

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. list	Re: passports (4 pages)	11/13/1998	b(6)

COLLECTION:

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Melanne Verveer
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FOLDER TITLE:

Melanne Verveer's Mail - 1998 - S [1]

2013-0534-S

ry1613

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.

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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 12, 1998

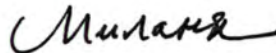
James W. Symington
O'Connor & Hanna, L.L.P.
Suite 800
1919 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20006-3483

Dear Mr. Symington:

On behalf of the First Lady, thank you for your kind note, and the information on the progress of the American Russian Cultural Cooperation Foundation's initiative to honor Alexander Pushkin. Given Pushkin's influences on Russia and the world, particularly his promotion of democratic values, this certainly a worthwhile endeavor.

With very best wishes, *Melanne Verveer's signature!*

Sincerely,



Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

②

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MOSHE SCHULDINGER
H. GEORGE SCHWEITZER

November 4, 1998

* NOT AN ATTORNEY
** NOT MEMBER OF THE D.C. BAR

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
2nd Floor, West Wing
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

ATTN: Ms. Melanne Vermeer


Dear Mrs. Clinton:

I write with further reference to your kind letter of July 30, 1998 concerning the American Russian Cultural Cooperation Foundation's initiative to honor Alexander Pushkin. We are aiming for next year, the bicentennial of his birth. Canvassing for possible sites for an appropriate memorial statue, we first approached both the District and Federal Park Service authorities. Securing a public park site takes considerable time and government involvement at a too leisurely pace for a 1999 deadline. As between church property and a university, the latter commends itself, due to Pushkin's inspiration of youth, and students particularly. Moreover, orthodox authorities are a bit divided on the appropriateness of siting a lay figure on church grounds.

In any event, I am happy to report that our old friend, Steve Trachtenberg, welcomes the idea of a Pushkin memorial statue on the GWU campus. We are in close touch with him, and our Russian cultural contacts to that end. And I shall keep you advised of our progress.

With renewed thanks for your continued interest.

Sincerely,


James W. Symington

/cms

ps Congrats on the events of yesterday

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 12, 1998

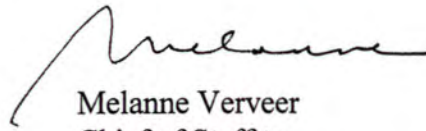
Rebecca Sive
3529 North Marshfield
Chicago, IL 60657

Dear Rebecca:

Thank you for your thoughtful note, the sentiments of which I conveyed to the First Lady. She so appreciated your efforts and those of your like-minded friends.

It was a difficult challenge, and the commitment and hard work you and the others demonstrated was very heartening. I hope it won't be so long until I see you again.

With very best wishes,



Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady



October 26

VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

Dear Melann,
We have taken the first lady's
words to heart. It was really
good of her to come here for Carol.
- And, it was a pleasure to see you.
you looked great & seemed so
calm. I think I need to take
lessons. All the best.

Rebecca Sive

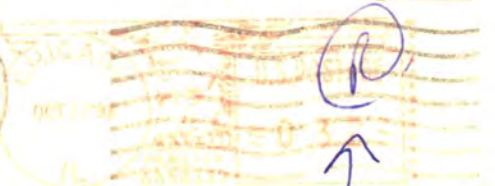
Design for *Acanthus and Vine* tapestry
Designed in 1879 by William Morris (1834-96)
Pen and watercolour
© Board of Trustees Victoria & Albert Museum
E313 E3472-1932
Printed in England

William Morris (1834-96)
Exhibition sponsored by



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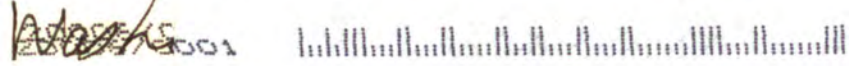




Ⓢ
↑

Ms. Melanne Verveer
Chief-of-Staff
Office of Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.

Personal



3529 NORTH MARSHFIELD
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60657

Personal

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 23, 1998

Tim Symonds
Democracy Training College Co-ordinator
Project Parity
48 Portland Place
London W1N 3DG
United Kingdom

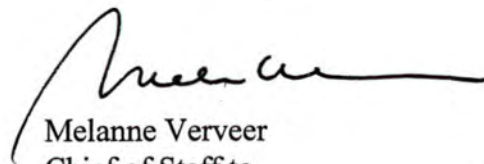
Dear Mr. Symonds:

On behalf of the First Lady, thank you for your thoughtful letter and for the transcript address by Lesley Abdela. There are few issues that will continue to receive the First Lady's sustained attention as human rights and women's progress.

We applaud your efforts to increase public awareness and education on these critical issues and wish you the best in your effort to establish the international Democracy Training College.

Please keep us apprised of your activities.

With best wishes,



Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

Project Parity

Ⓜ



**Building Democracy
Training World Leaders**

46 Portland Place London W1N 3DG United Kingdom

Tel. +44 171 631 1545 Fax +44 171 631 1544

e-mail LesleyAbdela@compuserve.com

27 October 1998

Ms Melanne Vermeer
Chief of Staff to
The First Lady
The White House

Dear Ms Vermeer

Just a note to enclose with a copy of our CEO's talk this month to a very impressive audience in London arranged by Amnesty International, to celebrate the 50 anniversary of the UN Universal Declaration on Human Rights. The actual anniversary is December 10 this year, and I hope the First Lady will issue a statement from The White House concerning human rights, and possibly the absolute need for the world's women to receive justice under that Declaration.

We have held further meetings regarding the proposed international Democracy Training college, with Professor Shirley Williams and with the UK's recent Minister for Overseas Development, Baroness (Lynda) Chalker. What we are finding incredibly frustrating is the fact we could create the college, developing it with U.S. and UK personnel and trainers/experts, and make it a central factor in the worldwide advance of women in public life. It is simply a question of core funding over the first 3 or 4 years, at an annual rate of about US\$2.5 million, until it begins properly to pay for most of its costs from participants' fees. Any sources in the mighty US of A you feel we should approach informally would be very welcome. As I said before, an American/British combination, given our history as old Democracies and friends, could be just the thing.

Project Parity 1996-1998 programme:

training future women leaders in politics and public life throughout central and eastern Europe.

Sponsored by DG1a of the EU Commission through the PHARE Democracy Programme with additional support from Project Liberty Harvard, the Guardian Foundation, and the British Council



With kindest regards.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Tim Symonds". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial "T" and a stylized "S" at the end.

Tim Symonds
Democracy Training College Co-ordinator

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 16, 1998


Robert Senser
11623 Chapel Cross Way
Reston, VA 20194-1243

Dear Mr. Senser:

Thank you very much for your article from *America* magazine about worker's rights, which I read with interest. Ensuring worker's rights in the global economy is very important to this administration and the President has spoken to that point. I have shared your article with a number of my colleagues.

Very best wishes and thank you for your attention to this vital issue.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Melanne Verveer', with a long horizontal line extending to the right.

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

Ⓟ

Robert A. Senser

11623 Chapel Cross Way, Reston, Va. 20194-1243, USA
703/471-1271 fax: 703/471-1196
email: robert@senser.com
On World Wide Web:
Human Rights for Workers at <http://www.senser.com>

November 12, 1998

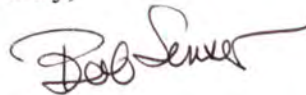
Ms. Malene Verveer
Office of the First Lady
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Ms. Verveer:

My friend, Mathew Ahmann, thought you might be interested in the enclosed article of mine, which appeared in the October 24 issue of *America* magazine.

It reflects themes that I develop in the twice-monthly updates of my Web page, *Human Rights for Workers*, which is accessible at <http://www.senser.com>.

Sincerely,



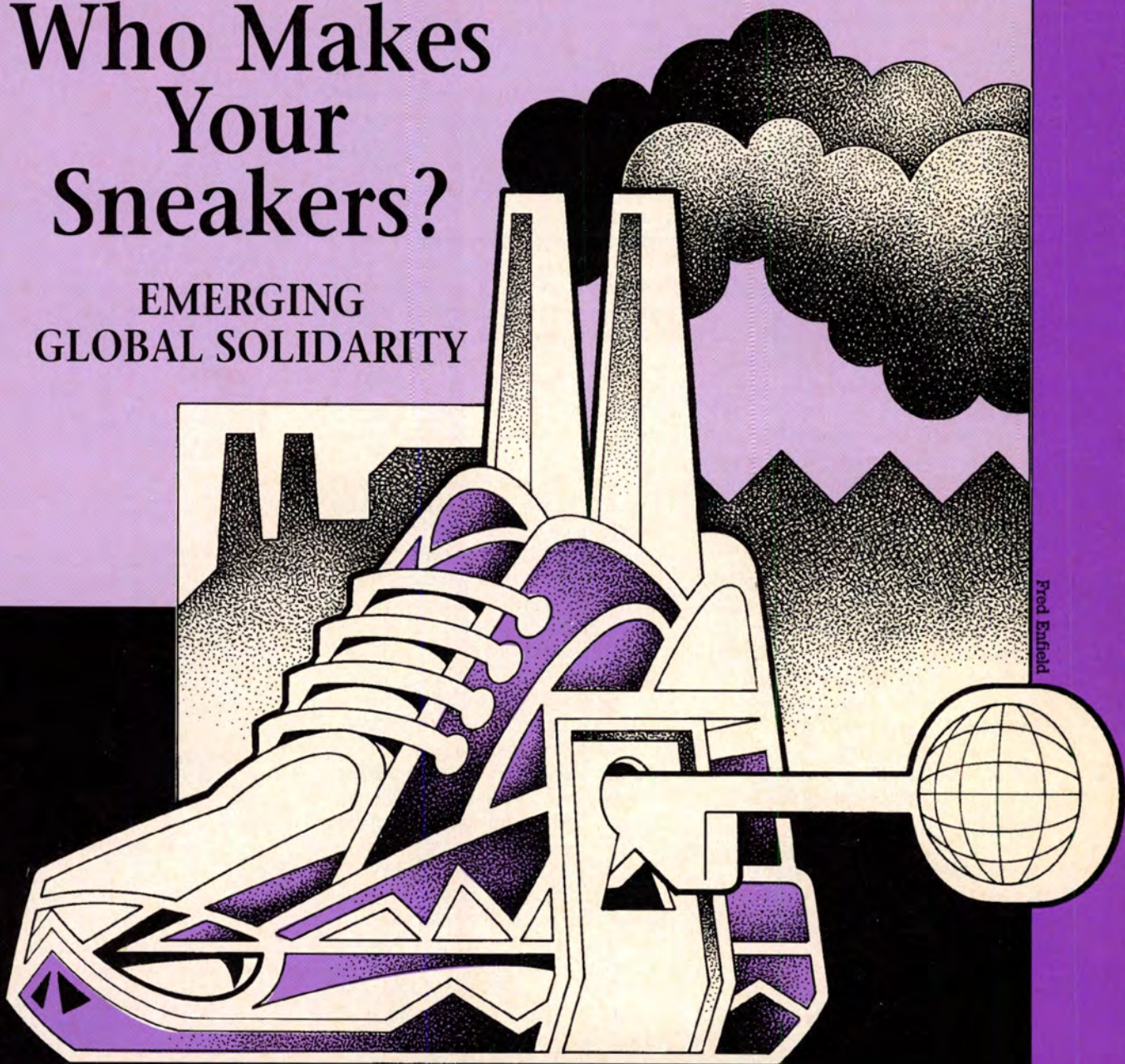
AMERICA

\$2.25

OCTOBER 24, 1998

Who Makes Your Sneakers?

EMERGING
GLOBAL SOLIDARITY



Fred Enfield

Robert A. Senser
11623 Chapel Cross Way
Reston, VA 20194
U.S.A.

ras@senser.com

Robert A. Senser

OF MANY THINGS

I AM A NEWS JUNKIE. I could happily spend much of my day reading newspapers and keeping up to date on world events.

Being a news junkie today can be a full-time occupation. There is so much going on in the world—fighting in Kosovo, weapons inspections in Iraq, negotiations in the Middle East, new galaxies being discovered, budget fights in Washington, financial collapse in Russia, billion-dollar losses to hedge funds, and more. There are constant developments in politics, economics, science and culture that are too numerous to follow.

Add to that religious and church issues, and the news mountain grows: a murdered bishop in Guatemala, a new papal encyclical, fights among pro-life groups, church involvement in low-income housing, a bishop breaking ranks on married clergy, ecumenical dialogues all over the place, Vatican interventions on third world debt....

Not only is there much happening, but the sources of news have multiplied: all-news channels on television, special interest magazines and newsletters, and the Internet. It can be overwhelming. At the same time, getting a religious perspective on the news or getting news about the church is not all that easy since these are often ignored by the media establishment.

You will notice something new in this week's issue of AMERICA. Beginning on page 4 we have added a new feature called Signs of the Times, which will report items of news that we think will be of interest to AMERICA readers, whether you are a news junkie or not.

The idea for this feature was conceived during a flight from New York to Los Angeles while I was reading the results of a survey of AMERICA readers conducted in 1994. One of the findings was that 73 percent of AMERICA readers said they obtain most of their religious or church news from AMERICA. Fifty-eight percent of the respondents said that a "primary reason for reading AMERICA" is for "news of events and people in the religious world."

Frankly, I was surprised by these statis-

tics since I have always considered AMERICA a journal of opinion, not of news. We have never gone out of our way to cover news. If we, or one of our authors, had an opinion on an event, we would give information on it in the magazine. But often an event might simply be ignored. And sometimes it might take weeks before an informed and insightful opinion piece could be prepared. Meanwhile, events march on.

Another question in the survey asked about "changes that may appear in future issues of AMERICA." The change considered important by the most respondents (69 percent) was "more information about people." Finally, the third-highest reason readers say AMERICA is not what they originally expected when first subscribing was that it "needs to be more current/up-to-date."

Our new feature, Signs of the Times, is an attempt to respond to the desire of our readers for up-to-date news about the church and for a religious perspective on current events. In the beginning, it will rely heavily on Catholic News Service, but we hope eventually to develop correspondents around the world who can provide us with news directly. If you have a news story, you can send it by E-mail to news@americapress.org or by fax to (212) 399-3596, attention News Desk.

Signs of the Times will take up only two pages of the magazine, and most of the stories will be brief. Over the course of weeks, we plan to cover many issues in many parts of the world. We believe that our busy readers will value our efforts to focus on the most important and interesting events of the week. We are limiting the feature to two pages in order not to alter the basic character of AMERICA as a publication of in-depth analysis and thoughtful opinion.

We hope you will enjoy Signs of the Times and that it will help you keep up to date on what is happening in the church and world each week. Even if you are not a news junkie, we think that you will find at least one or two items of interest each week in these pages. Let us know what you think.

T.R.

AMERICA

Vol. 179 No. 12

Whole No. 4421

OCTOBER 24, 1998

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of the United States and Canada.

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Human Rights for Workers

Vol. III, Bulletin No. 20.

November 12, 1998

A Warning at the Asia-Pacific Economic Summit in Malaysia

Resistance to Treating People as Commodities

Never before has there been such a groundswell of protest against sweatshops in the global economy. Never before has there been greater awareness of the corresponding need to protect the rights of workers. But how serious are these twin trends, really? A summit meeting in Malaysia this month may offer an important clue.

Leaders from 21 nations gather in Malaysia's capital, Kuala Lumpur, November 17-18 for the sixth top-level meeting of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum. From its very origin, APEC has faced--and has rebuffed--pressures to integrate labor standards and other human rights issues into its agenda. The pressures are stronger than ever this year.

Purpose: To Reassert Peoples' Rights Under Globalization

In the week prior to the APEC sessions, more than 700 activists from 25 countries met in Kuala Lumpur for their own summit--the Asia-Pacific Peoples' Assembly--with the theme of "Confronting Globalization: Reasserting Peoples' Rights." Invitations to the meeting (see <http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Senate/8340>) explained the labor dimension of that theme:

"Globalization was supposed to bring more jobs, at least that was what was promised. Instead, workers everywhere are losing work and settling for less as employers, armed with labor-saving technologies and open markets, surf the world picking the best bid from countries desperate for investment.

"In the name of profit maximization and efficiency, workers are told to compete globally, creating a vicious downward spiral as wages and benefits fall to the lowest common denominator. Any opposition to these deteriorating conditions is met by smug reminders that jobs can always go elsewhere."

Malaysian Brands APEC as 'Anti-People'

"In short, it [APEC] is anti-people," Irene Fernandez, a Malaysian worker rights activist, said at the opening session of the People's Assembly. Another participant, Tim Parritt, representing the London-based Amnesty International, urged "APEC leaders to say that human rights are part of the economic process, part of the APEC process, and it cannot be excluded."

Such pressures stem from an emerging international solidarity movement. Whether the APEC summiteers will take heed is unlikely. After all, their governmental ranks include the People's Republic of China and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. But, let's face it, when it comes to the fate of ordinary working men and women under globalization, even Western representatives in APEC are not exactly freedom-lovers, except when it comes to the freedom of markets.

Exposing the 'Amorality' that Underpins Obsession with Markets

The implications of this market-fixated freedom are seldom spelled out very clearly by economists. But Paul Krugman, an economist with impeccable free-market credentials, did so recently in the September 1998 issue of *Washington Monthly*.

"There is a problem with markets," he wrote. "They are absolutely and relentlessly amoral. Labor, in a market system, is just another commodity: the wage a man or woman can command has nothing to do with how much he or she needs to make to support a family...."

Just to make sure that his point is clear, he rephrased it: "...wages are a market price--determined by supply and demand, *the same as the price of apples or coal...*[T]he amorality of the market economy is part of its essence, and cannot be legislated away." [My emphasis.]

Remember, Krugman, who considers himself a "liberal" (in the sense of being progressive), writes not as a critic but as a defender of the market economy. He's just explaining the way it is. And, even though he writes here without having APEC in mind, his analysis reveals the odds against APEC's adopting a focus under which people are more important than apples or coal.

U.S. Law Does Try to Move Workers out of 'Commodity' Status

Krugman made his blunt point in reviewing a new book by Robert Pollin and Stephanie Luce titled "Living Wage: Building a Fair Economy." He attacks their support for increasing minimum wages by arguing that the price of human labor, like any other commodity, is determined by the market, not legislation. But, contrary to what Krugman claims "every Econ 101 student can tell you," the U.S. and state governments do much to make workers less of a commodity--through various laws setting labor standards, by prohibiting discrimination, for example, and encouraging the right to bargain collectively.

Krugman's point, however, does apply to the global labor market, where, in the absence of enforceable labor standards, people are still treated as mere commodities. That's a grim truth that deserves far more concern than it now gets in the media, the Congress, the White House, and APEC.

Krugman has a Website loaded with his prolific output. Curiously, the Washington Monthly review is missing. Still, it's worthwhile to browse through his stuff at <http://web.mit.edu/krugman/www/>.

Reebok Executive on Why Worker Rights Matter

Suppose you're the manager of a garment factory in Bangladesh or Costa Rica. Why ought you make sure that you're not running a sweatshop?

Doug Cahn, vice president of human rights programs of Reebok International, addressed that question October 6 during a ceremony at the sweatshop exhibition of the National Museum of American History in Washington, D.C. Cahn pointed out that there is a "relationship between good quality workplace conditions and good quality products." He asked people to consider these issues:

- "Is it possible to ensure the best quality products for our consumers if workers are exhausted from having worked 10 to 12 hours a day, week after week, month after month?"
- "Is it possible for workers to maintain the highest levels of productivity and quality when the factory contains machines that are unsafe?"
- "Do you think a factory can maintain a stable workforce if exposure to harmful chemicals or other hazards pose a health risk?"
- "Poor conditions are a part of bad management practices. And a poorly managed factory does not make a reliable business partner."

Cahn conceded that "there are exceptions to the rule"--meaning, presumably, that sometimes a factory with bad working conditions can produce good products. But, he added, "our experience is that, generally speaking, good quality equals good workplace conditions."

In addition, business should care because consumers care, Cahn said. "More than one company in this day and age has learned the hard way that [ignoring] labor standards issues can tarnish brand reputation in ways that is difficult to quickly recoup."

Diary: Pioneering Right Down Here on Earth

Oddball that I am, I wasn't glued to my TV on October 29 watching John Glenn and six other astronauts blast off in the space shuttle Discovery. For one thing, I am not a fan of NASA's hyped-up space program. Besides, I was glued to my computer screen trying to write a book review.

The book is titled *Global Public Policy*. The author, Wolfgang H. Reinicke, an economist and political scientist, has long been exploring how to cope with challenges of globalization. He put down his ideas well before the 1997 Asian financial crisis exploded and of course long before some world leaders began calling for a "new global architecture" for financial markets. Reinicke's architectural plan covers far more than the financial markets; it's as broad as globalization itself.

Reviewing this book wasn't easy. The astronauts had circled the earth four days before I

finished writing, rewriting, and editing the review to my satisfaction. Producing four pages of copy took me more time than usual because it's not that easy to explain why and how the present "architecture" for the whole global economy, and not just a slice of it, needs updating.

Priorities That Currently Are Other Worldly

The subject isn't part of everyday conversation and concern. People know more about how the International Space Station will function than about how the earth's own economy functions. No wonder. Mastering the challenges of space travel gets far more resources, and far more publicity, than mastering the challenges of globalization.

I've written about Reinicke's ideas before, when *Foreign Affairs* published an article of his (see "Globalization and Interdependence Aren't the Same Thing" at [b22.htm](#)). And it's a subject that I'll get back to again. Naturally, because it's at the heart of the campaign to adopt and implement international worker rights.

Global Public Policy: Governance without Governing? is published by the Brookings Institution Press (see <http://www.brook.edu>).

* * *

Sneakers and Emerging Global Solidarity

Policymakers would be wise to take heed of the growing pressures for implementing international labor standards. That's the theme of an article of mine published in the October 24 issue of *America*, the Jesuit weekly published in New York City. The front cover featured the article under the title "Who Makes Your Sneakers?" with "Emerging Global Solidarity" in smaller type.

You'll find the full text at [solidari.htm](#). Not reproduced here (sorry) are the striking graphics that brighten the published version, both on the cover and on article's first page.

Human Rights for Workers: Bulletin No. III-20, November 12, 1998
<http://www.senser.com>
Robert A. Senser, editor

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hrfw@senser.com. ([Send e-mail](#))

[Back](#) to Human Rights for Workers Home Page
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 10, 1998

His Excellency Dr. Franklin Sonn
Embassy of South Africa
3051 Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20008

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

Enclosed are photos from Mrs. Machel's meeting with Mrs. Clinton in September. We would be grateful if you could forward them to the appropriate parties, with our compliments.

I deeply regret that I was not able to attend your farewell reception. Thank you for your enormous contribution to our community and your vital work to strengthen the ties between our nations.

Very best wishes to you and Mrs. Sonn.

Sincerely,



Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 16, 1998

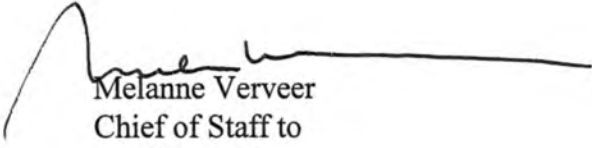
Jeffrey Smith, MD
Department of Emergency Medicine
George Washington University Medical Center
2140 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20037

Dear Dr. Smith:

Thank you for the invitation for the First Lady to attend the conference on emergency health care, April 7-8, 1999. Mrs. Clinton has seen the importance of emergency medical care in the developing world first hand and we applaud your efforts to bring attention to this vital issue.

Regrettably, Mrs. Clinton's schedule will not allow her to attend the meeting. But she conveys her appreciation to you and your colleagues for your important work, along with her best wishes for a successful conference.

Sincerely,



Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

December 14, 1998

Jeffrey Smith, MD
Department of Emergency Medicine
George Washington University Medical Center
2140 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20037

Dear Dr. Smith:

Thank you for the invitation for the First Lady to attend the conference on emergency health care, April 7-8, 1999. Mrs. Clinton has seen the importance of emergency medical care in the developing world first hand and we applaud your efforts to bring attention to this vital issue.

Regrettably, Mrs. Clinton's schedule will not allow her to attend the meeting. But she conveys her appreciation to you and your colleagues for your important work, along with her best wishes for a successful conference.

OIC

Sincerely,

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

The
George
Washington
University
WASHINGTON DC
MEDICAL CENTER

DEPARTMENT OF EMERGENCY MEDICINE

November 12, 1998

TO: Katy Button
Office of the First Lady

FROM: Jeffrey Smith, MD *JS*
George Washington University Medical Center

RE: Conference on the Role of US Providers in the Development of Emergency Medicine
Internationally

Lawrence Yanovitch of FINCA suggested that this conference might be of interest to the First Lady. The physicians participating in this conference are deeply committed to advancing emergency care internationally and could prove to be a powerful moral voice on behalf of advocating for emergency health care in the developing world.

*Eric -
didn't we
request*

*↳ Melanne,
I don't think we
regretted & Jody doesn't
have any record of
it either... Should
we regret?*

-ERIC

Yes



DEPARTMENT OF EMERGENCY MEDICINE

November 12, 1998

Attention: Katy Button

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
First Lady of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mrs. Clinton,

As you are well aware, the recent tragedies in Central America and East Africa highlight the inability of developing countries' health care systems to respond to emergencies. I am writing to request that you give the keynote address at a timely conference on international emergency medicine. The Department of Emergency Medicine at George Washington University Medical Center and Emergency International are organizing a conference that will be held in Washington, D.C. on April 7th and 8th, 1999. The conference will provide you with the opportunity to encourage a rapidly growing group of U.S. physicians who believe that the United States has a moral imperative to share its knowledge and technologies in emergency health care with developing countries. Recognizing that you have played a leading role in building awareness about the responsibility that the American people have to the developing world, we believe that your speaking will help to further galvanize U.S. physicians around sustainable development and spur them to manifest their powerful moral voice on behalf of emergency medical needs of poor countries.

In most developing countries, the status of emergency medical care is sub-optimal or non-existent. The governments of many of these countries consider emergency medical services a high health priority. The capacity of local health care professionals could be considerably leveraged with training in current emergency medicine practices

There are over 200 US emergency physicians who are very committed to assisting with the development of emergency medicine internationally. These physicians comprise the largest sections and interest groups in the American College of Emergency Physicians and the Society of Academic Emergency Physicians. Many of these physicians actively participate in international emergency medicine programs at prestigious institutions such as Yale, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, George Washington University, Loma Linda University, University of Pittsburgh, Long Island Jewish, Penn State, UC Davis, and more. Additionally, many of these physicians also belong to Emergency International, a grassroots organization of committed emergency physicians who donate their time and money to assisting with emergency medicine training and program development internationally. To date, this group of physicians has established hospital based and pre-hospital emergency medicine training programs in Central America, South America, Eastern Europe, the Newly Independent States, Asia, and the Middle East. This group has been instrumental in helping Israel, Turkey, and Nicaragua establish emergency medical associations and residency training programs.

The purpose of the conference will be to bring together physicians in the field of international emergency medicine and leaders in the area of health policy, program development, and financing in order to begin

to define a collaborative agenda for the continued development of emergency medicine globally. Physicians working in the area of international emergency medicine are struggling to implement equitable, efficient, sustainable programs with little support from governmental agencies, NGO's, or lending institutions that place a significant emphasis on improving international health.

Despite the tremendous progress that donor agencies such as AID and the World Bank have made in advancing health care in the developing world, sustainable emergency medicine programs have not been a priority to date. No one would argue that preventative health, primary health care, infectious disease control and reproductive health are vital components of international health programs. A simple review of many developing countries health statistics reveals, however, that the third or fourth leading cause of disability, loss of productive years, or death is accidental and intentional injuries. Moreover, emergency medicine, which often must function as a social safety net for the poor who lack regular access to health care, encompasses far more than trauma management: i.e., timely management of dehydration, pediatric and adult infectious diseases, prompt management of shock, early management of cardiovascular disease, prompt resuscitation of reversible conditions (anaphylaxis, upper airway obstruction), evaluation and management of acute abdominal pain, management of maternal peripartum hemorrhage, and more. By and large, training existing practitioners to manage the majority of these conditions is a low cost, very effective means to significantly reduce morbidity and mortality in the population.

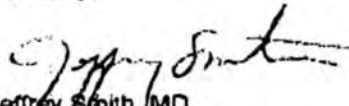
Hopefully, this conference will prove to be educational for physicians working in international emergency medicine and will also allow leaders in the area of policy, program development and financing to hear the concerns and experience of U.S. emergency physicians very committed to international work. It is clear that USAID has played a major role in the area of international health care. It would be an honor to have you address this group of physicians and articulate the government's vision and commitment to international assistance, especially as it pertains to the health and well being of the global community.

The format of the conference will be morning lectures by leaders in the fields of policy development, program development, funding, and education followed by afternoon breakout sessions focusing on establishing a working agenda for the next decade (in the areas of policy, etc.).

I welcome the opportunity to discuss this conference further with your staff.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,


Jeffrey Smith, MD
Director of Clinical Operations
Department of Emergency Medicine
George Washington University Medical Center
Director, International Programs
Ronald Reagan Institute of Emergency Medicine

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. list	Re: passports (4 pages)	11/13/1998	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 14385

FOLDER TITLE:

Melanne Verveer's Mail - 1998 - S [1]

2013-0534-S
ry1613

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]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- 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]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 5, 1998

Chuck J. Supple
President and CEO
Public Allies
1015 18th Street, NW Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036

Dear Chuck:

Thank you for the copy of Public Allies' report on the *New Leadership for a New Century* project. I have shared the report with my colleagues and know they will consider the report's timely findings with great interest.

Thank you for all you are doing to promote active citizenship. You know that Public Allies and its work is close to my heart.

Very Best Wishes,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Melanne', with a large, sweeping initial 'M'.

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady



1015 18TH STREET, NW · SUITE 200 · WASHINGTON, DC 20036 · TEL 202.822.1180 · FAX 202.822.1199
WWW.PUBLICALLIES.ORG

October 20, 1998

Ms. Melanne Verveer
Deputy Chief of Staff
Office of the First Lady
The White House
Washington, DC

Dear Ms. Verveer:

I wanted to share with you the results of Public Allies' New Leadership for a New Century polling project. Peter D. Hart Research Associates, Inc. conducted a national poll of 18 to 30 year olds on the leadership needs of our country and communities for the next century. We wanted to find out if this generation has a new vision of leadership given their unique experiences in the latter part of this century and the dramatically changing context for addressing challenges in the 21st century.

I have enclosed a copy of the final report, which suggests that a new vision of leadership is emerging. Young adults see leadership predominantly happening locally not nationally, emanating from small groups of knowledgeable and resourceful citizens, rather than traditional institutions, experts and professionals. The qualities of leadership that will be most effective are collaborative and interpersonal rather than directive or charismatic. Taking personal responsibility and action, making a difference in the lives of people close to you, and building relations with people of different racial and ethnic backgrounds are values and actions that this generation sees as critical.

The study challenges traditional notions of individual and institutional leadership in our society and suggests a new approach. The results are strengthening Public Allies' efforts to prepare young adults to practice this new style of leadership. We call it **strong community leadership**, which means bringing people and organizations together and mobilizing their resources to strengthen communities. We encourage you to consider these critical issues with us. We are certainly able and interested in helping to create and participate in any discussion or forum that you may like to convene in order to explore these issues further.

In addition to the project report, I have enclosed a copy of Public Allies' new publication, *PAper*, that summarizes the findings and includes reflections from author Barry Z. Posner. Future editions will explore specific issues raised in the poll in greater depth. I have also included copies of news articles that the poll has generated from *The Chronicle of Philanthropy*, *The Washington Post*, *The Wall Street Journal*, and *The News and Observer*.

Sincerely,

Chuck J. Supple
President and CEO

Enclosures

PUBLIC



ALLIES

NEW LEADERSHIP FOR A NEW CENTURY:

**KEY FINDINGS FROM A STUDY ON YOUTH,
LEADERSHIP, AND COMMUNITY SERVICE**

AUGUST 28, 1998

**BY
PETER D. HART RESEARCH ASSOCIATES**

**CONDUCTED FOR PUBLIC ALLIES &
FUNDED BY THE SURDNA FOUNDATION**

Peter D. Hart Research Associates, Inc.

Between July 14 and July 19, 1998, Peter D. Hart Research Associates conducted a national survey for Public Allies among 728 young Americans, age 18 to 30, including 108 blacks and 148 Hispanics. The margin of error for the poll is ±3.7% for the overall sample of young adults and is higher for specific subgroups.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Contrary to the popular portrayal of today's young Americans as self-absorbed and socially inert, the findings from this survey reveal a portrait of a generation not searching to distance itself from the community, but instead actively looking for new and distinctive ways to connect to the people and issues surrounding them. These young people have grown up in a unique environment—they have no living memory of either the activism of the 1960s or the leadership icons that in many ways defined their parents' generation. Instead, they have grown up in an era of heightened cynicism toward both government and political leaders, fervent discussion about the proper role of government and other social institutions, and an increasingly diverse American population. Their attitudes and beliefs about American values, leadership, and community involvement reflect their distinct experiences.

Young Americans today differentiate themselves from past generations in rejecting many of the traditional measures of civic responsibility, and instead, embrace new ways to effect change and approach the important notion of leadership. The characteristics of this new approach to leadership and social action are notable in at least three respects.



☑ **Individuals, not institutions:** In contrast to their 1960s predecessors' focus on changing broad social institutions, young Americans' outlook is distinctly personal, with a heavy emphasis on direct, one-on-one, individual service.

☑ **"Bottom up" not "top down":** Young people embrace a model of leadership that is best characterized as "bottom up" rather than "top down"—young adults place a premium on the efficacy of small groups of people working together to effect change in tangible ways.

☑ **Diversity and reaching out:** Young Americans distinguish themselves as a generation extremely concerned not only with respecting individual differences, but also with

reaching out to connect to and work with people from different backgrounds to address problems and formulate solutions.

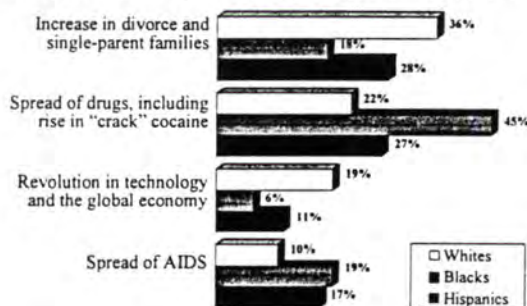
The findings from this survey, however, demonstrate that young people not only have a new vision of leadership for the future, but they also are taking direct, concrete action to practice and apply their ideals in their everyday lives. The sentiments of this generation resonate a strong sense of the importance of community service and direct assistance to others. This commitment is not expressed in a vague or amorphous way, but rather it is demonstrated through tangible goals, such as consciously mentoring a young person in the community or actively working with others on a local issue or concern. In fact, nearly seven in ten (68%) young adults report that in the past three years they have been involved in activities to help their community. Indeed, these findings provide encouraging evidence that the next generation of Americans cares about its contributions to the community and increasingly believes that solutions to the problems we face lie within communities and within the realm of everyday Americans.

DEFINING A GENERATION: THE GOALS, VALUES, AND VISION OF TODAY'S YOUNG AMERICANS

The attitudes of today's young adults are rooted strongly in the unique circumstances of their era. The survey findings yield an extremely informative insight into the collective experiences that have defined this generation of Americans and serve as the basis for their vision of the

Events' Impact on Young Americans

(% selecting each as having had the biggest impact on their generation)



** Three other events were selected by 5% or fewer young people: increased diversity, emphasis on reducing government, collapse of communism/end of Cold War.*

future. When we ask them to identify the experience that has shaped their generation the most, nearly one in three (32%) young adults cite the "increase in divorce and single-parent families." This phenomenon is a particularly poignant experience among young whites—36% identify it as the defining experience of their generation.

While black and Hispanic young adults see this phenomenon as important, they also point to the powerful effects of other experiences. Overwhelmingly, blacks age 18 to 30 identify the spread of drugs and the rise in the use of “crack” cocaine as the most important influence on people their age; they also are more likely than are whites to cite the spread of AIDS as an important trend. Hispanics age 18 to 30 are divided, identifying either divorce or drugs as defining generational influences. While the revolution in technology and the global economy receives a great deal of news attention, the impact of this trend is more modest in the eyes of young Americans: 18% identify it as the most important influence on their generation.

The values and beliefs, as well as the vision for the future, that young people demonstrate are a direct outgrowth of these defining, generational experiences. Contrary to the stereotype of young adults being aloof and devoid of deep convictions, today’s young Americans have a strong sense of values and principles, and a well-defined direction for contributing to their community and country. While such traditional American values as liberty and self-reliance still are held strongly among these young people, they distinguish themselves by placing the utmost importance on the power and value of human relationships. Diversity, reaching out and connecting to other people, and making a difference in the lives of others all are extremely important values to this generation. A near majority (50%) of young people say that the value of “community and looking out for each other” is more important to them than is the value of “individual responsibility and self-reliance”: 38% of young adults place a priority on this principle.

Young Americans say that “making a difference in the life of someone close to you” is important to them personally, with 87% rating this value as an eight or higher on a ten-point scale of importance. Young people respond much more enthusiastically to this more personal and direct concept of assisting others than to the more traditional notion of “service to your community and being involved in community affairs.” While the hallmark American values of “self-reliance and taking responsibility for yourself” and “personal liberty and the freedom to do as you please” resonate with young Americans, another set of values focusing on diversity and respect for people’s differences emerges as equally important to this generation of young adults.

In many ways, the importance that young people attribute to values such as “appreciating and respecting the racial and ethnic diversity of our country” and “developing meaningful relationships with people different from yourself” is the defining characteristic of this generation of Americans. Young adults of all races and socioeconomic backgrounds rate these values as highly important to them personally; eight in ten (80%) rate “appreciating and respecting the racial and ethnic differences in our country” as an eight or higher on a ten-point scale, and nearly three in four (74%) give the same rating to “developing meaningful relationships with people different from yourself.” In fact, the diversity of American society is so accepted by and normal to many young adults that it increasingly is looked upon as a fact of life, rather than a cause for concern. When we ask them about our country’s growing racial and ethnic diversity, only 13% of young adults say that it is more of a bad thing, 40% say that it is more of a good thing, and 42% say that it does not really make a difference one way or the other.

LEADERSHIP IN THE 21st CENTURY: A NEW VISION FOR THE FUTURE

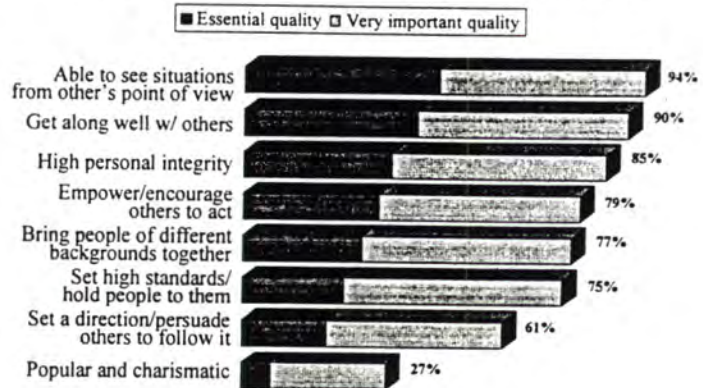
From this distinct set of values and experiences, young people have built a vision of leadership that is both a natural reflection of their principles and a new and unique model for defining this important concept in the future. In thinking about leadership in our country and about their own current and future leadership roles, young Americans place a premium on a set of traits that represents an extraordinary break from traditional models of American leadership. Young people embrace a style of leadership that emphasizes the power of collective responsibility, cooperation among diverse individuals, sensitivity toward others, and equal participation by all citizens regardless of their authority or position in the community.

Sensitivity and cooperation, not charisma: When we ask them about a series of different leadership qualities, young people identify “being able to see a situation from someone else’s point of view” as the most important quality—94% of young Americans see this trait as either essential or very important in a good leader.

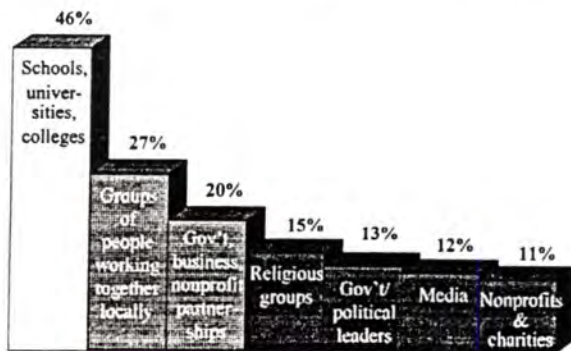
This focus on understanding and valuing the beliefs of others is reinforced by other qualities that young people select as either essential or very important in a good leader, such as “getting along well with other people” (90%) and “bringing people from different backgrounds together”

(77%). In fact, such traditional “top-down” notions of leadership as “being popular and charismatic” and “setting a direction and persuading others to follow it” are least appealing to this group of Americans. Notably, young Americans of all races, blacks in particular, far prefer leaders who “empower and encourage other people to act” to leaders who “set a direction and persuade people to follow it.”

Important Leadership Qualities



Organizations Most Important/Effective in Solving Future Problems



Individual empowerment, not institutions: In thinking about the types of organizations that will be important in solving our communities’ problems in the future, young people embrace the notion that individuals must take an active role in addressing social conditions. In fact, nearly half (46%) of young adults point to schools, universities and colleges—

entities that empower, teach, and provide skills to young people so that they can contribute to and become involved in their community—as important in solving future problems. Further, about one in four (27%) young people anticipate that “groups of people working together locally” will be the most important organization in addressing the problems that we will face in the future, and one in five (20%) cite partnerships among government, private businesses, and nonprofit organizations as important. Organizations that represent more traditional approaches to improving social conditions, such as government and political leaders, and nonprofit and charity groups are met with far less enthusiasm and confidence from today’s young people.

Inclusive and “bottom up,” not select individuals and “top down”: Young people’s strong preference for leadership that emphasizes the collective participation of many individuals over the strong leadership of just a few is evident in an array of different measures. When presented with a series of statements to assess their own views of leadership, young people overwhelmingly describe a model of leadership that is built from the bottom up, emphasizes collective responsibility, and values the participation of average citizens working together to solve problems. Young adults of all races are clear in articulating a vision of leadership for our country that is different from the traditional concept of American leadership as a strong, select group of individuals with a fixed agenda. Young Americans see leadership as a quality inherent in average people, and they measure the strength of leaders by their ability to be inclusive and to work collectively.

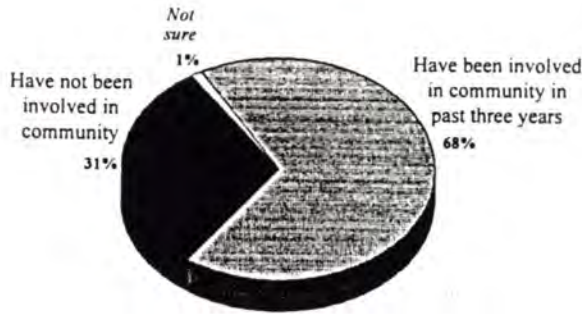
**Young Americans' Model for Leadership:
Which Would You Prefer?**

- 71% The best model for leadership is to build from the bottom up, that is, for many people to share responsibility for making decisions and moving forward.
- 25% The best model for leadership is to build from the top down, that is, for strong leaders to assume responsibility for making decisions and moving forward.
- 78% No one group is mostly responsible for solving social problems, and communities and individuals are responsible for solving their problems collectively.
- 17% Big institutions, such as government and business, are best suited to take responsibility for the well-being of citizens and for solving social problems.
- 65% We should look for leadership from ordinary people in the community, regardless of their position or level of authority.
- 31% We should look for leadership from people who have achieved an important position and earned the authority and respect that comes with that position.
- 79% Average people have the resources and practical know-how to solve most of their problems in their community.
- 18% Our problems are very complex, and we need experts to solve them.

ACTIVE AND INVOLVED: YOUNG AMERICANS PUTTING THEIR IDEALS AND THEIR VISION OF LEADERSHIP INTO PRACTICE

Consistent with their distinct values and experiences, as well as with their unique vision of leadership, young Americans also demonstrate a distinctive approach to effecting change in their community. Young adults embrace methods of social and political change that emphasize high standards, direct contact with others, and inclusiveness.

Participation In The Community



A strong majority of young Americans of all races say that in the past three years they have been involved in activities to help their community, such as volunteering time, belonging to an organization, or helping to solve a community problem. Given the mobility associated with this age group, a remarkable 54% say that

they participate in these activities at least once a month or more—nearly one in four (22%) say once a week or more. In fact, equal proportions (64%) say that “feeling as though you give back to the community” and “being financially successful” are extremely or very important to them.

For young people, involvement with the community takes many forms and has many motives. Nearly three in four (72%) young people who participate in community activities say that they do so through an organized group or association, for example, a school, hospital, or neighborhood center. Young adults also indicate that they serve as tutors or mentors to a younger person in the community (38%) and work with others informally on a local issue or concern (30%). In volunteering reasons for their participation in community activities, young people respond with a variety of incentives, from finding it personally rewarding and satisfying (9%) to having a strong desire to help children (13%) to wanting to help those who are disadvantaged (12%). Young blacks in particular cite helping children in their community as a compelling reason to participate in service activities.

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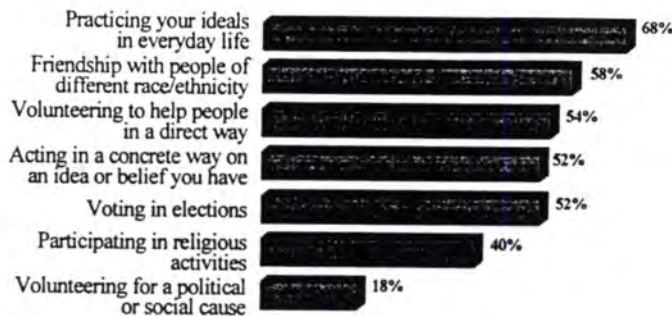
“(COMMUNITY SERVICE IS A) COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY AND A GENUINE DESIRE TO BRING UP THE STANDARDS IN YOUR COMMUNITY.”

↑

In addition to this tangible commitment to and involvement with their community, Americans in this age group also have a distinct notion of what types of activities matter most in effecting change. When presented with seven different approaches to bringing about needed

Ways To Effect Change

(% saying each is a very effective way to bring about change)



changes in our country, young people cite “practicing your ideals in your everyday life” as the most effective way for someone like them to contribute. Young people also point to “building friendships and relationships with people of different racial and ethnic backgrounds” and “volunteering to help individuals in a direct way” as effective ways to get involved.

Interestingly, more traditional approaches to community service such as “volunteering for a political or social cause” resonate less strongly with this generation.

CONCLUSIONS: THE CHALLENGE AHEAD

The findings from this survey provide encouraging news about young Americans’ commitment to redefining the concept of leadership in our country, working together to provide direct assistance to others, and reaching out to people from different backgrounds to collectively forge new solutions to social problems. Young people see leadership as an exercise available to and, in fact, a responsibility of all Americans, not just to a select group of charismatic individuals. What sets young people apart from their parents’ and grandparents’ generation is an overarching emphasis on a new set of leadership traits: the ability to see a situation from someone else’s point of view, a willingness to work collectively and cooperatively, and a desire to initiate solutions on a smaller scale, rather than to react to broad institutional remedies.

Importantly, young people also demonstrate a strong will to take action on their beliefs by volunteering in their community and by reaching out to understand and unite with people different from themselves. As these young people come of age and prepare for their roles as adults in our country, several challenges remain in tapping into the energy and commitment of this generation.

- 1** While young Americans display a good deal of initiative in finding ways to serve their community and to assist other individuals, they do not have a strong vehicle to channel or guide this motivation. From government and political leaders to nonprofit and charity organizations, young people do not respond to many of the traditional organizations and institutions that our country has looked to in taking the lead in solving social problems. Instead, young people are looking for a different type of guidance and support for their initiatives—one that values all individuals and emphasizes the importance of people actively working together to solve problems.

- 2** While young people clearly have found ways to act on the beliefs and values that are important to them, the survey findings suggest that they feel as though most of our country's leaders—both individual and institutional—are not speaking a language to which they can relate or understand. The language that young people speak is *inclusive*, with a heavy emphasis on seeing situations from multiple perspectives, as well as *focused*, with a concentration on helping others directly and actively. In order to harness fully the talent, commitment, and energy of young people, this language needs to become more central to the way we address and enlist this critical group of young adults.

- 3** Traditional methods of leadership development are not well suited to elicit the learning outcomes needed to practice this new leadership effectively. Content and methods of training and development need to be examined for building competency in this new approach. What can be learned from successful community development efforts and other areas in which this new practice has been applied practically must be integrated into leadership development strategies.

- 4** Many organizations and institutions operate out of more traditional leadership paradigms. To ensure their relevance and effective roles in the future, they must adapt to this new type of leadership both in organizational development and in fulfilling their missions in the community. This reform means developing responsibility beyond the institutional boundaries, into the community, and transferring leadership to their constituents. Internally, this means making the way, not only for new practices, but also for the next generation to assume positions of authority.

Public Allies Leadership Polling Project
Advisory Committee

Tony Brown, Professor of the Practice, and Director of the Hart Center for Leadership, Duke University

Harry Boyte, Director, Center for Democracy and Citizenship, Humbert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota

MG (Ret.) Neil Creighton, President and CEO, Robert R. McCormick Tribune Foundation

Paul Martin DuBois, Co-Director, Center for Living Democracy

Howard Fuller, Distinguished Professor of Education, and Director, Institute for the Transformation of Learning, Marquette University

Ronald A. Heifetz, author of *Leadership without Easy Answers*, and Director of the Leadership Education Project at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

Jody Kretzmann, Co-Director, Asset-Based Community Development Institute, Northwestern University

Leslie Lenkowsky, Professor of Philanthropic Studies & Public Policy, Indiana University Center on Philanthropy

Sara E. Meléndez, President, Independent Sector

Barry Posner, author of *The Leadership Challenge*, and Managing Partner, Executive Development Center, Leavey School of Business and Administration, Santa Clara University.

Dorothy Ridings, President and CEO, Council on Foundations

Ann Mitchell Sackey, Executive Director, National Council for Nonprofit Associations

Ed Skloot, Executive Director, Surdna Foundation

Tavis Smiley, Host of Black Entertainment Television's *BET Tonight*, and author of *Hard Left*

Lisa Sullivan, Fellowship Consultant, NEXT Generation Leadership, Rockefeller Foundation

Angela Wheeler, Publisher, *Who Cares*

Harris Wofford, Executive Director, Corporation for National Service

Charles E. Young, Chancellor Emeritus, UCLA

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1998

E. J. Dionne Jr.

Reform Generation?

The surest indication of creeping middle age is a proclivity toward whiny speeches about what's wrong with the new generation. Commentary about the alleged flaws and shortcomings of "young people these days" is not confined to any ideological camp. The '60s crowd was as horrified at the young Reaganites of the '80s as the parents of the Woodstockers and the Birkenstockers were at their brood of young rebels. Michael J. Fox made a career of such ironies.

The genius of the new generation under 30 may be this: They are different enough from the earlier cohorts that it's hard for anyone to be cranky about them. You can see the attitudes of today's under thirties as a synthesis of the dominant ideas of the '60s and the '80s—which means, of course, that they represent something new.

This is what's emerging from a mound of research now underway on the ideas and aspirations of the young. Much of it is sponsored by the burgeoning "service movement," one of the great untouted developments of the 1990s. It involves many volunteer and community organizations that try to solve social problems a neighborhood and a person at a time.

For example, a soon-to-be-released survey conducted this summer for Public Allies, a national organization that sponsors leadership training and community service programs for the young, concludes that "in contrast to their 1960s predecessors' focus on changing broad social institutions, young Americans' outlook is distinctly personal with a heavy emphasis on direct, one-on-one individual service."

The survey, conducted by Peter D. Hart Associates, found considerable skepticism toward government-led efforts to solve problems but also a strong streak of community-mindedness. "They have felt the power of the rhetoric on the failure of government," said Chuck Supple, president of Public Allies, "but they have a lot of experience locally on their own. They've been seeing individuals and communities assume responsibility locally."

The survey of 728 young adults, 18 to 30, asked: "Which do you think is a more important value in our country—the value of community and looking out for each other, or the value of individual responsibility and self-reliance?" The result: 50 percent opted for community and looking out for each other, while 38 percent opted for individual responsibility and

self-reliance.

This is not to say that individualism is dead. On the contrary, other parts of the survey found that the under thirties value both community and self-reliance and are juggling the two. After the social gyrations of the past 30 years, this may be a generation in search of balance. You might call it maturity.

Perhaps the most striking discovery is the extent to which this is a generation that reveres family stability. Given a long list of forces that "had the biggest impact on people of your generation," the single most important, according to those surveyed, was "the increase in divorce and single-parent families." Only the spread of drugs and crack came close in its effect, and was No. 1 among African Americans.

No wonder that this generation lists "having a strong family" as its most important goal, far ahead of career, money and community service.

The mystery for this generation is whether its communitarian leanings will be expressed primarily in neighborhood work and family life, or whether that work will begin to spill over into politics. For now, says Michael Sanchez, president of "doingsomething," another group that promotes service and youth leadership, the generation is "much more civic-minded than politically minded. While there's an idealism, it's less about changing the world than changing our neighborhood."

"The idea of service is framed in terms of altruism, and the young people we've talked to understand community service in terms of helping the 'other,'" said Juliette Zener, "doingsomething's" research coordinator. "In contrast, they talk about politics entirely in terms of selfishness. There's a middle ground that's missing in the popular language, and that middle ground is engaged citizenship."

It's possible to hope that this generation will do a better job than its immediate predecessors in sorting out the conundrums of democracy. Politics can involve self-interest understood broadly, not narrowly, and thus be more than a selfish pursuit. The call to service is inspired not only by altruism but also by a desire to build a stronger community for one's self and family as well as for others.

The great reforming generations are the ones that marry the aspirations of service to the possibilities of politics and harness the good work done in local communities to transform a nation. Might this generation be one of them?

MARKETPLACE

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1998 B1

THE FRONT LINES

By THOMAS PETZINGER JR.

The End of Leadership
Is One of the Myths
Of a Gloomy Time

A PRESIDENT disgraced, a bull market tamed, a seven-year economic expansion slowed and possibly on the verge of reversal. The news is definitely a drag. But a lot of pundits and media types are going overboard, spreading gloom in places where the facts don't justify it.

Permit me to puncture two of the most insidious myths suddenly gripping discussion about our economy and our country.

Myth #1: Leadership is dead.

"Where have all the heroes gone?" Robert Byrd forlornly drawled on the Senate floor the other day. "Where are the nation's leaders?"

Don't look now, senator, but the nation has so many leaders you can't see them. Like computing technology, like the Eastern Bloc, like the corporate world itself, leadership is breaking into ever-smaller and more widely scattered pieces, distributed across communities, campuses and small companies.

"People aren't looking at big institutions to solve problems. They're rolling up their sleeves and doing it themselves," says Vanessa Kirsch, whose Boston venture-capital fund, called New Profit Inc., connects high-tech nouveau riche investors with socially conscious entrepreneurs.

Private citizens realize that by solving local problems they'll build a better world than politicians and corporate big-shots could ever begin to.

Take Linda Rusch, head of patient-care services at Hunterton Medical Center in New Jersey. A while ago, she organized a free blood-pressure screening at a local fair. That simple step inspired staff nurses to organize dozens of new, continuing health-care initiatives—neonatal counseling, help for battered women, more fund-raisers than anyone could count. "This is a wonderful example of how small changes can lead to large effects," Ms. Rusch says.

WITH NO FANFARE, billionaire Charles Koch of Wichita, Kansas, long known for his patronage of right-wing causes, quietly bankrolls business plans for at-risk kids. "The best ones get a little capital, and it changes their mental models," he says. Meanwhile, corporate partnerships with community colleges explode.

None of this may seem like true "leadership" to generations inspired by the likes of Douglas MacArthur, Martin Luther King Jr. and Lee Iacocca. But charisma and power don't cut it with today's young people. A broad, new poll of 18- to 30-year-olds by Peter Hart Research Associates finds that "young people overwhelmingly describe a model of leadership that is built from the bottom up."

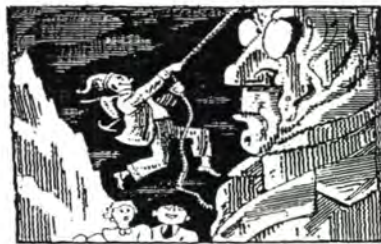
In other words, small groups are leading change at the local level, in contrast to "the traditional concept of American leadership as a strong, select group of individuals." Sixty-eight percent of those surveyed claim involvement in community service.

Says Chuck Supple, president of Public Allies, a youth-leadership group that commissioned the Hart

poll: "This generation doesn't look to national leaders. They're looking in their own backyards."

Myth #2: A bear market will stifle innovation.

The reasoning here is that high-priced initial public offerings will come to an end, depriving venture capitalists of an exit strategy and thereby depressing seed financing, business start-ups and, ultimately, innovation. The reality is that although innovation drives stock



Elliott Barfield

prices, stock prices have nothing to do with innovation.

"Innovation is not driven by capital at all," says William Cockrum of UCLA's Anderson School of management, one of the nation's leading professors of entrepreneurialism. "Innovation is the process of seeking an improvement, and that process goes on regardless of markets."

IN DOLLAR TERMS, innovation becomes less expensive all the time as creativity overtakes capital as the main constraint on innovation. Breakthrough technologies, once the province of government labs and corporate R&D, rely more on knowledge and imagination and less on costly equipment and materials.

A half-dozen graduate students can innovate more readily than Microsoft. I know a chemist who is revolutionizing the design of printed circuit boards with heat-conducting polymers she invented in a tiny lab in inner-city Cleveland.

Any withering of venture capital—still a long way off, even in the worst case—would stifle marketing rather than innovation. Big, late-stage VC funds from institutional investors most often underwrite sales and revenue growth. Seed money for innovation, by contrast, comes from family, credit cards, personal savings and "angels" who invest regardless of market conditions.

"The typical individual angel investor has a passion for start-up financing," says Gary Kalbach, general partner of Silicon Valley's El Dorado Ventures, which represents angels and institutions alike.

Notably, El Dorado this week launched a major new plunge into ventures engaged in Internet commerce. Meanwhile, banks are still falling all over themselves to get in on ground-floor lending opportunities to entrepreneurs.

Instinctive Technology Inc., a successful software start-up in Cambridge, Mass., admits its rapid growth would have been cramped without its abundant venture financing. But co-founder Jeff Beir adds, "If this capital were not available, we would have continued to innovate and found other ways to bring our ideas to market."

I welcome, and answer, all signed e-mail. Send your comments and criticisms to tom@petzinger.com.

THE CHRONICLE OF PHILANTHROPY

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The Newspaper of the Non-Profit World

Vol. X, No. 22 • September 10, 1998 • \$4

Survey: Young Adults' Faith in Power of Charities Is Limited

Young adults are committed to solving social problems, but they have little faith that their volunteer work at charities will make much of a difference, according to a new survey.

The survey, commissioned by Public Allies, a non-profit group based in Washington that works to develop leadership among young people, found that people ages 18 to 30 believe that charities can only be effective problem solvers if they work in concert with businesses and government agencies.

More than two-thirds of respondents said they had "been involved in activities to help their community" in the past three years. The figure includes people who did volunteer work or got involved in civic organizations.

But when asked which groups will be most effective in solving future social problems, charities barely rated a mention. Only 11 per cent of those surveyed said that charities would play an important role in solving future problems. Educational groups were named

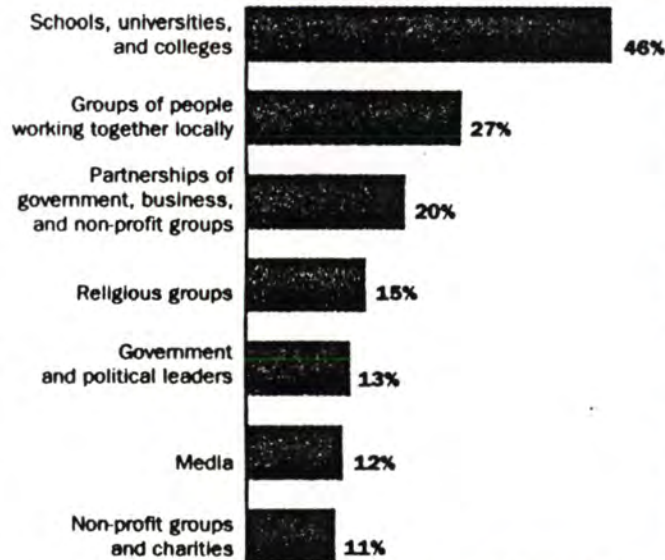
by 46 per cent of young people as being effective problem solvers—by far the most of any category in the survey. "Groups of people working together" was cited by 27 per cent of respondents, while 20 per cent of young people said that partnerships of government, business, and non-profit groups were important for solving problems.

The survey also found that young people believe that the best way to bring about changes in society is by "practicing your ideals in everyday life," with 68 per cent saying they think that is effective. Volunteering to help people was regarded as an important means to create change by 54 per cent of respondents.

The survey was conducted by Peter D. Hart Research Associates and polled 728 people ages 18 to 30.

For a free copy of the report on the survey, "New Leadership for a New Century," contact Meri Lou Gonzales, Public Allies, 1015 15th Street, N.W., Suite 200, Washington 20036; e-mail panational@aol.com. —PAUL DEMKO

Organizations Young People Believe Are Most Likely to Solve Future Problems



SOURCE: PETER D. HART RESEARCH ASSOCIATES

CHRONICLE CHART BY JASMINE STEWART

THE CHRONICLE OF PHILANTHROPY

The Newspaper of the Non-Profit World

Vol. X, No. 24 • October 8, 1998 • \$4

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LESLIE LENKOWSKY

Sizing Up the Civic Universe Created by Young Adults

SINCE PRESIDENT CLINTON has made national service for young Americans a hallmark of his Administration through such programs as AmeriCorps and the 1997 summit on volunteerism, the controversy over his conduct in office—and his possible removal—could conceivably dampen enthusiasm for it. However, non-profit leaders concerned with maintaining a high degree of civic spirit in the rising generation can take heart from a recent study done for the youth-service group Public Allies.

Fully two-thirds of the 728 Americans between the ages of 18 and 30 who were questioned for the survey said they tried to put their personal ideals into practice through volunteering and other forms of community engagement.

It seems, however, that they are going about it in their own way. Rather than align themselves with government or with well-established national religious or non-profit institutions, today's young adults prefer new and different ways of promoting community improvement. Young people today, the survey notes,

have begun to establish their own civic universe built around small, "bottom up" groups that thrive on personal relationships, such as schools and peer groups. Rather than look up to popular, charismatic, or persuasive leaders, today's youth say they admire those who can get along well with other people, have high personal integrity, and are comfortable with diverse points of view.

According to the survey, less than one-fifth of young Americans think that they can effectively foster change by furthering a "political or social cause." Such a vision contrasts sharply with that of the baby-boom generation, which, until the Vietnam War and Watergate era, looked to government and the programs of the Great Society as ways to serve the public good and solve social ills.

Now that such programs have fallen out of favor with the majority of Americans—and the nation's political leadership is again enveloped in scandal—it is a good thing that civic spirit among young people is not tied as tightly to Washington as it once was. But there is

a downside as well to this neo-Tocquevillean notion of voluntary civic action in America.

The Public Allies survey indicates that young Americans define their goals mostly in terms of better relationships. According to the report that accompanied the study, "diversity, reaching out and connecting to other people, and making a difference in the lives of others all are extremely important values to this generation."

Laudable as those aims may be, however, they lack moral content. Good relationships can serve bad ends, as well as virtuous ones. Ultimately, what holds civic groups together—and makes them effective—is a shared sense of purpose, of goals, and of vision for themselves, for their communities, and, ultimately, for their country.

And that, the study suggests, may be lacking—or at least not clearly developed and articulated.

One study, of course, is hardly conclusive, but the heavy emphasis young people place on individual relationships

Continued on Page 56

Continued from Page 55
raises the question of whether their activities are really more personal than civic-minded. One-third of those surveyed felt that the most important experience affecting their generation was "the increase in divorce and single-parent families." It would not be surprising, then, if their volunteering had a lot more to do with finding what the historian Christopher Lasch once called "a haven in a heartless world" than with trying to change that world.

Too much concern for personal fulfillment is not a good basis for building effective and lasting civic groups. And it is all too easy to confuse activities that mostly serve one's private needs with those that actually benefit the public.

Still, how young Americans' ideas about civic engagement evolve and take practical form as

the generation grows older will be worth watching. So, too, will the ways in which its civic activities fit into a society in which government, as well as long-established non-profit and religious groups, continue to play a large role.

By calling for more "community service" and mentor programs, some traditional political and non-profit leaders have begun to respond to the outlook reflected in the Public Allies survey. Others, however, continue to insist that today's young people are too politically apathetic and bemoan their reluctance to take up one or another effort to change public policy. But unless those leaders can redefine the relationship between government and the nation's civic life to give greater emphasis to fostering non-governmental activity, they will have little chance of capturing the enthusiasm of the rising generation.

For now, this notion of a civil society that stands apart from government—while accomplishing many of the tasks that allow government to be limited and successful—is a promising one. Whether it can remain apart from government and still find solutions to many of the nation's problems remains to be seen.

On balance, however, if we are now headed for another wrenching test of our confidence in the nation's political leaders, we should be grateful that the rising generation of young Americans can envision a healthy civic life without Washington.

Leslie Lenkowsky is professor of philanthropic studies and public policy at the Indiana University Center on Philanthropy and a regular contributor to these pages. His e-mail address is llenkows@iupui.edu.

Studies call for new forms of philanthropic leadership

To solve the many social problems we face, our communities could stand a big change in how things get done, starting from the bottom up. That's the message of two recent studies that make a case for new models of leadership.

PHILANTHROPY



Todd Cohen

educational and economic issues.

And according to the findings of Peter D. Hart Research Associates of Washington, D.C., change will be spurred not by individual leaders but by small, resourceful groups.

"There is not going to be one leader," said Meredith Emmett, executive director of N.C. Public Allies, the state chapter of

the organization that commissioned the Hart study "It's going to be about a group of people leading, and it's not just going to come from the nonprofit sector."

In an era of cynicism about politics and a retreat from public pursuits, the South's "economic energy does not seem matched these days by equal energy in civic and public service," MDC says in its study, "The State of the South 1998."

The nonprofit group, which studies work force and economic development, says the region needs "a massive infusion of creative leadership" in philanthropy.

"Philanthropy is rapidly emerging as society's source of social venture capital, and nonprofit organizations as its testing ground for potential solutions," says the study, which is based on census data.

"Endowed institutions have the benefit of the long-term view, with perpetual insulation from the distractions of ephemeral issues and fleeting popular opinion that beset elected officials."

The South also needs more "home-grown philanthropy," the study says. The region has roughly one-third of the U.S. population and two-fifths of its poverty but

only one-tenth of its philanthropic assets.

As the South's thriving economy creates new wealth, the study says, business and civic leaders should make the creation of new foundations a priority. While corporate purchases of community hospitals are making tens of millions of dollars in hospital assets available for conversion to community foundations, the study says, most new foundations "will come from the voluntary decisions of Southerners who see the nonprofit sector as a necessary complement to government and business in the task of improving people's lives."

Philanthropic organizations also should work with government, the study says, identifying long-term social trends and needs and placing them on the public agenda, and sponsoring research, demonstrations and evaluations to test solutions to persistent problems.

Finally, the study says, foundations can play a central role in helping the South wrestle with race. "Foundations are effective catalysts for dialogue and collaboration, bringing together government, business, education, nonprofits and others in the search for common ground and solu-

tion to common problems."

The Hart Research study, "New Leadership for a New Century," calls for new leadership models to tap the commitment of young people. Young Americans "place a premium on a set of traits that represents an extraordinary break from traditional models of American leadership," the study says.

The study was based on a national survey in July of 728 Americans ages 18 to 30. Public Allies provides nonprofit apprenticeships for young people and helps develop them as leaders.

"Contrary to the popular portrayal of today's young Americans as self-absorbed and socially inert," the study says, "the findings from this survey reveal a portrait of a generation not searching to distance itself from the community but instead actively looking for new and distinctive ways to connect to the people and issues surrounding them."

Yet, unlike the Baby Boomers who came of age in the 1960s and tended to focus on political leaders and broad social institutions, the study says, the outlook of young Americans today is "distinctly personal,

with a heavy emphasis on direct, one-on-one, individual service."

Young people "embrace a model of leadership that is best characterized as 'bottom up' rather than 'top down,'" the study says, and "place a premium on the efficacy of small groups of people working together to effect change in tangible ways."

Young people also place a high priority on diversity and "reaching out to connect to and work with people from different backgrounds to address problems and formulate solutions."

The bottom line is that, to fix the social problems we face, wealthy people must develop more of a public conscience and commitment, while nonprofits and foundations must encourage collaboration that better reflects and taps the changing community America has become.

For a copy of MDC's study, call 968-4531. For a copy of the Hart Research study, call Public Allies at 202-822-1180.

Todd Cohen, editor and publisher of the Philanthropy News Network, can be reached at 879-3744 or tcohen@mindspring.com.

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KNOW-IT-ALL: Barry Z. Posner



Barry Posner follows the leaders. The author of several best-selling books on leadership, he has spent decades studying more than 60,000 leaders and their constituents in companies and organizations worldwide. Mr. Posner serves on the faculty of Santa Clara University, where he is professor of organizational behavior and managing director of the Executive Development Center at the Leavey School of Business and Administration. He is the co-author, with James Kouzes, of *The Leadership Challenge* and *Credibility*, both of which are considered classics in the field. Mr. Posner recently joined the Public Allies board in Silicon Valley, and shared with us his thoughts on the poll and related topics.

Q What did you learn from the poll?

A: I came away with a sense of hopefulness, with optimism. This is not a survey of pessimistic Dilberts. This group wants to make a difference, and I think they're going to provide as good as – or even better – leadership than previous generations. I took great heart in their standards, their sense of what was important, their belief that living one's ideals was an effective way to bring about change. They are saying: we have the resources and capabilities, we don't need experts to take responsibility, we can do it for ourselves. We found in our own research that leadership is not a position, a place in an organization, but a sense of responsibility. The young people in the poll are saying that leadership is everybody's business.

Q So leadership is more of a group effort than an individual one?

A: It's both. Martin Luther King says "I have a dream" but then goes on to say what "we" are going to have to do to make it a reality. Leadership starts within ourselves, with a personal vision. But there is a limit to what we can do by ourselves, and so the "I" needs to become the "we." That's a lot of what we do in Public Allies – helping public advocates understand the system better, to see broadly across organizations and recognize opportunities for networking, for leveraging local resources.

Q How do you get people to think of themselves as "we?"

A: One of the key challenges of leadership is trying to find a balance between different values, knowing what your own ideals are, but also having a willingness to listen to others and be influenced by them. A leader's job is to listen to multiple perspectives,

to find the wholeness in diversity of opinions, and to recognize that there is no one right answer to the complex problems facing our society. Leadership is an art, not a science, and you need to make choices: at local levels especially, there is no shortage of opportunities to make a difference, so where do you want to focus your attention?

Q Has the concept of leadership changed much in recent years?

A: One key change is captured by the phrase "think globally – act locally." There has been a trend toward decentralization, toward distributed power, in both business and politics, with more responsibility going to state and local governments. When Nelson Mandela was inaugurated he said that what should scare people is not that they are powerless, but rather how much power they really do have. What groups like Public Allies do is remind people that one person can make a tremendous difference.

Q What leadership challenges do young people commonly face?

A: The challenge for every generation is one of perspective. When I talk to Public Allies in the Silicon Valley, they always want to see change happen today. This sense of urgency can be a source of frustration, especially to true visionaries. If you can clearly see how things should be different, then why can't they be different now? One way to deal with this is to stay focused on what I call "small wins." You can't solve the problem of homelessness in your community in ten months. But what could you do in that timeframe, or even in the next five months, to make a difference? Stay focused on your progress, and keep in mind that sometimes you need to be a few steps ahead of people to make them take just one step in the right direction. And never forget that you need to get there one step at a time.

THE 411

Public Allies News and Notes

In an independent survey of more than 100 organizations that have hosted the majority of our Allies over the past five years, 83 percent said Allies had a positive impact on the groups themselves and the communities they serve.

The four-month study, completed in June, found that "the skills and qualities that Allies bring to their host organization have, in many cases [...] increased its capacity to fulfill its mission." Though most organizations first hosted an Ally because they needed help completing a project or wanted to help support the development of a young person, they found that the experience provided them with unexpected benefits. Among those cited most frequently: expanding outreach to the community, increasing the number and types of people served, and forging resource-leveraging partnerships with other groups.

Other Items of Interest:

Showing Promise: The President's Initiative on Race has cited Public Allies as a "Promising Practice" for valuing diversity within a context of solid community outcomes.

Lucky Seven! Public Allies - Cincinnati opens its doors this month, bringing to seven the number of PA sites around the country. With two more sites slated to open next year, we're well on our way to meeting our goal of 12 sites by 2001.

Social Solutions. PA is proud to be partnering with IBM, United Way and AmeriCorps*VISTA on Team Tech, which engages AmeriCorps Members in bringing computer technology to local non-profits.

New Faces. PA welcomes our newest Board members — Tavis Smiley, host of BET Tonight and commentator for the Tom Joyner Morning Show and Charles E. Young, Chancellor Emeritus of UCLA; and Executive Directors — Pat Dowell of PA Chicago, formally with the Mid-South Planning & Development Commission; David Weaver of PA Cincinnati, formally with the Children's Defense Fund; and Lisa Burford of PA Washington, DC, formally with the National Center for Nonprofit Boards.

Did It Again. The Walt Whitman Center for the Culture and Politics of Democracy has measured the citizenship of our Allies over the past few years and once again concluded that "Public Allies show a significant decrease in alienation from national government, and significant increases in political tolerance, religious tolerance, racial tolerance, issue activity, voting activity, and civic skills."

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 21, 1998

Carole Shields
President
People for the American Way Foundation
2000 M Street, NW Suite 400
Washington, DC 20036

Dear Carole:

How is the beautiful grandmother and citizen
activist?

Thank you for your kind note. I've passed along
your good wishes to the President and First Lady, and I
know they appreciate your thoughtfulness.

Best wishes and thank you for all you do.

Sincerely,



Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady



(K)
Shields

CAROLE SHIELDS
President

September 21, 1998

Ms. Melanne Verveer
Office of the First Lady
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Melanne:

We are thinking of you as you support the First Lady during this time.
Please share with her our love and support.

Best regards,

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 22, 1998

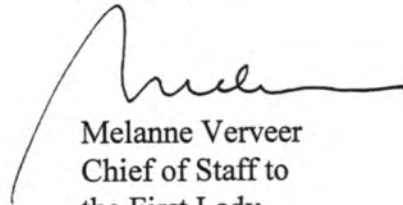
Ms. Sue Stealey
5133 Washington, #5-F
Downers Grove, IL 60515

Dear Sue:

Thank you for your the copy of the sermon by Rev. Buchanan of the Fourth Presbyterian Church. His reflections are inspirational and wise. Thank you for sharing his work with the First Lady and thank you for your support.

All the best.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Melanne Verveer', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady



P
News

5133 Washington, #5-F
Downers Grove, IL 60515
September 16, 1998

Dear Melanne:

You are very much in my thoughts these days and I thought the enclosed might be of interest. I am a member of the Fourth Presbyterian Church of Chicago. Our minister, John Buchanan preached what I think is an excellent sermon last Sunday. The attached is a copy from the church's web page. If you think it is appropriate and would be helpful, please share it with Mrs. Clinton.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Sue".

Sue Stealey



Editor's note: Selected sermons of Fourth Presbyterian Church will be available here the Wednesday or Thursday after they are preached. Calum MacLeod's sermon from September 6 will not be available. Audio cassettes of all sermons are available through Carol Allerton at (312) 787-2729, ext. 265.

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PAINFUL TRUTH: NECESSARY FORGIVENESS

By John M. Buchanan

Fourth Presbyterian Church

September 13, 1998

A Psalm of David

The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want. He makes me lie down in green pastures; he leads me beside still waters; he restores my soul. He leads me in right paths for his name's sake.

Even though I walk through the darkest valley, I fear no evil; for you are with me; your rod and your staff - they comfort me.

You prepare a table before me in the presence of my enemies; you anoint my head with oil; my cup overflows.

Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life, and I shall dwell in the house of the Lord my whole life long.

Psalm 23 (NRSV)

* * *

Martin Marty, distinguished historian and student of American religious history, understands more than anyone the reality of our nation's religious character and unique religious experience. At the end of one of his books, *Pilgrims in Their Own Land*, he reminds us that for five hundred years we Americans have found reasons to convince ourselves that we are a religious people and a nation under God. And, Marty predicts, so long as there is are American people who are free, our dreams (and our hopes and aspirations, our sense of what is right and wrong, what is good and what is evil) "will prod us on to more restless pilgrimages." (p. 476-7)

That national spirit, or soul, was there from the beginning. Pilgrims saw themselves as a "city set on a hill," a new covenant community called by God to a special destiny.

The patriots who declared independence and the politicians who crafted a constitution invoked sacred honor and divine providence.

Our hopes and dreams, our sense of right and wrong and good and evil led us to fight a civil war under a President who was so haunted by the notion of God's presence in the midst of the conflict and God's intent for people to somehow live in peace and justice that Quaker philosopher Elton Trueblood called him, "Abraham Lincoln, Theologian of American Anguish."

Those hopes and dreams energized a great social revolution called Civil Rights and they inspired young Americans to make the ultimate sacrifice in the struggle against Fascist totalitarianism and racial genocide, as we have been so powerfully reminded this summer by Stephen Spielberg in *Saving Private Ryan*.

And, now, those dreams and hopes, that sense

of right and wrong, that awareness of the presence of God in all of life and of a national accountability and responsibility to God has brought us to a painful moment, perhaps a defining moment, a dangerous moment altogether unique in American history. As I thought all summer about this Sunday, about the fact that we would be singing and hearing American religious music and thinking about the particularly American theological motifs that music represents, at a time when the nation was moving slowly but inexorably toward a crisis in regard to the President and the report of the Independent Counsel, I knew in my heart that, much as I wanted to, I could not ignore the moment. I did not know when I prepared this sermon that this would be the week the report would be delivered to Congress and available on the internet on Friday.

I do not want to preach this sermon. My guess is that most of you do not want me to preach it. But, I do not know how we can stand in the five-hundred-year stream of American religion, particularly the Presbyterian branch, which has always insisted that religion is public as well as private, political as well as internal I don't know how we cannot have a conversation about it, here-in church-on Sunday morning.

We are not without resources, by the way.

We have two resources, actually-a story and a belief which we stand up and affirm in one voice every time we are together. The belief is in the forgiveness of sin, and the story is about David.

As the whole matter began to unfold, I found myself thinking a lot about David. I had seen his amazing statue by Michelangelo in Florence earlier this year, an astonishing expression of physical beauty, strength, and presence that celebrates Israel's own love for its greatest king. So I looked him up and read his story again, several times actually, and I commend it to you. It's a lot better than most airport novels or television soap operas. You can find it in the Old Testament, in the Hebrew scriptures,

2 Samuel 9-through the end of the book and into the first two chapters of the next one, 1 Kings. I also ordered and read a very good book about the story, *David's Truth*, by Walter Brueggemann.

You know the story. David is the king, a national hero, beloved, adored, protégé of King Saul, friend of the King's son, Jonathan, slayer of Goliath, poet and musician, who either wrote or commissioned many of the Psalms, military leader, smart politician.

David sees beautiful Bathsheba bathing on the roof of her house, is stirred by her beauty, sends for her, engages in sexual intercourse with her, and sends her home. Not long after, Bathsheba sends word to the king, two words actually, "I'm pregnant."

The problem with this dilemma is that Bathsheba is married. So is David, for that matter, but at the time that was not as importantly morally or legally as the fact of Bathsheba's marriage. Uriah is her husband; a good, loyal military officer in David's army, at the moment carrying out his duty to king and nation.

David, in the best tradition of politics from the White House to the royal palace in Jerusalem, devises a plan for damage control. It is, essentially, to disguise the truth. Uriah is summoned from the front and sent home to sleep with his wife. But Uriah, dutiful servant of the King, declines and sleeps instead at the King's door. David needs more creative damage control. He offers Uriah a few drinks, hoping that alcohol will inspire him to spend the night with Bathsheba. Again, Uriah refuses, and now, Israel's bright and shining star does the unthinkable: sends Uriah back to battle, carrying in his own hand his death warrant in the form of orders to his commanding officer to place him at the front in the thick of the worst fighting and then to pull back so that Uriah will be killed.

Brueggemann asks, "Is there nothing to which

David will not stoop for the cover up? Is there no shame? We know as much as we can stomach about David . . . about the public use of power for personal ends . . ." (p. 60-61)

Enter God in the person and voice of the prophet, Nathan, who tells David a dreadful story about a powerful man who steals a poor man's sheep, and in four words that match Bathsheba's two in power, looks David in the eye and says, "You are the man."

David is caught. The truth somehow is out. Now David repents. David's remorse is powerful and personally painful. It comes only when there is no other alternative, only when his back is against the wall. Contemporary news analysts would probably characterize it as cynical and insincere, because David didn't level immediately and engaged in weeks and months of spin control, outright lies, and even murder. But the Bible portrays it without cynicism. David's remorse-late as it is-is genuine.

Read it: Psalm 51, the subtitle of which reads, "A Psalm of David, when the prophet Nathan came to him, after he had gone in to Bathsheba."

"Have mercy on me O God,
according to your steadfast love . .

. . . cleanse me from my sin.

For I know my transgressions,
and my sin is ever before me.
Against you, you alone have I
sinned."

David doesn't resign. He is not impeached. He is held accountable for his behavior, confesses, asks pardon-and is forgiven and restored and renewed. Nothing will ever be the same. That is part of his punishment. His sin, as he wrote (in Psalm 51) "is ever before me." He will never live another day of his life without the memory of his sin and shame. Israel now knows more about its king than it wants to know: his

humanness, his stupidity, his selfishness, his sin. This is not without repercussion. This is not cheap grace. The child born of his liaison with Bathsheba will die, and David will be devastated.

But God's love for David creates a new being, a new situation, a new being; and David, flawed, human, sinner, will continue to lead the nation and will continue to know the amazing grace of God, who will not let him go; the God who will be with him even in the valley of the shadow of death.

That's the story, and it is close to the heart of our religious tradition, which means close to the heart of how we understand ourselves and others and our life together.

The belief that we affirm weekly in the Apostles' Creed is the forgiveness of sins. We believe in forgiveness. It's not just a theory or therapeutic technique. We believe in forgiveness as we believe in God and Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit. We believe forgiveness is morally better than non-forgiveness. We believe Jesus Christ, God's son, God's incarnation, came for the forgiveness of sins. We believe that forgiveness is of God and that we are called to forgive as we have been forgiven. "Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors," we pray. We believe it, and we know, everyone of us, that it is not easy, sometimes more difficult and painful than other times, but when the offense is real forgiveness is never easy. Forgiveness is always costly. Forgiveness cost the life of God's only son.

Our leader is flawed. He has broken his promise. He has betrayed trust. His appalling private behavior has been publicly exposed and discussed arguably more than anyone else's in all of history. All his efforts at damage control have failed, and he has lied to cover up what he has done. He may even have abused the power of his office to cover up what he did. And when he had an opportunity to confess, several weeks ago, he chose to do so grudgingly, and

instead lashed out at the Independent Counsel.

But now he has confessed and apologized and asked for forgiveness, and the Congress, and ultimately the American people, must deal with it. He may choose to resign. Many hope he will. Many are advising him to resign. If he does not, we have three choices. Thomas Friedman of the *New York Times*, listed them:

Impeach him, limp along with him,
watching him at every step and
never allowing anyone to forget
what he did, continuing this
exercise in national voyeurism, so
obviously delighting in the
opportunity to traffic in salacious
detail, the more the better;

OR,

we can forgive him.

It will not be a politically popular suggestion, but it is the word, the Biblical word, the faith word we have to offer. It is, I believe, the only word we have to offer, even if we don't want to offer it.

Thomas Friedman argues not from a faith perspective, but from a pragmatically political one, "It's time to forgive," he writes, "not for his sake, but for ours. Not because his affairs are unimportant, but because ours are more important: Social Security reform, education reform, child care reform, campaign finance reform, tobacco legislation, not to mention the current fiscal crisis, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Russia."

Stephen Carter, Yale Law professor and best selling author, in another editorial says, that Mr. Clinton and we have an opportunity for genuine moral rejuvenation and renewal. We know clearly what is right and wrong. We know what we expect from our President, and we have a rare opportunity to do something radical and beautiful: forgive and learn from this and then turn away from this; repent of it,

him and us; and be about the business of the nation.

Frank Harrington, Pastor of Peachtree Presbyterian Church in Atlanta, told a story recently that touched me. It's about a similar time, when many of us grieved the inability of a leader to say, "I'm sorry," and therefore the nation's inability to forgive.

It's about Leon Jaworski, the special prosecutor during the Watergate scandal. Mr. Jaworski was a Presbyterian elder. One Sunday, he was worshipping at New York Avenue Presbyterian Church in Washington, the church where Lincoln worshipped and where the pew in which he sat during the Civil War is reserved for presidents. On that morning, Mr. Jaworski watched as the President of the United States, Richard Nixon, walked down the aisle and was seated by an usher in the Lincoln pew. "Leon Jaworski, sitting several pews behind the President, thought about all he knew from listening to the Nixon tapes. He knew that the President could be indicted for criminal activity beyond any shadow of doubt. There he sat in worship. He wondered what would happen if the President suddenly stood up and said,

'Dr. Docherty, (George Docherty was the pastor) I would like a moment of special privilege,' and then turned to the congregation and said, 'I want to say today that, as President of the United States, I have sinned before God and lied to you. I have asked God's forgiveness and now ask yours. I have come to this church today to make full disclosure of who and what I am and what I have become. I promise you from this day forward I'm going to do better.'

Leon Jaworski said that if Richard Nixon had done that, we probably would have gathered the president up and put him on our shoulders

and carried him back to the White House."
(reprinted from "Peachtree Presbyterian
Pulpit." in *Homiletics*, Sept.-Oct., 1998)

Not unlike that shepherd we sang about to
begin this little festival of American hymns,
who places the lost sheep on his shoulders and
carries it home; not unlike that Amazing Grace
with which we will end, "grace that saved a
wretch like me."

We pilgrims, with our five-hundred-year
history, have been reminded over and over
again, not that God loves or blesses us more
than any other people, but that God is present
in the life of the world and in the life of our
nation, that God cares deeply and personally
about all people and each one of us.

It's the miracle of God's love-from which
nothing can separate us: nothing in life or
death, not strife or warfare, not sickness,
suffering, or aging, not even our own
shortcomings and our failures, our small moral
lapses or even our monumental sin. Nothing
can separate us from God's love

May that love bless you.

May our sense of that love as a powerful force
operating in our midst lead us to be and to act
responsibly, compassionately, justly, and to
extend to others the grace and forgiveness that
has been extended, in Jesus Christ, to us.

Amen.

[Go back to Main Menu](#)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 23, 1998

Ruth J. Simmons
Office of the President
College Hall 20, Smith College
Northampton, Massachusetts 01063

Dear Ruth:

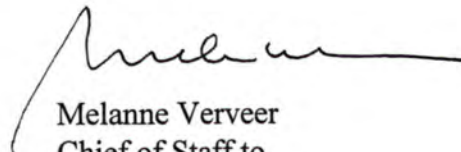
On behalf of the First Lady, thank you for your invitation to launch *Otelia Cromwell Day* at Smith College on November 3.

Regrettably, Mrs. Clinton's schedule will not permit her to accept your kind invitation. But she conveys her appreciation for your thoughtfulness, along with her best wishes for the day's celebrations.

It was wonderful to have your participation in our discussion prior to Mrs. Clinton's Seneca Falls speech.

Very best wishes.

Sincerely,



Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady



SMITH COLLEGE

Facsimile Transmittal Sheet

Please call or deliver on arrival to

Katie Button

Fax number

202-456-6244

From

Ruth J. Simmons

Date

October 8, 1998

Subject

Number of pages including this sheet

2

Message to recipient or special instructions

Smith College
Northampton, Massachusetts 01063
(413) 585-2100

Office of the President
College Hall 20
Return fax number (413) 585-2123

This document is intended only for the use of the person to whom it is addressed. It may contain information that is privileged and confidential. If you have received this communication in error, please notify us by telephone at (413) 585-2100 to arrange for the return of the original document to us.



Office of the President

Smith College
Northampton, Massachusetts 01063
(413) 585-2100 FAX (413) 585-2123

September 15, 1998

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mrs. Clinton,

Each year Smith College holds a day in celebration of diversity. The celebration is called *Otelia Cromwell Day* in honor of our first known African-American to graduate and consists of an afternoon filled with workshops and symposia designed to explore diversity. Each year, the activities begin with a keynote address to the general college community. I would like to invite you to deliver this year's address.

This year, *Otelia Cromwell Day* will be held on Tuesday, November 3, 1998. The theme for the day is "Celebrating Children Across Cultures" and was chosen to complement a larger effort within the college to address the needs and concerns of children. The keynote address is scheduled to occur from 1:15 to 2:00 p.m. Afterwards, we plan to have storytellers, dancers, and musicians on campus to entertain children from our local school systems. In addition to these activities, we will have panels and symposia geared towards scholarly discussions of cultural influences in the art and literature of childhood, as well as lectures and discussion about other crucial factors affecting our nation's youth, such as schooling, poverty, and the law.

Given your commitment to the plight of children around the world, I can think of no better person to launch our day of activities. It would be an honor to have your presence on our campus as we publicly acknowledge our commitment to address issues affecting our children.

If the timing of this event is at all possible given your schedule, I would love to explore further details of the day.

bc: Bren Ja Allen
Carnien Santana-Melgoza

Sincerely,

Ruth J. Simmons

You are much in my thoughts these days.
RJS/ng
We'd be delighted to have you come!

my -
This is
at Smith -
should we
secret?
-Kathy

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 21, 1998

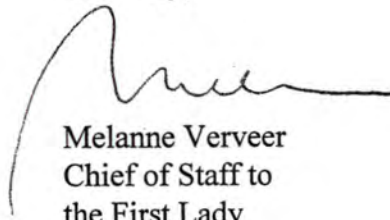
The Honorable Nancy Soderberg
Alternate United States Representative
for Special Political Affairs
799 United Nations Plaza
New York, New York 10017

Dear Nancy:

Thanks for your note. It was wonderful to see you in Belfast, albeit all too briefly. I cannot thank you enough for your counsel, commitment, involvement and assistance with Vital Voices. It couldn't have happened without you. Our work in Northern Ireland is so important and there are so many reasons to be optimistic. And in that you have played a key role.

Very best wishes to you, and please stay in touch.

Sincerely,



Melanne Vermeer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady



799 UNITED NATIONS PLAZA
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

ALTERNATE UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE
FOR SPECIAL POLITICAL AFFAIRS

Sept. 18, 98

Dear Melanne,

I wanted to let you know how much I appreciated being a part of the Vital Voices conference. It was my first exposure to a "women's" conference - and I was blown away! The women were incredibly dynamic, determined and fun.

The trip also gave me a chance to catch up with a number of political leaders in Belfast. It is heartening to see how far our peace process has come - I doubt it can be reversed.

I hope you are surviving the craziness in Washington. Come to New York anytime you need to escape!

Again, many thanks.

Warm regards,
Nancy Soderberg

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 26, 1998

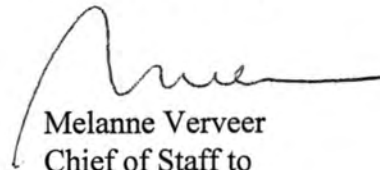
Mrs. Irena Kozminska
3101 Albemarle St., NW
Washington, DC 20008

Dear Irena:

Thank you for the update about the ABC XXI-Children's Emotional Health Program for Poland. It is wonderful to hear about the two new foundations and that plans for your May conference are taking shape.

Mrs. Clinton conveys her best wishes to you and your colleagues. Please do keep us informed about all your important work.

With best wishes,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Melanne Verveer', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

(P)

Irena Koźmińska
3101 Albemarle St. NW, Washington DC 20008
tel. (202) 362-2189 fax. (202) 362 - 8894

September 25, 1998

Mrs. Melanne Verveer
Chief of the Staff to the First Lady
Old Executive Bld., room 100
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Melanne:

Thank you very much for your recent letter of September 14, informing me about Mrs. Clinton's schedule and regulations regarding her ability to serve as a Chairperson. I will be delighted to keep the First Lady informed about the progress of the "ABC XXI-Children's Emotional Health Program for Poland".

Twin foundations, both in the U.S. and Poland are currently being established to work on these issues. In the coming May conference in Warsaw, titled "How to Love a Child - New Insights of Contemporary Psychology", we will have top American psychologists participate. Mary Pipher, the best-selling author of "Reviving Ophelia", Nathaniel Branden - author of "Six Pillars of Self-Esteem", Linda and Richard Eyre, authors of "Teaching Your Children Values, and Alice Miller from Europe, the author of many books on child abuse, have already confirmed their participation. We expect delegations from several post-communist countries attending the conference.

Before the conference, over a period of several months, the interviews which I am doing with American family and child development specialists are being published in the leading Polish weekly, "Polityka".

I would deeply appreciate your kindly giving this information to the First Lady. I will keep Mrs. Clinton abreast of the development of the Program.

With my warmest regards,

Irena Koźmińska

Irena Koźmińska
Wife, Polish Ambassador to the U.S.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 2, 1998

His Excellency Yuri Shcherbak
Ambassador
Embassy of Ukraine
3350 M Street, NW
Washington, DC 20007

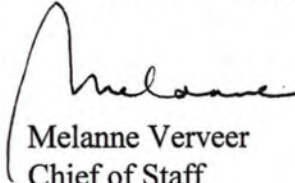
Dear Ambassador Shcherbak:

I regret deeply that I cannot be with you and Mariya for your farewell party. I will be there in spirit.

As a member of the Administration I have valued the many opportunities we have had to work together to further the ties between the United States and my ancestral homeland. I have always been impressed by your commitment to the hard work of building a democracy, creating a market economy and promoting the welfare of your people. You have always demonstrated great integrity, the courage of your convictions, dedicated leadership and impressive intellectual capacities.

On a personal level it has been very gratifying for my husband and I to get to know you and Mariya. I hope that I will be able to continue to work with you on our mutual aspiration to help bring about a prosperous Ukraine. I hope too that I will have the chance to visit you in Ukraine in the foreseeable future.

With warmest wishes,



Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff
to the First Lady

Dear friend:

Myself and Mariya will be departing for Kyiv at the end of November. Sadly, time flies so quickly!

We spent four happy years in Washington and I would like to believe that this time was spent usefully. During this time the Ukraine-US relations were considerably consolidated having reached the level of strategic partnership.

We were able to visit many beautiful places in this wonderful country from California to New England, from Texas to Illinois, from Florida to Utah.

We are going to always remember America and Americans, their hospitality and kindness. Our stay in the US was rich in events related to political and cultural life of the country, as well as bilateral relations between the US and Ukraine. We have acquired a lot of good friends here among diplomatic community, American people and Ukrainian Americans.

We realized that my tenure as Ambassador of Ukraine in Washington would only be for a few years and sometime would come to an end, but it was hard to imagine that time ever coming. Unfortunately, that time has come and we have to say good-bye.

We are taking to Kyiv our love for the United States and its lovely people.



With best regards,

Yuri and Mariya Shcherbak

October 23, 1998

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 6, 1998

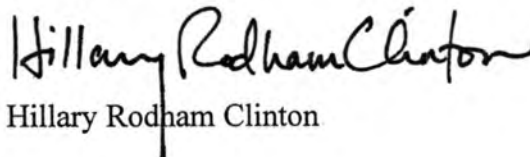
Dear Friends:

Welcome Friends of the Potomac. How exciting to think of you gathered along this mighty river on the grounds of one of our oldest, most treasured historic homes. Though he rejected any royal title, George Washington certainly knew how to pick a majestic setting for his home. I regret I am unable to be with you, but I am pleased that so many distinguished guests, and especially our Members of Congress, are there to celebrate the important designation of the Potomac River as an American Heritage River.

We exist in relationship to our geography -- each influencing the other. I am pleased that the American Heritage River program is recognizing the confluence of those two forces. We must always remember our responsibility as steward of the earth's resources. That is why it is so important that this program convenes the local community to celebrate and protect the river and its history.

In the trees you are planting today, you are adding your own mark to the riverway. I think ahead with pleasure to future Americans who will know that you took the time to be responsible with the resources they will still enjoy. Best wishes as you continue in your important work.

Sincerely yours,



Hillary Rodham Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 23, 1998

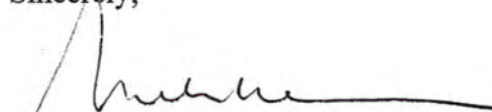
Ms. Rowanda M. Smith
302 Orleans Ave.,
Bossier City, LA 71112

Dear Ms. Smith:

Thank you for your letter and your good wishes to the President and the First Lady, which was so beautifully written and with such heartfelt words. I know they appreciate your support and thoughtfulness.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Melanne Verveer', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

Ⓜ

=== COVER PAGE ===

TO: _____

FAX: 12024566244

FROM: B.T. @ ROWANDA SMITH

FAX: 318-741-6874

TEL: 318-747-9030

COMMENT: URGENT

Melanne Vermeer
Chief of Staff for
First Lady

Rowanda m. Smith
302 Orleans Ave.
Bossier City, LA 70112

Dear Ms. Vermeer,

I called the office of the First Lady and was referred to you. Though I do not approve of President Clinton's infidelity, I applaud his efforts to keep it private even if lying was required to do so.

The release ("unleash" is a better word) of the monstrous, lurid document by the House astounds me. I am also astounded by the fact that none of the defenders of this Presidency has even mentioned the fact that this monster was "released" with apparent complete absence of due diligence or forethought of ramifications; i.e. with unprecedented and gross recklessness! (Wonder what Congressman Solomon would have thought had a member of Starr's staff slipped in "dope" on him, for example.) Either these people knew what they were voting to release, else they were extremely uncaring of consequences (to this Nation's youth and all others), or plain stupid. In any case, they committed a reckless and potentially dangerous act, yet the media and even defenders of the Administration have been silent about this!!

Thursday is the 211th anniversary of the signing of the Constitution. Upon exiting Independence Hall 17 Sep 1787, Benjamin Franklin was asked, "What have you given us, Sir?" He replied, "A Republic, Madam, if you can keep it." He would weep. I weep.

I have called Rep. Jim McCrery, Sens. Landrieu, Breaux, Byrd, ~~Dodd~~ Dadd, Feinstein and Torricelli; also Congressmen, Waters,

-2-

Conyers, Bonior, Jackson, Jackson-Lee, Dixon, Slaughter, Kennedy (Patrick), Fazio, Maloney, Moakley, Watt, Gephardt and Gingrich and requested the legislation of a permanent Rule in both the House and Senate that would require "due diligence," including knowledge of contents of documents released by either body. The future security of this Nation, I feel, requires this. The reckless vote of the House last week proves the need for it.

My prayer is that there will be a rapid healing of our First Family and of this nation.

My request to you, Ms. Vermeer, is to please call the recklessness and absence of due diligence of the House in releasing Starr's "report." The recklessness of the President pales, in my opinion, in comparison to the reckless lack of forethought exercised in the release of that document.

I am an old woman, and I can't do much, but this kind of reckless behavior, collectively, by the House, terrorizes me and I love this country too much to ignore it, for I predict that the release of this document will have far greater, negative ramifications than the embarrassment of the Administration. I cry when I think of the number of our children who have seen it, including Chelsea Clinton.

If you have borne with me this far, I do so appreciate it and please tell Mrs. Clinton and the President that they still have the esteem of Rowanda and Bennett Smith, who have been married 43 years, love each other dearly and know "that this, too, shall pass."

Every good wish,
Rowanda M. Smith

P.S. Nen Lyons of Henderson, NE
asked to have her name added

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 23, 1998

Prof. Kathryn Kish Sklar
Distinguished Professor of History
State University of New York at Binghamton
PO Box 6000
Binghamton, NY 13902-6000

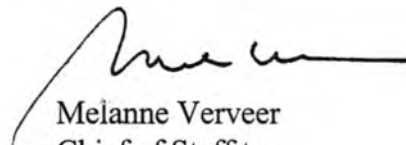
Dear Professor Sklar:

Thank you for your article about government initiatives and women's volunteerism around the turn of the century, which Katy Button passed on to me. The historical account is most fascinating.

We regret that you could not join us in July, but trust there will be another opportunity. Along with her very best wishes to you, Mrs. Clinton conveys her best wishes in your important work to study the history of women and your vital contributions to preservation.

Thank you for all you do.

Sincerely,



Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to
the First Lady

R

Binghamton

State University of New York at Binghamton
P.O. Box 6000
Binghamton, New York 13902-6000

Kathryn Kish Sklar
Distinguished Professor
Department of History
Telephone (607) 777-6202

Melanne

8.29.98

Katy Button
First Lady's Office
100 Old Executive Building
Washington DC
20502

Dear Katy Button:

Thanks again for your invitation to join Hillary Rodham Clinton for dinner with other historians of American women prior to her speech at Seneca Falls. I regret that prior obligations prevented me from accepting. I was presenting a paper at the International Society for Third Sector Research in Geneva, Switzerland. This is the chief international group that studies voluntarism and civil society.

With or without the help of the historians she gathered at the White House in July, Hillary Clinton's talk at Seneca Falls was inspiring and (even more important for an historian) historically significant in its ability to link the past and the future.

In our brief conversation last month, I promised to send you the enclosed article, which we both thought would be of interest to the First Lady. From an historical perspective this short essay addresses the question: Does the expansion of state responsibilities reduce the effectiveness of voluntary groups? The essay was written as part of my responsibilities on the Scholarly Advisory Board of the National Commission on Civil Renewal, a group convened by the Institute for Philosophy and Public Policy of the University of Maryland.

On another topic -- I am nominating the First Lady for an honorary degree at the State University of New York in May 2000. Are you the correct person to contact about that possibility?

For your files I enclose a copy of my curriculum vitae.

Sincerely,

Kathryn Kish Sklar

Spring 1998
Curriculum Vitae

Kathryn Kish Sklar
Distinguished Professor
Department of History
State University of New York
Binghamton, New York 13902

(607)-777-2625
(607)-777-6202
FAX (607)-777-2896

Home:
Longford Lake
Brackney, Pennsylvania
18812
(717)-663-2339
FAX (717)-663-2409

e-mail: kksklar@binghamton.edu

WEBSITES:

Women and Social Movements in the United States, 1830-1930 (with Thomas Dublin)
<http://womhist.binghamton.edu>
Global Network on Women's Advocacy in Civil Society (with Kathleen McCarthy)
<http://www.philanthropy.org> -- select Global Network and Global Forum
History of American Women in the Twentieth Century
<http://www.bingweb.binghamton.edu/~hist368>

PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYMENT

1988-present Distinguished Professor, State University of New York,
Binghamton
1981-1988 Professor of History, UCLA
1974-1981 Associate Professor, UCLA
1969-1974 Lecturer and Assistant Professor, University of Michigan

EDUCATION

B.A. 1965 Radcliffe College, Harvard University, (Magna Cum Laude
in History and Literature)
M.A. 1967 University of Michigan, History
Ph.D. 1969 University of Michigan, History

HONORARY DEGREE:

Doctor of Humane Letters, Eastern Michigan University, 1987

BOOKS

FORTHCOMING--Women's Rights and the Anti-Slavery Movement: A Documentary History
(Boston: Bedford Books, St. Martin's Press, 1999)

co-editor with Anja Schöler and Susan Strasser, Social Justice Feminists in the United States and Germany: A Dialogue in Documents, 1885-1933 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998)

Florence Kelley and the Nation's Work: the Rise of Women's Political Culture, 1830-1900, Volume I of a two-volume study (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995). Winner of the 1995 Berkshire Prize of the Berkshire Conference of Women Historians; Chosen by the New York Times as a Notable Book of 1995.

Co-editor with Linda Kerber and Alice Kessler-Harris, U.S. History as Women's History: New Feminist Essays (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995)

Editor, with Martin Bulmer of London School of Economics, and Kevin Bales of London Polytechnic University, The Social Survey Movement in Historical Perspective (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992)

Editor, with Thomas Dublin, Women and Power in American History: A Reader, 2 Volumes, (Engelwood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1991)

Editor, The Autobiography of Florence Kelley: Notes of Sixty Years (Chicago: Charles Kerr, 1986)

Editor, Harriet Beecher Stowe: Uncle Tom's Cabin, or Life among the Lowly; The Minister's Wooing; Oldtown Folks (New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 1981)

Editor, Catharine Beecher, A Treatise on Domestic Economy (New York: Schocken reprint of 1841 original, 1977)

Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973). Reprinted in paperback by W.W. Norton & Co., 1976. Winner of 1973 Berkshire Prize; National Book Award finalist, 1974. Portions reprinted in anthologies.

CHAPTERS IN BOOKS:

"The Consumers' White Label of the National Consumers' League, 1898-1918," in Susan Strasser, Charles McGovern, and Matthais Judt, eds., Getting and Spending: American and European Consumption in the Twentieth Century (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998)

"Two Political Cultures in the Progressive Era: The National Consumers' League and the American Association for Labor Legislation," in Linda Kerber, Alice Kessler-Harris and Kathryn Kish Sklar, eds., U.S. History as Women's History: New Feminist Essays (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

"The Historical Foundations of Women's Power in the Creation of the American Welfare State, 1830-1930," in Seth Koven and Sonya Michel, eds., Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States (New York: Routledge, 1993); to be reprinted in Carl Guarneri, America Compared, (Houghton Mifflin, 1997)

"Coming to Terms with Florence Kelley: the Tale of a Reluctant Biographer," in Sara Alpern, Joyce Antler, Elizabeth Perry and Ingrid Scobie, eds., The Challenge of Feminist Biography: Writing the Lives of Modern American Women (University of Illinois Press, 1992). Book received the Susan Koppelman Award, Popular Culture Association, 1993. Essay translated and reprinted with commentary in Historia Y Fuente Oral (No. 14 1995).

"Hull House Maps and Papers: Social Science as Women's Work in the 1890's," in K. K. Sklar co-editor with Martin Bulmer and Kevin Bales, The Social Survey Movement in Historical Perspective (Cambridge University Press, 1992); reprinted in Helene Silverberg, ed., Gender and American Social Science: the Formative Years, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).

"Who Funded Hull House?" in Kathleen McCarthy, ed., Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women, Philanthropy and Power (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990)

"The Greater Part of the Petitioners are Female': The Reduction by Statute of Women's Working Hours in the Paid Labor Force, 1840-1917," in Gary Cross, ed., The International History of the Shortening of the Workday (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988)

Co-author with Nancy Henley et al, "The Social Construction of Gender," Dean R. Gerstein et al, eds., The Behavioral and Social Sciences: Achievements and Opportunities, (New York: National Academy Press, 1988)

"Jane Addams's 'The Subjective Necessity for Social Settlements,'" in David Nasaw, ed., The Course of United States History (New York: Dorsey Press, 1987)

"Female Teachers: 'Firm Pillars' of the West," in "Schools and the Means of Education Shall Forever Be Encouraged": A History of Education in the Old Northwest, 1878-1880 (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1987)

"Why did most politically active women oppose the ERA in the 1920's?" in Rights of Passage; The Past and Future of the ERA, Joan Hoff-Wilson, ed., (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986)

"The Last Fifteen Years: Historians' Changing Views of American Women in Religion and Society," in Women in New Worlds: Historical Perspectives on the Wesleyan Tradition, Hilah F. Thomas and Rosemary S. Keller, eds., (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1981)

"Victorian Women and Domestic Life: Mary Todd Lincoln, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Harriet Beecher Stowe," in The Public and the Private Lincoln, Cullom Davis, et al., eds. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980)

"The Founding of Mount Holyoke College" in Carol Berkin and Mary Beth Norton, eds., Women in America: Original Essays and Documents (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1979). Reprinted in American Vistas, Dinnerstein and Jackson, eds., (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983).

"Catharine Beecher and American Feminism" in Earl A. French and Diana Royce, Portraits of a Nineteenth-Century Family (Hartford: The Stowe-Day Foundation, 1975). Reprinted in Catherine Clinton and G.J. Barker-Benfield, eds., Portraits of American Women (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990).

ARTICLES:

"Engendering Women's History: New Paradigms and Interpretations in American History," Amerikastudien/American Studies, Vol. 41: 2 (1996)

"Jane Addams's Peace Activism, 1914-1922: A Model for Women Today?" Women's Studies Quarterly, Special Issue on Rethinking Women's Peace Studies, (23 (Fall/Winter 1995), pp. 32-47; originally printed in "Women Peacemakers and Women's Political Culture in World War I," Women and Peace: an International Conference, (School of Social Work, University of Illinois, 1990)

"The Schooling of Girls and Community Values in Massachusetts Towns, 1750-1820," special issue on women's education in History of Education Quarterly (Spring 1994 and Fall 1994)

"Biography in the Writing of U.S. Women's History," 17th International Congress of Historical Sciences, Madrid, Spain, August, 1990, Proceedings, 2 Vols., (Madrid: Comité International des Sciences Historique, 1991), Vol. 2, 1179-1189.

"A Call for Comparisons," American Historical Review, Vol. 95, No. 4 (Oct. 1990), 1109-1114.

"`Women Who Speak for an Entire Nation:' American and British Women Compared at the World Anti-Slavery Convention, London, 1840," in Jean Fagan Yellin and John C. Van Horne, eds., The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women's Political Culture in Antebellum America (Cornell University Press, 1994). An earlier version by the same title was printed in Pacific Historical Review, (November 1990); translated and reprinted in Historia Y Fuente Oral, No. 6, pp. 19-43 (University of Barcelona, 1991).

"`Organized Womanhood': Archival Sources on Women and Progressive Reform," Journal of American History, June, 1988.

"Hull House as a Community of Women Reformers in the 1890's," in Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, special issue on Communities of Women (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Vol. 10, No. 4, Summer 1985), pp. 657-77. Reprinted in Mary Beth Norton, ed., Major Problems in American Women's History (D.C. Heath, 1989); Nancy Hewitt, ed., Half of History: Women, Family and Community in North America (Scott, Foresman, 1989); Ellen DuBois and Vicki Ruiz, eds., Unequal Sisters: A Multicultural Reader in U. S. Women's History (Routledge, 1990); Sklar and Dublin, eds., Women and Power in American History (Prentice Hall, 1990); Kenneth Jackson and Leonard Dinnerstein, American Vistas (Oxford, 1990, 1995); Nancy Cott, ed., History of Women in America (Meckler, 1993); Michael Perman, ed., Perspectives on the American Past (D.C. Heath, 1996).

"A Conceptual Framework for the Teaching of U.S. Women's History, 1600-1980," The History Teacher, Vol. XIII, No. 4, August 1980. Also in Restoring Women to History: Materials for U.S. History II, the Organization of American Historians, 1985.

Recent United States Scholarship on the History of Women, U.S. Report to Fifteenth International Congress of Historical Sciences, Bucharest, 1980, Session on "Women and Society." co-author with Barbara Sicherman, William Monter, and Joan Scott. Published as a pamphlet by the American Historical Association, 1980.

"Culture Versus Economics: A Case of Fornication in Northampton, Massachusetts in the 1740's," University of Michigan Papers in Women's Studies (University of Michigan Press, May 1978)

"American Female Historians in Context: 1775-1930," Feminist Studies, Vol. 3, nos. 1 and 2 (Summer 1975). Reprinted in Nancy F. Cott, ed., History of Women in America (Meckler, 1993)

"All Hail to Pure Cold Water: Women and the Water-Cure Movement in Antebellum America," American Heritage 31 (1974). Reprinted in Women and Health in America: Historical Readings, Judith Walzer Leavitt, ed., (U. of Wisconsin Press, 1984).
OTHER:

Producer, Interviewer, "A Talk with Genora Johnson Dollinger, a Founder of Industrial Unionism," 45 minute videotape, Distributed by Media Library, UCLA (1985).

Co-author with Gerda Lerner, Graduate Training in U.S. Women's History: A Conference Report (1990). Available through the American Historical Association.

Encyclopedia articles include items in: Oxford Companion to American History (forthcoming); Readers' Companion to U.S. Women's History (forthcoming); Historical Encyclopedia of Chicago Women (forthcoming); American National Biography (forthcoming); Biographical Dictionary of Women Economists (forthcoming); Eleanor Roosevelt Encyclopedia (forthcoming); Jewish Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia (1997); A Companion to American Thought (1995); Encyclopedia of New York City (1995); Companion to American History (1993), Readers' Encyclopedia of American History (1991); Encyclopedia of the American Left (1990); Biographical Dictionary of American Social Welfare Leaders (1986); Dictionary of Afro-American Slavery (1986); Encyclopedia of Education (1970).

Book reviews in Journal of Interdisciplinary History, American Historical Review, Journal of American History, Reviews in American History, and others.

FELLOWSHIPS, GRANTS and AWARDS:

Fellowship, National Endowment for the Humanities, 1998-1999
Recipient with Thomas Dublin, NEH Teaching with Technology Grant for the development of a World Wide Website on Women and Social Movements in the United States, 1830-1930
Recipient with Thomas Dublin, NEH Humanities Focus Grant for the development of a World Wide Website on Women and Social Movements in the United States, 1830-1930
Co-Director with Thomas Dublin, NEH Summer Seminar for College Teachers, "The History of American Women through Social Movements, 1820-1930," State University of New York, Binghamton, Summer 1990 and Summer, 1996
Fellow, National Humanities Center, Research Triangle Park, North Carolina, 1995-1996

Recipient, Andrew W. Mellon Foundation grants to conduct summer seminars for dissertation writers in U.S. women's history at the State University of New York, Binghamton, May-July 1994 and 1995
 Fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, D.C., 1992-93
 American Association of University Women, Founders' Fellowship, 1990-91
 Co-Director (with Gerda Lerner), NEH-sponsored conference on graduate training in U.S. Women's history, 70 participants, Johnson Foundation, Wingspread Conference Center, 1988
 Fellow, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral and Social Sciences, Stanford University, 1987-1988
 Spencer Foundation Research Grant, 1987-1988
 Guggenheim Fellowship, 1984-1985 (postponed to 1985-1986)
 American Council of Learned Societies, Grant in Aid, 1983
 NEH Fellowship, Newberry Library, 1982-1983
 Woodrow Wilson International Center Fellowship, summer 1982
 Rockefeller Foundation Humanities Fellowship, 1981-1982
 Schlesinger Library Grant, Radcliffe College, fall 1982
 Demonstration Grant for Curricular Development, National Endowment for the Humanities, 1976-1978
 Daniels Fellow, American Antiquarian Society, summer 1976
 Fellow, National Humanities Institute, Yale University, 1975-1976
 Ford Foundation Faculty Research Grant for the Study of Women in Society, 1973-1974
 Fellow, Radcliffe Institute, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1973-1974
 Danforth Graduate Fellowship, 1967-1969
 Woodrow Wilson Fellowship, 1965-1967

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES:

Honorary Memberships:

Phi Beta Kappa, Radcliffe College, 1964
 American Antiquarian Society, Elected to Membership, 1977
 Society of American Historians, Elected to Membership, 1987

Service in Professional Organizations:

American Historical Association

Chair, Committee on Women Historians, 1980-1983
 President, AHA Pacific Coast Branch, 1987-1988
 Vice-President, Pacific Coast Branch, 1986-1987
 Program Committee, Pacific Coast Branch, 1982
 Editorial Board, Guide to Historical Literature (1995)
 Member, Coordinating Committee on Women in the Historical Profession, 1973-present
 Evaluator, AHA-NEH Stanford Institute on Women's History, 1977-79

Organization of American Historians

Co-Chair, Program Committee, 1998
 Executive Board, 1983-1986
 Nominating Board, 1977-1978
 Merle Curti Prize Committee, 1978-1979
 Program Committee, 1979-1980
 OAH Lecturer, 1982-present
 Search Committee for Editor of Journal of American History, 1984
 Committee on the Status of Women, 1985-88
 Prize Committee Best Foreign-Language Book
 on U.S. History, 1993-96

Berkshire Conference of Women Historians

Program Committee, Conferences in Women's History, Radcliffe
 College, 1974; Bryn Mawr College, 1976; Smith College, 1984

American Studies Association, Council Member at Large, 1978-1980

Society for Historians of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era

President, 1994-95
 Vice President, 1993-94
 Council Member, 1989-1993

Upstate New York Women's History Organization

Program Committee Chair, 1994

Editorial Boards:

American Quarterly, 1976-1979
Journal of American History, 1978-1981
Feminist Studies, Guest Editor, Fall 1976
Ms., Scholarly Advisory Board, 1980-1984
America: History and Life, 1984-present
Journal of Women's History, 1987-present
History of Women Religious Newsletter, 1988-92
American National Biography, 1990-present
Cambridge Dictionary of American Biography, (published 1995)
Feminist Press, 1990-present
Hayes Historical Journal: A Journal of the Gilded Age, 1991-94
Women's History Review, 1990-present
Historical Encyclopedia of Chicago Women, 1992-present

Other Professional Activities:

Bancroft Prize Juror, 1997-98
 Working Group on Catholic Women, "Catholicism in Twentieth Century
 America," Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism,
 University of Notre Dame
 Scholars Working Group, National Commission on Civic Renewal,
 Institute for Philosophy and Public Policy,
 University of Maryland, College Park, 1996-present
 Member, New York Council for the Humanities, 1992-present,
 Executive Committee, 1995-1996, Chair, Awards Committee,
 1995-1996

Visiting Committee to Evaluate the Department of History, Columbia University, April 1990
 Examiner, Honors Program, Swarthmore College, June 1989
 Co-coordinator (with Gerda Lerner), NEH-sponsored Conference of Graduate Teachers in U.S. Women's History, held October, 1988, Wingspread Conference Center, Racine, Wisconsin.
 Founder and Coordinator, Workshop on Teaching U.S. Women's History for college teachers of U.S. women's history in the West and Southwest, 1978 to 1988
 National Research Council, Committee on Basic Research in the Behavioral and Social Sciences, Gender Studies Working Group, 1985
 Member, California Council for the Humanities, 1981-1985
 Advisory Board, Southern California Institute for Historical Research and Services, 1981 to 1988
 Pulitzer Prize Juror in History, 1976
 Fellow, Newberry Library Family and Community History Seminar, 1973
 Committee Service in Women's Studies:
 Chair, committee to design a women's studies program, University of Michigan, 1970-71
 Chair, committee to design a women's studies program, UCLA, 1974-75
 Chair, Committee to Administer Program in Women's Studies, 1974-75, 1976-77, 1977-78, 1979-80, 1980-81, and Committee member, 1983-84, 1986-87.
 Chair, Advisory Committee, Center for the Study of Women, 1984-1985 (the Center's inaugural year)

Listed in a variety of biographical directories, including:
Who's Who in America (beginning in 1984).

SELECTED SCHOLARLY PRESENTATIONS

" An Historical Model of Women's Voluntarism and the State, 1890-1920,"
 International Society for Third-Sector Research, Geneva, Switzerland, July 1998

Keynote Address, "Interpreting Women's History in Local Sites," annual meeting,
 Regional Council of Historical Agencies, Seneca Falls, New York, April 1998

Keynote address, "What do historians of twentieth century women miss when they overlook the importance of religion as a category of analysis?" Protestant Women in the Twentieth Century, a project funded by the Pew Memorial Foundation, Chicago, April 1998

Keynote address, "The Power of a Symbol: the Consumers' White Label, 1899-1917,"
 Conference on the Culture of Politics and the Politics of Culture, Cornell University, November, 1997

Keynote address, "Women Reformers and Social Welfare: Maternalism or Social Justice?" Labor and the Welfare State, Ninth Symposium of the George Meany Memorial Archives, Sponsored Jointly with the National Archives, November, 1996

"Historical Understanding and the Making of Public Policy," Social Science History Association, October 1996

"Florence Kelley and W.E.B. DuBois: A Partnership in Struggle, 1909-1930," Berkshire Conference in Women's History, Chapel Hill, North Carolina (June 1996).

"Social Reform Themes in Women's Political Culture: Representations and Realities, 1900-1920," various versions presented at about twenty colleges and universities, 1994-1996, most recently Northwestern University (April 1996).

"`Doing the Nation's Work': Florence Kelley and Women's Political Culture 1830-1930," various versions presented at about seventy colleges and universities, 1980-1995.

Commentator, session devoted to my book "Florence Kelley and the Nation's Work: The Rise of Women's Political Culture, 1830-1900," at the annual meeting of the Social Science History Association (November 1995)

"The White Label Campaign of the National Consumers' League, 1899-1909," Presidential address, Society for Historians of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era, annual meeting with the Organization of American Historians, Chicago, April, 1995; and conference on Consumer Culture in the Twentieth Century, German Historical Institute, October, 1995.

"Florence Kelley and German Political Culture in the 1880s," German Historical Institute, September, 1995.

"Engendering Women's History: New Paradigms and Interpretations in American History," keynote address, annual convention of the German Association for American Studies, Hamburg, Germany, June, 1995.

"Women and Welfare in Conservative Eras," Berkshire Conference in Women's History, June, 1993

"The World that Lillian Wald Built," keynote address, Centennial Conference, Henry Street Settlement, March 1993

"Why did Women Factory Inspectors Wield More Power in the United States than Elsewhere, 1890-1910?" Luncheon Address, Conference on Occupational Health and Safety, George Meany Archives, Silver Spring, Maryland, Oct. 11, 1991.

"Biography in the Writing of U.S. Women's History," 17th International Congress of Historical Sciences, Madrid, Spain, August, 1990

"Women Peacemakers and Women's Political Culture in World War I," keynote address, International Conference on Women, Peace, and Social Welfare Policies, University of Illinois, April 1989

"American Women Social Scientists in the 1890's," London School of Economics, London, England, March 1989

"British and American Women at the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840," Presidential Address, American Historical Association, Pacific Coast Branch, San Francisco, August, 1988

"A Theoretical Framework for the Comparative Study of Women and Politics in the United States and Great Britain," Berkshire Conference on the History of Women, Wellesley College, June 1987. Distributed in Kathleen McCarthy, ed., "Women and Philanthropy: Past, Present and Future," Working Papers, Center for the Study of Philanthropy, [1988]

"Teaching Values in Public Schools: an Historical Perspective," Summer Workshop, Chief State Education Officers of the U.S., Jackson Hole, Wyoming, July 1986.

"Sources of Change in the Schooling of Girls in Twenty-Eight Massachusetts Towns, 1750-1810," Conference on Gender, Education and Technology, the Rockefeller Foundation, Bellagio, Italy, October 1985.

"Personal Power and Historical Causation," Vth International Conference in Oral History, Barcelona, March 1985.

"Education and its Social Setting in the Anglo-Saxon World," Centre D'Investigacio Historica de La Dona, University of Barcelona, Spain, November 1984; and "Education for Women and Social Change, 1800-1920" Jose Ortega Y Gasset Foundation, Madrid, Spain, November 1984.

"The Debate between Florence Kelley and Alice Paul over the ERA, 1921-1923," Sixth Berkshire Conference in the History of Women, Smith College, June 1984.

"American Women's Changing Life cycles, 1800-1980," Jing Lyman Lecture, Center for Research on Women, Stanford University, January, 1982;

Isabel MacCaffrey Lecture, Harvard University, November 1982;

Keynote Speaker, Annual National Convention, Girl Scouts of America, Long Island, October 1982.

"A Conceptual Framework for the Teaching of U.S. Women's History," University of Montana, November 1980; Northwestern University, January 1981; Roosevelt University, November 1981; Seneca Falls, New York, National Park Service conference on "Women and Communities," July 1982; American Historical Association, December 1979.

"Celebrations and Challenges in Women's History," keynote address, Chicago area Women's History Conference, Tenth Anniversary Dinner, November 1981.

"Why Should Writers Use History?" American Writers' Congress, New York City, October 1981.

"The Conflicting Demands of Family and Work: Myths and Realities," American Association of University Women, Wingspread Conference on Families and Work, Racine, Wisconsin, March 1981.

"Recent Scholarship by U.S. Historians on the History of Women," XVth International Congress of Historical Sciences, Bucharest, Rumania, August 1980.

"Historians' Changing Views of American Women in Religion and Society during the Last Decade," Keynote address, at the first national conference on church women's history, "Women in New Worlds: Historical Perspectives on The United Methodist Tradition," Cincinnati, February 1980.

"Autonomous Female Politics, 1820-1920," Keynote address at "Women in History: A Conference on Sources and Methods," Sacramento, CA, May 1977.

"American Female Historians in Context, 1770-1930," Keynote address at Western Association of Women Historians, Annual Convention, Santa Cruz, April 1975.

DISSERTATIONS CHAIRED

COMPLETED at UCLA

Kathleen C. Berkeley, "Like a Plague of Locusts: Immigration and Social Change in Memphis, Tennessee 1850-1880" (1980). Associate Professor, University of North Carolina, Wilmington. Dissertation published as "Like a Plague of Locusts": From an Antebellum Town to a New South City: Memphis Tennessee, 1850-1880 (New York: Garland, 1990).

Carole Srole, "Female Clerical Workers: A Study of the Socio-Economic Background of the Turn-of-the-Century Working Woman" (1984). Associate Professor, California State University, Los Angeles.

Jaclyn Greenberg, "Industry in the Garden: A Social History of the Canning Industry and Cannery Workers in the Santa Clara Valley, California, 1870-1920" (1985). Lecturer, University of California, Los Angeles.

Elizabeth Salas, "Soldaderas: History and Myth of Mexican Army Women" (1987). Dissertation published as Soldaderas in the Mexican Military: Myth and History (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990). Associate Professor, Chicano Studies Program, University of Washington.

Jacqueline Braitman, "Katherine Philipps Edson: California's New Political Woman" (1988). Lecturer, University of California, Los Angeles.

Emma Perez, "Through Her Love and Sweetness: Work and Social Change During Yucatan's Revolution, 1910-1924" (1988). Assistant Professor, University of Texas, El Paso.

Margaret Rose, "Women in the United Farm Workers: A Study of Chicana and Mexicana Participation in a Trade Union, 1950-1980" (1988). Assistant Professor, California State University, Bakersfield.

Carolyn Luverne Williams, "Religion, Race, and Gender in Antebellum American Radicalism: The Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, 1833-1870" (1991). Associate Professor, University of North Florida.

Sherry Katz, "Dual Commitments: Feminism, Socialism and Women's Political Activism in California, 1890-1920" (1991). Lecturer, University of California, Berkeley.

Linda Tomko, "Women's Culture, Art-Dance and Social Change in the United States, 1890-1920" (1991). Associate Professor, University of California, Riverside.

Joan Waugh, "Unsentimental Reformer: Josephine Shaw Lowell and the Rise and Fall of the Scientific Charity Movement" (1992). Book forthcoming from Oxford University Press; Recipient, Mary Wollstonecraft Prize, UCLA Center for Research on Women, 1992; Assistant Professor, UCLA. Dissertation to be published by Harvard University Press, 1997.

Cynthia Orozco, "The Origins of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) and the Mexican-American Civil Rights Movement in Texas with an Analysis of Women's Political Participation in a Gendered Context, 1910-1929" (1992). Assistant Professor, University of Texas, San Antonio. Author of Beyond Machismo, La Familia and Ladies Auxiliaries: A Historiography of Mexican-Origin Women's Participation in Voluntary Associations and Politics in the United States, 1870-1970 (University of Arizona Press, 1995).

Nan Towle Yamane, "Women, Power, and the Press: The Case of San Francisco, 1868 to 1896" (1995). Lecturer, California State University, Northridge.

DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED, SUNY, Binghamton

Robyn Rosen, "'Federal Responsibility or Government Tyranny?: Women's Reproductive Reform and the Growth of the Welfare State, 1917-1940" (1992). (Forthcoming as a book from University of North Carolina Press, 1998.) Assistant Professor, Marist College, Poughkeepsie, New York.

Kathleen R. Babbitt, "Production and Consumption in the Countryside: Rural Women and Cooperative Extension Home Economists in New York State, 1870-1940," (1995). Assistant Professor, St. Lawrence University, Canton, New York. Finalist, Lerner-Scott Prize for the best dissertation in U.S. women's history, 1996.

Kimberly Schmidt, "Transforming Tradition: Women's Work and the Effects of Religion and Economics in Two Rural Mennonite Communities." (1995) Recipient, American Association of University Women Fellowship, 1993-94. Lecturer, University of Maryland, College Park.

Amy E. Butler, "The Search for Equality: Alice Paul and Ethel Smith in the Equal Rights Amendment Debate, 1921-1923" (1997) Staff member, National Abortion Action Rights League, Washington, D. C.

Carol Faulkner, "'The Hard Heart of the Nation': Gender, Race, and Dependence in the Freedman's Aid Movement, 1862-1877" (1998) Fellow, National Historical Records and Publications Commission, Lucretia Mott Papers, Pomona College, Claremont, California (1998-1999)

DISSERTATIONS IN PROGRESS, SUNY, Binghamton

Thea Arnold, "Mary White Ovington and Race Relations in the Progressive Era" Recipient, Woodrow Wilson Fellowship.

Suronda Gonzalez, "'Immigrants in Our Midst': Grace Abbott and the New American Citizenship, 1908-1921"

Suzanna Holm, "The New York Female Antislavery Society, 1833-1863"

Linda Janke, "Prisoners of War: Prostitution, Venereal Disease, and Incarceration during World War I"

Michelle Kuhl, "African American Responses to Lynching, 1890-1930: Press, Pulpit and Collective Action"

Judith Shannon Lynch, "Infant and Maternal Health in New York City, 1900-1930." Professor, Sacred Heart University, Bridgeport, Connecticut.

Brenda Myers, "The Sword of the Spirit: Piety and Identity among New York City's Antebellum Methodists." Recipient, Lily Foundation Fellowship, Louisville Institute, 1996-97.

Connie Shemo, "Contested Spaces: American Missionaries Hospitals for Chinese Women, 1870-1930." Recipient, Rockefeller Archives Grant, 1997.

Linda Shoemaker, "Educating 'Efficient Servants of the State': Competing Visions of Social Work in Boston, New York, and Chicago, 1898-1930." Portion of dissertation published as "The Gendered Foundations of Social Work Education in Boston, 1904-1930," in Susan Porter, ed., Women of the Commonwealth: Work, Family and Social Change in Nineteenth Century Massachusetts (University of Massachusetts Press, 1995). Recipient, Newcombe Fellowship, Woodrow Wilson Foundation, 1997.

Julie Simmonds, "Women's Political Culture and the Ohio Consumers' League, 1900-1940"

Daniel Wright, "The Female Moral Reform Movement in the Antebellum Northeast, 1834-1848"