyclopedia* makes all of that very visible and very accessible.

WP: You say for instance, Darlene Clark Hine, that when you began your professional life as a historian, you yourself were caught up short in the invisibility of the lives of black women.

DCH: Precisely. When Shirley Herd, who was an Indianapolis schoolteacher, called me back in 1980, and said that she wanted me to write a history of black women in Indiana, I thought, “This is the weirdest request I’ve ever heard!”

WP: Now, you don’t make a request for a history book the way you order a fast-food hamburger.

DCH: Exactly. [Both laugh] And after I told her that in a very patronizing manner, she said, “Well, look, I still want you to write this history book.” And I said, “Well, I can’t write the history book because there are no sources.” Getting back to that “fugitive material,” again. And it just so happened that Shirley Herd, who was a member of the National Council of Negro Women, Indianapolis section, she and her friend had spent two years collecting all of the primary material that I needed to write that book.

WP: And that was part of the inspiration for these two volumes in your *Encyclopedia*?

DCH: That was back in 1980. So my own involvement in this project stems back to that call back in 1980. And all those primary materials were in the women’s homes. And much of black women’s history has been locked away in the basements and the attics.

WP: This is what you really call history from the ground up. That is to say, looking at what appear to be invisible, trivial, unimportant kinds of materials.

DCH: But when you put them all together, when you essentially reclaim the past, and tell the story, and put black women into the broader historical context, then you can stand back and say, “My goodness, I never knew that they had contributed so much.”

WP: Let’s talk about some of the images, the myths, stereotypes is a word that comes to mind, Darlene Clark Hine, let’s talk about some of the stereotypes that you and your colleagues wanted to offset in this publication, *Black Women in America*. Three pretty ugly words, or phrases we can put on the table here, “Mammy,” “Aunt Jemima,” and “Sapphire.” How about it?

DCH: And you might as well add “Jezebel.”

WP: “Jezebel.” And in the modern rap lingo we got the “Ho” and the “Bitch.”

DCH: Exactly.

WP: Now, there’s a lot of baggage to unpack here.

DCH: We wanted to “blast those stereotypes to smithereens”, as Robin Kilson wrote in a review. And, so what we did was to ask people to write essays on those specific stereotypes. And we find, in retrospect, looking back, that the “Sapphire” of the 1890s and the turn of the century, is the “Bitch” of today. The “Jezebel” of the turn of the century is the “Ho” of today. In other words, those stereotypes have new names, but they still exist and they still devalue and demean and distort black women. And we have to wipe them off the face of the earth.

WP: Now, let me be a little contentious with you, Darlene Clark Hine. Where do they come from? I mean, are they purely constructions of white racism?

DCH: Those earlier stereotypes are constructions of white male racism and sexism. And why are stereotypes so potent? Why do they exist? They exist to devalue people, to demean. And once you can strip a person of that person’s humanity, then you can treat that person any damn way you want to treat that person. And if the people believe and subscribe to those stereotypes, then they will answer to them. And any time you answer to negative, distorted images of yourself, then you are disempowered.

WP: Now, do we have to wait as many years, generations, to offset the negative weight, the burden, of those stereotypes, as it took for them to build up.

DCH: Fortunately, we don’t have to wait, and one of the things about this *Encyclopedia*, why I’m so excited about it, is that this two-volume set stands as a testament to the truth of black women’s history. Black women’s history is on a mission. We are writers, scholars, we’re out to discover the truth, to reclaim the truth, to disseminate the truth.

WP: Does that make you suspect in the eyes of the wider historical profession, Darlene Clark Hine? That is to say, historians are supposed to be dispassionate and objective. They don’t take up causes. They are free of ideology. Now, of course, I’ve got my tongue in my cheek here. Let’s unpack that one.

DCH: [Laughing] Well, that’s a lie, first of all. Historians are no more free of ideology than most rabid polemicists. It’s a lot of crock, a lot of baloney, to suggest that historians come to the table with a blank slate. And most of us make it, most of us succeed, by taking on issues and rewriting, or rethinking, or repackaging them so that they help other people. And the negative images, the omission, from the historical record has not helped black women, has not inspired them to achieve the true greatness that I think that they are capable of.

WP: Again, let me be a little argumentative with you, Darlene Clark Hine. We’re talking about your two volumes here. You’re the chief editor of *Black Women in America*. This is the work of hundreds of people, we want to make that very plain. If the aims of the work are inclusive, why is it that you don’t have any men in this book?

DCH: Well, I must correct you, right off the bat. We do have men in this book. We have four black men in the book.

WP: And who are they?

DCH: There are entries on Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, Marcus Garvey, and W. E. B. DuBois.

WP: Now, you don’t see that as an exercise in exclusion. Obviously, you have a rationale at work here. Explain this to me.

DCH: We wanted this *Encyclopedia* to focus on black women. We selected these men because of their views, because of their attitudes, because of their actions, that helped black women achieve education or liberation. Now, whenever I go around the country, people are often very ill-at-ease to listen to me talk about black women.

WP: They want to get the conversation back to the men.

DCH: They want to get it back to the men, they want to move it to white women. It’s very hard to focus attention on black women. This is an *Encyclopedia* about black women. Black women have been the ones excluded from the historical record, and now we’re trying to write that history.

DCH: [Reading] Leanita McClain was the first black member of the *Chicago Tribune* Editorial Board. And she wrote shortly before her suicide: “I am burdened daily with showing whites that blacks are people. I am, in the old vernacular, a credit to my race. I am my brother’s keeper, and my sister’s, though many of them have abandoned me because they think that I have abandoned them. I run a gauntlet between two worlds, and I am cursed and blessed by both. I travel, observe, and take part in both. I can also be used by both. I am a rope in a tug-of-war. If I am a token in my downtown office, so am I at my cousin’s church tea. I assuage white guilt. I disprove black inadequacy, and prove to my parents’ generation that their patience was indeed a virtue. I have a foot in each world, but I cannot fool myself about either.”

WP: Darlene Clark Hine, we just heard you read here from *Black Women in America*, your two-volume *Encyclopedia*. This is the voice of Leanita McClain. Tell me who she was.

DCH: Leanita McClain was the first black staff member of the *Chicago Tribune*. She committed suicide in 1984.

WP: And this passage speaks to what . . . the tensions that she felt?

DCH: The tensions that she felt about having a foot in both worlds, as she put it, of being a successful black woman, yet still being confronted with discrimination and racism and sexism, the tug-of-war that she was engaged in. And I read it because I want people to know that not all black women have been triumphant and transcendent and survive the devilish experience of being torn asunder and constantly under the pressure.

WP: A footnote, or I mean, a note that we can add to that observation about Leanita McClain, is that unfortunately for us today in the nineties, we tend to think many times of black women in terms that are not quite stereotypical, but they go to the notorious, that is to say, they go to the sensational.

They go to the world of entertainment. I mean, we could unravel a list of names here all the way from Whoopi Goldberg, and Oprah Winfrey, to Sister Souljah, that sort of thing. My impression, Darlene, is that you want to take black women in America to the public in forms that don’t speak just to those rather more sensational entertainment-oriented kinds of achievements.

DCH: Nor do I want to undermine those entertainment kinds of achievements. Because when I think of Hattie McDaniel (and we have a long description of her in the *Encyclopedia*) who was forced to play “Mammy” roles in film after film, but who did so because, as she said, she’d rather play a maid than be one. Yet, she could not get the kinds of roles that her talent certainly equipped her to do.

WP: Let me just rattle off here a list of names, Darlene Clark Hine. I mean, these are people that are clearly not household names, and yet they are important to your work as a scholar, in what you have done here in *Black Women in America*. Phillis Wheatley.

DCH: One of the first poets in American history, during the time of the American Revolution.

WP: Goes back to the 18th century.

DCH: Yes.

WP: Jenny Slew.

DCH: Jenny Slew was the first black women to successfully sue for freedom. She won her freedom in 1765.

WP: Susan McKinney Steward.

DCH: Susan McKinney Steward was the first black woman to practice medicine in New York State.

WP: Mary McCleod Bethune.

DCH: Mary McCleod Bethune, a great woman, founded the National Council of Negro Women in 1935, and was the first black woman to hold a federal appointment.

WP: Fannie Lou Hamer.

DCH: Fannie Lou Hamer, one of my favorites, was very active in the civil rights movement, and in 1964 she challenged the Democratic Convention for its refusal to seat black representatives from Mississippi.

WP: Now, here’s a name that a lot of people might recognize, Rosa Parks.

DCH: Rosa Parks is referred to as the mother of the civil rights movement because she refused to give up her seat to a white man in 1955. But before that she was active in the NAACP and in black women’s organizations in Montgomery, Alabama.

WP: How about Barbara Jordan?

DCH: Barbara Jordan was the first black woman to be elected to the House of Representatives from a southern state, Texas.