

FOIA MARKER

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Collection/Record Group: Clinton Presidential Records

Subgroup/Office of Origin: Public Liaison

Series/Staff Member: Alexis Herman

Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 2905

FolderID:

Folder Title:

[Miscellaneous] [loose]

Stack:

S

Row:

29

Section:

4

Shelf:

8

Position:

1

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. list	[Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (26 pages)	06/00/1994	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Public Liaison
Alexis Herman
OA/Box Number: 2905

FOLDER TITLE:

[Miscellaneous] [loose]

2012-0741-F
rs2625

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]

Alexis Herman
Public Liaison

Recd in ORN 72 OEOB from Ruby Moy
West Wing -

2 boxes of miscellaneous correspondence,
staffing memos, meeting notes and
schedules (no order)

2905

2906

ENCLOSURES FILED OVERSIZE ATTACHMENTS



WOODROW W. CROCKETT

Woodrow W. Crockett was born in Texarkana, Arkansas and attended Dunbar High School and Junior College in Little Rock, Arkansas. He joined the U.S. Army as a private in August 1940. Competition within the 349th Field Artillery (Heavy-155 millimeter gun), the Black's first field artillery unit in the regular Army, resulted in Sergeant Crockett being selected as the Model Soldier of the Regiment. He was subsequently assigned to the Tuskegee Army Air Field, Tuskegee, Alabama in August 1942 as an aviation cadet.

Mr. Crockett graduated as a pilot, single-engine, in Class 43C on March 25, 1943 and was commissioned as a Second Lieutenant in the U.S. Army Air Corps. He was a member of the 100th Fighter Squadron, 332nd Fighter Group, which is also known as the "Red Tails". During 1944 and 1945, Mr. Crockett flew 149 combat missions while on a 15 month tour of duty in Italy during World War II. Fifty missions constituted a tour of duty.

In 1952 and 1953 he flew 45 combat missions in Korea as a jet combat fighter pilot, while assigned to a staff position which did not require combat flying. He has occupied various positions during his 30 years of military service, including Squadron and Group Operations Officer, Flying Safety Officer, Squadron Commander, as well as, Radiological Safety Officer (RSO) on an atomic bomb test in the Southwest Pacific in 1951. In the latter position, Mr. Crockett was a member of a B-17 crew and was airborne during each atomic blast. He was also a member of a small group who were authorized to visit "shot island" (site of the bomb explosion) the day before and the day after each test shot. He was the Assistant Test Director for the F-106 Category II Test Program at Edwards Air Force Base, California in 1958 and also for the Category III Test Program at McGuire Air Force Base, New Jersey in 1959 - 1960. Mr. Crockett has a Mach 2 card, dated June 2, 1959, having flown the F-106 Delta Dart at twice the speed of sound, that is at 22 miles per minute. In September 1967, Mr. Crockett flew Mach 2 in a West German built F-104 Star Fighter, while assigned to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in Oslo, Norway.

A graduate of the U.S. Air Force Command and Staff College, Mr. Crockett received many awards during his military service, including the Distinguished Flying Cross (DFC), the Presidential Unit Citation, Republic of Korea Presidential Unit Citation, and two Soldier's Medals for bravery, awarded for extricating pilots from burning fighter aircraft in 1944 in Italy and 1953 in Korea. He was also awarded the Air Medal with four oak leaf clusters, the Meritorious Service Medal, the Army Commendation medal, and the Air Force Commendation medal with one oak leaf cluster. He attained the highest aeronautical rating in the military - command pilot - in March 1958. Mr. Crockett served in an Air Staff Officer position for the National Guard Bureau at the Pentagon for more than 10 years. Governor Orval E. Faubus awarded him the Arkansas Traveller Award on January 5, 1967. In 1970 Mr. Crockett retired from the Air Force as a Lieutenant Colonel after 28 years on flight status, with 20 years of jet experience, approximately 5000 hours of flying time and 520 hours in combat. He had piloted the P-39, P-40, P-47, P-51 Mustang, the F-80 Shooting Star, the F-86 D/L-All Weather Interceptor, the F-106 and the B-17.

In October of 1992, the Arkansas Aviation Historical Society inducted Mr. Crockett into the Arkansas Aviation Hall of Fame.

He is married to the former Daisy Juanita McMurray of Little Rock, Arkansas. They have four children and two grandchildren. They reside in Annandale, Virginia.

To: Dana Wyckoff
202/456-5120 6218

From: Woodrow W. Crockett
703/978-9774

2 pages

ROBERT N. KATAYAMA

442ND REGIMENTAL COMBAT TEAM

SUPPLEMENTAL PERSONAL INFORMATION

A. MILITARY INFORMATION

1. **World War II:** Volunteered for the 442nd Regimental Combat Team in March, 1943 while an 18-year old senior in high school. Served in 4 campaigns in Italy and Southern France. Wounded in Italy and France. Decorated with the Bronze Star, Purple Heart (2), Presidential Unit Citation (2), Good Conduct, Combat Infantryman's Badge. Awarded medals for European, African, Middle East (4 battle stars), American, Asiatic Pacific, World War II Victory, National Defense Service. Discharged in December, 1945 as Private First Class.
2. **Korea:** Recalled to active duty in January, 1952 as First Lieutenant and served as infantry training officer for recruits and later as survivor assistance officer. Released in February, 1954. Decorated with Army Commendation Medal and awarded Armed Forces Reserve Medal.
3. **Vietnam:** Served as Staff Judge Advocate of 24th Corp in Danang. Decorated with Legion of Merit, Vietnam Cross of Gallantry with Palm. Awarded medals for Vietnam Service, Vietnam Campaign (2 battle stars), Vietnam Armed Forces Honor (First Class), National Defense Service.
4. **Other military service:**
 - a) Completed resident courses at U.S. Army Command and General Staff College (1964) and Industrial College of Armed Forces (1971).
 - b) Professor of Law at The Judge Advocate General's School (1968 to 1970).
 - c) Senior military legal advisor in Detroit during July, 1967 riots and in Memphis in April, 1968 following assassination of Dr. Martin Luther-King.

Biographical Data

ELIZABETH P. MCINTOSH

After graduation from the University of Washington, Elizabeth P. McIntosh became a newspaper writer and later a columnist and womens' page editor for newspapers in Hawaii and San Francisco. On December 7, 1941, she was hired by Scripps Howard Newspapers to cover the Pearl Harbor attack and was assigned as war correspondent, Pacific Ocean Area, under Admiral Chester Nimitz's command. She was later transferred to Washington, D.C. as White House correspondent and columnist for Scripps Howard's news features.

She joined the Office of Strategic Services in January of 1943, where she conducted morale operations (MO) against the Japanese in Burma; later she was reassigned to Kunming, China and supported MO teams behind enemy lines. She received the theater citation for her work. After VJ Day, she worked on the OSS China history for the Joint Chiefs of Staff. McIntosh was a radio information specialist with Voice of America and then went on special assignment with the Department of State to the United Nations to write speeches for delegates and cover ECOSOC and the Commission on Status of Women. In 1952, she transferred to the Office of Special Requirements to obtain by-line articles from prominent Americans for use in overseas information programs; did liaison work with congressional leaders, college heads and magazine and newspaper editors. She served with the Central Intelligence Agency from December 1958 until she retired in 1973.

After retirement she worked at the Smithsonian in the public relations office, writing pamphlets and covering Smithsonian Institute activities for the inhouse newspaper.

McIntosh is the author of *Undercover Girl*, the story of women in OSS. She wrote two children's books, *Isbi*, the story of a Seeing Eye Puppy and *Palace Under The Sea*, about underwater exploration off Turkey.

Undercover Girl was recently reprinted by Time-Life in their series of WW II classics.

BIOGRAPHY

Frederick B. McIntosh
Rte One Box 385
Leesburg, VA 22075

DOB 6/8/18 The Dalles, OR
UC (Berkeley) (Mechanical Eng.)
Army Air Corps, 2nd Lt. (Wings) March 1943
Instructor Pilot, P-38
June 5, 1944 56th Fighter Group, England
104 missions, 10 Air Med, DFC, Legion of Merit
German Aircraft Project 1945-1948
Repaired, test flew German aircraft including one across
Atlantic to Ohio.
Reserve Status
March 1951-Recalled to active duty.
Assigned Technical Intelligence (Russian acft)
Research and Development (Strategic Reconnaissance)
Assignments, Orient and SAC
Command Pilot, Jet Qualified, Rank Lt. Colonel
Separated from USAF 1961.
1961-1983 VP/Operations, National Business Aircraft Assn.
1988-present Consultant in aviation safety, etc.
Questions? (703) 777-2358

Post-It Fax Note	7871	8/26/94	Page 1
To: <i>Dan Wyke</i>	From: <i>F. B. McIntosh</i>		
Co/Dept: <i>DEC 13</i>	Co:		
Phone:	Phone: <i>703-777-2358</i>		
Fax: <i>202-456-6218</i>	Fax: <i>777-7792</i>		

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. list	[Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (26 pages)	06/00/1994	b(6)

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Public Liaison
Alexis Herman
OA/Box Number: 2905

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CPL: DEPARTURE
JUNE 1, 1994

Departure Ceremony

PREFIX	LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	MIDDLE	COMPANY	DOB
Mr.	Antonucci	Emery		Veterans of the Battle of the Bulge	
Mr.	Armour	Leon		Tuskegee Airmen	
Ms.	Arthurs	Jean		National Association of Military Widows	
Mr.	Sabcock	Daryl		Disabled American Veterans	
Colonel	Barfoot, USA, ret.	Van	T.	Medal of Honor Society	
Ms.	Barnes	Sharon	W.	1st Infantry Division	
Mr.	Baskerville	Tony		Disabled American Veterans	
Ms.	Beck	Lois	M.	Women's Army Corps Veterans' Association	
Mr.	Belisle	Pete		Paralyzed Veterans of America	
Mr.	Bollinger	John		Paralyzed Veterans of America	
Mr.	Bolsa	Antonio	C.		
Mr.	Brinck	Michael		American Veterans of World War II	
Mr.	Brown	Donald		AMVETS	
Mr.		Robert		BVA	
Mr.					
Mr.	Bujac	Eugene			(b)(6)
Ms.		Helen			
Admiral	Bulkeley, USN, ret.	John	D.	Medal of Honor Society	
Ms.	Bullard	Mary		National Association of Military Widows	
Captain	Burt, USAR, ret.	James		Medal of Honor Society	
Ms.	Butcher	Rosemary		Paralyzed Veterans of America	
Mr.	Butler	Broadus	N.	Tuskegee Airmen	
Maj.	Bystrak	Paul		1st Infantry Division	
Colonel	Campbell	William			
Ms.	Carrick	Carole		Paralyzed Veterans of America	
Mr.	Carroll	John	Bentz		
Ms.		Sarah		American Gold Star Mothers	
Mr.	Carswell	John		Paralyzed Veterans of America	
Mr.	Chavez	Ernest		Paralyzed Veterans of America	
Mr.	Chekan	George		Veterans of the Battle of the Bulge	

OPL: DEPARTURE
JUNE 1, 1994

PREFIX	LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	MIDDLE	COMPANY	DOB
Mr.	Kerney	James	J.	American Veterans of World War II	
Mr.	Kenny	Robert		The Military Order of the Purple Heart	
Mr.	Knappenberger, USA	Alton	W.	Medal of Honor Society	
Mr.	Levasseur	Armand			
Mrs.	Lipinski				
Mr.		James		1st Infantry Division	
Mr.	Loevan	Lewis	W.	Marine Corps League	
Dr.	Loewinger	Isolde			
Ms.	Lofftis	Velma		Fleet Reserve Association	
Mr.	Longhelt	Herbert		Veterans of the Battle of the Bulge	
Mr.	Mank	Russ		Paralyzed Veterans of America	
Mr.	Mansfield	Gordon		Paralyzed Veterans of America	
Ms.	May	Valerie		American Gold Star Mothers	
Mr.	Meakem	Francis	J.	Marine Corps League	
Mr.	Merli, USA	Gino		Medal of Honor Society	
Ms.	Miller	JoAnna		The Women's Memorial	
Ms.	Moore	Maria			
Ms.	Mueller	Grace	L.	Women's Army Corps Veterans' Association	
Mr.	New	Willard		Fleet Reserve Association	
Captain	Newman, USA, ret.	Beryl	R.	Medal of Honor Society	
Mr.	Nitsche	Bruce		Disabled American Veterans	
Ms.	O'Callahan	Beth		Senator Feingold's Office	
Mr.	O'Dennis	Sam		Tuskegee Airmen	
Mr.	O'Neill	Ira		Tuskegee Airmen	
Mr.	Ortner	Blake		Paralyzed Veterans of America	
Mr.	Palmer	Augustus		Tuskegee Airmen	
Colonel	Partridge	Charles	C.	1st Infantry Division	
Mr.	Pearson	Norman		Fleet Reserve Association	
Ms.	Penfold	Jeanne	K.	American Gold Star Mothers	

(b)(6)

176 names

Time Validity: 7:07p, 31 May

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OPL: DEPARTURE
JUNE 1, 1996

PREFIX	LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	MIDDLE	COMPANY	DOB
General	Pennington	James	C.	1st Infantry Division	
Lt. General	Pickett	George		Veterans of Foreign Wars	
Ms.	Pike	Debbi		Paralyzed Veterans of America	
Ms.	Popovich	Eva		Veterans of the Battle of the Bulge	
Mr.	Prothero	Michael		The Military Order of the Purple Heart	
Mr.	Prozialeck	Paul		The Military Order of the Purple Heart	
Mr.	Rafferty	Joseph		PT 221	
Mr.	Rapalus	Henry	W.		
Ms.	Robinson	Wylene		National Association of Military Widows	
Ms.	Rockenstyre	Dorothea		American Gold Star Mothers	
Ms.	Bolen	MARY			
Ms.	Rose	Mary		National Association of Military Widows	
Mr.	Schultz	Richard		Disabled American Veterans	
Mr.		Rick		Disabled American Veterans	
Mr.	Selden	Wiley		Tuskegee Airmen	
Mr.	Shepard	Harry		Tuskegee Airmen	
Ms.	Sherin	Madeline		National Association of Military Widows	
Mr.	Sifers	James		Paralyzed Veterans of America	
Mr.	Silverman	Sam		Veterans of the Battle of the Bulge	
Mr.	Skinder	Donald		The Military Order of the Purple Heart	
Mr.	Smith	Alonzo		Tuskegee Airmen	
Mr.		George		Tuskegee Airmen	
Ms.		Karen		The Women's Memorial	
Ms.	Sorenson	Marie		American Gold Star Mothers	
Mr.	Suggs	John		Tuskegee Airmen	
Mr.	Surratt	Rick		Disabled American Veterans	
Mr.	Sutphin	Vincent		Veterans of the Battle of the Bulge	
Ms.	Tabor	Carol	L.	American Gold Star Mothers	
Ms.	Tackney	Priscilla		National Association of Military Widows	

(b)(6)

176 names

Time Validity: 7:07p, 31 May

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OPL: DEPARTURE
JUNE 1, 1994

PREFIX	LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	MIDDLE	COMPANY	DOB
Mr.	Tayman	William		Veterans of the Battle of the Bulge	
Mr.	Thomas	Charles	R.	Veterans of Foreign Wars	
Ms.		Wanda	L.	Veterans of Foreign Wars	
Mr.	Tomsey	Christian	M.	The Military Order of the Purple Heart	
Ms.		Christina	R.	The Military Order of the Purple Heart	
Mr.		Michael	D.	The Military Order of the Purple Heart	
Ms.	Torreyson	Linda	M.	Catholic War Veterans	
Mr.	Tozar	Arthur		Veterans of the Battle of the Bulge	
Mr.	Twiner	Grover		Veterans of the Battle of the Bulge	
Mr.	Udell	Gilman	G.	Catholic War Veterans	
Mr.	Van Houten	Robert		Veterans of the Battle of the Bulge	
Ms.	Vaught	Wilma			
Mr.	Volmer	Doug		Paralyzed Veterans of America	
Mr.	Walker	George		Tuskegee Airmen	
Mr.	Ware	Ivan		Tuskegee Airmen	
Mr.	Weathers	Luke		Tuskegee Airmen	
MSG	Weidorfer, USA,ret.	Paul	J.	Medal of Honor Society	
Ms.	Weissenborn	Pat		National Association of Military Widows	
Mr.	Williams	Raymond	J.	Catholic War Veterans	
Mr.	Williams, USMC	Hershal	W.	Medal of Honor Society	
Ms.	Woods	Mary	R.		
Mr.		Norman		1st Infantry Division	
Mr.		Peter			
Mr.	Woosley	Noel		American Veterans of World War II	
Ms.	Wright	Florence		National Association of Military Widows	
Mr.		John		Paralyzed Veterans of America	
Ms.	Wyte	Wendy		Senator Feinstein's Office	
Ms.	Young	Violet	C.	American Gold Star Mothers	
Mr.	Zapalovicz	Robert	J.	The Military Order of the Purple Heart	

(b)(6)

176 names

Time Validity: 7:07p, 31 May

Page 6

GPL: DEPARTURE
JUNE 1, 1994

PREFIX	LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	MIDDLE	COMPANY	DOB
Ms.	Zapalowicz	Margaret		The Military Order of the Purple Heart	(b)(6)

12 010

*White House Memorial
Day Ceremony*

Mr. James Adams
Postal Service Board of Directors
475 L'Enfant Plaza, SW
Washington DC
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Mr. John Adams
Exec Dir of Government Affairs
The Retired Enlisted Association
909 N. Washington Street
Suite 300
Alexandria VA
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Mrs. Kathryn Adams
The Retired Enlisted Association
909 N. Washington Street
Suite 300
Alexandria VA
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Ms. Sue Atkinson
Postal Service Board of Directors
475 L'Enfant Plaza, SW
Washington DC
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Ms. Inez Bargmann
Veterans Administration
810 Vermont Avenue, NW
Washington DC
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Mr. Kenneth Bargmann
Veterans Administration
810 Vermont Avenue, NW
Washington DC
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Ms. Mary Barkley
Apt. 1017
3440 South Jefferson Street
Falls Church VA
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Mr. Harvy Barnum, Jr.
2nd Regional Director
Congressional Medal of Honor
40 Patriots Point Road
Mt. Pleasant SC
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Ms. Ethel Bearisto
American Ex-Prisoners of War
Room 9190 VARO
941 N. Capitol Street, NE
Washington DC
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Mr. William Bearisto
National Commander
American Ex-Prisoners of War
Room 9190 VARO
941 N. Capitol Street, NE
Washington DC
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Ms. Lois Beck
National Representative
Women's Army Corps Vets Assoc.
8921 Braeburn Drive
Annendale VA
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED] (b)(6)

Mrs. Jacqueline Bissell
8660 Devon Hills Drive
Fort Washington MD
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Mr. Joseph Bissell
Navy
LST Boat
8660 Devon Hills Drive
Fort Washington MD
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Mr. Edward Blatt
National Commander
Jewish War Veterans
1811 R Street, NW
Washington DC
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Ms. Katherine Blatt
Jewish War Veterans
1811 R Street, NW
Washington DC
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Mrs. Betty Boorda
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

CNO Jeremy Boorda
Military
DOB: 11/26/39
SSN: 332-32-6007

Mr. Eugene Bujac
Seargent, Army
115th Infantry Regiment, 29th
Division
13704 Gallic Court
Bowie MD
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Dr. Broadus Butler
Tuskegee Airmen
10014 Branch View Court
Silver Spring MD
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Mrs. Elizabeth Butler
88th Division
5 Old Stage Court
Rockville MD
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Mrs. Lillian Butler
Tuskegee Airmen
10014 Branch View Court
Silver Spring MD
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED] (b)(6)

Mrs. Alberta Byrd
Gold Star Wives of America
540 N. Lombardy Street
Arlington VA
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Mrs. Irma Carncross
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Mr. Victor Carncross
Navy, HMC (D-Day)
USS Mississippi
12708 Kingsfield Lane
Bowie MD
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Mrs. Gladys Carter
6888 Central Postal Directory
WAAC (AA)
Box 144
R.D. 1
Hudson NY
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Mr. Oscar Carter
WAAC
Box 144
R.D. 1
Hudson NY
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Mrs. Elba Cintron
The American Legion
1608 K Street, NW
Washington DC
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Mr. Juan Cintron
National Vice Commander
The American Legion
1608 K Street, NW
Washington DC
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Mrs. Clancy
Vietnam Veterans of America
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Mrs. Ellen Clancy
82nd Airborne
12817 Woodbine Drive
Bayonet Pointe FL
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Mr. Joseph Clancy
307th Engineers;B/D Company
82nd Airborne
12817 Woodbineave
Bayonet Pointe Fl
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED] (b)(6)

Mr. John Clark
Vietnam Veterans of America
1224 M Street, NW
Washington DC
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Ms. Mary Cochran
Military Women Foundation
6658 Van Winkle Drive
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Major Nancy Colon
Army Air Corp
Tuskegee Airmen
156 Sugar Toms Lane
East Norwich NY
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Mr. Paul Cooke
American Veterans Committee
6309 Bannockburn Drive
Bethesda MD
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Mrs. Rose Cooke
American Veterans Committee
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Ms. Patricia Corley
Marine Corps League
P.O. Box 3070
Merrifield VA
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Mr. William Corley, Jr.
National Executive Director
Marine Corps League
P.O. Box 3070
Merrifield VA
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Mr. John Cotton
President
The Retired Enlisted Association
909 N. Washington Street
Suite 300
Alexandria VA
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Ms. Mary Cotton
The Retired Enlisted Association
909 N. Washington Street
Suite 300
Alexandria VA
DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Mrs. Daisy Crockett
Tuskegee Airmen
5023 Cockney Court
Annandale VA

DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Mr. Woodrow Crockett
332nd Fighter Group
Tuskegee Airmen
5023 Cockney Court
Annandale VA

DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Mr. Glenn Crum
12601 Hogans All
Chester VA

DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Ms. Lydia Crum
12601 Hogans All
Chester VA

DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Mr. Bob Currieo
Past National Commander in Chief
VFW
Suite 506
200 Maryland Avenue, N.E.
Washington DC

DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Mrs. Cecilia Currieo
Veterans of Foreign Wars

DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

Chaplain William Dano

DOB: [REDACTED]
SSN: [REDACTED]

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Equal Justice For All

The Clinton Administration Commemorates The 40th Anniversary of Brown v. Board of Education

Forty years ago this week, on May 17, 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court decided the Brown v. Board of Education case, which brought legalized segregation to an end in our society. Some scholars believe the Brown decision was the nation's most important Supreme Court case in the last century, if not in our entire history. This week the Clinton Administration commemorates the Brown decision and the legacy it created.

Among the many laudable values articulated in the Brown decision, two of the most enduring are Quality Education and The Importance of Equality. Although these values have not been fully realized, they remain as important today as they were 40 years ago.

QUALITY EDUCATION FOR ALL

The Brown v. Board of Education decision said, "education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society...It is the very foundation of good citizenship...[I]t is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him adjust normally to his environment."

Today, as America moves into the 21st century, education remains the key to opening doors of opportunity for all people in our society. This Administration has already made education a cornerstone of its plans to rejuvenate the country. As President Clinton said at Gallaudet University Friday, education can be used to "tear down the walls between us, to touch and improve lives, and lift the spirits of those who for too long ha[ve] been kept down."

The Brown decision also considered education vital to democracy. The Court called education "the foundation of good citizenship" and the preparation for "later professional training." Similarly, President Clinton's own policies have emphasized these important goals.

Democracy's Debt to Education: Access to education is important for everyone. President Clinton's speeches to Gallaudet University graduates on May 13, 1994 and to the NAACP Legal Defense & Education Fund May 16, 1994 underscore that point. Specifically, the President's direct lending program will enable more young people to afford college education and pay off their debt as a percentage of income over life. The newly established Federal Advisory

Commission on Education Excellence for Hispanic Americans will help increase educational opportunities for Hispanics. In addition, this week the President will sign the Headstart Reauthorization Bill, which will dramatically increase funding for programs that prepare children for early schooling.

The Foundation of Good Citizenship: Education is vital to democracy. The Administration's National Service Program recognizes the link between democratic citizenship and education as it enables young people to devote a few years of their lives serving the public good in return for financial assistance for college.

Preparation for Professional Training: Two weeks ago, the President signed the School-to-Work Opportunities Act, which creates a national system to develop and strengthen programs that help move young people from school to work by connecting school-based learning with work-based learning. This week, the President kicks off the implementation of the Goals 2000 law, which will increase adult literacy and reduce school dropout rates by the year 2000. And the President has already submitted to Congress the Reemployment Act of 1994, which will create a comprehensive system of reemployment, training, and income support services for dislocated workers. These measures recognize that the average American will change jobs several times in his or her lifetime, resulting in a greater need for lifelong learning.

THE IMPORTANCE OF EQUALITY

Forty years after Brown, we reaffirm the belief that our nation's diversity strengthens, rather than divides, us. Then the struggle was to integrate African-Americans into a society that segregated them by law. Today the struggle is to provide equal opportunity to all our citizens while recognizing that integration is still a valuable goal. We are one people, but we have much to learn from one another.

As President Clinton said at Gallaudet University, "For those who proclaim there is no future for racial harmony and no hope in our common humanity, I say look at the experience of Mandela and de Klerk."

Historian Roger Wilkins has called the Brown decision the "crowbar" that opened up post-World War II America. This Administration recognizes that Brown's message of equal opportunity extends far beyond education. That's why the President has assembled a highly qualified team that includes the most diverse group of presidential advisers ever to sit in a president's cabinet. Five African-Americans, two Hispanics, and six women are members of the Clinton cabinet.

But although our country has changed since the Brown decision, much work remains to be done. As President Clinton said Friday, "To be sure, the work of building opportunity and community, of maintaining freedom and renewing America's hope in each and every generation is hard. And it requires of each generation a real commitment to our values, to our institutions and to our common destiny."

SELECT ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION

To open the doors of opportunity to all Americans, the Administration has already been engaged in a number of efforts. In the area of civil rights alone, the Administration has assembled an aggressive team of leaders to represent the United States in opposing injustice. For example, President Clinton appointed highly-acclaimed civil rights leader Mary Frances Berry to be chair of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission and appointed Deval Patrick as Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights. Here are a few other accomplishments...

- * A record high 61% of the President's nominees to the federal bench during his first year were women and minorities.
- * The Justice Department Civil Rights Division filed a record 140 cases last year to enforce fair housing laws, a 35% increase from the number of cases filed in 1992.
- * The Department of Housing & Urban Development has aggressively fought to knock down discriminatory barriers, actively intervening to integrate a once segregated public housing complex in Vidor, Texas.
- * For the first time since the Age Discrimination Act was passed in 1975, the Department of Education issued regulations needed to implement the law. Prior administrations had failed to release the necessary guidelines.
- * The President's Health Security Act ensures equal access and civil rights protections in health care reform.

THE ADMINISTRATION COMMEMORATES BROWN

To commemorate the anniversary of the Brown decision, several members of the Administration, including the President, will participate in activities this week.

- * President Clinton delivered his weekly radio address May 14 from Mt. Helm Missionary Baptist Church in Indianapolis and dedicated a statue to Martin Luther King and Robert F. Kennedy at Martin Luther King Memorial Park in Indianapolis. This week President Clinton will address the NAACP Legal Defense & Education Fund dinner in Washington, visit the Martin Luther King school in Beltsville, Maryland, and sign the Headstart Reauthorization Bill.
- * Secretary of Education Richard Riley will speak about Brown at Georgetown University Law Center on May 17, the anniversary of the Brown decision.
- * Commerce Secretary Ron Brown, Secretary of Health & Human Services Donna Shalala and Attorney General Janet Reno will all discuss the Brown decision in activities this week.

Virginia - Atlantic Medical
/ Dr. J. H. J. - Personal Doctor

Phy. Lab in Denton

Un /

- Lived in D.C. / at New York

- Not lived in Virginia

Collected material - Philo Jackson

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J. H. J. / Plan of Treatment

NTN Lab - J. H. J. use

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Equal Justice For All
The Clinton Administration Commemorates
The 40th Anniversary of Brown v. Board of Education

Forty years ago this week, on May 17, 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court decided the Brown v. Board of Education case, which brought legalized segregation to an end in our society. Some scholars believe the Brown decision was the nation's most important Supreme Court case in the last century, if not in our entire history. This week the Clinton Administration commemorates the Brown decision and the legacy it created.

Among the many laudable goals articulated in the Brown decision, two of the most enduring are Quality Education and The Importance of Equality...

QUALITY EDUCATION FOR ALL

The Brown v. Board of Education decision said, "education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society...It is the very foundation of good citizenship...[I]t is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him adjust normally to his environment."

Today, as America moves into the 21st century, education remains the key to opening doors of opportunity for all people in our society -- young or old, black or white. This Administration has made education a cornerstone of its plans to rejuvenate the country.

The Brown decision considered education vital to democracy. The Court called education "the foundation of good citizenship" and the preparation for "later professional training." Similarly, President Clinton's own policies have emphasized these important goals.

Democracy's Debt to Education: Access to education is important for everyone. President Clinton's speeches to Galludet University graduates on May 13, 1994 and to the NAACP Legal Defense & Education Fund May 16 underscore that point. The President's direct lending program will enable more young people to afford college education and pay off their debt as a percentage of income over life. The newly established Federal Advisory Commission on Education Excellence for Hispanic Americans will help increase educational opportunities for Hispanics. In addition, this week the President will sign the Headstart Reauthorization Bill, which will dramatically increase funding for programs that prepare children for early schooling.

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While the world cheers as the people of South Africa launch a bold new multi-racial democracy, we must remember the values that made our system of government worthy of envy in the first place.

Historian Roger Wilkins has called Brown the "crowbar" that opened up post-World War II America. The Clinton Administration recognizes that Brown's message of equal opportunity extends far beyond education. That's why the President has assembled a highly qualified team that includes the most diverse group of presidential advisers ever to sit in a president's cabinet. Five African-Americans, two Hispanics, and six women are members of the Clinton cabinet.

As President Clinton has said, "the absence of discrimination is not the same thing as the presence of opportunity." To open the doors of opportunity to all Americans, the Administration has already been engaged in a number of efforts. In the area of civil rights alone, the Administration has assembled an aggressive team of leaders to represent the United States in opposing injustice. For example, President Clinton appointed highly-acclaimed civil rights leader Mary Frances Berry to be chair of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission and appointed Deval Patrick as Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights.

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- * For the first time since the Age Discrimination Act was passed in 1975, the Department of Education issued regulations needed to implement the law. Prior administrations had failed to release the necessary guidelines.
- * The President's Health Security Act ensures equal access and civil rights protections in health care reform.
- * The Attorney General added 10 new staff people and approved a toll-free hotline to respond to complaints under the Americans with Disabilities Act. The Justice Department has awarded technical assistance grants to speed compliance with the ADA and has resolved complaints to make public accommodations, courtrooms, and other government and private facilities accessible to people with disabilities.

THE ADMINISTRATION COMMEMORATES BROWN

To commemorate the anniversary of the Brown decision, several members of the Administration will participate in activities throughout the week.

- * Secretary of Education Richard Riley will speak about Brown at Georgetown Law School on Tuesday, May 17, the anniversary of the Brown decision.
- * Secretary of Health & Human Services Donna Shalala will deliver several commencement addresses next week that discuss the importance of Brown.
- * Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown will discuss Brown at the Evening Exchange on Tuesday.
- * Attorney General Janet Reno will participate in a civil rights vigil Saturday to commemorate the Brown decision.
- * Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights Deval Patrick will accompany President Clinton to Indianapolis Saturday when the President will dedicate a memorial to Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Jr. Mr. Patrick will also hold a press briefing Monday on Brown.

Alexis -

We need you to sign on
or reject this. Thank you.

Cohen McCarthy
Scheduling

DIES IRA

By Jacob Weisberg

Nothing adorns the walls of Ira Magaziner's office. There are, in fact, no objects of aesthetic contemplation—just some pieces of government-issue, faux-colonial furniture and bookshelves overflowing with bound studies, reports and three-ring notebooks. The twenty or so red and blue binders, which have labels such as "Tollgate II" and "Tollgate IV" scribbled on their spines in black magic marker, contain the product of Magaziner's health care task force, probably the most ambitious policy study in the history of the federal government. Five hundred experts met in almost continuous secret session for the first five months of 1993. They gathered in "clusters" and "working groups," sometimes until 2 a.m. on Sunday mornings. They subjected each other to papers, presentations and slide shows. Finally, their work was offered up for criticism by "contrarians" and "auditors."

To Magaziner, who devised this elephantine process, the notebooks comprise a kind of Talmud of health care reform. "Those books on the shelf up there are going to serve us very well as we go through the congressional process," he says with a prideful glance. "We've looked at so many different options and analyzed so many different scenarios and so on that as problems are found and people are trying to find different solutions, we're going to have backups. If you don't like this one, there's this one that we rejected." The books detail what Magaziner says are some 800 "movable parts" in the Clinton plan, and explain how each element can be adjusted without compromising the integrity of the whole. If, for instance, the president wants to concede to his adversaries on insurance premium caps, all he has to do is turn to the notebooks that contain the reports of the "Budget and Caps" working group (part of the "New System Organization" cluster). They delineate the rejected options: no global budget, fixed fee schedules or something called a "feebate," which involves a tax on high-cost health plans and a rebate on low-cost ones.

The binders are the finest flowering of Magaziner's methodological passion. That passion, depending on one's perspective, is either an expression of genius or of folly. Talk to Magaziner for a few hours—he'll want to talk more—and you cannot help but be overwhelmed by his casual mastery. He has studied health care with a manic ardor—fifteen hours a day, seven days a week for

twelve months—and he understands it as well as many people who have spent their entire careers on the subject. With his drab, unkempt zealotry, ascetic diligence and barely audible mutter, Magaziner seems to aspire to the status of a policy monk. "On a scale of one to ten, his affect level is about a minus two," says Ted Marmor, a professor at the Yale School of Organization and Management who has advised Bill Clinton on health care.

This inverted charisma is strangely compelling. When you whisper, people have to listen closely. The stories of Magaziner's tireless globe-trotting on behalf of corporate America, in which he survives on iron rations of spaghetti, Cokes and Mallomars, or of the fancy dinner parties during which he wanders into the kitchen to find a bag of pretzels, underscore the appealing side of his Naderite persona. Here is a pure, unmaterialistic man—despite his millions—who is determined to bring rigor and integrity to the seamy world of politics. On the other hand, there is a sneaking hubris to what he is doing that is just as striking—and faintly unsettling. One man sets up a system to anticipate every objection to and possible problem in transforming a trillion-dollar sector of the American economy. He speaks in management jargon and fetishizes a process that looks to most people like chaos. Magaziner's guiding idea is that rational planning can solve any problem, social, economic or spiritual. His universe is one in which the uncertainty principle and the law of unintended consequences do not exist; his career is testimony to the belief that for every problem there exists a total solution. With skeptical eyes, Magaziner's binders start to look like the policy version of Borges's infinite library.

This view of government is not that of the Clinton administration as a whole. Despite the president's noted fondness for a jolly policy seminar, the other major initiatives of his first year were developed in more modest fashion. Clinton's budget was not the product of an economic Manhattan Project; nor was his national service plan. Thirty-two people are working out welfare reform—not 500. The difference is Ira Magaziner. As Magaziner's career has evolved, his approach to problem solving has remained an intense constant; and, despite the best intentions, his efforts at total solutions have constituted a chain of partial disasters.

Magaziner is one of those people whose character

appears to have been fully formed by adolescence. Early photos show him looking more like the young Bob Dylan than Big Bird, but in them he burns with the same disheveled fervor, the same intense, otherworldly focus as now. As a lower-middle-class Jewish teenager in Long Island (his father was a bookkeeper in a tomato-packing house), he organized a strike at a summer camp and a boycott of a student organization because of segregation. But his first characteristic project was overhauling the curriculum of Brown University. In this, we see the hallmarks of Magaziner's later work: the committees, the massive research, the big report and the strenuous effort to convince others of his conclusions. What's unique about the Brown study is that he succeeded in lobbying his plan through largely intact, and that twenty-five years later you can assess the results.

Like many members of the Clinton generation, Magaziner began his career as a 1960s radical. But like Secretary of Labor Robert Reich, who pursued similar curricular reforms at Dartmouth, Magaziner was a nerd among revolutionaries. His idea for a fun way to spend summer vacation after his sophomore year in 1967 was to review Brown's curriculum and develop proposals for improving it. He read John Dewey, Ortega y Gasset and Alfred North Whitehead. He buried himself in the university archives, examining records of previous reform efforts. He then wrote, with Elliot Maxwell, a fellow student, a 400-page essay titled "Draft of a Working Paper for Education at Brown University." Section Three is modestly titled "Brief History of the American University." "First, there is great difficulty in defining what is meant by knowledge," Magaziner writes at one point. "We have discovered no universal formula for the development of the intellect," he acknowledges at another.

Despite its naiveté, the report is a thoughtful study of curricular issues—and a stunning work for a 19-year-old. Its conclusions, though not especially radical in the context of 1968, were in sync with the times, even a few decades ahead. Studying the great works of Western Civilization meant the transmission of "a particular culture," and was, as the phrase went, not relevant. The idea of general education requirements "suffers from a lack of vitality and meaningfulness." The report pushed for ending distribution requirements, freshman English and the foreign language requirement. Exams should be take-home, not be due for a month and be given only when "educationally valuable." Magaziner also argued for reducing the course load and eliminating grades. ("How can the development of internal values take place under the highly pressured system which accents motivation by artificial external incentives?" the paper deftly asked.)

Magaziner then went to work selling his ideas. A faculty committee given the report in his junior year did little with it; Magaziner drummed up student pressure and won the appointment of a more serious committee the next year, which included student members, himself among them, for the first time. That committee's recommendations were adopted by the Brown faculty in 1969. In the end, what came out was "pretty close" to what he

recommended. Magaziner says. Brown dropped its required courses, cut the number of credits needed for graduation from thirty-two to twenty-eight and eliminated "D"s and "F"s.

The so-called New Curriculum turned Brown into what Magaziner's friend Derek Shearer calls "one of the hottest schools in the country." Magaziner remains a campus cult figure to this day, and students have fought pitched battles to preserve what he wrought. But the school has also become notorious for its abdication on the question of what liberal education means. Brown does not require even a glancing encounter with the great books or ideas of Western Civilization. Its students can go straight into film studies or semiotics without stopping to read Plato or Shakespeare, gaining the basics of physics or learning to write in English. For those who want to party and get good grades while choosing chic-sounding courses from a cafeterialike menu, there's no more congenial place in academe. The 1994 *U.S. News and World Report* rankings, which are assembled by polling presidents, deans and admissions directors, put Brown's academic reputation at the bottom of the Ivy League.

After leading a graduation-day protest against Henry Kissinger, who was receiving an honorary degree, Magaziner went to Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar. There he pursued his own laissez-faire ideas about education: he read according to his own plan in economics and sociology, and showed up for lectures at Oxford, Cambridge and the London School of Economics. He also met Bill Clinton. The two shared an interest in civil rights, and in opposing the Vietnam War. Magaziner spent much of his time in London organizing protests; his involvement was heavier and more radical than Clinton's, and it included a friendship with Vanessa Redgrave. The difference between Magaziner and Clinton, says classmate James Fallows, was "the difference between somebody who planned to run for office and somebody who didn't."

When he returned home in 1971, Magaziner organized a group of Brown and Oxford classmates to take up residence in the small, working-class town of Brockton, Massachusetts. Magaziner found Brockton through an Oxford classmate whose parents lived there. He wanted to transform a small city into a model of social democracy; Brockton was to be a case study. As at Brown, he began with a six-month study of the town's power structure, sifting through deeds and documents. "We did a very thorough analysis of what was going on, who was benefiting and so forth. We also researched a whole series of corrupt deals which had gone on for years," he remembers. In this case, though, there was no written report—just a weekly paper called the *Brockton Examiner*. The project was a unique example of Magaziner pursuing a social change agenda from the outside. He and fellow participants never introduced themselves to the mayor. Instead, they launched a renters' assistance program, a food co-op and a labor support group. They rehabilitated run-down houses, fought development and protested polluting factories.

Magaziner is defensive about his time improving

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Brockton, calling it "in retrospect a pretty quixotic venture." His disillusionment seems to stem in part from the fact that the students became unpopular with many of those they were trying to help. But Magaziner says real disenchantment set in when several of the shoe factories that were the mainstay of the town's economy closed suddenly. "I think I came to realize that what we were doing was outside the mainstream," he says. In 1973, after two years, he and his friends abandoned Brockton, leaving no durable legacy. Magaziner says the desire to make money had nothing to do with his career change.

Management consulting meant a different culture, but intellectually it was less of a departure than it appeared. Consultants study, analyze, write reports and try to sell recommendations to the companies that hire them. At BCG, the hottest firm in the field in the early 1970s, Magaziner was renowned for thoroughness, slovenliness and workaholicism. Former colleagues still tell of him paying secretaries out of his own pocket to work through the weekend, and of his coming soaking wet or without shoelaces to meetings with corporate bigwigs.

In the 1970s BCG was known for a type of analysis called the "product portfolio" or the "growth-share matrix." Its consultants would divide a firm's assets into four quadrants: dogs, stars, cows and question marks. The idea was to milk your low-growth but high market share cash cows, kick out your low-growth, low-revenue dogs and fund your high-growth but low market share stars (as well as your potentially high-growth question marks). Magaziner's innovation was to apply the formula—which shortly fell out of fashion—to countries. In 1977 he got a BCG client, Volvo, to finance a study of the Swedish economy. He set up a group house in Stockholm, worked for six months and wrote a tract called "A Framework for Swedish Industrial Policy."

The so-called "Boston Report" was controversial in Sweden because it told the government to give up on some industries (dogs) and support others (stars). Magaziner believed Sweden should stop subsidizing sectors in which it could not be competitive, such as shipbuilding, paper mills and coal mines. Instead, he thought, the government should funnel resources to high-tech sectors. Most economists disagreed; they thought Sweden, which was running huge deficits in the 1970s, needed to quit subsidizing industry altogether. Magaziner's report also ignored the high rates of marginal taxation and the bloated public sector, which have led to Sweden's current—and deep—economic crisis. The Swedish study, which went unheeded for the most part by the government, is another well-intentioned effort Magaziner now feels compelled to downplay; he calls it a "feeling-the-way type of report."

Publicity about the Swedish study was enough to offend BCG's corporate sensibility (it is apparently still so embarrassed about the report that it refused a request from the Swedish Embassy to provide a copy for this story). But Magaziner wanted to do more of the same. BCG refused to allow him to do other country studies. So,

in 1979 he decided to set up his own shop. Magaziner's wife, Suzanne McTigue, whom he met at BCG, joined him in the new venture, which they called Telesis. The company's p.r. said the name derived from the ancient Greek for "well-planned progress" (though it actually means something closer to "event fulfillment"). Telesis did studies for Ireland, Australia and Israel, among others, as well as private-sector strategic work.

The drift of Magaziner's ideas is captured in his published writing of the time. His 1980 monograph *Japanese Industrial Policy*, written with BCG colleague Thomas Hout, details the Japanese government's intervention in various sectors. "The Japanese ... share a remarkably common view on the legitimacy of national government as guide and mediator," they wrote, admiringly. Magaziner spelled out his views at length in a book he wrote with Robert Reich in 1982, *Minding America's Business*. It argues that business and government should "develop a coherent and coordinated industrial policy whose aim is to raise the real income of our citizens by improving the pattern of investments rather than focusing only on aggregate investment levels." Magaziner now says he didn't mean to advocate European-style industrial policy for the United States. But if the murky book says anything, it says that. "The industrial policies of Japan, West Germany and France have been more successful than U.S. policies because they have explicitly and consciously aimed at improving the international competitiveness of their businesses," he and Reich wrote.

The book is marred by a central fallacy. As Paul Krugman, an economist at MIT, points out in a forthcoming article in *Foreign Affairs*, the authors labor under the misconception that high-value-added sectors of the economy, where they believe the greatest potential for productivity growth lies, are synonymous with high technology. In fact, the highest value-added sectors are cigarettes, petroleum refining, autos and steel. Aerospace and electronics are only average in terms of value added. "Magaziner just announced that he had the solution to the problem of economic growth, without talking to any economists," Krugman says. "It was a stunningly ignorant book—a willfully ignorant book. You can be an industrial policy advocate and get facts right. What's really interesting is that he showed no inclination whatsoever to kick the tires of his idea."

Flawed or otherwise, Magaziner found a laboratory for his ideas in Rhode Island, which had been his home for several years. The Greenhouse Compact, so called because it attempted to "grow" high-tech businesses, was his most ambitious public policy foray to date when he began it in 1982. It was nothing less than an attempt to develop an industrial policy for the state. The Greenhouse Compact had, naturally, all the accoutrements of a Magaziner project. He began with a mammoth study of the history and condition of Rhode Island industry, then wrote a 1,100-page report. The idea of the \$250 million plan was to emulate the Japanese or Europeans in fostering the development of industries that were likely to prosper. Again Magaziner proved to be a fine analyst of

problems, in this case the state's industrial decline. But once again, it was far from clear that his audacious total solution would solve those problems.

Magaziner did a good job winning the support of elites, including bankers, business people, organized labor, the news media and the state legislature, which passed the plan overwhelmingly. He had, it seemed, everyone who mattered except the public. The biggest source of resistance was a proposed one-time surcharge on incomes. But the plan also appeared to present a ripe opportunity for the sort of political corruption for which mob-dominated Rhode Island is famous. Shortly before the plan came up for a vote, two Democratic Party leaders appointed themselves to the Greenhouse commission. "People thought it was a deal for the insiders," says Paul Choquette, head of the state's largest construction company. "The opposition pictured it as a big brother kind of program." It was defeated by a 4 to 1 margin.

Because it was never tried, we'll never know if the Greenhouse would have worked. But economists point to several fundamental flaws in the concept. The first was regarding a small state as an island. Rhode Island, which depends on its neighbors, Massachusetts and Connecticut, doesn't function as an independent economic entity. Thus it was bizarre for Magaziner

to evaluate the state's trade balance with other states. But the larger problem is that when even very smart people try to pick winners they don't always pick right. Magaziner was specific about which he thought were hopeless cases: heavy industry and manufacturing. And he named those he thought were going to thrive in the coming decade: robotics, thin film materials, underwater electronics and food preservation. As it turned out, the biggest job growth in Rhode Island since 1983 has been in the service sector, an area to which Magaziner has never paid much attention.

Magaziner, however, seems to have drawn a different lesson from the Greenhouse failure: not that government can't guide private investment effectively, but that

it should structure its involvement differently. Greenhouse led him to his current view that industrial policy needs to be broader and less industry-specific, focused "less on sort of microintervention" and "more on getting the horizontal policies," in his lingo. As his ideas evolved, Magaziner looked for a chance to try his experiment in a national laboratory. He advised Walter Mondale and Michael Dukakis (as well as Gary Hart) during their doomed campaigns.

After Greenhouse, Magaziner returned to Telesis. "He was involved as a consultant for foreign governments—Japan, Sweden, Ireland—that were taking a very inter-

ventionist strategy," says Mark Patinkin, a Rhode Island writer who became a friend of Magaziner's when the two collaborated on a book some years later. "He felt it was a more enlightened strategy we were missing the boat on." Because of the secrecy under which consultants operate, it is hard to assess the quality of Magaziner's work. It is never clear just what he advised, whether the company took his advice and if its success or failure resulted from his counsel. Magaziner stresses he had "a very high retention rate among clients"—at \$600 per hour. "That's usually an indication that what you're doing is working," he says. "You can't get away with bullshitting a company." Well, sometimes you can, but Magaziner doesn't



DRAWING BY VINT LAWRENCE FOR THE NEW REPUBLIC

coast very far on the schmooze factor. As he says, "I don't have the kind of personality where CEOs hire me to go play golf with them." And he is thought well of at places like Corning, where he consulted on catalytic converters, and Rubbermaid, where he offered advice on the threat from office supply superstores.

The instances where more is known, sadly, tend to be the high-profile disasters—though the extent of Magaziner's culpability is uncertain. The biggest was Magaziner's work for General Electric's refrigerator division. It began as a typical Magaziner effort. The company was losing money on its machines, so Magaziner crisscrossed the globe taking apart compressors—refrigerator engines. "He got right down into the grubbiness of the thing," says

Donald Awbrey, a G.E. general manager in charge of the project. Magaziner managed to get inside the factories of G.E.'s competitors in Malaysia, Singapore, Denmark, Italy and Japan, and "trapped everything he could in his mind," Awbrey says. Magaziner's conclusion was that if G.E. devised a rotary compressor, instead of its old-fashioned reciprocating compressor, it could produce fridges for less than its competitors could. Magaziner convinced CEO Jack Welch, and G.E. built a new plant in Columbia, Tennessee. In his 1989 book, *The Silent War*, Magaziner takes credit for saving hundreds of American jobs. But the new compressors were defective, and G.E. ended up losing half a billion dollars when it had to replace 1 million of them. "It was a design flaw," Magaziner says, "combined with the fact that they rushed it to market." Another nonsuccess was Wang. Magaziner was brought in to try to save the computer company, which was close to bankruptcy in 1990. He recommended paring down the workforce and moving out of hardware in favor of software. As he says, "We basically recommended they go through a radical restructure. And that was a devastating conclusion that organizationally couldn't be accepted." The company has since emerged from bankruptcy protection, but no one there will talk about Magaziner.

In the late 1980s Magaziner reached what Patinkin calls a fork in the road. "He had one of the dream business strategy consulting jobs. He would fly to Paris for a meeting, fly to Japan, fly to Sweden, then fly back to speak to a few Fortune 500 CEOs," Patinkin says. "But past a certain point he was bored by it. What he really wanted to do was economic strategy on a national basis." In 1986 Magaziner decided to sell Telesis—for \$6 million—and to start a new firm that would serve as a personal policy study institute. He called it sjs, after the initials of his three children, Seth, Jonathan and Sarah. He also decided to write another book.

The Silent War, infinitely more readable than the book he produced with Reich, is a kind of *Jungle Book* of competitiveness. It tells the story of how Korea became king in microwave ovens, how Volvo thrived by moving into luxury cars, how Corning cornered the market in optical waveguides and so on. But there is an odd contradiction at the heart of the book. Magaziner and co-author Patinkin argue for an explicit if less micro-focused industrial policy; they assert the need for an equivalent of the National Security Council to direct resources to American companies for R&D, worker training and export assistance. But their most dramatic examples are of companies such as Corning and A.T. Cross in the United States, and Samsung in Korea, which prospered by investing in research and thinking about their global competition—and without government help. In the field of high-definition television, where Magaziner argued that U.S. companies were sure to flop without subsidy, he has since been disproved, as American companies have trounced their planned and subsidized competitors.

The view of trade as a technological war being lost by the United States got Magaziner into hot water soon

after his book came out. When two scientists at the University of Utah claimed they had demonstrated the existence of nuclear fusion at room temperature, the school had no trouble recruiting Magaziner—for \$20,000 per month—to argue for \$25 million in federal support. Magaziner had long complained that technologies developed in America, like VCRs, had a bad habit of moving overseas. As recounted in Gary Taubes's book *Bad Science*, he testified to a congressional committee in 1989 that cold fusion threatened to do the same. The Japanese had "fusion fever," he said. Thus the United States had better gamble on it "for the sake of my children and all of America's next generation." Cold fusion, of course, turned out to be a complete chimera.

In the 1980s episodes like this helped give industrial policy a bad name and Magaziner removed the phrase from the thumbnail biography included in *The Silent War*. He also revised his ideas to move even farther away from direct government intervention in specific sectors. The two big projects he undertook at sjs focused on problems common to all or most American industry: training and health care. The first of the two studies, sponsored by the National Center on Education and the Economy, of which Hillary Rodham Clinton was a fellow board member, was another classic effort. As chairman of the commission, which gathered two former secretaries of labor, several CEOs and union chieftains, Magaziner spent a year bouncing between Germany, Denmark, France, Japan, Singapore, Ireland and—of course—Sweden to see how other countries trained workers. According to his report, the commission interviewed 2,000 people and read "a small mountain of government and private reports."

Magaziner discovered that most executives didn't think they suffered from a skills shortage. But that didn't dampen his enthusiasm for designing another plan. The problem was that businesses "still cling to old forms of work organization." The blueprint detailed in his 1990 report, "America's Choice: High Skills Or Low Wages?," is an amazingly complicated answer to it. Magaziner recommended a pay-or-play arrangement—analogue to the health care concept later fashionable with Democrats. Under his system, all employers would be required either to spend 1 percent of payroll on training or to contribute the same amount to a public fund. Education would be remade around the issuance of certificates of "mastery." An infrastructure of boards and agencies, sketched out in elaborate flowcharts that fill the margins of the report, would be created to administer the plan.

In many respects, Magaziner's training system resembles the alliance system envisioned in his health care proposal. A federal board would monitor state boards which in turn would oversee regional and local boards. Here the purpose would be to certify training programs, administer tests and so on. It would be up to the boards, for instance, to decide whether to issue certificates allowing 16-year-olds to work. But once again, it's not clear that this cumbersome bureaucracy, with an annual cost of \$73 billion, would produce any benefit. With all the regulation in the world, it would still be next to impossi-

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ble to determine whether private expenditures were going toward useful training. Studies of smaller-scale existing programs by the Labor Department have mostly shown negligible to modest effects.

A parallel effort was the "Aging 2000" project in Rhode Island, which was finished in 1991. Once again, Magaziner did a huge study, delving into the history of federal health care reform efforts and making hospital rounds with doctors and nurses. He was horrified by the layers of micromanagement—double-checkers second-guessing the decisions of other checkers. "It became clear that the incentives were all wrong," Magaziner says. "It was leading to massive, massive inefficiencies." His report—400 pages—suggested improvements in hospital procedure to heighten efficiency. Many of the ideas are good ones. As with Greenhouse, however, he was unable to translate them into reality, or even into real-life experiment. He figured out how the system should work, but was not able to persuade any doctors, hospitals or patients to serve as guinea pigs. Marsha Fretwell, the medical director of Aging 2000, acknowledges that after nearly four years of research, nothing has actually happened. She says the best prospect for Aging 2000 is as a health care alliance under the Magaziner-Clinton plan.

Magaziner's ideas found two vehicles in the 1992 election cycle. The first was Paul Tsongas, whose campaign manifesto, *A Call to Economic Arms*, baldly called for a European-style industrial policy. Magaziner helped write it. The second was Bill Clinton. Magaziner jumped to the Clinton campaign when his old friend decided to run. In early 1992 Magaziner was not yet viewed as Clinton's health policy guru. Indeed, he was expected to become something like industrial policy czar, or secretary of commerce or secretary of labor, the jobs he had been grooming himself for since the 1970s, should Clinton get elected. The positions he promoted within the campaign were along these lines. Magaziner got a version of his training proposal included in *Putting People First*, the Clinton manifesto, which upped the mandate to 1.5 percent of payroll. He was also the chief influence on the plan's "Rebuilding America" section, which recommended government sponsorship of high-speed rail, something called "short-haul aircraft," an agency to channel R&D spending to new industries and "conversion loans" to defense contractors. "Within the chain of campaign he was a free agent," says one campaign alumnus. "But we clearly understood that this was someone who had a special relationship with the candidate and needed attention."

Magaziner also tried to take charge of the development of Clinton's health care proposal, a subject the two had discussed at Renaissance Weekend in 1991 while Magaziner was at work on Aging 2000. In this bid, however, he came into conflict with others on the campaign. Magaziner clashed with Clinton's health adviser, Judith Feder, and others—not over "managed competition," which neither the candidate nor Magaziner had yet endorsed, but over financing issues. On the basis of his observations in Rhode Island, Magaziner asserted that universal coverage could be paid for solely through administrative savings, and by 1996. "A lot of his instincts

on health care spending were due to what he witnessed as a business consultant," says Clinton economic policy adviser Gene Sperling. "He was extremely optimistic in the amount of savings that you could generate." Feder and others on the campaign believed universal coverage would require new taxes or spending cuts. After a contentious eleventh-hour conference call, *Putting People First* was published without any figures for health care.

Once Clinton was elected, it still seemed Magaziner would end up having something to do with economics. Reich, who was in charge of economic policy for the transition, devised what he called "counterstaffing": assigning people to subject areas that contradicted their basic proclivities. Magaziner, the chief backer of expensive new schemes, was put in charge of deficit reduction. In this role he became, briefly, the most adamant internal advocate of fulfilling Clinton's pledge to halve the deficit in four years. Typically, Magaziner thought the goal could be achieved mostly by increased efficiency, with little in the way of cuts from existing programs (the revised savings estimates for Al Gore's Reinventing Government proposals suggest otherwise). He also worked on defense conversion, arguing that the transition from military to civilian production should not be "left to market forces."

During the transition Magaziner and Reich became involved in a power struggle, the details of which remain foggy. According to a story by David Segal in *The Washington Monthly*, Magaziner made a power grab, asking that he be given control over health care and the Department of Labor. Reich, reportedly, then went to Clinton and told him, more in sorrow than in anger, that his old friend Magaziner was too radical. Reich and Magaziner say this didn't happen. (Magaziner denies he and Reich have had a falling out, but rather have had merely "personality conflicts." Reich says they're great friends.) But Magaziner not long ago told John Mulligan of the *Providence Journal-Bulletin* that he turned down Labor and Commerce, which sounded like a dig at Reich since most in the administration don't think Magaziner was offered either. Magaziner told me he didn't want a Cabinet post. But according to another senior official, Magaziner was distraught at not getting one, and campaigned to be put in charge of domestic policy, a position that went to Carol Rasco. Instead, he ended up as special assistant to the president with responsibility—under Hillary Rodham Clinton—for health care.

Various people in the administration wanted to run the health care effort: HHS Secretary Donna Shalala, Feder and Rasco. After the inauguration, it was still in doubt who would really be in charge. But Magaziner grabbed hold of the issue by setting up his enormous study process and keeping others at a distance from it. "Ira has been the choke valve on information flow to the president," says one Clinton health care adviser. "He effectively shut Donna and the others out." But what seemed like a pure power grab was also Magaziner approaching the issue the way he always has.

The result was perhaps the apogee of Magaziner's

management consultant career. He designed the task force as a series of fifteen compartmentalized "clusters," with thirty-four subordinate "working groups." According to Marmor, this is the way firms like Telesis operate. "You comprehensively cover the landscape, dividing up the industry into component parts," he says. "This keeps the drones at work and leaves the strategic consultant at the center." Magaziner revealed himself to be a control freak. Some task force participants were chagrined when he wouldn't give them home numbers of colleagues on other working groups. The reason was he didn't want independent power bases developing. Members of different groups were to meet only in tollgate sessions, where they would present options to him, the tollkeeper, sometimes for ten hours at a time. Magaziner says he learned the tollgate concept through his work for Japanese corporations. It's a process, he says, for "projects where you have a relatively short amount of time to accomplish a very complex task and you have to bring together people with expertise in a whole series of different disciplines and keep them on the same time schedule."

Given Magaziner's past, the problems of the Health Security Act do not exactly come as a surprise. It is analytically sound, but politically clumsy. Magaziner has sold the plan to his most important client—EO Bill Clinton—but has failed with almost everybody else in the company. The division heads—Lloyd Bentsen, Donna Shalala and Laura Tyson—are miffed they weren't involved in developing the plan, and greeted it with skepticism. And because Magaziner produced his proposal in secret (which he now says was a mistake) before presenting it to Congress, he failed to bring key shop-floor managers into the process. "Part of the reason Congress doesn't like him is that he couldn't give them the information they needed in a reliable way," says one task force member. "They were supposed to endorse the plan without having input that was consistent." Magaziner seems to make a new enemy every time he visits Capitol Hill. Committee chairmen find him arrogant and inflexible. So do rank and file members. Rhode Island Republican Representative Ron Machtley was surprised, for instance, when Magaziner upbraided him for not supporting the president. "He's probably the world's worst politician," says Awbrey, who worked with Magaziner at G.E. and Rubbermaid.

Magaziner says he has been advocating bringing a political person in since the spring. But what he means is someone to handle the public relations job. He doesn't want anyone else negotiating with Congress on the president's behalf. Even now that Harold Ickes has finally agreed to become deputy chief of staff (with power over health care), Magaziner continues to give off don't-tread-on-me vibes. "A lot of what's going to be happening with Congress is the policy, and the policy changes. And I'll continue to be in charge of that because I know the policy best." And that could lead to a disaster with the many members of Congress who dislike Magaziner more than they dislike his proposal.

Above all, the technocratic logic and total ambition of

the Clinton health care plan speak to Magaziner's past in a way that is ominous for the president's future. What Magaziner has always lacked is an awareness of how the systems he designs can go askew in practice. He sees very clearly the faults in existing arrangements. But he never subjects his own contrivances to the same scrutiny. At Brown he designed a curriculum that would be ideal if all students were angels, or Iras. Some are. Many more coast through. In the Greenhouse Compact, he made a similarly optimistic assumption about one of the most rotten political cultures in the country, an assumption the electorate fortunately didn't share. In his constant attempts at grandiose industrial policy, he smartly sees where fallible economic actors go wrong, but then absurdly overestimates the power of the economist and the politician to avoid the same problems.

With the health care plan, this tendency reaches a crescendo. Magaziner sees existing vice, arguing, for example, that doctors, prompted by self-interest and self-protection, often supply too much care in the form of unnecessary tests and procedures. And he rightly tries to correct this problem. But he doesn't worry about abuse by those who will wield enormous power under *his* system through the new structure of a health care alliance. "The people this plan trusts the most, those who are absolutely filled with good will, who do nothing but the best for society, are governors and state legislators," says Lawrence O'Donnell, chief of staff of Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan's Finance Committee. "the people who gave you congressional districts." O'Donnell worries that the alliances "will become permanent employment armies for governors." There is also the hazard of alliances being infiltrated by the people they are supposed to regulate. One of the few existing models of a managed competition plan, Florida's, has been plagued by this problem. "The purchasing alliances are going to wield enormous influence, and special interests are going to try to influence them," says Bob Rogan, spokesman for Florida's Agency for Health Care Administration. "Based on our experience you have to guard against that."

"Magaziner is not an incremental guy," says Patinkin. "He doesn't like to hit a single. He only tries to hit home runs." The people Magaziner calls his political heroes—Jefferson, Louis Brandeis, Adlai Stevenson, Eleanor Roosevelt—shared this quality. They were, he says, "not full of the social graces of their times," but were "willing to take risks, personal risks," in their pursuit of radical change. "They succeeded sometimes and failed sometimes. But they didn't crumble. They would keep going ahead with it."

Right-wingers misunderstand Magaziner by casting him as an ultraliberal with a faith in government solutions. That's not really the case. Magaziner's blueprint have become less and less government-based over the years, in keeping with political fashion. But he does remain in his heart a social planner with an unbounded faith in the grandiose systems he designs, whatever mixture of private sector and public sector they draw upon. His recipe may work this time. Unfortunately, there's little in his record to support that hope. •

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The Unfortunate Side Effects of 'Diversity'

Designed to promote harmony, some workshops leave race and gender divisions.

By KATHLEEN MURRAY

IN 1988, Lucky Stores wanted to find out why more women and minority-group employees were not being promoted. So the company held a workshop to increase sensitivity among its store managers. As part of an exercise common in such sessions, the supervisors were asked to mention stereotypes they'd heard about women and minority-group members.

"Women cry more," one said.

"Women don't have as much drive to get ahead," volunteered another manager.

"Black females are aggressive," said a third.

"The work force would not perform for a black female manager," added a colleague.

The idea was to expose potential prejudice and to deal with it. But to management's horror, notes from this session later turned up as evidence in a sex-discrimination lawsuit arguing that female employees were not being promoted by the Dublin, Calif., grocery chain. The employees won the suit last August, in part because the court determined that some stereotypes mentioned at the sessions amounted to management bias. "We hadn't known what went on in those meetings, but hearing them say this confirmed that's what they thought of us," said Diane Skillsky, a bookkeeper at Lucky's in Redwood City, Calif., who stands to share more than \$80 million in damages with about 20,000 other women.

The Lucky case is but one example, albeit an extreme one, of the potential pitfalls in corporate efforts to embrace "diversity training" programs intended to foster harmony in increasingly diverse work forces.

Even as businesses like the Flagstar Companies, owner of the Denny's restaurant chain, embark on such programs in the wake of discrimination charges, progressive organizations are finding that tackling issues like race and gender is a delicate undertaking. Among the problems: confrontational trainers who accuse employees of bigotry or pit them against each other, resentment by employees who feel left out of the process, and a sense among many executives that training sessions alone are adequate.

"I've seen diversity trainers go into companies with wrecking balls and they leave a mess," said Kate Butler, a management consultant in New Jersey. A July 5 cover story in *The New Republic* criticized the "diversity industry" for charging millions of dollars for programs that don't always "solve the problems they purport to address."

A Burgeoning Field

Some corporate managers and diversity experts attribute the problems to the newness of the field. Although affirmative action has been around since the mid-1960's, efforts to encourage employees from many cultures to work together effectively are much more recent. Some of these efforts were inspired by a 1987 report from the Hudson Institute predicting that by the year 2000, nearly two-thirds of the work force would be people other than white males. The smartest companies, the report said, will attract and manage diverse talent. By 1991, three-quarters of the companies surveyed by the Towers Perrin consulting firm had diversity programs.

In turn, the number of experts specializing in work-force diversity has more than quadrupled since 1990, according to the American Society for Training and Development, an Alexandria, Va., association representing all kinds of corporate trainers.

Kathleen Murray is a business writer based in Los Angeles.

But sometimes these efforts have backfired. At one Federal agency in Washington, participants in a seminar were asked to provide stereotypes about minority-group members. Later a list of them, including comments like "All blacks like watermelon," was printed on the agency letterhead and distributed to employees who had missed the seminar. Many employees complained, said Percy Thomas, a diversity consultant in Rockville, Md., called in for damage control. He refused to name the agency.

In another instance, at an electronics plant in Los Angeles, a diversity trainer asked white male managers to volunteer stereotypes, which elicited responses like "Women cry under pressure." Women and minority employees were encouraged to vent their anger about being excluded in the workplace. By the next day, the managers were taunting the women about what they'd said, and the women were upset about what the managers had said.

Blame-and-Shame Programs

Diversity programs that blame certain groups, like white males, for inequities in the workplace can also backfire. The University of Virginia once was host for a sensitivity-training session for a group of faculty members and administrators. The consultant opened by telling them they were all racists. Some employees walked out; others were extremely upset. "In the end it soured everyone on doing diversity training," said Courtland Lee, a professor of multicultural studies.

But some employers and consultants think that in order for diversity programs to work, they must cause discomfort. "Changing a culture is never easy," said Nathaniel R. Thompson, diversity manager at the Baxter Healthcare Corporation in Deerfield, Ill.

Mr. Thompson might start a workshop by asking a group of Baxter employees to stand in line, then challenging those who have never had a racist thought to step to the left. Those who have — usually the majority if not the whole group — are asked to step to the right. The discussion proceeds from there. Or minority-group employees are asked to pose questions like "Why are you afraid of black people?" to other groups.

In another workshop, a white male manager is forced to stand in front of the group and tell how he feels. "I'm feeling very lonely," he says. "I thought I was in the majority of the population, but not in this room."

In still another exercise, some Baxter employees are asked to disclose their position on issues like abortion or gay rights. Participants might find themselves defending a pro-choice position to a boss who opposes abortion. This has led to quarrels. Mr. Thompson said he tries to create an environment in which people feel safe to express how they feel in a way that won't damage their working relationships, but sometimes there are repercussions.

"We have had some people say, 'I feel uncomfortable interacting with people because of this exercise,'" he said.

Other companies question the need for this kind of emotional purging in a work setting, and have shifted the focus of diversity programs away from stereotypes and racial and gender issues to the broader topic of differences. Instead of pitting minority-group employees against whites or men against women, for example, First Interstate Bank in Los Angeles, focuses on the "in" group and the "out" group. There are other ways employees can be excluded, said Richard Wyler, an assistant vice president with the bank, who has attended the sessions. "Like who management has lunch with, or who is cc'd on memos," he said.

Isaac Hawkins, the manager of work-force diversity for Sears, Roebuck & Company, said he might begin a seminar by talking about safer stereotypes, like what kind of person makes for a bad driver.

Some experts would like to see company trainers move away from the approach of categorizing employees. A few trainers have been known to say that all Asians don't like to look the boss in the eye or that Hispanic employees prefer working in groups. Jeffrey



From left, Diane Skillsky, Irma Hernandez and Reba Barber-Money, with a winning suit against Lucky Stores. Stereotypes voiced by managers at a diversity training session.



Nathaniel Thompson, center, of Baxter Healthcare, sees some hard feelings.

A. Sonnenfeld, director of the Center for Leadership and Career Studies at Emory University, is troubled when he sees employees taught that different groups have different characteristics. Why not teach that each employee is different, he asks.

In a recent study of several diversity programs co-authored with Catherine Ellis, Professor Sonnenfeld concluded that simply replacing "negative" stereotypes with "positive" stereotypes can be equally divisive. In other words, it is just as damaging to say that all members of a certain group have an aptitude for high-tech work as it is to say that they are aloof toward their co-workers. Both stereotypes raise barriers against looking at workers as individuals.

A 'Winners-Losers' Problem

Professor Sonnenfeld has also noted increased fighting in some organizations after a diversity effort, and a feeling that for some groups to "win," others must lose. Women's groups battle minority groups for

promotions, for example, or white males think that diversity is for everyone but them. At one computer firm, Professor Sonnenfeld found that 54 percent of the white men at a diversity seminar thought they were losing status as a result of the training. Said one:

"The racism I see is everyone trying to cater to minorities."

Complicating the picture is the fact that many diversity programs are tied solely to affirmative-action goals. But companies that focus only on statistics, said David Tulin, a diversity consultant in Philadelphia, are sometimes accused of reverse discrimination by their employees.

A number of companies fall short in their diversity efforts by not dealing with such backlash, Professor Sonnenfeld said.

To reduce the ill will, some companies are reaching out to white male employees. For more than a year, A.T.&T. has offered a course that delves into the situation of the white male. Du Pont is considering offering a class on "maleism," the company's term for the way men react and interact. Baxter

Training'



Trainer McCarthy for The New York Times

, with lawyer, Jocelyn Larkin, after win-
diversity session were cited as evidence.



John Egan for The New York Times

feelings as inevitable in diversity training.

Healthcare devoted the summer issue of its diversity magazine to a discussion of the concerns of white men. "Smart companies," experts say, are taking diversity efforts beyond awareness-training sessions. Du Pont teaches managers to include more diverse opinions in making decisions, and involves white males in efforts for women and minority group employees. "At Sears, the focus is on 'diversity-friendly' programs like leaves of absence that allow foreign-born employees to visit their families abroad, and bus service so that workers who live in the inner city can reach company headquarters in the suburbs. The problem with the Lucky Stores efforts, said a plaintiff's attorney, Jocelyn Larkin, was that the company did not go beyond the diversity-training sessions. Most diversity experts and trainers acknowledge that efforts to bring a diverse work force together have yet to be perfected. But Professor Sonnenfeld does offer hope in his study. "Most programs," he said, "are better than none at all."

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Designed to promote harmony, some workshops leave race and gender divisions.

By KATHLEEN MURRAY

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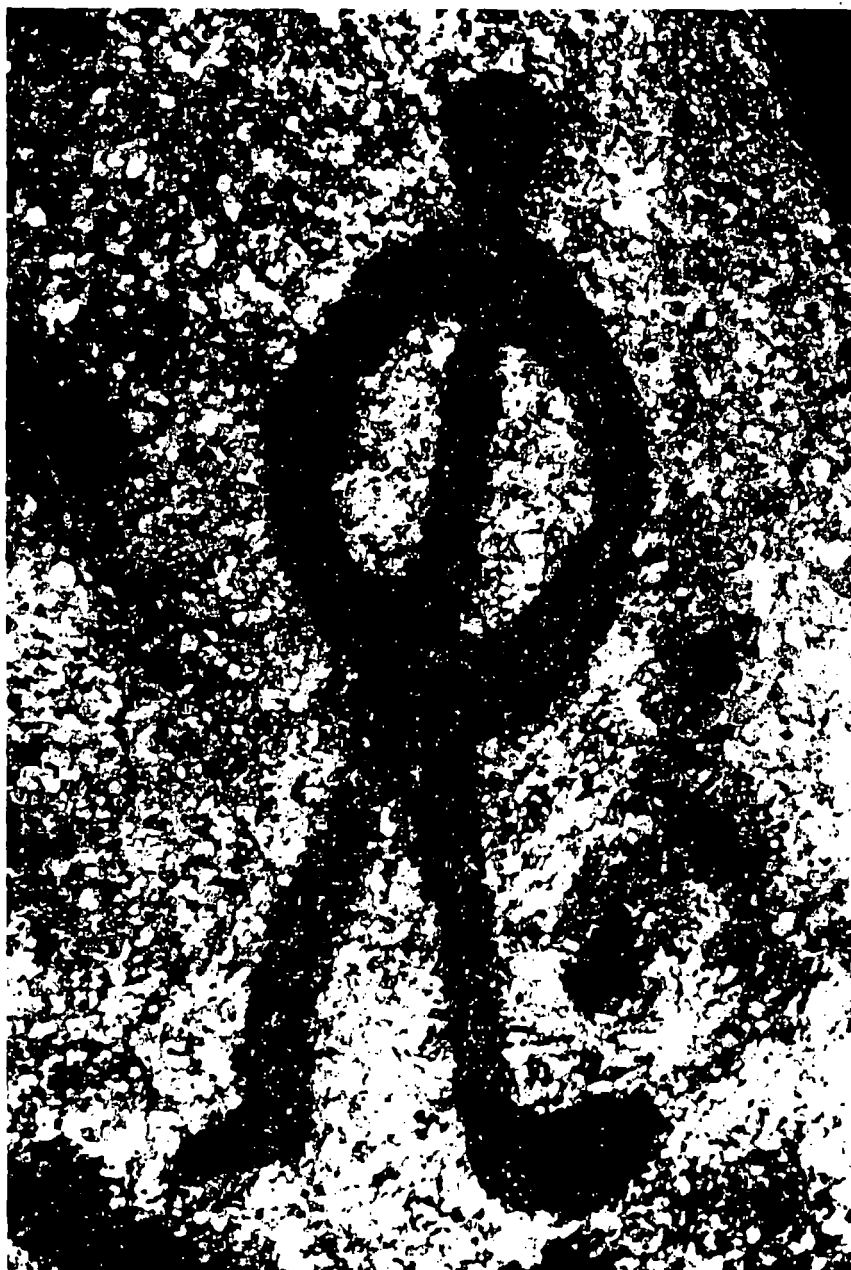
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To reduce the ill will, some companies are reaching out to white male employees. For more than a year, A.T.&T. has offered a course that delves into the situation of the white male. Du Pont is considering offering a class on "maleism," the company's term for the way men react and interact. Baxter

Healthcare devoted the summer issue of its diversity magazine to a discussion of the company's efforts to bring diversity to its small companies. Experts say they are taking diversity efforts beyond awareness training sessions. Du Pont teaches managers to include more diverse opinions in making decisions, and involves white males in mentoring for women and minority-group employees. At Sears, the company has "diversity travel" programs like leaves of absence that allow foreign-born employees to visit their families abroad, and bus service so that workers who live in the inner city can reach company headquarters in the suburbs. The problem with the Lucky Stores efforts, said a plaintiff's attorney, Jocelyn Larkin, was that the company did not go beyond the diversity-training sessions.

Most diversity experts and trainers acknowledge that efforts to bring a diverse work force together have yet to be perfected. But Professor Sonnenfeld does offer hope for his study. "Most programs," he said, "are better than none at all."

Discipline-Based Art Education and Cultural Diversity



DBAE Third Issues Seminar

August 6-9, 1992
Barton Creek Conference Resort
Austin, Texas

Illustrations for *DBAE and Cultural Diversity* printed materials have been drawn from a global selection of rock art; this theme will be continued in further Issues III publications.

COVER: Algonkian figure, Peterborough Provincial Park, Ontario, Canada, date unknown. Photograph by Douglas Mazonowicz, NYC.

Preprogram brochure: Anasazi pictograph from Grand Gulch, Utah, date unknown. Photograph by John Running, Flagstaff, AZ.

Arrival card: Archer in regalia, Santoleo, Teruel province, Spain, 10,000 to 6,000 B.C. Photograph by Douglas Mazonowicz, NYC.

T-shirt: Five bowmen from Tassili n'Ajjer plateau, Algeria, c. 4,000 B.C. Photograph by Douglas Mazonowicz, NYC.

FROM THE DIRECTOR

The Getty Center for Education in the Arts' sponsorship of the third seminar on issues in discipline-based art education continues our commitment to refining and developing the theoretical foundations of DBAE. Two of our expectations for DBAE theory and practice are that it is evolutionary in nature and must be tailored to fit the individual needs, circumstances and resources of our nation's school districts.

As a conceptual approach to art education, DBAE has the capacity to embrace works of art from all cultures. Our Issues III program will enable participants, including art specialists, researchers, museum educators, teachers, and scholars, to hear and discuss different points of view on issues pertaining to cultural diversity and DBAE. Because our issues seminars are intended to contribute to the evolution of DBAE theory and practice, participants include 147 individuals from all over the country committed to and actively engaged with DBAE.

The Center is indebted to the Issues III Advisory Committee for their conscientious efforts in developing our program and bringing together such an exciting group of presenters.

And to you, our seminar participants, the Center extends its warm appreciation for your continuing professional commitment. Your participation here will be a valuable contribution. Welcome!

Leilani Lattin Duke
Director
Getty Center for Education in the Arts

WELCOME

As has been the case with all Issues seminars, at least two years before the seminar the Getty Center for Education in the Arts begins an extensive preparation process. Our Issues seminars fall under an area of Center activity known as DBAE theory development; therefore, we felt it essential to examine the theoretical basis of cultural diversity and multicultural art education as we prepared for Issues III: *DBAE and Cultural Diversity*. This examination included the following activities:

1. Developing a bibliography of scholarly articles, news articles, books, and resources on multicultural art education for the Center's program staff. This bibliography includes philosophical, sociological, and legal writings as well as those pertaining to practical applications in K-12 and higher education.
2. Convening six day-long orientation meetings for staff on multicultural art education issues with art educators, scholars, policy makers, and teachers, commissioned to write briefing papers. Many of these authors are Issues III speakers. Others, such as James Sears, Department of Educational Leadership & Policies, University of South Carolina; Tomás Miranda, Bilingual Education & Equity, Connecticut State Department of Education; Howard Simmons, Middle States Commission on Higher Education; and Brenda Welburn, National Association of State Boards of Education, are recognized for their expertise in multicultural education issues.
3. Visiting a group of mid-Atlantic schools identified by their mission statements as either being multicultural or having art programs designed to meet the needs of culturally diverse student bodies through a DBAE approach. This tour revealed a wide range of multicultural instructional strategies, e.g., human relations, social reconstruction, bicultural/cross-cultural analysis, value-free education, collaborative learning, and monocultural approaches.
4. Sponsoring a round table devoted to the topic of DBAE and cultural diversity with educators and representatives of community arts organizations from the greater Miami area. The purpose of this round table was to hear how diversity has changed the nature of their jobs and their interaction with one another.

Other activities the Center has undertaken to prepare for this seminar include a survey of multicultural instructional strategies used in our own regional staff development institutes. The authors of *DBAE: Becoming Students of Art*, one of the influential and defining monographs for DBAE, were surveyed to identify issues and/or themes they felt essential to be covered at Issues III; a similar survey was taken of our own

program staff. The results of these surveys and/or activities, vetted over the past two years with both the Center's Advisory Committee and our Issues III Advisors, enabled the Center to identify our seminar audience and structure a program that we felt would elicit issues essential to understanding the complexity of ideas related to cultural diversity and the relationship they have with DBAE.

My thanks to each of you for your willingness to share your ideas and opinions with us over these next several days. I also would like to express my appreciation to the Getty Center for Education in the Arts staff and the Issues III Seminar Advisory Committee for their support and guidance, without which this convocation would not have been possible.

Michael Kendall
Program Officer
Getty Center for Education in the Arts

SCHEDULE OF EVENTS

THURSDAY, AUGUST 6, 1992

2:00–3:40 p.m.

Registration — Forum Lobby

Issues III Resource Room — Barton Creek Rooms B and C

Juliet Moore, Intern, Getty Center for Education in the Arts

Rebecca Orona, Fourth-grade Classroom Teacher/Mentor, Visual Arts, Washington Elementary School, Montebello, CA

3:40–6:30

FIRST PLENARY SESSION: Perspectives on Cultural Diversity in Education — Forum

Welcome — **Leilani Lattin Duke**, Director, Getty Center for Education in the Arts

Bernice Johnson Reagon (tentative), Curator, Division of Community Life, National Museum of American History, The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Carl Grant, Professor, Department of Curriculum & Instruction, University of Wisconsin, Madison, WI

Presenting with:

Christine Sleeter, Associate Professor, Department of Education, University of Wisconsin at Parkside, Kenosha, WI

Rachel Mason, Head, Centre of Post-Graduate Teacher Education, Leicester Polytechnic, United Kingdom

Ellen Dissanayake, Independent Scholar and Lecturer, New School for Social Research, New York, NY

7:00

Cocktail Reception — Governor's Pool

8:00

Dinner — Governor's Ballroom

The Treaty Oaks Room in the lower level of the Club House will be available throughout the seminar for informal ad hoc meetings. Participants wishing to use this room will be asked to reserve it in advance by signing a sheet in the Issues III Resource Room located in Barton Creek Rooms B and C.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7, 1992

- 7:00–9:00 a.m. Breakfast — Terrace Dining Room
Issues III Resource Room — Barton Creek Rooms B and C
- 9:00–11:00 a.m.** ***SECOND PLENARY SESSION: DBAE and Cultural Diversity: Three Perspectives*** — Forum
Daily Overview and Introduction of Speakers — **Claudine K. Brown**, Deputy Assistant Secretary for the Arts and Humanities, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
Michael D. Day, Chair & Professor of Art, Harris Fine Arts Center, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT
F. Graeme Chalmers, Professor of Art Education, The University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC, Canada
Frances Thurber, Assistant Professor of Art Education, Department of Art, University of Nebraska at Omaha, Omaha, NE
- 11:00–11:30 Break
- 11:30 a.m.–1:00 p.m.** ***Question & Answer Period***
Moderator — **Claudine K. Brown**
- 1:00–3:00 Lunch — Terrace Dining Room
Issues III Resource Room — Barton Creek Rooms B and C
Recreation
- 3:00–5:10** ***THIRD PLENARY SESSION: How Have Issues of Cultural Diversity Affected Practices in Art History, Aesthetics, Criticism, and Art Making?*** — Forum
Introductions — **Peter Pennekamp**, Vice President for Cultural Programs, National Public Radio, Washington, D.C.
Alan Wallach, Ralph H. Wark Professor of Fine Art, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA
Marcia Muelder Eaton, Professor, Department of Philosophy, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN
Robert Storr, Curator, Museum of Modern Art, New York, NY
Alfred J. Quiroz, Professor of Art, Department of Art, University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ
- 5:10–5:30 Break — Refreshment setup outside of Forum

5:30–6:30

Affinity Group Breakouts:

Elementary Education — Council Oaks, Club House, Level 1

Secondary Education — Rayburn Room

Higher Education (A) — Barton Creek Room A

Higher Education (B) — Studio II, Executive Fitness Center

Supervision and Administration — Travis Room

Museum Education — Houston Room

Cross-Representative — Austin Room

6:30–7:00

Break

7:00–10:00

Dinner — Texas BBQ — Overlook Terrace & Pavilion, Executive Conference Center

SATURDAY, AUGUST 8, 1992

7:00–9:00 a.m.

Breakfast — Terrace Dining Room

Issues III Resource Room — Barton Creek Rooms B and C

9:00–11:30 a.m.

FOURTH PLENARY SESSION: DBAE and Other Disciplines: Three Perspectives — Forum

Daily Overview and Introduction of Speakers — **Martin Rosenberg**, Associate Professor of Art History, University of Nebraska, Omaha, NE

June King McFee, Professor Emeritus, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR

Marianna Torgovnick, Professor of English, Department of English, Duke University, Durham, NC

Lisa Corrin, Assistant Director, Museum for Contemporary Arts, Baltimore, MD

Presenting with:

Fred Wilson, Guest Curator, *Mining the Museum*, Museum for Contemporary Arts, Baltimore, MD

11:30–11:45

Break

11:45–12:45

Affinity Group Breakouts:

Elementary Education — Council Oaks, Club House, Level 1

Secondary Education — Rayburn Room

	Higher Education (A) — Barton Creek Room A
	Higher Education (B) — Studio II, Executive Fitness Center
	Supervision and Administration — Travis Room
	Museum Education — Houston Room
	Cross-Representative Group — Austin Room
12:45–2:30	Lunch — Terrace Dining Room
	Recreation
	Issues III Resource Room — Barton Creek Rooms B and C
2:30–3:50	<i>FIFTH PLENARY SESSION: Implications for Evolving DBAE Practice — Forum</i>
	<i>Moderator</i> — Brent Wilson , Professor, School of Visual Arts, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA
	Gilbert Clark , Professor of Art Education, School of Education, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN
	Robyn F. Wasson , Professor, Division of Curriculum Design and Development, South Brisbane, Queensland, Australia
	Judith Stein , Adjunct Curator, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, PA
	Jean Detlefsen , Instructor, Columbus High School, Columbus, NE
	Vesta A.H. Daniel , Associate Professor, The Ohio State University, Columbus, OH
3:50–4:30	<i>Interactive Panel with Session V speakers</i>
4:30–5:00	Break
5:00–6:00	<i>Affinity Group Breakouts:</i>
	Elementary Education — Council Oaks, Club House, Level I
	Secondary Education — Rayburn Room
	Higher Education (A) — Barton Creek Room A
	Higher Education (B) — Studio II, Executive Fitness Center
	Supervision and Administration — Travis Room
	Museum Education — Houston Room
	Cross-Representative — Austin Room
7:00	Optional Dinner — Tejas Dining Room, Barton Creek Club House
	Shuttle buses — Austin/Barton Creek (7:00–11:00 p.m.)

SUNDAY, AUGUST 9, 1992

8:00–10:00 a.m. Breakfast — Terrace Dining Room
Issues III Resource Room — Barton Creek Rooms B and C

10:00 a.m.–12:30 p.m. FINAL PLENARY SESSION: Affinity Group Daily Summary

Reports — Forum

Daily Overview and Introduction of Speakers — Claudine K. Brown

Elementary Education — **Catherine Leffler**, Fifth-grade Teacher, Encino
Elementary School, Encino, CA

Secondary Education — **Judith Madden Bryant**, Art Specialist, Portland
Public Schools, Portland, OR

Higher Education (A) — **Martin Rosenberg**, Associate Professor of Art
History, University of Nebraska, Omaha NE

Higher Education (B) — **Enid Zimmerman**, Professor of Art Education,
Indiana University, Bloomington, IN

Supervision and Administration — **Janis Norman**, Associate Professor and
Chair, Art Education Department, University of the Arts, Philadelphia, PA

Museum Education — **Anne P. El-Omami**, Curator of Education,
Cincinnati Art Museum, Cincinnati, OH

Cross-Representative — **Peter Pennekamp**, Vice President for Cultural
Programs, National Public Radio, Washington, D.C.

Closing Statement — Michael Kendall, Program Officer, Getty Center
for Education in the Arts

12:30 Seminar End

12:30–1:30 Checkout and Departure

1:30–3:30 *Closing Luncheon (optional) — Terrace Dining Room*

ISSUES III AFFINITY GROUP FACILITATORS

Terry Barrett
Associate Professor of Art Education
The Ohio State University
Columbus, OH

Kimberly Camp
Director, The Experimental Gallery
The Smithsonian Institution
Washington, D.C.

Jacqueline Chanda
Professor of Art Education
The Ohio State University
Columbus, OH

James Clarke
Elementary & Secondary Art Consultant
Aldine Independent School District
Houston, TX

Lila Crespín
Lecturer, Art Education
California State University at Long Beach
Long Beach, CA

Katherine Schwartz
Faculty
Kenai Peninsula College
Soldotna, AK

Maurice Seigny
Dean, Faculty of the Fine Arts
University of Arizona
Tucson, AZ

ISSUES III AFFINITY GROUP RECORDERS

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Portland Public Schools
Portland, OR

Anne P. El-Omami
Curator of Education
Cincinnati Art Museum
Cincinnati, OH

Catherine Leffler
Fifth-grade Teacher
Encino Elementary School
Encino, CA

Janis Norman
Associate Professor and Chair
Art Education Department
University of the Arts
Philadelphia, PA

Peter Pennekamp
Vice President for Cultural Programs
National Public Radio
Washington, D.C.

Martin Rosenberg
Associate Professor of Art History
University of Nebraska
Omaha, NE

Enid Zimmerman
Professor of Art Education
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Bloomington, IN

**GETTY CENTER FOR EDUCATION IN THE ARTS
DBAE AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY ADVISORY COMMITTEE**

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Bloomington, IN

THE GETTY
CENTER FOR
EDUCATION
IN THE ARTS

DBAE and Cultural Diversity

Third Issues Seminar

sponsored by
The Getty Center for Education in the Arts

ABSTRACTS OF PRESENTATIONS

Sessions I - IV

**Barton Creek Conference Center and Resort
Austin, Texas
August 6-9, 1992**

FIRST PLENARY SESSION
Perspectives on Cultural Diversity in Education

"Multicultural Education: History and Meanings"

Carl A. Grant

Professor, Departments of Curriculum and Instruction and Afro-American Studies
University of Wisconsin, Madison

Presenting with:

Christine E. Sleeter

Professor and Director, Ethnic Studies Center
University of Wisconsin, Parkside

Multicultural education as a field is now about 25 years old. Largely because of demographic shifts in the United States population, many educators are just now acknowledging the importance of the field, wishing to rework their own practice from a multicultural perspective. This paper will provide an overview of the history of multicultural education, and a framework for examining different conceptions of it.

The first part of this paper will discuss the history of multicultural education in three time periods: 1) the late 1960s and early 1970s, which marked the Civil Rights Movement, birth and early flourishing of multicultural education, and establishment of departments of ethnic studies and women's studies on college campuses; 2) the conservative backlash of the late 1970s and early 1980s, in which "diversity" was marginalized in reform reports and cast in a "deficiency" framework in the "at-risk" discourse; 3) the late 1980s and early 1990s, in which demographic shifts have moved discussions of multicultural education to the center once more; and 4) scholarly advances in ethnic studies and women's studies which have deepened the conceptual underpinnings of the field considerably.

The second part of the paper will discuss five ways multicultural education is often conceptualized: 1) Teaching the Culturally Different; 2) Human Relations; 3) Single Group Studies; 4) Multicultural Education; and 5) Education that is Multicultural and Social Reconstructionist. While educators new to multicultural education often adopt the "Teaching the Culturally Different," "Human Relations" approaches, or very simplistic versions of the "Single Group Studies" approaches, the latter two are advocated by many multicultural educators. In our discussion of the approaches, we will draw from recent research and debates to illustrate insights and issues these approaches grapple with. For example, recent work in Afrocentrism highlights major themes in various disciplines that diverge from themes taken for granted by many EuroAmerican scholars. Such work has implications for multicultural curriculum design, drawing attention not just to those whose work appears in curriculum but also to those whose ideas undergird the curriculum. A theme that appears in the literature, art, and other creative work of oppressed groups is criticism of oppressive social structures and cultural representations. This is not generally a theme in the creative work of dominant groups, and educators who are members of dominant groups often eliminate such criticism in constructing curricula; it would, however, be a theme salient to the "Education that is Multicultural and Social Reconstructionist" approach.

"Multicultural Education and Art: Historical and Contemporary Developments in the United Kingdom"

Rachel Mason

Head, Centre for Postgraduate Teacher Education
Leicester Polytechnic, England

This paper will focus on multicultural education reform in art in Great Britain. It will be presented in three parts.

Part One will briefly discuss ethnic and cultural diversity in the United Kingdom with particular reference to the immigration of peoples of color from the New Commonwealth and the rise of the multicultural education reform movement in the 1970s. Reference will be made to major contextual influences setting the scene for current perceptions of cultural diversity and art educational response to that pluralism in Great Britain.

Part Two will provide a historical overview of British policy and practice in multicultural education and the arts. Attention will be paid to: 1) phases in the multicultural education reform movement that have reflected different conceptions of its goals, methods, and outcomes; 2) debates about cultural bias in art teacher training, the school art curriculum, and art examinations; and 3) the role of central and local government, the Arts Council and other funding bodies in implementing multicultural arts educational change. A typology of value orientations toward multicultural education in art will be established with reference to the work of Allison et. al. (1985), Mason (1988) in the United Kingdom, Banks (1989), and Sleeter and Grant (1987) in the United States.

Part Two will feature slide illustrated case records of curriculum content approaches to multicultural art education drawn from teacher training, further education, and schools. Strategies for analyzing stereotyping and racial prejudice in visual images, encouraging positive affirmation of cultural identity, and teaching Third World crafts will be described and important differences between the approaches will be analyzed. In addition, the illustrated case records will demonstrate the important role played by museums, ethnic minority artists, and local community members as resources for multicultural curriculum initiatives.

Finally, current issues in multicultural art education arising from: 1) the statutory orders for a National Curriculum in Art (DES 1992); 2) conflict between the West and Islam (Ahmed 1992); and 3) the emergence of racism from within a pan-European perspective (Webber, 1991) will be summarized.

"Species-centrism and Cultural Diversity in the Arts"

Ellen Dissanayake

Independent scholar, lecturer, and author

Culture (including the predisposition to become enculturated) is a distinguishing feature of the human species. However, culture is not separate from our biology but is itself an adaptation. Cultures and cultural practices (including the arts) are means of satisfying human biological propensities or needs that evolved in a "pre-cultural" period, during 39/40ths of our existence as a taxonomic family.

Regarding "art" as the activity of making important things special or extraordinary, I claim that it is a universal feature of human nature, a behavioral proclivity that evolved to help human individuals and societies to survive. Such a perspective (which I call "species-centric") allows us to view art in new ways and to answer old questions about its origin, nature, purpose, and value. Where does art come from? Why do people engage with the arts? What, if anything, is universal in the arts? Why do attitudes towards the arts vary in pre-modern and modern societies? What is art for?

The species-centric view is particularly relevant to the field of arts education in that it demonstrates that art is a fundamental part of human nature -- as normal and natural as language, sex, and sociality -- and, as such, is an ability of everyone. In the context of cultural diversity, a

species-centered view of art reminds us that all cultures have used the arts to embody and reinforce their belief systems. While belief systems may be diverse, the impulse to embody them in arts is pan-human.

Additionally, the arts have historically been used in the service of what people care about -- i.e., as expressions and satisfactions of universal human needs -- and as means of unifying individuals. By emphasizing the underlying needs that the arts embody and satisfy (e.g. needs for community and reciprocity, for play and make-believe, for attaching and bonding to others, for imposing conceptual order) along with the individual artistic practices that distinguish cultures from each other, arts education can emphasize manifold variety and cultural diversity without losing awareness of underlying unity. Additionally, arts can enable people to recognize and celebrate aspects of their experience that they care about, thereby reconnecting art to life.

SECOND PLENARY SESSION

DBAE and Cultural Diversity: Three Perspectives

"DBAE as a Platform for Teaching Cultural Diversity in Art"

Michael D. Day
Professor of Art
Brigham Young University

The current multicultural emphasis in education and in art is one whose time has come, and in fact is long overdue. One of the strengths of this country has always been and continues to be the cultural diversity of its citizens. Although its impact in education and society will hopefully be a long-lasting one, we must consider, however, that this emphasis will follow a cycle of increasing and decreasing influence, as other trends in education and in art.

How does the discipline-based educational platform accommodate the content and concerns of the multicultural emphasis in art education? Close examination of DBAE theory reveals that this approach provides an ideal platform or set of principles for the teaching of cultural diversity in art. Several criticisms of DBAE as an elite, narrow, educational program with an inherent Western European high art emphasis are not well founded. Reference to professional literature that outlines the DBAE approach reveals a broad educational construct with a robust ability to derive content for learning directly from a wide range of cultures.

The view of the art disciplines as dynamic and evolutionary assures the currency of DBAE as an educational model. As the disciplines change with the times, they offer different perspectives and insights for art education curriculum developers. This dynamic quality is evident in this era more than at any time since the peak influence of abstract expressionism as a monolithic art movement. Cultural diversity, postmodernism, political, social, and psychological perspectives in art, and deconstructionism are all central to current debate within the art disciplines. All of these ideas and perspectives are, therefore, readily available for art education curriculum within the discipline-based model.

While we are within the era of emphasis on cultural diversity on a wide scale, socially, aesthetically, and educationally, we will be wise, as art educators, to consider what contributions this movement can make, what responsibilities we should embrace, and how we can assure lasting positive influences within this field. The central focus of discipline-based art education is on the fostering of understanding of the visual arts as a school subject. Understanding the arts of any culture is a prerequisite for broader cultural understanding and respect. The goals of understanding and appreciation for diverse cultures, and understanding and appreciation of the visual arts are educationally compatible and inseparable.

"Cultural Diversity"

F. Graeme Chalmers

Professor of Art Education

University of British Columbia

The positions expressed in this paper are: 1) that in the past discipline-based art education (DBAE) did not respond well to cultural diversity, but 2) that at present the door is open and the potential for further meaningful response is acknowledged. These positions are supported by analysis of the critical literature of the late 1980s and the review of more recent literature, curriculum materials, and Getty Center and other initiatives. Seemingly compelling reasons for increasing the "ownership" of DBAE have been acknowledged. Implications for the ways in which both art and art education should be approached by those committed to discipline-based art education in a culturally diverse society are briefly presented and loosely contrasted with previous approaches to DBAE. The case is made that DBAE can, and must, respond to cultural diversity.

"Cultural Diversity and DBAE: the Challenge of One World and Multiple Visions"

Frances E. Thurber

Assistant Professor, Department of Art and Art History

University of Nebraska, Omaha

This paper explores the evolving relationship of DBAE to cultural diversity by examining theoretical issues, cases providing practical application of theory, and available resources which enrich a pluralistic art context.

In outlining what they call "the challenge of the 1990s and beyond," Schensul and Carroll (1990, p. 339) state:

The decade of the nineties will see greater ethnic and cultural diversity in the United States than in any other period in American history . . . Educators are increasingly called upon to solve problems stemming from different and sometimes conflicting interests of ethnically, culturally and socially distinct populations.

Interpretations of the meaning of "cultural diversity" and its significance in the schools abound in the current literature of general education. A survey of the literature of art education, as well, offers evidence of an increasingly active dialogue about the complex relationship of cultural diversity with art and art education.

Discipline-based art education (DBAE), a theoretical orientation to the teaching of art, is another frequently-discussed topic found in both general education and art education literature. When examined carefully, the essence of DBAE inherently implies a reckoning with the issue of cultural diversity. Internationally, some voices calling for this reckoning have been enthusiastic about DBAE, while others have been loudly critical. This debate has highlighted key issues which art educators must address if DBAE is to continue to evolve as a viable and meaningful approach in art education.

This paper examines a sample of cases from currently operating Regional Institutes for inservice education sponsored by the Getty Center for Education in the Arts. These cases offer insights into how attitudes and practices associated with DBAE programs reflect a shared commitment to cultural diversity while expressing alternative means of articulating their commitment.

In the last few years, as teachers have begun to seek DBAE materials and resources based on diverse cultural ideas and contexts, commercial and academic resources have proliferated. In terms of theoretical implications and practical applications, this paper provides an overview of selected resources

and describes evaluation criteria which can guide the selection and future development of culturally inclusive DBAE curriculum resources and audio-visual technology.

The paper concludes with a review of the key challenges which remain in the efforts of DBAE theorists and practitioners to nurture multiple visions of one world.

THIRD PLENARY SESSION

How Have Issues of Cultural Diversity

Affected Practices in Art History, Aesthetics, Criticism and Art Making?

"Revisionist Art History and the Challenge of Cultural Diversity"

Alan Wallach

Professor of Fine Art

College of William and Mary

As commentators on both the left and right of the political spectrum have frequently observed, the 1960s marked a crucial turning point for the United States both politically and culturally. The political struggles of the period led to persistent demands for greater institutional recognition of cultural diversity. These same political struggles also prompted scholars in the humanities to develop far more critical and self-conscious perspectives on their work. Almost every field of the humanities underwent a protracted "crisis" or "breakdown" leading to critical reexaminations of established theories, methods, and beliefs. In the field of art history, this reexamination of basic assumptions took a variety of forms. Feminists, Marxists, semioticians, and adherents of deconstruction began to play increasingly visible roles. Today these tendencies are often grouped together under the heading "revisionist" or "new" or "critical" art history.

Because revisionist art history premised itself upon a critique of existing art ideologies, it was perhaps inevitable that it would lead to openings in a hitherto tightly closed field in the direction of cultural diversity. Revisionists have criticized the traditional belief in a canon of western art consisting of timeless, transcendental "masterworks" possessing universal appeal -- as opposed to the supposedly limited and ephemeral status of works of art and artifacts from other traditions. Accompanying the critique of the transcendental has been a growing awareness of the politics of culture and increasingly pointed criticism of exclusionary cultural hierarchies.

This paper describes the growth of cultural and ideological criticism in the field of art history and examines the implications of that criticism for the advocates of a more diverse and therefore more democratic culture.

"Effect of Cultural Diversity in Aesthetics"

Marcia Muelder Eaton

Professor of Philosophy

University of Minnesota

I shall discuss three ways in which cultural diversity has affected philosophical aesthetics. The first is significant, but it has left the field relatively unchanged; the same questions are discussed, but new examples are used to raise and illustrate these questions. For instance, aestheticians still worry about issues that concerned Plato (Is artistic activity rational? What is the metaphysical status of a work of art?), but quilting as well as sculpting, rap as well as symphonies, are analyzed.

A second, deeper influence is seen as basic assumptions of Western philosophical analytical aesthetics are questioned, revised, or rejected. For example, in this century formalism (the view that only directly perceivable qualities of an object or event matter to aesthetic experience) has been a

dominant, theoretical, and critical position. Cultural diversity has reinforced and accelerated the demise of this assumption. Form and content are increasingly considered, for example, as essentially inseparable.

The most radical effect has been a third: the realization that new questions must be asked. As we recognize that the very questions philosophers raise are culture-bound, it is not enough simply to look at new examples, or reassess old assumptions. One must not only talk about quilts as well as bronze statues, or ask whether the form and function of a quilt are independent; one must ask whether recognition of quilts as an art form that deserve to be hung in museums is itself an authentic or appropriate response.

If philosophy is culture-bound, one must be deeply fluent in a culture in order to philosophize at all. Cultural diversity thus demands fluency within more than one culture -- an enormous task, one that is often paralyzing. The first two demands of cultural diversity (broadening example and examining assumptions) are doable, and to some extent, certainly being done. The third is much more problematic: to what extent is it possible to do philosophy as cultural diversity would legitimately require?

"Make it Real, Compared to What?: Art World Pluralism and Empirical Criticism"

Robert Storr

Curator, Department of Painting and Sculpture
Museum of Modern Art, New York

In the present debate over cultural diversity, the language of both proponents of "multiculturalism" and its more or less candid adversaries emphasize moral or political responsibility and their burdens. Typically, discussions of art outside the supposed mainstream centers on disagreements about who we "should" pay attention to -- and on what terms -- or whether indeed demands of that kind "should" be made. Too often lacking is the demonstration by argument or tone of other reasons for engaging with various forms and contexts of art making. In short, much if not most, critical writing that addresses these problems deals in generalities that tend to reinforce stereotypes and concentrate on matters of social obligation over and above questions of aesthetic or historical complexity or the motivating effects of imagination or curiosity. And as often as not, old arguments pitting "art with a mission" against art-for-art's sake are recapitulated in the simplest terms and at the particular expense of women and people of color who suffer from art world marginalization, but do not see themselves as representatives of an issue or group or as activist or didactic artists of any kind. If a genuine and sustained broadening of our cultural focus is to occur, this must change. On what grounds can such change happen, and what vocabulary must we use, revise, or forswear in order that it does?

"How Have Issues of Cultural Diversity Affected Practices in Art Making?"

Alfred J. Quiroz

Professor of Art
University of Arizona

A. Historical aspects of cultural diversity:

1. Its rise in the early civil rights movement of the 1950s-1970s; its impact on artists; stereotypical aspects of the multicultural arts;
2. The fashionable appeal of Cultural Diversity in the Arts of the 1980s -- the benefits of being politically correct;
3. The mature recognition in the arts today -- still in its formative stage; and
4. The education of artists in a multicultural world. Has the "Good Ol' Boy" system been broken, or does it exist under the new guise of feminism?

- B. Personal history as a Mexican-American artist.
- C. Peer pressures of a career in the art world; the positive aspects and negative responses.
- D. How artists have reacted to the new limelight of cultural diversity -- the cultural cat has finally been let out of the bag.
- E. The quincentenary smoke screen: 500 years of misnomers. Is the Eurocentric aspect still a concern among culturally diverse artists?
- F. Multiculturalism in the arts in the next millennium.

FOURTH PLENARY SESSION
DBAE and Other Disciplines: Three Perspectives

"DBAE and Cultural Diversity: Some Perspectives from the Social Sciences"

June King McFee
Professor Emeritus
University of Oregon

This paper is set in the context of the increasing culture change and cultural diversity now taking place in most parts of this country and the implications of these for art education.

A cross-cultural and multicultural perspective in art education has been developing over the last 35 years or more. It involves worldwide as well as North American art educators. This perspective is reviewed as a basis for adding to both the content and the teaching-learning, and curriculum development of DBAE.

Aspects of the social sciences that address the nature of art in culture and the effects of culture on the development of art among diverse groups is reviewed. The effects of culture on the abilities of school children to respond to the art of their background and that of others is analyzed. Resource materials are found in anthropological studies of art: as artifact in different cultures; as having symbolic meaning of social values; as identifying and demarking status and role; as objectification of belief systems; and as reinforcing the culture to the members, teaching it to the young, and transmitting it to outsiders.

Studies on the cultural nature of art are recommended as the content disciplines of DBAE. A cross-cultural art history, culturally divergent forms of art criticism, aesthetics, and modes and methods of creating symbols and producing art all need to be retrieved from the anthropology of art and from art educators working in the social foundations of art education.

Studies on differences in response to art are also found in anthropology and cross-cultural psychology studies in cognition and perception, the ordering of time and space, and the symbolic language learned in each culture.

Selection and synthesis of materials from anthropology, cross-cultural psychology, sociology and the literature in the social foundations of art education is needed to provide the broader discipline base for DBAE during cultural diversification. This interdisciplinary social science base is needed for teaching-learning, for curriculum development, and for enriching the disciplines already used in DBAE with diversified cultural perspectives.

"Learning From Literature"

Marianna Torgovnick
Professor of English
Duke University

This paper will describe several movements: political criticism (the landmarks here are Foucault, Said, Marxism); feminist criticism; African-American Studies; and the interpretive philosophies and strategies loosely called "poststructuralism" or "deconstruction." It will briefly outline the nature of these trends, their leading texts, development through the eighties, and status now.

The paper will then describe the fallout, expected and unexpected, caused by these new developments. Among expected and approved developments are these: more dialogue between the disciplines and authentically interdisciplinary work; increased enrollments in English and literature programs after the lows of the mid-seventies; a sense of leadership and adventurousness in the field; the birth of new fields, such as gender studies and cultural studies. Among less salutary developments are these: a sense of crisis for some teachers and writers (when was the last time you wrote about a single text?); backlash inside and outside the academic community.

I will end with a brief example of the work I am currently doing, based on either a recent film or a text from the men's movement.

(Untitled)

Lisa Corrin
Assistant Director and Curator
Museum for Contemporary Arts (The Contemporary), Baltimore

Presenting with:
Fred Wilson
Installation artist and Guest Curator
Museum for Contemporary Arts (The Contemporary), Baltimore

Mining the Museum, a recent installation project by Fred Wilson, will form the basis of a joint paper addressing the value of bringing disciplines external to those usually associated with the discipline-based art education (DBAE) curriculum to bear on the interpretation and presentation of contemporary art. The collaborative project brought together a traditional history museum with a contemporary art museum, thus enabling the presenting institutions to consider the artwork with multiple perspectives.

The speakers will demonstrate how programs focusing on history, ethnography, anthropology, and museology were used to successfully complement DBAE-type programs. It will be shown that this cross-disciplinary approach to programming leads to a richer understanding of the issues addressed in Wilson's work. *Mining the Museum* brings to the fore issues central to revisionist art history, such as canon formation, cultural identity, and what Dr. Ivan Karp has called the "poetics and politics of museum display."

Fred Wilson will discuss the research and conceptual process which led to the development of *Mining the Museum* and will discuss its connection to his previous work. Lisa Corrin will describe specific cross-disciplinary public programs and interpretive strategies implemented by the presenting institutions, The Contemporary (Museum for Contemporary Arts), and the Maryland Historical Society. Both speakers will explore how cross-disciplinary educational programming for contemporary art is particularly appropriate because of the increased emphasis given by artists and museum professionals to theories of multiculturalism including the relationship between art and its social/ideological context.

L

FRANK WILLIAMS
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Alexandria, Virginia 22304
(703) 370-7423

SUMMARY OF EXPERIENCE

Business management; contract negotiation and management; human resource development; economic development; portfolio management; management information systems development/implementation and financial management.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

THOMPSON, CURTIS, BAZILIO & ASSOCIATES, P.C.
(Certified Public Accountants)
Managing Director

4/93 - Present

Responsible for the overall management of the Firm; marketing and public relations.

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE AND DEMOCRATIC
NATIONAL CONVENTION COMMITTEE
Chief Financial Officer/Assistant Treasurer

7/91 - 3/93

Responsibilities included administration of the Departments of Accounting, Personnel, Administrative Services, and Fundraising Activities. Administered \$35 million 1992 convention budget. Filed related Federal Election Commission reports. Reported directly to the Chairman.

SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY, Shreveport, LA
Vice Chancellor for Administration and Fiscal Affairs

11/90 - 6/91

Responsibilities included administration of the University's Physical Plant, Business Office, Bookstore, Purchasing, and Accounting Department.

NATIONAL BENEFIT FUND FOR HOSPITAL
AND HEALTH CARE EMPLOYEES, New York, NY
Director of Finance and Administration

2/86 - 10/90

Responsibilities included the financial management of \$3.8 billion pension fund and \$200 million self-insured, self-administered health benefit fund for 85,000 members. Developed investment strategies with investment managers and monitored the performance of investment managers. Supervised the Departments of Accounting, Training, Personnel and EDP. Reported to the Executive Director and Board of Trustees.

NEW YORK CITY HUMAN RESOURCES ADMINISTRATION
Assistant Deputy Administrator (Chief Financial Officer), Medicaid

1/85 - 2/86

Responsible for administration of Medicaid's \$3.8 billion annual budget and a staff of 150 employees. Supervised Departments of Operation Audits, Financial Analysis, Medicaid Transportation, Medical Payments and Third Party Health Insurance Recovery.

R.T.P., INC., Recruitment and Training Program
(Human Resource Consultants), New York, NY

1972 - 1984

5/81 - 12/84: Executive Director

Developed and administered organizational policies. Negotiated contracts with corporations, foundations and governmental agencies. Conferred with union officials, corporate executives and local, state, and national elected officials. Administered annual budget of \$25 million and national staff of 400 employees in 80 locations.

6/77 - 5/81: Deputy Executive Director for Finance and Administration

Responsible for administration of finance, public relations, personnel, and training departments. During tenure in this position, successfully negotiated \$80 million in contracts.

1/74 - 6/77: Director of Finance

Responsible for supervising financial functions; cash flow planning; contract negotiations; budget preparation; and negotiation of office leases for 80 national locations. Developed and implemented computerized financial information system.

6/72 - 1/74: Controller

Supervised corporate accounting department. Prepared corporate tax returns, financial statements, and financial management reports for 50 field offices.

**COOPERS AND LYBRAND (Certified Public Accountants)
Auditor**

5/70 - 6/72

Audited financial statements; prepared financial statements; flowcharted accounting systems; analyzed accounting records; and prepared management reports.

OTHER ACTIVITIES**BLACK HEALTH RESEARCH FOUNDATION
Member, Board of Directors**

1989 - 1992

**TRAINING RESOURCES PROJECTS, INC., New York, NY
Chairman, Board of Directors**

1983 - 1989

Employment and training consultants.

**UNITED STATES YOUTH COUNCIL
Member, Board of Directors**

1980 - 1986

Led political delegations to Vienna, Austria 1985; Western Europe 1984 (Paris, France; Brussels, Belgium; Vienna, Austria; and Bonn, West Germany); Ethiopia, Africa 1983.

**UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL YOUTH YEAR COMMISSION
Member, Board of Directors**

1983 - 1985

**DISTRICT COUNCIL 1707 HEALTH & WELFARE FUND
Chairman, Board of Trustees**

1978 - 1984

EDUCATION

Master of Business Management - Manhattan College Riverdale, NY
Bachelor of Science, Accounting - Southern University, New Orleans, LA

1978
1970

References available upon request

MEMO

from Frank Williams

To Ruby Date 3/15/94 Time _____

I Am Sending My resume at
the request of Alexis.

Thanks.

MAR 21 1994

Alm

Send to
James
Hue

☐ Reply ☐ Initial and return ☐ See

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4 PM
Present chair
[Bill Coleman]
Jack Greenberg
H. Stuart Pritchard
Johnnie Charles
James P. [unclear]
Charles [unclear]
Patricia

The President of the United States
Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc.
Washington Hilton
May 16, 1994

Carter Wilkie
worked this
out w/ Duval
Patrick

Direct Council

Last November, I awarded the Medal of Freedom to the late Justice Thurgood Marshall. He, along with others in this organization, won 29 victories before the Supreme Court, but none as monumental as the decision in Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka.

We remember Brown because it changed our country and our lives. In a clear voice, it said that America cannot be two nations, separate and unequal. In a clear voice, it said we are one people. One Nation. Under God. Indivisible. With liberty and justice for all.

It was the culmination of a decades of hard work by the great legal minds of the Legal Defense and Education Fund. By the time Brown was argued, the brilliant lawyers of the Inc. Fund, lawyers like Thurgood Marshall, Bill Coleman and Jack Greenberg, had chipped away at the legal barriers that had divided Americans for ages, in almost every aspect of our lives.

I was raised in a time and place where freedoms were far from secure for everyone. I remember when the law said half of the people I knew were to be treated as second-class citizens. I watched as the President of the United States had to call out the National Guard simply to let children into Little Rock Central High School. Thanks to the work of this organization, my daughter is growing up in a society much less divided than the one I knew.

Though our children's world may be a better one, we can never forget our obligation to teach them about the struggles that led to Brown and how truly momentous that decision was. Tomorrow, I'm going with Secretary Dick Riley and Ernest Green and Goody Marshall to Martin Luther King Jr. High School in Beltsville, Maryland. We have to teach the young why these ideas are so important to their future. And we should do this not just on the anniversaries, but every day of the year.

But as my friend Vernon Jordan said at the Urban League dinner, our work is far from over. We see too many whites and blacks alike retreating out of fear. Forty years after Brown, too many white folks are saying, "Well, a united country may not be that important after all." Too many whites have withdrawn behind new walls. In the old days, folks built walls to shut each other out. Today they're building walls to shut each other in.

And among African-Americans, we see an alarming new study that warns of a pervasive sense of alienation so great among the young that fully half want to opt out of the American system. They want to separate themselves. They see themselves as "a nation within a nation."

Meanwhile, there are too many extremists of all kinds, across the entire political spectrum, who want to build up one group by knocking others down. We still see this among whites. We see it among blacks. Racism is not the property of any one race.

Throughout our lifetimes, we have seen what despair can do to a people. We know how vulnerable some folks can be to divisive appeals. But we cannot accept despair as an excuse for anyone to use racial symbols as wedges to break us apart. We cannot allow the new segregationists to bring our progress to a halt.

So, I ask all of you here tonight, how can we celebrate Brown tomorrow while a mood among our people threatens to sever the ties that bind us? I tell you tonight that we cannot celebrate Brown without confronting the new segregationism that would push us apart.

Brown, after all, was not an answer, but a challenge. Now, forty years later, you must challenge me, and, together, we must challenge the Nation, especially the young generation, to continue to work together.

When the courts were hearing Brown, America was reading Ralph Ellison's novel, "Invisible Man." Ralph Ellison died one month ago today. But his call to our conscience did not die with him.

Ralph Ellison taught we must never look upon a neighbor as a member of some alien group -- lest we be easy prey for those who would exploit our diversity for divisive aims. You don't have to strain your ears to hear their Siren call today: "Them, the minorities. Them, the white people. Them, the gays. Them, the Muslims. Them, the Jews. Them, the Christian fundamentalists. Them. Them. Them."

In America, there is no "them." There is only "us." Anything less goes against America at its best, against what has always made us a source of hope to all the world.

In March, the leading moral voice for tolerance and reconciliation in Northern Ireland came to our country. His name is John Hume, a Catholic Member of the British Parliament, who represents a city in Northern Ireland where Catholics and Protestants have waged fights from behind walls of hatred for over 300 years.

The day after he had dinner with us at the White House, he gave a speech in which he said, "The essence of the Irish problem is a division in the hearts and minds of our people...let us walk to Abraham Lincoln's grave and look at the message of peace that's written there for everybody: 'E pluribus Unum -- from many, one.' The essence of unity is the acceptance of diversity."

The essence of unity is the acceptance of diversity. There can be no unity where people have not learned to accept one another for who they are. But accepting diversity is only half the story. Diversity is not an end in itself. Accepting diversity is a path toward building one larger community where everyone belongs. Where everyone can share a common stake in the future of our Nation.

Anyone who knows the history of this organization will understand that you don't have to share the same skin tone to share the same values. But if we cannot talk about our differences, then we can never come to terms with them.

Brown broadened our national discussion in ways we had never experienced before. Forty years later, the increasing diversity of our society makes this discussion so much more important, even if today's environment makes it hard.

Deborah Tannen, a professor at Georgetown and the author of *You Just Don't Understand*, says that we are caught in what she calls a culture of critique, where shouting matches drown out constructive conversation. If you preach hate, you get a talk show, but if you preach love, you get a yawn.

On Saturday, I went to Indianapolis, to the site where Bobby Kennedy appealed for peace on the night Martin Luther King was killed. That was one of the most moving nights of our lifetimes -- not just for what Kennedy said, but because people listened and acted responsibly, in spite of their anger and despair.

If we are to hold our country together, then we must be more like the people who heard Bobby Kennedy on that rainy April night 26 years ago. We should be more careful about listening to others, with respect and decency. We've got to teach our children that true self-esteem does not come through putting other people down.

In this culture of critique, it is easier to condemn a lie than it is to exalt a truth. But there are truths that we must cling to if we Americans are to hold ourselves together.

The institutions of work, family, and community, know no color lines. They are the anchors of civilized life that keep us from drifting away. But we are not clinging to them as we need to. When we let work go for a generation, we see the family go, and the community falls right behind. Crime, violence and family breakdown are the repayment for a society that refuses to hold itself together.

I ran for President because I was tired of seeing these problems ignored. Judge Breyer -- who I predict will be one of our great Supreme Court Justices -- said it right today at the White House. He said he wants to make law work for people, because that is the defining purpose in a government of the people.

But government can't solve all of this on its own. People have to take responsibility. I'm proud of Elaine Jones and all of you who are using the strength of this great organization to confront the problem of violence and the fear it produces that are driving our people apart. Those things hurt no one more than the weakest among us. People have to know that the future can be better than the past, and that they can make it so.

Anyone in need of inspiration should look no further than to the miracle we see in South Africa. No one could have predicted this miracle just a few years ago. When Nelson Mandela was placed in prison in 1964, many of the civil rights gains we take for granted had not yet been achieved. In our era of instant gratification and immediate frustration, we tend to forget the struggle and perseverance that is necessary to achieve change.

Last week, my wife and the Vice President and others went to South Africa and saw

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Langston Hughes, Class of 1929



Thurgood Marshall, Class of 1950



Kwame Nkrumah, Class of 1939 ('42s)

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EVENTS! GRANTS!
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P. 53

SOUTH AFRICA: LAST HURDLES?

Former
Nigerian President
Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe '30 with
Lincoln University
President Sudarkasa