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5/15/93 University of Michigan Law School - Ann Arbor, MI

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ELI J. SEGAL

University of Michigan Law School
Ann Arbor, MI

Sat., May 15, 1993

**PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION**

ELI SEGAL - Itinerary
The University of Michigan, Law School
May 15 & 16

Saturday May 15:

6:50 - 8:23 AM flight to Detroit Metro,
Norhtwest #1223, seat 23 D

8:23 AM Anne Percy Knott, Assistant Dean of the
Law School and Director of the Office of
Devolopment and Alumni Relations, meets
you and Phyllis at the gate. She will
wear an ivory silk blouse and dark
flowered skirt and will hold a
"University of Michigan" sign.

9:10 AM Meet with Professor Jeff Lehman,
director of the Law School's program of
Support for Community-Based Economic
Development in Low-Income Urban
Neighborhoods, over a Zingerman's
breakfast at Professor Lehman's home

10:00 AM Meet with the University of Michigan
Task Force on Community Service
Tappan Room, Michigan Union

The Task Force is reviewing the
University's current community service
activities, proposing new directions and
initiatives for these activities, and
considering ways to position the
University as a leader in community
service.

Congressman Ford will be joining you at
10:15

11:10 AM Thomas A. Butts, Associate Vice
President for Government Relations and
Director of the University of Michigan's
Washington office, takes you to Dean
Bollinger house for lunch

11:30 AM lunch for you and Phyllis with Lee and
Jean Bollinger in their home

1:00 PM you and Lee Bollinger don academic gowns
at the Natural Science Building

1:15 PM Academic procession begins

1:30 Commencement begins in Hill Auditorium

3:45 PM you proceed to the Michigan Union with Lee Bollinger and students for photographs

4:00 PM Reception for graduates and families in the W.W. Cook Law Quadrangle

5:00 PM Jane Myers, writer for the Michigan Today in the University's Office of Donor Relations, and selected Detroit area press interview you and Phyllis, location to be determined

6:00 PM car and driver available for dinner with Mr. and Mrs. Mike Oberman

Accommodations at the Bell Tower Hotel
300 South Thayer Street, Ann Arbor, MI 48104
Phone: (313) 769-3010; fax: (313) 769-4339

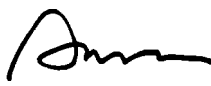
Sunday May, 16:

brunch with Phyllis and friends

3:10 - 4:40 PM flight to Washington National,
Northwest #330, seat 26 D
car and driver available to Metro

MEMORANDUM

To: Eli

From: Susan 

Re: Meeting with the University of Michigan Community Service Task Force

At 10:00 am on May 15, you will meet with the University of Michigan Task Force on Community Service Learning in the Tappan Room in the Michigan Union. Congressman Ford will join you at the meeting at 10:15 and will probably have to leave the meeting before it is over to get to an 11:00 meeting elsewhere.

Task Force: The Task Force members include 15-20 faculty, students, staff and members of the community from southeastern Michigan who meet to discuss connections between the community service programs and the curriculum. The meeting will be facilitated by the Chair, Barry Checkoway, Professor of Social Work and Urban Planning. This should be a fairly informal discussion.

Agenda: Welcome and Introductions

Eli Segal: President Clinton and your vision of national service report on the national service legislation

Congressman Ford: report on the legislative process; predictions of how the bill will proceed through Congress

Task Force: brief description of community service learning activities at the University of Michigan, including a student's perspective (Jen Bastress) and issues of multicultural participation (Professor Bunyan Bryant, Department of Natural Resources and the Environment).

Discussion of how the University of Michigan might be helpful: They are considering holding a national symposium in the fall to raise important issues related to community service learning on campuses. They are looking for advice from you about what might be helpful to the national service program and would like to forge some ongoing relationship between U of M and ONS that is substantive.

You could raise the suggestion that I have made to Barry Checkoway and Tom Butts that the subject of the symposium might be to discuss/develop models for the "during" college part of the national service program. We know what some of the models for the "before" and "after" programs will look like, but less work has been done on the "during" college programs that could be certified. I am planning to organize an expert panel to begin work on this, and a national symposium to float some models, develop the thinking further, issue a report, etc. would be helpful.

The meeting should end at 11:15. Tom Butts will be at the meeting with you and will then drive you to Dean Bollinger's house for lunch at 11:30.

The White House

Office of National Service

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
MAY 14, 1993

CONTACT: ETHAN ZINDLER
202/456-6444

***** Press Advisory *****

**Eli Segal to Speak
at University of Michigan Law School Graduation**

On Saturday, May 15, Eli Segal, Assistant to the President and Director of the White House Office of National Service, will address students and faculty at the University of Michigan Law School commencement. Mr. Segal, an alumnus of the school, will speak at 1:30 PM at the Hill Auditorium at Thayer and North University on the University of Michigan campus in Ann Arbor.

Last week the President's National Service Trust Act of 1993 was introduced to Congress. The bill would allow young people to help pay their way through college by performing one or two years of domestic national service. Under Mr. Segal's direction, the White House Office of National Service researched and helped write national service legislation.

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XIII

COMMENCEMENT SPEECHES

PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON CALLS THE MIDSHIPMEN TO THEIR DUTY

"You cannot forget your duty for a moment, because there might come a time when that weak spot in you should affect you . . . , and then the whole history of the world might be changed by what you did not do or did wrong."

WHEN OUR TWENTY-SEVENTH PRESIDENT attended the 1916 graduation ceremony at the United States Naval Academy, at Annapolis, he had no prepared comments. Few speakers are so confident of their ability to deliver appropriate remarks on such a formal occasion. The short speech that follows is impromptu, off the cuff, ad lib—but Woodrow Wilson must have given the matter some thought while being introduced.

President Wilson's subsequently printed address, "Responding to the New Call of Duty," took its title from his praise of the graduating class in the second sentence of the speech. (Wilson liked the word "new"; a collection of his campaign speeches in 1912 was called *The New Freedom*, designed to top Theodore Roosevelt's *The New Nationalism*.) Delivered three years after his inauguration, Wilson's talk offered four paragraphs in alluding not only to his college background but also to the gravity of the world situation in June 1916, as he was preparing to campaign for reelection with the slogan "He Kept Us Out of War."

The presidential remarks stress the "special obligation" for the graduates through direct address and parallel structure ("not of private duty merely, but of public duty also"). With parallelism even in his advice ("you get your zest by doing a thing that is difficult, not a thing that is easy"), Wilson conveyed a sense of the trouble ahead.

Ten months after President Wilson's remarks to the class of 1916, the United States declared war on Germany.

□ □ □

Mr. Superintendent, young gentlemen, ladies and gentlemen:
It had not been my purpose when I came here to say anything today, but as I sit here and look at you youngsters, I find that

my feeling is a very personal feeling indeed. I know some of the things that you have been through, and I admire the way in which you have responded to the new call of duty. I would feel that I had not done either you or myself justice if I did not tell you so.

I have thought that there was one interesting bond that united us. You were at Washington three years ago and saw me get into trouble, and now I am here to see the beginning of your trouble. Your trouble will last longer than mine, but I doubt if it will be any more interesting. I have had a liberal education in the last three years, with which nothing that I underwent before bears the slightest comparison. But what I want to say to you young gentlemen is this: I can illustrate it in this way. Once and again when youngsters here or at West Point have forgotten themselves and done something that they ought not to do and were about to be disciplined, perhaps severely, for it, I have been appealed to by their friends to excuse them from the penalty. Knowing that I have spent most of my life at a college, they commonly say to me, "You know college boys. You know what they are. They are heedless youngsters very often, and they ought not to be held up to the same standards of responsibility that older men must submit to." And I have always replied, "Yes; I know college boys. But while these youngsters are college boys, they are something more. They are officers of the United States. They are not merely college boys. If they were, I would look at derelictions of duty on their part in another spirit; but any dereliction of duty on the part of a naval officer of the United States may involve the fortunes of a nation and cannot be overlooked." Do you not see the difference? You cannot indulge yourselves in weaknesses, gentlemen. You cannot forget your duty for a moment, because there might come a time when that weak spot in you should affect you in the midst of a great engagement, and then the whole history of the world might be changed by what you did not do or did wrong.

So that the personal feeling I have for you is this: we are all bound together, I for the time being and you permanently, under a special obligation, the most solemn that the mind can conceive. The fortunes of a nation are confided to us. Now, that ought not to depress a man. Sometimes I think that nothing is worthwhile that is not hard. You do not improve your muscle by doing the easy thing; you improve it by doing the hard thing, and you get your zest by doing a thing that is difficult, not a thing that is easy. I would a great deal rather, so far as my sense of enjoyment is concerned, have something strenuous to do than have something that can be done leisurely and without a stimulation of the faculties.

Therefore, I congratulate you that you are going to live your lives under the most stimulating compulsion that any man can feel, the sense, not of

private duty merely, but of public duty also. And then if you perform that duty, there is a reward awaiting you which is superior to any other reward in the world. That is the affectionate remembrance of your fellow men—their honor, their affection. No man could wish for more than that or find anything higher than that to strive for. And, therefore, I want you to know, gentlemen, if it is any satisfaction to you, that I shall personally follow your careers in the days that are ahead of you with real personal interest. I wish you Godspeed, and remind you that yours is the honor of the United States. ■

EDITOR WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE CALLS THE PREWAR GENERATION TO ITS DUTY

"LIBERTY, if it shall cement man into political unity, must be something more than a man's conception of his rights, much more than his desire to fight for his own rights. True liberty is founded upon a lively sense of the rights of others and a fighting conviction that the rights of others must be maintained."

IN 1896, the new editor of the *Emporia (Kansas) Gazette*—a Republican and a liberal—wrote a ringing editorial titled "What's the Matter with Kansas?" This blast at the Populist party helped elect William McKinley and called national attention to a small-town newspaperman who could express the values of tens of millions of upright, tolerant people. He coined the phrase "tinhorn politician" and styled himself as an authentic

voice of the grass roots. He was editor of the *Gazette* for forty-nine years; though its circulation never rose to more than eight thousand, it became his platform for commentary that gained and held international recognition.

In June of 1936, he gave a commencement address to the graduating class of Northwestern University, in Illinois. These graduates were the young men and women who in five years would be bearing the brunt of the American participation in World War II. He revealed "the screw loose in [his] mental processes," warning, "You have this dementia in your blood," and identifying its manifestation: "Your fathers, mothers, and remote ancestors for several thousand years believed in the reality of duty. Upon that madness they built the world."

He presents long thoughts in short sentences. He anticipates by a generation the longing for a "new frontier," and packs much food for thought in such passages as "You may love for the moment the indolent sense of futility that comes with the grand cynicism of youth. But life, experience, the hazards of your day, and time will bring out of you the courage bred into you."

□ □ □

About all that a commencement orator can do for his auditors is to turn their faces around. He looks back upon the world as he thinks it was. Then he considers the world as he thinks it is. Finally in his receding perspective he discloses the pictured phantasm which he hopes will be the future. Thereupon his young listeners may see mirrored in the gloss of his picture the world which they think they will make. It is a pleasant exercise. This commencement oratory which floods our land every June may be an effective anesthetic which youth may take at its second birth, out of the solid, unyielding, factual environment of childhood and of books, out of the substantial fabric of the curriculum with its sure reward of grade, class standing, and satisfying compensation into the bewildering, hazy, and altogether ironic mockeries that we call, in humorous euphony, real life. I stand here tiptoeing near the end of my three score years and ten. There you sit across an abyss scarcely fifty feet wide but deeper than the distance to the moon. I come out of one dream world that is memory. You go into a visionary world that is hope. I tell you of the things that I imagine are true in my world. You hold in your hearts the picture of your world that shall be. We dwell on these two different planets. How can I hope to get across the chasm of time and space any hint, even a flickering shadow of my truth that will reach your hearts? For

my world seemed to be a static world when I stood fifty years ago where you stand now. My forebears since Caesar's day had not greatly changed the tools with which they made their clothes, got their food, built their houses; nor had they changed greatly in those twenty centuries the philosophy upon which they erected their future. Today you look back upon a world that has moved so far in one hundred years that nothing you see and feel, touch and taste, hope, believe, and love is as it was when your grandfathers learned from their grandfathers how to live in another day. So what I shall say here you may well discount. It is only the truth as I see it. Yet it may have some bearing, though heaven only knows what, upon your lives. Perhaps I can tell you something, and being called here, I shall try. . . .

We know we have not done God's work perfectly. The world we have made out of the inheritance of our grandfathers is a pretty sad botch. It is full of gross injustices. Obviously a couple of centuries of hard work needs to be done on it, before America is turned out, finished in its millennial beauty. But with all these inequities, the old thing does hold together. We turn our country over to you in one piece—which is something. Even if it isn't a pretty piece, it is yours, with its spiritual hereditaments. And may I be pardoned the vanity of one who worked on the job if I try to give you some idea of what has held this nation in unity during a century and a half when in many other parts of the globe races and tongues and economic units have been breaking into small states, magnifying nationalism into a vice.

Today, as never before, nationalism in small geographical areas is pulling men into bitter disunion and controversy. Some flame of envy and rancor is abroad in the world. We see it moving across the face of Europe in various tyrannies, each exalting its own nationalism, each challenging liberty in its own way—Italy under fascism, Germany under the Nazis, Russia under communism, Spain boiling with confusion, while the two principles of dictatorship, that of the plutocracy and that of the proletariat, struggle for possession of that brave land. These isms are types of one pestilence which is threatening civilization. That this spiritual pestilence will attack America, no one can doubt.

How can we Americans immunize ourselves? The class of '37 must find out why small geographical, social, racial units are erupting into a virulent nationalism that threatens Western civilization. It's your problem, esteemed descendants, but here's a hint that might help you to solve it.

I am satisfied that the disease has its root in a lack of social faith. The thing that has bound America into one nation is tolerance—tolerance and patience; indeed, tolerance and patience upheld by a sense of duty.

At this point, dearly beloved members of the class of '37, I propose to reveal the screw loose in my mental processes, also to show you something of the aberration of your forebears. You have this dementia in your blood, and you might as well know it. Your fathers, mothers, and remote ancestors for several thousand years believed in the reality of duty. Upon that madness they built the world. Not that I wish to brag about it—this sense of duty—but I still hug the delirium of my generation to my heart and believe there is something in those old-fashioned eccentricities known as the Christian virtues. Don't get excited. I am not preaching piety. I have no plan of salvation to offer you, no theology to defend. But I feel, and my generation has believed in a general way, that democracy with its freedom, with its patience, with its tolerance, with its altruism, is a sort of rough attempt to institutionalize the Christian philosophy. And when I say rough, I mean rough, something like a 20 percent realization of a noble ideal. Our American Constitution, for instance, is a national compact of our individual and of our social duties. It has worked in this country after a fashion. Yet the same Constitution, or nearly the same, has been adopted in a dozen other lands and has failed. Why has it held us to an essential unity? I am satisfied that our Constitution has stood up because Americans actually have established here a sort of code of duties. That has been the crystallizing principle that has held us together—duty of man to man, of region to region, of class to class, of race to race, of faith to faith. That duty has bred something more than neighborly tolerance. It has engendered a profound desire in every American's heart to make life as pleasant as it may be made—not merely for himself, indeed not chiefly for himself, but for others. Thus we have found and cherished true liberty.

Liberty, if it shall cement man into political unity, must be something more than a man's conception of his rights, much more than his desire to fight for his own rights. True liberty is founded upon a lively sense of the rights of others and a fighting conviction that the rights of others must be maintained. Only when a people have this love of liberty, this militant belief in the sacredness of another man's self-respect, do races and nations possess the catalyzer in their political and social organism which produces the chemical miracle of crystallized national unity and strength. We Americans have had it for three hundred years on this continent. It was in the blood of our fathers. It was the basis of our faith in humanity when we wrote our Constitution. It has been with us a long time on this continent—this capacity for compromise, this practical passion for social justice and for altruistic equity in settling the genuine differences of men. This high quality of mutual respect is no slight gift. It is a heroic spiritual endowment, this knack of getting along together on a continental scale.

We have set as a national custom the habit of majority rule. This custom is maintained not by arms but by a saving sense in the heart of every minority that any majority will not be puffed up, will not infringe upon the rights of the minority. Matching this duty of the majority to be fair, we have set up the component duty of the minority to be patient, but to agitate until the justice of a losing cause has convinced the winning majority. This American tradition of political adjustment cuts through every line of cleavage and all differences in our social organization—regions, classes, races, creeds. Here is the way it has worked. As our country has expanded geographically, this political genius for unity has tapped our store of certain basic virtues: neighborly forbearance, meekness, unselfishness, and that belief in the essential decency of one's neighbors which for want of a better word we have called love. Now, in our land abideth these three—faith in our fellows, hope in the triumph of reason, and love for humanity. With all the grievous faults and glaring weaknesses of our federal union, these things are the centripetal spiritual forces which have solidified America.

These commonsense qualities which have grown out of the Beatitudes have helped to preserve the American Union for the last century and a half. Now, what are you going to do about it, you who stand here at the threshold of the reality of your past, looking into the evanescent horizon of your future? We who shall soon be petrified into pedestaled ghosts as your ancestors have a notion that you, our descendants, don't have much use for duty, for patience, and for tolerance. We get the general idea that you have no sort of faith in the strength of the humble. Yet it is out of this lack of faith that a new challenge has appeared in the world, a challenge aimed at democracy, a challenge which scorns these lowly neighborly virtues that have held our world together. This challenge is finding its way into our American life. We are being told that the majority sometimes has emergency mandates to ignore the rights of the minorities. We have set up rulers all over the earth who preach against the virtue of patience. It is a new thing in our America to hear men defending the tyrannies of Europe—communism, fascism, and the Nazis—declaring that the minority may oppress the majority if the minority happens to be convinced that it is right. It is even a stranger doctrine in America, which holds that a passing majority, by reason of its being a ballot box majority at one or two elections, has an inherent right immediately to suppress and ruthlessly destroy an honest minority.

Now, as an ancestor, let me caution you, my heirs and assigns, that these new political attitudes are symptoms of greed for power. They will fool you if you channel your thinking into narrow dialectics. Don't take

your logical premise from your class self-interest. Don't build your logic upon a purely selfish structure. Don't think as plutocrats. Don't reason as members of the middle class or as proletarians. Such thinking is too sure of its own syllogisms ever to be just. Such thinking rejects the possibility that there is truth and that there may be reason in the contention of another class of society. This same discord that has torn as under so many peoples in Europe, where fifty years ago democracy seemed to be taking root, today is seeding in our land. Capitalists are scorning labor leaders. Labor leaders are preaching distrust and hatred for capitalists. The revelations of the La Follette committee in the United States Senate now investigating the infringement of civil liberties certainly lay bare the cancer of hatred in our economic body that is poisoning our national blood. The class-conscious arrogance of wealth is creating its own class morals. Proletarian logic is justifying the use of force in class conflict and condoning cunning. The industrial enterpriser shuts his eyes to the tragedy of the farmer's economic plight. Then the farmer envies the financier.

* But I feel sure the tide will turn. You who stand here, chisel in hand, about to hew out the future, have something in you; humanity's most precious mental gift—the eternal resilience, the everlasting bounce in man. You may love for the moment the indolent sense of futility that comes with the grand cynicism of youth. But life, experience, the hazards of your day, and time will bring out of you the courage bred into you. You will find that you have the urge that we had. You will want to believe in something in spite of yourselves. You will want to construct something. For you are the sons and daughters of a creative people, inventive, resourceful, daring. And above all, in spite of the many unpleasant things you have learned in this cloister, in spite of the hard realities that have molded your youth, you are mystics, you are crusaders, you are incorrigible visionaries in the noblest sense of these words. The eternal verities of your inheritance, the organizing brains, the industry, the noble purpose that during the nineteenth century made America a kindlier and more beautiful land than ever before was brought forth on this planet, will be beckoning you, urging you, indeed, sternly commanding you to follow whatever is fine and just in the achievement of your country. . . .

The residuum of what I am trying to say is this: you must reorganize life in your America and point your achievement toward a fairer distributive system. Abundance is here for the taking. Don't bemoan your lost frontier. It is even now flashing on your horizon. A gorgeous land lies before you fair and more beautiful than man before has ever known. Out of the laboratories will come new processes to multiply material things for your America, to multiply them almost infinitely; but only if you will hold open

the channels of free science, unfettered thought, and the right of a man to use his talents to the utmost provided he gives honest social returns for the rewards he takes. Don't delude yourselves about your new frontier. For on that frontier which will rise over the laboratories you will find the same struggle, the same hardships, the same inequities that your forefathers have found on every frontier since the beginning of time. You will find rapacious men trying to grab more than their share of the common bounties of the new frontier. You will find human greeds and human perfidies there as we found them fifty years ago and as our fathers found them generations upon generations before. Energetic buccaneers always thrive wherever men are pioneering. In every one of the ten long generations during which your ancestors have been conquering this continent and building a proud civilization here, they have struggled as you will struggle against the injustices of life which are bred out of the lust for power in unsocial men. But don't let that discourage you. . . .

And now, in closing, on behalf of your fathers who are bequeathing to you their choicest gifts, let me say that your heritage is not in these great lovely cities, not this wide and fertile land, not the mountains full of undreamed-of riches. These you may find in other continents. What we leave you that is precious are the few simple virtues which have stood us in good stead in the struggle of our generation. We will and bequeath to you our enthusiasm, our diligence, our zeal for a better world, that were the lode stars of our fathers. As our legatees we assign you our tolerance, our patience, our kindness, our faith, hope, and love, which make for the self-respect of man. These qualities of heart and mind grow out of a conviction that the democratic philosophy as mode of thinking will lead mankind into a nobler way of life. . . . ■

ECONOMIST ARTHUR BURNS SHARES THREE DISCOVERIES WITH YOUNG ISRAELIS

"I do not hold with those who say that power corrupts men. Rather, it is the other way around; men without morality corrupt power."

DR. ARTHUR BURNS, an immigrant to the United States from Austria at the age of eight, founded the Bureau of Economic Research, became chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under Dwight Eisenhower, and served as Richard Nixon's domestic policy counselor before being appointed chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. He finished his career, coming full circle, as ambassador to West Germany.

His speaking style was precise; his official writing was afflicted with too many facts and figures. But because he had an organized mind and liked to make a clear point, his extemporaneous speaking and rare informal addresses were models of clarity.

The following commencement address, made at Hebrew University, in Jerusalem, on July 6, 1970, is uneditable—that is, it cannot be cut without the cut showing. That demonstrates a tight construction in speechwriting, with points logically marching to a satisfying conclusion. It begins with a couple of anecdotes, drawing the audience in with easy-to-follow stories about people. Then Dr. Burns previews, or billboards, the three elements to come in his speech: discoveries in economics (where he's the expert), power management (always of interest), and the achievement of ideals (which should be on the minds of young people).

He then delivers as advertised, each discovery helpfully labeled and briefly expounded. At the end, like a good college lecturer to students taking notes, he summarizes his trinity of points. Then he poses three questions, designed to give his listeners something to puzzle out in each of the three areas as they live their lives. Not an exciting speech, but reflective of the speaker: helpful; structured; wise.

□ □ □

This is my third visit to Israel. I remember, just before my first visit here, in 1958, being admonished not to come by several United States ambassadors.

The reason for the warning was plain. Israel was then in the midst of the Lebanon crisis. With tension mounting by the hour, even a professor ought to have enough sense to stay away from a country about to become involved in war. The men who told me this were seasoned diplomats; they were gravely alarmed by the state of affairs.

But when I came here, I was struck by just the opposite—not by the tension, not by the alarm, but by the coolness of the Israeli people in the midst of international anxiety.

There is an ironic saying we have in America, paraphrasing a line in a Kipling poem: "If you can keep your head while all about you are losing theirs, perhaps you do not understand the gravity of the situation."

But the fact was that the Israelis I met here—some of whom had been my students at Columbia University in years past—fully understood the gravity of the international situation. They kept the calm that is found in the eye of a hurricane.

I was struck then, as I am struck now, by what Ernest Hemingway defined as the essence of courage—"grace under pressure."

That quality of calm courage is found only in a people with a clear sense of purpose and a firm sense of duty. This simple fact must weigh heavily in every assessment by outsiders of the future of Israel.

On another visit, I asked David Ben-Gurion how the Israelis were able to achieve so rapidly their advances in industry and commerce. As you know, many economists associate economic growth with a nation's endowment of natural resources. England's early progress was attributed to her coal; America's to her abundant minerals and vast agricultural resources. But Israel was not blessed with large mineral deposits, much of its land was barren, and even water was in short supply.

How, I therefore asked the prime minister, was Israel able to build such a strong economy in such a short time? He answered, "We did it first by dreaming, then by doing what the economists said was impossible."

Keeping in mind that gentle reminder of fallibility, I would like to speak to you today about three discoveries in seemingly different fields—in the management of economic affairs, in the management of power, and in the achievement of ideals.

You are a part of those discoveries, and the way the young people of Israel govern their lives will have an important impact on the use of those discoveries in the years ahead.

The first discovery, in the field of economic management, is this: the human element is basic in the creation of an economy that combines full employment with high productivity and relative price stability.

The great debate you read about in economics today is between those who feel that fiscal policy is all-important and those who believe that monetary policy is all-important. The two schools joust in learned debate, but both are also beginning to take account of the human element in economic affairs—that is, the dreams, fears, and hopes that so often upset the most expert calculations.

And so we are gradually discovering—or perhaps I should say rediscovering—that there is more to economic policy than the established principles of economics. When the older writers on economics entitled their treatises “political arithmetic” or “political economy,” they were telling us something we have forgotten: that man’s hope is a crucial element in man’s fate.

What is your role in this discovery? Right now, right here in Israel, you are proving that hope is perhaps the most powerful of all economic forces. You are proving that a spirit of purpose can give meaning to human energy and overcome a lack of material resources. In this, you are not breaking any rules of economics; but you are developing new rules of political economy.

A generation ago, the only thing we had to fear was fear itself; today, the only thing we should despair of is despair. In nations all around the world, on both sides of the Iron Curtain, an enervating mood of despair is becoming fashionable, especially on the part of some young people. The cultivation of despair can do as much to undermine the strength of some economies as the cultivation of hope can do to overcome the apparent weaknesses of other economies.

This brings me to a second discovery that is being made, in a related but different field—in the exercise of power in the world.

Power traditionally has been thought of in military terms. And, of course, as you know better than most, the survival of freedom in the world as it is today would be impossible without military power.

But I do not hold with those who say that power corrupts men. Rather, it is the other way around; men without morality corrupt power. And the world is making a remarkable discovery about the exercise of power: with nations, as with individual men, the most effective application of power is the power of moral example.

This, I submit, is what has made and continues to make America great. We have a dream of freedom, of equal opportunity, and of human dignity. It is true, of course, that our reach exceeds our grasp, but by striving to make our way of life better and to help other nations enrich their freedom, we set a moral example that is one of the greatest sources of our power. We are criticized so much around the world because people expect so much of America; I would never trade away those high expectations for mere approval.

And this, too, is what makes Israel a "great power" in her own right. The power of her example in dignifying life, in conquering disease, and in extending technical assistance to other poor nations, can never be underestimated. I know that President Nixon feels this deeply. Not long ago, in discussing why America supports Israel, he put it this way: "Americans admire a people who can scratch a desert and produce a garden. The Israelis have shown qualities that Americans identify with: guts, patriotism, idealism, a passion for freedom. I have seen it. I know."

The young people of Israel, born to this noble example, have a special responsibility both to their own nation and to the world to preserve and enhance those qualities. You must continue to show the world that you know the difference between bravery and bravado. You must continue to show the world how dearly you hold the moral precepts of brotherhood. You must continue to show the world your readiness to seek peace and progress for yourselves and for your neighbors.

The example of Israel is nowhere more vivid than in the field of education. You have the privilege of being graduated today from one of the great universities of the world. But what impresses the world is not so much your fine educational facilities or the magnificence of Mount Scopus, where you began to build this university, but the fact that education in Israel permeates the very existence of her people.

You do not "go to school" in Israel; in a sense, this whole land—every home, factory, kibbutz, or even army camp—is a school. Education is an exciting part of life. The mistake that others sometimes make, and that I trust you will never make, is to treat education as a chore instead of a joy; to treat graduation as an end of education rather than as a beginning.

You consider yourselves pioneers in many things, and rightly so, but I suggest that there is a discovery you are making that you may not be aware of: that a passion for learning diffused throughout a society is the surest road to the achievement of its ideals.

The president of the United States likes to say, "When you're through learning, you're through." And he's right—the strength of a nation, like

the strength of an individual, depends on its ability to learn how to change and to grow.

Perhaps the greatest thing that can be said about the people of Israel is that in fighting for the life of your nation, you have stimulated the life of the mind.

Today I have been speaking of three discoveries that are being made in the world, and of your part in them in the years ahead.

In creating a lasting prosperity, the human element is at last being recognized as of fundamental importance.

In exercising power in the world, the power of moral example can be far greater than material riches or equipment.

In achieving ideals, a reverence for learning and education is indispensable.

As you take leave of the university, as you graduate into a new life of the mind, may each of you ask yourself this: What am I doing to increase the sum of hope in this world? What am I doing to nourish the sense of purpose that founded this nation and made it strong? What am I doing to teach someone else what I have learned?

In asking questions like these, you will come to new discoveries, you will rise to new challenges, and you will justify the faith of your fathers and the admiration of millions of free men all around the world.

I am deeply honored to join the fellowship of this graduating class and I salute you: *Shalom*. ■

HUMORIST ART BUCHWALD SPEAKS TO LAW GRADUATES

"No matter what you read in the newspapers or see on television, I assure you that we're all going to make it."

A KEENING OBSERVER OF WASHINGTON POLITICS, Art Buchwald knows how to ask the tough questions, like "Have you ever seen a candidate talking to a rich person on television?"

The winner of the 1982 Pulitzer Prize for distinguished commentary, Buchwald as political humorist reaches an international audience through the worldwide syndication of his column to more than 550 newspapers. He outlectures Mark Twain. Among his recent books are *I Think I Don't Remember* (1987) and *Whose Rose Garden Is It Anyway?* (1989).

On May 7, 1977, Buchwald delivered the commencement day address at Catholic University's Columbus School of Law, in Washington, D.C.

The commencement address is vintage Buchwald, from the presidential salutation ("My fellow Americans") to the common-man close ("Now, I could have said something very profound today, but you would have forgotten it in ten minutes"). With chapter and verse of biblical and court-case allusions, Buchwald prepares the law graduates for trying careers.

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My fellow Americans, or as we're going to be saying for the next four years—How y'all? It is a great honor for me to address the graduating class of Catholic Law School of 130 men and 85 persons. You couldn't have selected a better person to be your commencement speaker today.

I am no stranger to the bar. I first became interested in the law when I was working in Paris for the *Herald Tribune*, and I covered a trial which had to do with a couple caught in a very compromising situation in a Volkswagen. Now, everyone in France was interested in the case because it had to do with such a small car. The defense lawyer argued it was impossible to do what the couple had been accused of doing in a Volkswagen. The

judge said he didn't know if this was true or not, so he appointed a commission to study it. It took them six months to render their verdict, and they said "it was possible but very difficult."

What does a speaker say to a fresh-faced, well-scrubbed graduating class of neophyte lawyers? Your studies are over, and now you will leave these hallowed halls, this ivy-covered campus, to go out and practice the second-oldest profession in the world.

It is an honorable calling that you have chosen. Some of you will soon be defending poor, helpless insurance companies who are constantly being sued by greedy widows and orphans trying to collect on their policies. Others will work tirelessly to protect frightened, beleaguered oil companies who are being attacked by wicked and depraved antitrust officials. A few of you will devote your lives to suing doctors, while many of you will choose to sue the patients. As lawyers you will see to it that whether you represent General Motors, Coca-Cola, or the telephone company, the little fellow will get his day in court.

There are some of you who have chosen to go into criminal law—which I must admit is getting harder and harder to distinguish from civil law. To you I say, this, too, is an honorable undertaking—only if you keep one thing in mind, and that is to always get your fee in advance. No matter how hard you defended him, a convicted criminal is the most reluctant of all clients to pay the lawyer after the jury has returned a verdict of guilty.

This great government of ours has made the law profession the growth industry of America. Every time a new regulation is issued, a new law is passed, and an old law is repealed, fifty thousand lawyers are needed to explain it. Just one amendment to the IRS code will give every lawyer in this country enough work to last him thirteen years. One memorandum from the Food and Drug Administration will provide enough litigation to feed your families for the rest of your lives. Our country looks kindly on lawyers. Our government hires them to make the rules. Then the private sector is forced to hire lawyers to find ways of breaking them.

The beauty of the law is that the more complicated lawmakers make it, the more work it generates for other lawyers. Had the Ten Commandments been written by a government lawyer, Moses could never have carried them on a stone tablet. He would have had to haul them down from Mount Sinai on the Rock of Gibraltar. And if you ever get discouraged, remember this: even if the meek do inherit the earth, some lawyer will have to probate the will.

I am not trying to give you the impression that your life will be all milk and Gulf Oil. The fact of the matter is that the legal profession faces many problems these days. According to a recent survey, lawyers rated lower

than garbage collectors in the public's esteem. Now, I think this is an unfair image. I know many lawyers who would make good garbage collectors—but I don't know one garbage collector who would make a good lawyer.

Another problem you face is that you will soon be forced to advertise. This is an anathema to most lawyers, but it's coming and there is no sense fighting it. I think if you have to advertise you should put most of your money into television. I have been working on some TV commercials which might be appropriate. One, which I already have in script form, would show a nattily dressed man standing in front of the Atlanta Federal Prison. He would say, "Hi, I used to be a vice-president of Lockheed Aircraft. I'd be inside these gates now if it hadn't been for Covington & Burling. If you have committed a white-collar crime—or are thinking of committing one, call this toll free number: 800-367-2345. We have a special sale this week on income tax fraud and SEC violations. Don't delay. Had the men inside this prison called Covington & Burling, they would be standing out here with me today." . . .

The tendency today in this country is to wring our hands and say everything is rotten, but I don't feel that way. I am basically an optimist—otherwise I would never fly Allegheny Airlines. I don't know if this is the best of times or the worst of times, but I can assure you of this: this is the only time you've got—and you can either sit on your *expletive deleted* or go out and pick a daisy.

Now we seem to be going through a period of nostalgia, and everyone seems to think yesterday was better than today. I personally don't think it was, and I would advise you not to wait ten years from now before admitting today was great. If you're hung up on nostalgia, pretend today is yesterday, and just go out and have one hell of a time.

You know, if you were looking for a name for this country right now, you'd have to call it the uptight society. Everyone seems uptight about something. The white students want out of our system; the black students want in; the people are mad at the cops; and the priests aren't talking to the cardinals. And doing the column the way I do, I discovered that for every uptight person in this country, there's an uptight organization to back him up. And I discovered that the most uptight organization in this country right now is the National Rifle Association. Now, before you get to like me, I am for gun registration, and it's very personal with me. My neighbor has a gun, and he can't even water his lawn straight. But every time I do an article for gun registration, I get hundreds of letters, all neatly typewritten, telling me I'm trying to destroy the Constitution. And I discovered that everybody in this country who owns a gun also owns a typewriter. So my

solution to the gun registration problem is to make everybody register his typewriter. People are very uptight about pornography and what it is doing to all our lives. Now, I'll be very honest with you. I have always wanted to write a pornographic book. But I get so excited doing the research that I can never get around to the book. . . .

My final message to you today is that no matter what you read in the newspapers or see on television, I assure you that we're all going to make it. For two hundred years this country has muddled through one crisis after another, and we have done it without changing our form of government. And it seems like centuries, but it was only three years ago that a president of the United States was forced to resign from office under the darkness of clouds, and he was asked to leave the office because he lied to the American people. I was at the White House that night to hear his resignation speech. What impressed me more than anything else was that while one leader of our country was resigning and another was taking his place, I did not see one tank or one helmeted soldier in the street, and the only uniforms I saw that night were on two motorcycle policemen who were directing traffic on Pennsylvania Avenue. Two hundred million people were able to change presidents overnight without one bayonet being unsheathed. And I believe that any country in the world that can still do that can't be all bad.

Now, I could have said something very profound today, but you would have forgotten it in ten minutes; so I chose to give this kind of speech instead so that in twenty years from now when your children ask you what you did on graduation day, you can proudly say, "I laughed."

Thank you, and God bless you. ■

LANGUAGE MAVEN

WILLIAM SAFIRE DENOUNCES THE TELEPHONE AS THE SUBVERTER OF GOOD ENGLISH

"It is harder to put your foot in your mouth when you have your pen in your hand."

LOOK, THIS DOESN'T COMPARE with Pericles and Patrick Henry, but every anthologist is entitled to the inclusion of one of his own. It was delivered at my alma mater, Syracuse University, on May 13, 1978, and the graduates lapped it up.

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Classmates:
I entered Syracuse University with the class of '51, dropped out after two years, and am finally receiving my degree with the class of '78. There is hope for slow learners.

My subject today is "The Decline of the Written Word." If the speech I have written is disjointed and confusing, you will get my point the hard way.

We have not heard a really eloquent speech out of the White House in a long time. Why? When you ask the speechwriters of Mr. Ford and Mr. Carter, they give you this explanation: they say that "high-flown rhetoric" is not their man's style.

But that is not responsive. A flowery speech is a bad speech. Simple, straight English prose can be used to build a great speech. There has to be a more profound reason for the reluctance of the presidents of the seventies to write out their thoughts plainly and deliver them in words we can all understand.

If you press the president's aides—and that's my job, to press them hard—they'll admit that their man much prefers to "ad-lib" answers to questions. He's not good at what they call a "set" speech.

What do they really mean by that? They mean a speech—a written

speech, developing an idea—is not what people want to hear. People prefer short takes, Q. and A.; the attention span of most Americans on serious matters is about twenty seconds, the length of a television clip.

In the same way, people do not want to read articles as they once did; today, if you cannot get your message in a paragraph, forget it.

As a result, we're becoming a short-take society. Our presidency, which Theodore Roosevelt called a "bully pulpit," has become a forum for twenty-second spots. Our food for thought is junk food.

What has brought this about? I don't blame President Carter for this—he reflects the trend; he did not start it. I don't flail out at the usual whipping boy, television.

The reason for the decline of the written word—speeches, written articles—is that we, as a people, are writing less and talking more. Because it takes longer to prepare our thoughts on paper, that means we are ad-libbing more, and it also means we are thinking more superficially. An ad lib has its place, but not ad nauseam.

That's one of those sweeping statements that pundits are permitted to make. But let me turn reporter for a minute and prove to you that we're talking more and writing less.

Most people are not writing personal letters any more. Oh, the volume of first-class mail has doubled since 1950, but here's the way the mail breaks down. Over 80 percent is business related; over 10 percent is greeting card and Christmas card; and only 3 percent is from one person to another to chew the fat.

More and more, we're relying on commercial poets and cartoonists to express our thoughts for us. Tomorrow is Mother's Day; how many of us are relying on canned sentiments? I remember my brother once laboriously handmade a card for my mother: on the front was "I'll never forget you, Mother," and inside it said, "You gave away my dog." Okay, he was sore, but at least he was original.

The greatest cultural villain of our times has a motherly image: Ma Bell. The telephone company. Instead of writing, people are calling; instead of communicating, they're "staying in touch."

There you are, all about to be holders of college degrees. When was the last time you wrote, or received, a long, thoughtful letter? When was the last time you wrote a passionate love letter? No, that takes time, effort, thought—there's a much easier way, the telephone. The worst insult is when kids call home, collect, for money; when my kids go to college, the only way they'll get a nickel out of me is to write for it.

As the percentage of personal mail has dwindled, the number of telephone installations since 1950 has quadrupled. The average person's need

to write has been undermined by simple economics: as the cost of a letter has gone up, the cost of a call has gone down.

During World War I, a first-class letter cost two cents an ounce; in a few weeks, it will be fifteen cents an ounce. In that same sixty years, a New York-to-San Francisco call has gone from twenty dollars for three minutes down to fifty-three cents today, if you're willing to call at night or on a weekend. The penny postcard is a dime. Letters up almost 800 percent; phone calls down to one-fortieth of the cost to grandpa. No wonder the market share of communication has dropped for letter writers. In the year I was a freshman here, the Postal Service had over a third of the communication business; today, it is one-sixth, and falling.

And it's going to get worse: phonevision is on the way. We have seen what happened to the interpersonal correspondence of love in the past generation. The purple passages of prose, and tear-stained pages of the love letter—that's gone now. It has become the heavy breathing, grunts, and "like, I mean, y'know, wow" of the love call. The next stage, with the visual dimension, will not even require a loud sigh: we can just wave at each other to say hello; wiggle our fingers to express affection; raise our eyebrows to ask, "What's new?," get a shrug in reply, and sign off with a smile and a wink.

We need not degenerate further from written English to verbal grunts, and then to sign language. We need to become modern reactionaries; I consider myself a neo-Neanderthal, and my happiest moment of the year comes as daylight savings ends in October, when I can turn back the clock.

How do we save ourselves from the tyranny of the telephone? How do we liberate our language from the addiction to the ad lib?

If this were an off-the-cuff presentation, I would drift off into a fuzzy evasion like "There are no easy answers." But one thing I have learned in preparing my first commencement address, and the main advice I shall burden you with today is this: there are plenty of easy answers. The big trick is to think about them and write them down.

There are four steps to the salvation of the English language, and thus to the rejuvenation of clear thinking in your working lives.

First, remember that first drafts are usually stupid. If you shoot off your mouth with your first draft—that is, if you say what you think before you've had a chance to think—your stupidity shines forth for all to hear. But, if you write your first draft—of a letter, a memo, a description of some transcendental experience that comes to you while jogging—then you fall on your face in absolute privacy. You get the chance to change it all around. It is harder to put your foot in your mouth when you have your pen in your hand.

Second, reject the notion that honesty and candor demand that you "let it all hang out." That's not honesty; that's intellectual laziness. Tuck some of it in; edit some of it out. Talking on your feet, spinning thoughts off the top of your head, and just rapping along in a laid-back way have been glorified as "expressing your natural self." But you did not get an education to become natural; you got an education to become civilized. Composition is a discipline; it forces us to think. If you want to "get in touch with your feelings," fine—talk to yourself; we all do. But, if you want to communicate with another thinking human being, get in touch with your thoughts. Put them in order; give them a purpose; use them to persuade, to instruct, to discover, to seduce. The secret way to do this is to write it down and then cut out the confusing parts.

Third, never forget that you own the telephone; the telephone does not own you. Most people cannot bear to listen to a phone ring without answering it. It's easy to not answer a letter, but it's hard to not answer a phone. Let me pass along a solution that has changed my life. When I was in the Nixon administration, my telephone was tapped—I had been associating with known journalists. So I took an interest in the instrument itself. Turn it upside down; you will notice a lever that says "louder." Turn it away from the direction of louder. That is the direction of emancipation. If somebody needs to see you, he'll come over. If others need to tell you what they think, or even express how they feel, they can write. There are those who will call you a recluse—but it is better to listen to your own different drummer than to go through life with a ringing in your ears.

My fourth point will impress upon you the significance of the written word. Those of you who have been secretly taking notes, out of a four-year habit, will recall that I spoke of "four steps" to the salvation of the English language. Here it is: there is no fourth step. I had the fourth step in mind when I began, but I forgot it.

Now, if I were ad-libbing, I would remember I had promised four points, and I would do what so many stump speakers do—toss in the all-purpose last point, which usually begins, "There are no easy answers." But, in writing down what you think, you can go back and fix it—instead of having to phumph around with a phony fourth point, you can change your introduction to "there are three steps." Perhaps you wonder why I did not do so. Not out of any excess of honesty, or unwillingness to make a simple fix—I just wanted you to see the fourth step take shape before your very eyes.

Is the decline of the written word inevitable? Will the historians of the future deal merely in oral history? I hope not. I hope that oral history will limit itself to the discovery of toothpaste and the invention of mouthwash.

I don't want to witness the decomposing of the art of composition, or be present when we get in touch with our feelings and lose contact with our minds.

I'm a conservative in politics, which means I believe that we as a people have to lead our leaders, to show them how we want to be led.

Accordingly, I think we have to send a message to the podium from the audience: we're ready for more than Q. and A. We're ready for five or ten minutes of sustained explication. A "fireside chat" will not turn out our fires. On the contrary—if a speaker will take the time to prepare, we are prepared to pay in the coin of our attention.

That, of course, is contrary to the trend, against the grain. It can come only from people who care enough to compose, who get in the habit of reading rather than listening, of being in communication instead of only in contact.

When Great Britain was fighting World War II alone, an American president did something that would be considered cornball today: FDR sent Churchill a poem, along with a letter, that read:

*Sail on, O Ship of State!
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!
Humanity with all its fears,
With all the hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!*

Churchill took the message—delivered to him by Wendell Willkie, who had just been defeated by FDR—and selected a poem in answer. At that moment, looking east, England faced invasion; looking to the west across the Atlantic, Churchill saw potential help. The poem he sent concluded with the words:

*And not by eastern windows only,
When daylight comes, comes in the light;
In front, the sun climbs slow, how slowly,
But westward, look, the land is bright.*

High-flown rhetoric? Perhaps. And perhaps poetry, which had an honorable place in a 1961 inauguration, is too rich for some tastes today.

And now I remember the fourth step. I like to think we can demand some sense of an occasion, some uplift, some inspiration from our leaders. Not empty words and phony promises—but words full of meaning, binding thoughts together with purpose, holding promise of understand-

able progress. If we ask for it, we'll get it—if we fail to ask, we'll get more Q. and A.

I believe we can arrest the decline of the written word, thereby achieving a renaissance of clarity. And not by eastern establishment windows only. The hope is on this side of the Potomac, the Charles, and the Hudson rivers—westward, look, the land is bright. ■

FINANCIER FELIX G. ROHATYN EXAMINES A FRAGILE ECONOMY

"WHEN a democratic society does not meet the test of fairness . . . freedom is in jeopardy. Whether the attack comes from the left or from the right is irrelevant; both extremes are equally lethal."

WHEN FELIX G. ROHATYN rose to address the graduating class of his alma mater, Middlebury College, in Vermont, his speech in May 1982 drew heavily on his own experience as a leader in business and public affairs. Rohatyn, born in Austria in 1928, came to the United States during World War II and was naturalized in 1950. An investment banker and chairman of the Municipal Assistance Corporation (New York City's fiscal watchdog agency), Rohatyn was largely responsible for helping New York City survive its financial crisis of the midseventies.

These experiences led into Rohatyn's discussion of the economy in 1982, as it began pulling out of severe recession. Called "The Fragile

System," Democrat Rohatyn's speech focused on the challenges facing our nation's economy in the boom times of the Reagan era.

With the anaphora of "There is no reason" to enumerate seven needed changes in policy, Rohatyn posits a reformation of the American economy. A listing of the nation's worries, combined with his recollections of the handling of New York City's fiscal crisis, underscores his direct address to the class of 1982, particularly in his perorational avoidance of sentiment in a nice "I do not envy you, but I do not feel sorry for you."

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It has been more than thirty years since I graduated, without the slightest distinction, from a small, idyllic, some might say ivory tower college in Vermont called Middlebury. I had come to the United States in 1942, a refugee from Nazi-occupied France. America meant freedom and opportunity for me; Franklin Roosevelt was America; Middlebury was part of a heady postwar period, of belonging somewhere, of becoming a U.S. citizen, of having a future. A small, bouncy, bald professor named Benjamin Wissler taught me the difference between a fact and an assumption, between reasoning and guessing. Even though, soon after graduation, I was drafted for the Korean War and graduated from that experience as a sergeant of infantry, also without distinction, nothing during that period dimmed my conviction that in the U.S. tomorrow would be better than today, as would every tomorrow thereafter. Insofar as I am concerned, America has far exceeded my personal expectations. No European country would have given a Jewish refugee, of Polish extraction, the opportunities in business and in public affairs that this country has given me.

And yet it would be disingenuous and unrealistic not to recognize that the world as a whole and the U.S. in particular, are profoundly changed from my graduating year of 1949.

A friend of mine, one of the more civilized corporate chairmen, said to me recently, "I no longer give commencement addresses; the graduates are entitled to an upbeat speech, and I am no longer capable of delivering it." It gave me pause because I certainly do not have an upbeat speech; however, a realistic assessment of where we are cannot be equated with hopelessness. We saved New York City from bankruptcy against much greater odds than those facing this country today. But we did it by being ruthlessly realistic about the mess we were dealing with and by assuming, quite correctly, that when things look very bad, they usually turn out to be worse than they look. . . .

The United States is more than a nation; it is a continent. Within this continent lie our greatest challenges and the most serious threat to our democratic form of government: income and class disparities on the one hand, regional disparities on the other. The Reagan administration's approach to these issues was to state that tax policy should not be used to effect social change and that citizens should vote with their feet. As a result, a completely laudable attempt to improve American productivity by stimulating investment has resulted in an economic program incoherent in its application.

Budget cuts have been largely concentrated on lower-income programs such as food stamps and welfare and have not, so far, touched the large, middle-income support programs, indexed to the cost of living, such as Social Security and pensions. Massive tax cuts, coupled with enormous and apparently indiscriminate increases in military spending, have created the perspective of enormous federal deficits for years to come. The growth in the economy which was expected to pay for these programs is, time and again, choked off by high interest rates.

At the same time, a strong regional tide is running away from this part of the country. Unless vigorous actions are taken soon, older America, the Northeast and Midwest—tied to traditional industries like autos, steel, glass and rubber, seriously wounded by Japanese competition—will not provide the jobs, the schools, the taxbase to maintain the physical plant of its cities, and the minimum requirements of its citizens. Half this country will be basking in the sun, swimming in oil and defense contracts, while the other half will sink further and further into physical decay, social stress, and despair.

The basic test of a functioning democracy is its ability to create new wealth and see to its fair distribution. When a democratic society does not meet the test of fairness, when, as in the present state, no attempt seems to be made at fairness, freedom is in jeopardy. Whether the attack comes from the left or from the right is irrelevant; both extremes are equally lethal. . . .

Maybe for the first time in its history, the United States is faced with doubts about its destiny. In less than twenty-five years we have gone from the American century to the American crisis.

The United States today is a country in transition. It is in transition from being the world's dominant military power to sharing that role with the Soviet Union; it is in transition from an industrial to a service society; from being a predominantly white, northern European society based in the Northeast and Midwest to being a multiracial society with its center of gravity in the Sunbelt. A society in transition cannot be governed by rigid

dogma; on the contrary, it requires a government which is flexible, pragmatic, even sometimes deliberately ambiguous. Shared values must be clear, but the means to the end cannot be rigid. From fascism to communism, from monarchy to anarchy, the ends of government are purportedly the same. Justice with opportunity, higher standards of living, peace in our time. The means to the end are very different, however, and the means are what determine whether we live in a free society.

The critical issues we face today are not the levels of interest rates or what kind of package finally comes out of budget negotiations. These things are important, but our fascination with numbers must not obscure the real issues. These are, in no particular order:

- The rapid growth of a permanent underclass in America: the residents of inner-city ghettos, black and Hispanic, undereducated, underskilled, without real hope of participating in the future of the country;
- The regional split between Sunbelt and Frostbelt, which is accelerating and which will leave the northern half of the United States in serious difficulty;
- The decline of our traditional manufacturing sectors, the decay of our older cities and the decline in the quality of urban life;
- Illegal immigration in great numbers, especially from Mexico, which will create additional social tensions unless we produce enough jobs to absorb our own unemployed along with new arrivals;
- Nuclear proliferation and the need to control and reduce the level of nuclear weapons while being realistic about Soviet power.

To be fair and evenhanded, I should probably attempt to sketch the many reasons today to be optimistic about the future. The new technologies and inventions, the exploration of space and the oceans, communications and education, advances in medicine and knowledge of the human body, plus the myriad new developments we cannot even conceive of today. We must also be realistic in recognizing that we are today the strongest economic power in the world and that we are facing a Soviet system which is spiritually and financially bankrupt.

If I seem to dwell on the problems, it is probably for two reasons. First, because I have been trained, professionally, to look after the bad news first and let the good news take care of itself. Second, because I believe that in our problems lie the most serious challenges to our system and in their resolution lie some of the greatest opportunities for tomorrow.

And yet the list of problems that I reviewed is by no means a complete list, and their diversity and complexity indicate the futility of trying to deal with them by across-the-board economic theories and "hands-off" government. The role of government, in the last decades of this century, will be *the* paramount question to be decided.

Today, we are witnessing a paradox: a government which abdicates to a theoretical marketplace most of its responsibilities for the welfare of the people, while wishing to intrude on people's most private decisions. How does one equate the conservative passion to intrude on such issues as abortion, school prayer, and the death penalty with its equally fervent passion for the free market as the fount of all benefits? Today's conservative experiment will fail because it has no relevance to the world we live in, just as yesterday's liberalism failed for exactly the same reason. We are soon, however, going to run out of time for experiments.

Benny Wissler once snappily explained to me that there was no such thing as *the wrong answer*; there was only *a wrong answer*. It was only recently, however, that I concluded that, especially in government and public life, there may not be any such thing as *the right answer*. There may, at best, exist a process whereby trends can be affected and the direction of social and economic behavior temporarily influenced. This is the antithesis of the planned, central domination of government, but it means government committed to oppose destabilizing trends before they become flood tides. It is a permanent but ever-changing process.

A Rabelaisian friend of mine once compared saving New York City to making love to a gorilla. "You don't stop when you're tired," he said to me; "you stop when he's tired." The gorilla never tires, and government can never abdicate its responsibilities. . . .

There is no reason why a hardheaded liberalism cannot live with the reality that we cannot spend ourselves into bankruptcy.

There is no reason why social programs, impeccable in their objectives, have to be grossly abused, or expanded to include those who really don't need them.

There is no reason why an economy, geared mostly to private-sector growth, cannot at the same time permit limited government intervention where needed. A modern version of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation of the 1930s could help rebuild our cities and restructure our basic industries without threatening our basic free-enterprise system.

There is no reason why limited and temporary protection for our hard-hit industries cannot be conditioned on restrained wage and price behavior by labor and management; this might become the model for an incomes policy where wage and price behavior could be linked to productivity.

There is no reason why large savings cannot be effected in defense, and particularly in reducing nuclear delivery systems, if we are willing to pay the price of larger standing conventional forces.

There is no reason to abandon human rights abroad and deal with murderers from the right because they happen to be anti-Communist. Nor is there reason to tolerate murderers from the left on the romantic notion that they are agrarian reformers.

However, although there is no reason why these results cannot be achieved, we must be realistic about the political difficulty of bringing this about. Without the active support of the American people and the active cooperation of business, labor, and government, it cannot happen.

In times of upheaval, the passions must be for moderation and not for extremes. As Anwar Sadat well knew, the passion for moderation may be one of the most dangerous passions today, and yet it is especially vital to our future. Sadat took the risks and paid the price. Even though today's technology provides us with mountains of instant data, it is useless without judgment. And if judgments are to have value, policy decisions have to be made early. When the crisis is clear, it is often too late to act. That is the dilemma of statesmanship and the possibly fatal flaw in a political system which only seems to act when it is too late.

France has given the world a lot; not least is the skepticism of Montaigne and of Voltaire. Skepticism is what is needed today—skepticism of easy solutions, of cant, of ideology of the left or right. Skepticism does not equate with cynicism; it is not inconsistent with the fiercest patriotism or the firmest belief in basic values. But it can be the anchor to windward when our basic institutions seem to be adrift with the tides.

Yesterday, your president spoke to you of the American dream; today, I speak to you of the American reality. They are not inconsistent with each other, but unless you face the latter, you will never achieve the former. Ladies and gentlemen of the class of 1982, I do not envy you, but I do not feel sorry for you. You will have an exciting time, and it is likely to be hard going. The United States is in need of change, and your challenge will be to provide it as well as to adjust to it. As the rate of change accelerates, as the problems become greater and the solutions more elusive, get involved in public affairs. It is a great adventure.

Politics is not the only way to become involved in public life. There will be many structures such as Municipal Assistance Corporation, where private citizens can play important roles. I had the privilege of participating in a great adventure, the rescue of New York City. It was an experience both terrifying and exhilarating, which I would not have missed for anything. It taught me what you will find out. To be skeptical and always look

over your shoulder, but to get involved deeply and to shoot for the moon. To beware of lawyers and consultants and people who do not take risks and who do not get their hands dirty. There are even more experts today than there are problems, but there is no greater strength than an open mind combined with a willingness to take risks. Middlebury opened my mind, as I am sure it did yours. In order to take risks, however, you have to go in harm's way. What happens then and how you perform, will depend on the fates as well as on your character. ■

GOVERNOR MARIO CUOMO SPEAKS OVER THE HEADS OF THE GRADUATES TO THE PARENTS

"We have for a full lifetime taught our children to be go-getters. Can we now say to them that if they want to be happy they must be go-givers?"

THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK is often a political leader with the potential for national stature, and Mario Cuomo made the most of a keynote address at the 1984 Democratic National Convention to establish himself as a party leader; his emotional evocation of "family values," combined with a view of the nation as an extended family, marked him as a politician to watch.

In that same summer, on June 3, 1984, he delivered a commencement

address to Iona College, in New Rochelle, New York. As he wrote to the anthologist, "This is certainly not a great speech, but it is my favorite. Others have received more attention; this one says best what is most important to me."

Cuomo is a politician, like Adlai Stevenson, who pays close attention to words and writes many of his own speeches. When a columnist chided him for convoluted "Jesuitical reasoning," the governor quickly countered with "That's how little you know—it's Vincentian reasoning."

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. . . **I**t was an Irishman who gave me the best advice I've ever been given about the art of delivering a commencement speech.

Father Flynn was the president of my alma mater, St. John's, and the first time I was ever asked to speak at a graduation, I asked him how I should approach it.

"Commencement speakers," said Father Flynn, "should think of themselves as the body at an old-fashioned Irish wake. They need you in order to have the party, but nobody expects you to say very much."

That's advice I intend to remember today. . . .

I know that you are thinking—good parents and grandparents, loved ones of the graduates—what I'm thinking. "We've been through it all, at least most of it, or a lot of it. There's so much ahead that they ought to know about. So many temptations they should ignore. So much we can tell them about how to begin answering these hard questions.

We have the *obligation* to tell them, to reduce as much as possible the pain of their learning only from their own blunders.

We have the obligation. But do we have the right?

Can we, who found the ultimate truth so elusive for so long, tell them with confidence now of the futility of gathering up riches and the things of the world?

It's clear to us that all the newly won power over space and time, the conquest of the forces of nature, the fulfilling of age-old challenges, have not made us any happier or surer of ourselves.

We have built rockets and spaceships and shuttles; we have harnessed the atom; we have dazzled a generation with a display of our technological skills. But we still spend millions of dollars on aspirin and psychiatrists and tissues to wipe away the tears of anguish and uncertainty that result from our confusion and our emptiness.

Most of us have achieved levels of affluence and comfort unthought of two generations ago.

We've never had it so good, most of us.

Nor have we ever complained so bitterly about our problems.

The closed circle of pure materialism is clear to us now—aspirations become wants, wants become needs, and self-gratification becomes a bottomless pit.

All around us we have seen success in this world's terms become ultimate and desperate failure. Teenagers and college students, raised in affluent surroundings and given all the material comforts our society can offer, commit suicide.

Entertainers and sports figures achieve fame and wealth but find the world empty and dull without the solace or stimulation of drugs.

Men and women rise to the top of their professions after years of struggling. But despite their apparent success, they are driven nearly mad by a frantic search for diversions, new mates, games, new experiences—anything to fill the diminishing interval between their existence and eternity.

We know because we've been there. But do we have the right to tell these graduates that the most important thing in their lives will be their ability to believe in believing? And that without that ability, sooner or later they will be doomed to despair?

Do you think they would believe us if we told them today, what we *know* to be true: That after the pride of obtaining a degree and maybe later another degree and after their first few love affairs, that after earning their first big title, their first shiny new car and traveling around the world for the first time and having had it *all*—they will discover that none of it counts unless they have something real and permanent to believe in?

Tell me, ladies and gentlemen, are we the ones to tell them what their instructors have tried to teach them for years?

That the philosophers were right. That Saint Francis, Buddha, Muhammad, Maimonides—all spoke the truth when they said the way to serve yourself is to serve others; and that Aristotle was right, before them, when he said the only way to assure yourself happiness is to learn to give happiness.

Don't you remember that we were told all this when we were younger? But nevertheless, we got caught up in the struggle and the sweat and the frustration and the joy of small victories, and forgot it all. Until recently when we began to look back.

How simple it seems now. We thought the Sermon on the Mount was a nice allegory and nothing more. What we didn't understand until we got to be a little older was that it was the whole answer, the whole truth. That the way—the *only* way—to succeed and to be happy is to learn those rules

so basic that a shepherd's son could teach them to an ignorant flock without notes or formulae.

We carried Saint Francis's prayer in our wallets for years and never learned to live the message.

Do we have the right now to tell them that when Saint Francis begged the Lord to teach him to want to console instead of seeking to be consoled—to teach him to want to love instead of desiring to be loved—that he was really being intensely selfish? Because he knew the only way to be fulfilled and pleased and happy was to *give* instead of trying to get.

We have for a full lifetime taught our children to be go-getters. Can we now say to them that if they want to be happy they must be *go-givers*?

I wonder if we can, in good conscience, say these things to them today when we ourselves failed so often to practice what we would preach.

I wonder if we—who have fought, argued, and bickered and so often done the wrong thing to one another—are the ones to teach them love.

How do we tell them that one ought not to be discouraged by imperfection in the world and the inevitability of death and diminishment? How do we tell them when they lose a child, or are crippled, or know that they will themselves die too soon—that God permits pain and sickness and unfairness and evil to exist, *only* in order to permit us to test our mettle and to earn a fulfillment that would otherwise not be possible?

How can we tell our children *that*—when we have ourselves so often cried out in bitter despair at what we regarded to be the injustice of life—and when we have so often surrendered?

How can we tell them that it is their *duty* to use all that they have been given to make a better world, not only for themselves and their families, but for all who live in this world, when it was our generation that permitted two great wars and a number of smaller ones, our generation that made the world a place where the great powers are so alienated from one another that they can't even play together in an Olympics?

Do we have the right to tell them, as our teachers told us, that they have an obligation in justice to participate in politics and government? Can we without shame say to them that our system of democracy works well only when there is involvement by all? That in our democracy the policies that become law, the rules of justice, the treatment of individuals are the responsibility of *each* citizen? That you get what you deserve out of our system, and that indifference deserves nothing good?

When we ourselves have chosen to sit at home on so many election days muttering grim remarks about the politicians who appear on the television set, instead of doing what we could to change things, for the better?

Will they believe us if we said these things?

Would we be able to explain the embarrassment of our own failures?

Do you blame me, ladies and gentlemen, for being reluctant to deliver to them the message that is traditional on commencement day?

But maybe, ladies and gentlemen, this problem is not as great as I've made it out to be.

I've been taking a closer look at these graduates. They are actually taller, stronger, smarter than we were, smart enough maybe to take our mistakes as their messages, to make our weaknesses their lessons, and to make our example—good and not so good—part of their education.

I think I see in their eyes a depth of perception that perhaps we didn't have. A sense of truth, deeper and less fragile than ours.

As you talk to them, you get the feeling that they are certainly mature enough to see the real problems of our society: the need for peace, the need to keep pure the environment God offered us, the need to provide people the dignity of earning their own way.

Indeed, as I think about it, I have to conclude that these young people before me today are the best reason for hope that this world knows.

I see them as believers and doers who will take what we will pass on to them so clumsily, and make it something better than we have ever known. Honoring us by their works, but wanting to be better than we have been.

I tell you, ladies and gentlemen, looking at them now, closer and harder than I have before, I have a feeling about these people that makes me want to live long enough to see and be part of the world they will create.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, parents and grandparents, I would like to tell them, the graduates, all of this, and I know that if we thought they wouldn't be embarrassed by hearing it, we would all be telling them about how proud we are of them and how much we believe in them and their future. But again maybe we don't have to tell them; maybe they know. Maybe they can tell just by seeing the love in our eyes today.

Congratulations, ladies and gentlemen, on the good children you have cared for and raised. ■

LABOR'S LANE KIRKLAND REJECTS THE LABELS "LIBERAL" AND "CONSERVATIVE"

"As for those terms 'liberal' and 'conservative,' as one who has been afflicted by both labels, . . . I doubt their utility in this day and age for anyone except slapdash journalists."

LANE KIRKLAND is revered by speechwriters as one of their own who made it to the top of his profession. He began as a merchant seaman during World War II and later drafted nautical charts to pay for his college degree at Georgetown's School of Foreign Service, but he veered from diplomacy to the labor movement in 1948 as a researcher. The AFL-CIO lent him to the Truman and later the Stevenson campaigns as a speechwriter; in 1961, he became an assistant to George Meany, writing that redoubtable labor leader's speeches, and in 1979 succeeded Meany as president of the AFL-CIO.

In speeches, as in his career, he is an organizer; his speeches march to a point. He returned to his native state of South Carolina (where his great-great-grandfather signed the Declaration of Secession) in 1985 to deliver the commencement address to the University of South Carolina. The opening makes the proper obeisance to the lessons of life required of commencement speakers, but with a twist: his quotation is taken from a recent western movie. (A mark of originality in a speech is a fresh source to cite, especially one unlikely to yield wisdom; by reading universal meaning into a colorful statement, the speaker shows both his common touch and his philosophical depth.) Its message about the relevance of history is reprised, extended, and deepened at the end in an unfamiliar quotation from Sidney Hook and a famous line from George Santayana.

The second section centers on the social changes of the past two generations. Short paragraphs begin with "I remember" (sometimes with a poetic evocation, as "I remember a South Carolina that was too poor to paint and too proud to whitewash") and are followed by "When I note" or

"When I see" lines that chide today's healthy patients for throwing their old crutches at the doctor.

With a transition line, "I did not come here today to organize but to philosophize," he then applies the lesson of those hard-fought-for social changes to current political labeling. The students, and a broader public beyond, needed this clarification of labels: the labor movement under his leadership has been liberal in economic affairs and conservative or hawkish in foreign affairs; its staunch espousal of the rights of Poland's Solidarity movement worried many U.S. doves who usually associate with domestic liberals—a situation that confused those who like their categories tidy. Kirkland delivers the message at the end that "there really are things one ought to be conservative about and things one ought to be liberal about, and they do change." Unlike most commencement addresses, which tend to meander self-indulgently, this is an easy-to-hear speech with a shape and a purpose.

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I understand that commencement audiences are tolerant, to a degree, of speakers who reminisce and wax philosophical about what lessons they have picked up along the way about life and all that.

As to the lessons of life, I can't improve on some lines from a western movie called *Missouri Breaks*.

Two cutthroats with murderous designs on each other are sharing a campfire. One is strumming a guitar and singing an old gospel song called "Life Is like a Mountain Railroad."

He stops and asks the other fellow in a taunting manner, "Is life really like a mountain railroad?" "Naw," the other replies. "Then what is life like?" asks the first character. "Mister," came the reply, "life ain't like nothing I ever heard of before."

That takes care of what life is all about, and I can vouch for it. I can assure the graduates here that life ain't going to be like anything you ever heard of before.

Nevertheless, nothing in my experience has contradicted what I absorbed in my youth in South Carolina, and I remember it well.

I remember the names of the six Confederate generals from Camden, enshrined in the Pantheon, where I played as a kid: Cantey, Chesnut, Deas, Kennedy, Kershaw, and Villepigue.

There still echoes in my mind the sound of the hours struck by the old bell in the clock tower of the Opera House in Newberry, where for a dime on Saturdays I could join my peers in tribute to Ken Maynard and

Hoot Gibson and even witness the last death throes of live vaudeville in America.

I remember it well.

I remember some other things whenever I return to a thriving and beautified South Carolina.

I remember a South Carolina that was too poor to paint and too proud to whitewash.

And the more fiercely the current national debate rages about the appropriate role of the federal government and its various programs, the more clearly I remember a South Carolina before there was such a role, when states' rights ruled and enterprise was free to do as it pleased.

I remember when the destitute aged were sheltered not in the bosom of a warm and loving family but in county poor farms. Then Social Security came and tore those poor houses down, freeing young and old alike of that specter.

When I note the now flourishing institutions of higher learning spread across this state, I remember when some fine little colleges were one jump ahead of the sheriff, were hard-pressed to put meals on their student tables, and couldn't meet their payrolls. They were rescued and made solvent by the National Youth Administration, wartime training programs, and the GI Bill of Rights.

When I see now the clear waters of our rivers, I remember when the Broad, the Wateree, the Bush, and the Saluda ran brick-red from the erosion of farms and deforested uplands. The Soil Conservation Service and the millions of trees planted by the thirty or so CCC camps that were placed in South Carolina had something to do with the improvement. Free enterprises such as the paper and forest products industries shared abundantly in the benefits of those government initiatives.

I remember when kerosene lit the farms of this land until the REA electrified and humanized them, bridging the cultural gap between town and country—and incidentally creating new markets for the appliance industry.

When I hear complaints about affirmative action, I remember some mean things that used to happen in this land, in the treatment of people by people. While we still have a way to go, does anyone really think we would have approached our present level of equity and civility without the intervention of the federal government? I have met no South Carolinian who has expressed to me any desire to return to the old days of racial cruelty and exclusion.

I did not come here today to organize but to philosophize. Yet, when I hear it said that southern working people have some cultural aversion to

the exercise of the right of freedom of association, I cannot help but remember the old days when cotton mills sometimes bristled with National Guard bayonets and machine guns to enforce that alleged aversion. Still today the question returns to my mind: if southern workers don't want their own unions, why have states and corporations found it so expedient to collaborate in forging measures to thwart the effective pursuit of that aspiration?

Lest it be thought that these reflections are just another expression of outmoded "liberal" balderdash, let me point out that such stout conservatives as James Byrnes, Olin Johnston, and Burnet Maybank were among the authors of the larger federal role that helped bring this state into the modern age.

I do not counsel worship at the altar of government for its own sake, for I share fully the wholesome antipathy to government—federal, state, or local—unrestrained by strong free and private institutions, for one of which I speak.

I do suggest that the citizens of a modern republic should not go too far in support of those who would dismantle or ruin the benign capacity of their government, for they may need it badly some day. When it happens to you, you'll know it's true.

As for those terms "liberal" and "conservative," as one who has been afflicted by both labels, depending on the stance of the afflictor and the foreign or domestic nature of the issue, I doubt their utility in this day and age for anyone except slapdash journalists.

Real meaning has surely been drained from a term when the clammy hand of fashion appears in the form of a hyphen preceded by "neo," as in "neo-conservative" and "neo-liberal." In all areas of human discourse, "neo hyphen" is a sure sign of something that is not long for this world.

If, as has been said, a modern "liberal" is someone who believes that his country's adversaries are probably right, I strongly reject that label.

And what is the objective meaning of the word "conservative," when its leadership has brought us a \$200 billion annual deficit, put forward a measure that will mindlessly gut our defense forces year after year, and now, in the wake of Geneva, escorts clamoring hordes of businessmen east in pursuit of Moscow gold, exposing to that "evil empire" the soft underbelly of freedom, the stateless avarice of capital?

Hear now the words of Shakespeare, in *Henry IV*, on this matter: "From the Orient to the drooping West . . . stuffing the ears of men with false reports. I speak of peace, while covert enmity, under the smile of safety, wounds the world."

Today's graduates ought not waste too much time worrying about which

category they ought to fit. There may be a few pure liberals and pure conservatives about who march in lockstep, but I don't really know any, present parties included.

The great rank and file of the American people are liberal about some things and conservative about others, and the shifting distribution of such impulses depends largely upon circumstances and interest.

That is the way it should be, because there really are things one ought to be conservative about and things one ought to be liberal about, and they do change.

I owe to Sidney Hook a thought that I offer as my final conclusion from all this. From him I learned the difference between a truth and a deep truth. A deep truth is a truth the converse of which is equally true.

For example, it is true, as Santayana said, that those who cannot remember the past are doomed to repeat it.

Yet it is equally true that those who do remember the past may not know when it is over.

That is a deep truth.

Thank you, and good luck to you all. ■

PROFESSOR JACOB NEUSNER DEFINES THE SOCIAL CONTRACT BETWEEN TEACHER AND STUDENT

"Our theory of teaching is to tell students, 'Don't ask, discover!' . . . Learning takes place . . . when you find out for yourself."

JACOB NEUSNER is the most provocative and prolific scholar in the world of Judaic studies. While a professor at Brown University, a fellow of the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton, and a research professor at the University of South Florida in Tampa, he has written 240 learned books, including *Canon and Connection: Intertextuality in Judaism*, a popular work, *How to Grade Your Professors*, and one best-seller with Reverend Andrew Greeley, *The Bible and Us: A Priest and a Rabbi Read Scripture Together*.

Few scholars relish controversy; however, Neusner's views on the Talmud, on government support of the arts and humanities, and on the dynamics of academic life keep him in hot water, which he never avoids. The following speech, delivered at Elizabethtown College, in Pennsylvania, on September 25, 1991, is not a commencement speech but a convocation—an address to incoming rather than departing students. It uses internal interrogation ("What should you ask of your professors? . . . What should your professors ask of you?") to hold interest, and he gives specific advice to teachers and students about the real purpose of education: teaching people to teach themselves.

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The beginning of the school year challenges us to ask tough questions: What do I expect in the next ten months or so? For you don't have to be here, and it's costing plenty of money for you to stay here. Not only so, but a college like Elizabethtown takes teaching

seriously and is not an expensive baby-sitting operation. Your families have sent you here, and your college and its professors have received you here, because they, and you, must agree it is the most important thing you can do with your life this year. You should therefore ask why. Given all of the many things you can do with your time and money, why should you turn your back on everything else in the world and spend the next ten months here, in these classrooms and laboratories and library, and with these professors? Only if the answer is, because there is nothing more important, should you stay here. And why should that be so? Because you're going to learn things here that matter and that you cannot learn in any other place or circumstance. What that means has nothing to do with acquiring information; you can learn more from an encyclopedia than you can from me or any other professor. What it means is that you're going to learn in a way in which you can only learn here and nowhere else: that is the social contract of the college classroom; it is what we promise you, and what you must demand of us.

Since everybody knows we learn all the time and everywhere, that is a considerable claim in behalf of Elizabethtown College, or University of South Florida, where I teach, or any of the other thousands of colleges and universities in this country, public and private, religious and secular, famous and homely, where, this morning, a year of studies starts. Why do I think you've made the right decision to come here: why is this the most important thing you can do with your life this year, this month, this minute? The answer is, because here, if your teachers teach and if you learn, you will learn a new way of learning, one that will guide you for all time to come. That's the one point I want to leave with you: demand of your teachers and yourself not merely information but a way of learning that you can use every day for the rest of your life. It is what we professors promise, and sometimes even deliver: the secret of how to learn by discovering things on your own—learn not by asking but by finding out on your own.

It is the particularly American way of learning, which is, by discovering things for yourself. We American professors at our best aim at teaching by helping students learn on their own. Our theory of teaching is to tell students, "Don't ask, discover!" The more we tell you, the less you learn. The more you learn, the more we teach. And learning takes place, in a country as practical and as rich in innovation as this country, when you find out for yourself. Professors are there to guide, to help, to goad, to irritate, to stimulate. Students are there to explore, to inquire, to ask questions, to experiment, to negotiate knowledge. The ideal teachers for our students there-

fore are people like Socrates, Jesus, and Hillel, and what you have to ask of your professors here at Elizabethtown is that they measure themselves by the model of Socrates, Jesus, and Hillel. . . .

Great teachers don't teach. They help students learn. Students teach themselves. Three of the all-time greats—Socrates, Jesus, and his Jewish contemporary the sage Hillel—share a dislike of heavyweight speeches. They spoke briefly, painting pictures and telling tales ("parables"), and always raised more questions than they settled.

Socrates was the greatest philosopher of all time, and all he did was walk around the streets and ask people irritating questions. Jesus was certainly the most influential teacher in history, and his longest "lecture"—for instance, the Sermon on the Mount—cannot have filled up an hour of classroom time or a page in a notebook. And Hillel's greatest lesson, in answer to someone who told him to teach the entire Torah while standing on one foot—"What is hateful to yourself, don't do to someone else. That's the whole Torah, all the rest is commentary. Now go study"—directed people to go off and learn on their own.

The great teacher makes a few simple points. The powerful teacher leaves one or two fundamental truths. And the memorable teacher makes the point not by telling but by helping the students discover on their own. Learning takes place through discovery, not when you're told something but when you figure it out for yourself. All a really fine teacher does is make suggestions, point out problems, above all, ask questions, and more questions, and more questions. . . .

Our teaching encourages not only discovery but initiative. Good teaching in our schools leads to risk-taking; good teaching in theirs [the Germans'], to note-taking. Successful professors in our system present learning as answers to important questions; successful professors in their system go over familiar facts and pass their opinion on this and that. They tell people things. We want people to make their own discoveries. . . .

All Socrates did was ask questions; he never really gave any answers, nothing you could memorize and say back on an exam. And, with all due respect, Jesus did not dictate long lectures, so the students could carry home thick notebooks. And Hillel would have lasted about a minute and a half—"Now, go study"—indeed! Our kids would have given Socrates a good time, and I think they would have patience for a teacher who just told them stories, like Jesus, or who advised them that everything he could teach he could tell them by standing on one foot, like Hillel. Now, there's real teaching: taking the risk of telling people what you really think, and why you think it, and what difference it makes.

In this country, with its tradition of pragmatism and experiment, we

aim at helping students teach themselves, asking them questions to stimulate their own inquiry. We do not indoctrinate; we stimulate. We do not just tell people things; we try to make knowledge important because knowing helps answer urgent questions. The best classes state the problem, for students to find the answer.

It's no accident that in America, many of us teachers demand of our students, "Don't ask, discover!" We have an educational tradition that serves the needs of a society in process, a nation never fully finished, a country in quest, a people of peoples in perpetual search. That is why entire fields of learning are founded here—social science as we know it now, for instance. That explains why new ideas, new sciences, find in this country a ready hearing, a warm welcome.

True, we pay a price for this intellectual restlessness of ours: our kids are better at process than at proposition. They seem to know less; when they need to know, they go and learn. So they spend more time in the laboratory, work harder at writing their own thoughts, do research on their own. But then they spend less time learning what we know, work less hard at fully understanding other people's thoughts, sometimes do research aimed at reinventing the wheel. We've made our choices. For an open society, an always changing economy, a responsible politics of participation and endless negotiation, we need an alert, inventive citizen.

What should you ask of your professors? (1) Don't tell me things; let me find out for myself. (2) But when I need help, give it to me. (3) And when my work is poor, don't tell me it's good. Many professors would rather be liked than be understood; not a few find it easier to indulge the students than teach them. Don't accept from professors compliments when they owe you criticism. And love them when they're tough. Proverbs says, "Rebuke a wise person, and you'll be loved, rebuke a fool and you'll be hated." Show yourselves wise, and you'll get professors who care about what you know.

What should your professors ask of you? (1) Don't ask me to sell you my subject; let me explain it to you. Once you're in the classroom, relevance is a settled question: this is what you want to know; now let me teach it. (2) Don't stop work in the middle of the semester. It's easy to start with enthusiasm, and it's easy to end with commitment. But in the middle of a course, it's hard to sustain your work; the beginning is out of sight, the end and goal and purpose of the course not yet on the horizon. Do your best when the weather looks bleak. (3) Don't sit back and wait to be told things; stay with me and allow the logic of the course to guide us both; join me, think with me. The most remarkable student I've ever taught was a late-middle-aged woman who audited a course of mine at University of South

Florida in Sarasota; after five minutes in each class session of three hours, she would say, "Oh, is this what you mean?" And she would proceed to lay out for me the entire argument that I was beginning to develop. Yes, a remarkable student, but I never walked into class without fearing that I would run out of things to tell people in the first ten minutes. You owe your teachers that moment of trepidation: make them afraid they'll run out of things to tell you. They won't, of course, but you'll make them work and give them life. The challenge is not in disagreeing or agreeing but in understanding: uncovering the logic and accepting its dictates. That you owe your teachers.

Your imagination is our richest national resource; an open and active mind, our most precious intangible treasure. That's what we try to do at our universities and colleges in this country: teach people to teach themselves, which is what life is all about—during the coming year, and during all the years of your lives and mine.

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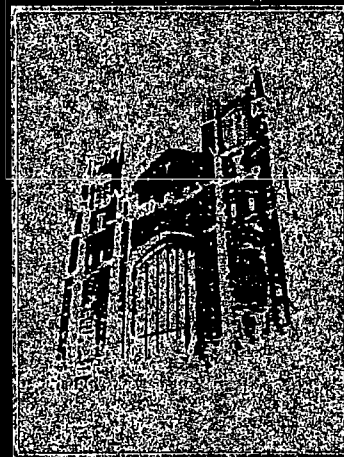
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Law School Support for Community-
Based Economic Development in Low-
Income Urban Neighborhoods

**LAW SCHOOL SUPPORT FOR COMMUNITY-BASED
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN LOW-INCOME
URBAN NEIGHBORHOODS**

**JEFFREY S. LEHMAN
ROCHELLE E. LENTO**

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Journal of Urban and Contemporary Law
Volume 42, 1992
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THE UNIVERSITY
OF MICHIGAN
LAW SCHOOL

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Proposed Itinerary: Eli Segal

May 14, 1993

Car and driver available to meet Eli and Phyllis Segal at Detroit Metro Airport
Flight arrangements to be determined

Accommodations at the Bell Tower, 300 South Thayer Street, 313-769-3010

May 15, 1993

- 8:30 a.m. Breakfast with Law School Clinical Program faculty
Location to be determined
- 10:00 a.m. Meet with the University of Michigan Task Force on Community Service
Tappan Room, Michigan Union
- The Task Force is reviewing the University's current community service activities, proposing new directions and initiatives for these activities, and considering ways to position the University as a leader in community service.
- 11:10 a.m. Thomas A. Butts, Associate Vice President for Government Relations and Director of the University of Michigan's Washington Office, takes Eli Segal to the Bollingers' home for lunch
- 11:30 a.m. Lunch for Eli and Phyllis Segal with Lee and Jean Bollinger in their home
- 1:00 p.m. Eli Segal and Lee Bollinger don academic gowns at the Natural Science Building
- 1:15 p.m. Academic procession begins
- 1:30 p.m. Commencement begins in Hill Auditorium
- 3:45 p.m. Eli Segal proceeds to the Michigan Union with Lee Bollinger and students for photographs

- 4:00 p.m. Reception for graduates and families in the W.W. Cook Law Quadrangle
- 5:00 p.m. Jane Myers, writer for Michigan Today in the University's Office of Donor Relations, and selected Detroit area press interview Eli and Phyllis Segal
Location to be determined
- 6:00 p.m. Car and driver available

Accommodations at the Bell Tower

May 16, 1993

Car and driver available
Flight arrangements to be determined

Proposed Itinerary: Phyllis Nichamoff Segal

May 14, 1993

Car and driver available to meet Eli and Phyllis Segal at Detroit Metro Airport
Flight arrangements to be determined

Accommodations at the Bell Tower, 300 South Thayer Street, 313-769-3010

May 15, 1993

- 8:30 a.m. Breakfast with Law School Clinical Program faculty
Location to be determined
- 10:00 a.m. Coffee with selected members of the Law School faculty
Cook room, Legal Research building
- 11:10 a.m. Professor Jeff Lehman takes Phyllis Segal to the Bollingers' home for lunch
- 11:30 a.m. Lunch for Eli and Phyllis Segal with Lee and Jean Bollinger in their home
- 1:00 p.m. Phyllis Segal and Jean Bollinger proceed to Hill Auditorium
- 1:30 p.m. Commencement begins in Hill Auditorium
- 4:00 p.m. Reception for graduates and families in the W.W. Cook Law Quadrangle
- 5:00 p.m. Jane Myers, writer for Michigan Today in the University's Office of Donor Relations, and selected Detroit area press interview Eli and Phyllis Segal
- 6:00 p.m. Car and driver available

Accommodations at the Bell Tower

May 16, 1993

Car and driver available
Flight arrangements to be determined

An Overview: The Current Programs

The University of Michigan Law School currently funds two full-fledged clinics and two other programs that are listed under the rubric of "clinical offerings" (though they are really more like externships). In addition, in the last couple of years a few experimental clinics have been introduced for a term or two. Finally, there are several student-run organizations that provide some practical opportunities for students on a non-credit basis. Each of these programs is described briefly below.

I. Full-Fledged Clinics

A. The General Clinic (The Michigan Clinical Law Program)

In existence since 1968, the Michigan Clinical Law Program is the Law School's general practice civil-criminal clinic. Students earn three credits for their lawyering-skills seminars and NITA-style (National Institute of Trial Advocacy) trial practice simulations, and four credits for their fieldwork on real cases in a poverty law setting. MCLP students represent indigent clients in landlord/tenant matters, consumer and family law cases, small tort claims, criminal misdemeanors, and involuntary civil commitments. In recent years the MCLP has also taken on employment discrimination and prisoners' civil rights cases. Students first-chair the cases from intake interviews to full jury trials. The cases range from simple administrative hearings to complex class actions and appeals raising issues of first impression.

Under faculty supervision, students practice in the local district, probate, circuit, and federal courts, as well as in the courts of appeal. Students also participate in simulated hearings, interviews, and negotiations, as well as in mock jury trials. They receive detailed,

individualized feedback from the clinical faculty, including review of their work on videotape. Students are criticized and evaluated on their written work and oral performances throughout the term, and they are graded on a pass/fail basis.

The Law School pays the salaries of two full-time clinical professors, who work with the students on an 8/1 or 10/1 student-faculty ratio. In some years outside grants permit the hiring of additional faculty. About 40-60 students are served by the MCLP each year, depending on the number of faculty.

B. The Child Advocacy Law Clinic

Established in 1976, the Child Advocacy Law Clinic provides legal representation to children, parents, and the Department of Social Services in child abuse and neglect cases. Law students handle all aspects of client representation from initial interviews through trial and, at times, through appeal.

During their semester in the Clinic, students attend six hours of class per week. Class time is devoted to teaching an inter-disciplinary approach to child protection law. A child psychiatrist is on the Clinic's staff and teaches law students the fundamentals of child development. Students participate in simulated hearings, interviews and negotiations, including a jury trial. They receive immediate review of their work, usually on videotape. They are personally evaluated by the clinic faculty throughout the semester and are graded on a pass/fail basis.

The Clinic represents children in one county, parents in another, and the Department of Social Services in six other counties in Michigan. Students are often called on to interview children, negotiate case plans with attorneys and social workers, and take the testimony of expert witnesses. Ethical issues are addressed as they arise throughout the semester. Students are encouraged to discuss their cases with each other, with guidance from the staff psychiatrist, in the frequent case conferences scheduled during the term.

Forty to fifty students are enrolled each year, handling a total of approximately 50-70 cases a year. In addition, faculty involve students in outside projects, including legislative reform and research. Students who have completed the Child Advocacy Clinic are qualified to enroll in the University of Michigan's Interdisciplinary Program in Child Abuse and Neglect. Along with graduate students from the Schools of Social Work, Psychology, Medicine and Education, six law students a year engage in intensive interdisciplinary study of child abuse and neglect.

The Clinic is staffed with a ratio of one clinical professor to 8-10 students.

II. Clinical Offerings

A. The Criminal Appellate Clinic

The Criminal Appellate Clinic functions as a branch of the State Appellate Defender's Office. Every year SADO loans one of its staff attorneys full time to the Law School. The

lawyer brings a reduced caseload of felony appeals to the School, where 10 students a term polish their writing and advocacy skills by helping to write the appellate briefs. Each student handles a case or two in conjunction with a 3-credit seminar in criminal appellate practice.

B. The Environmental Law Clinic

The National Wildlife Federation operates its Midwest Regional Office out of Ann Arbor (just across the street from the Law School). During the academic year law students serve as interns to the NWF regional director, assisting that attorney on litigation involving environmental issues in the Great Lakes watershed. The law students work with students from the Schools of Natural Resources and Public Health, primarily challenging discharge permits issued by the state Department of Natural Resources and the federal Environmental Protection Agency, and enforcing the provisions of the Clean Water Act. The NWF lawyer also teaches a course in Environmental Law during the winter-spring term. The Clinic was established in 1982 and serves approximately six students a year.

III. New and Experimental Programs

In addition to the offerings listed above, the Law School has experimented with two new clinics in the last few years, and is running a third pilot project this fall.

A. The Immigration Law Clinic

In 1988 Professor Alex Aleinikoff, who teaches immigration law, ran an Immigration Law Clinic. The Clinic allowed students to do advanced reading in immigration law and policy, while in the practical component of the course students represented two Central American families who were seeking asylum in the United States.

B. The AIDS Clinic

In 1989 Professor David Chambers started an AIDS Clinic, in which students worked with clients who had been diagnosed as HIV positive. During the fall term students took a seminar, reviewing current literature concerning AIDS and exploring problems of public policy raised by AIDS.

During the winter term students did two sorts of projects. First, all students wrote a will or provided other individual representation to a client with HIV. Second, all students worked on a broader project addressing policy issues, such as drafting legislation or policies for public institutions. In 1989-90 students helped with estate planning for AIDS patients at the V.A. Hospital, worked on a submission to the Department of Corrections regarding placement of prisoners with HIV in community-based facilities, and drafted a hospital policy regarding confidentiality of records.

For 1990-91 an attorney from Detroit will continue to run the AIDS Clinic for about eight students during the school year. Students earn five credits--two graded credits in the fall seminar, and three pass/fail credits for the winter Clinic.

C. The Women and the Law Clinic

The Women and the Law Clinic is the Law School's newest addition to its clinical offerings. Starting in the fall of 1990, students are providing representation to women in a variety of cases involving legal issues significant to women. The majority of cases involve representation of victims of domestic violence in divorce, custody and child support proceedings. The Clinic is also handling employment discrimination claims referred by the Michigan Department of Civil Rights. One day a week students meet with prisoners at the nearby state women's prison to provide legal counsel to inmates concerning child custody issues. Clinical faculty will call on students to begin to recognize connections between the various cases which can be traced to the particular status of poor women and children in America. While handling individual cases, students are being encouraged to consider legal and legislative reforms aimed at improving the legal system's response to poor women and children.

During the semester students will attend four hours of class a week and participate in simulated interviews, depositions, negotiations and a mock trial. All of the simulations are derived from actual cases involving domestic violence, employment discrimination and child protection. Faculty provide videotaped review of the students' performances. Students are also free to participate in legislative projects under the supervision of faculty. For instance, the entire Family Law Code is presently under revision in Michigan, presenting major issues for women and children. Students will be able to evaluate the proposed legislation and work with the Legislature to advocate for or against various reforms.

Emphasis placed on identifying and resolving ethical dilemmas as they arise in students' cases. Guest speakers are being used to give students exposure to the opinions and experiences of attorneys, judges, caseworkers and mental health experts who work with cases like the students'. In its first semester, the Clinic is serving 10 students, under the direction of one clinical professor, handling approximately 20 cases. Students will be graded on a pass/fail basis and evaluated throughout the term by their supervisor.

IV. Student Projects

A. The Immigration Law Project

Subsequent to the 1988 Immigration Law Clinic a few students each year have continued working on immigration cases under the supervision of a local attorney. The project serves as a supplement to the immigration law lecture course, and students can earn extra credit for their participation. There is no direct faculty involvement in the project.

B. The Unemployment Benefits Clinic

This Clinic is a student-run organization set up by the student chapter of the National Lawyers Guild. Students represent claimants in unemployment compensation hearings before the Michigan Employment Security Commission. Students do not receive credit for their work. They can invest a very small or a very large amount of time, depending on their interest and the availability of clients.

C. The Family Law Project

The Family Law Project is a volunteer organization which provides free legal representation to victims of domestic violence. The Project is 10 years old and is managed by students and a board of directors made up of attorneys from the Ann Arbor community. Student volunteers handle cases referred to the Project by the local domestic violence shelter. The Project has a part-time staff attorney and relies heavily on volunteer supervision provided by the board members. In Michigan, only second and third year law students can appear in court under supervision. The Project allows first year students to volunteer and handle all aspects of representation short of court appearances.

Providing the only free legal services available to domestic violence victims in the community, the Project plays a vital role. Over 100 law students volunteer each school year and most handle one or two cases throughout the year. Approximately eight third-year students serve as case supervisors, providing direction to new volunteers. (All but one of the case supervisors for the 1990-91 school year have enrolled in the Women and the Law Clinic described above.) There is a training program offered each fall for volunteers, but students do not receive credit for their work. Unlike the clinics, the Project's emphasis is on provision of legal services, not lawyer training.

MCLP

Clinical Faculty - 1990-91

Julie Kunce Field was a Nebraska Regents' Scholar who graduated magna cum laude from the University of Nebraska-Lincoln in 1982. She went to law school at the University of Chicago Law School, where she was active in the Mandel Legal Aid Clinic and in moot court competition. She then clerked for two years for Judge John W. Oliver in the federal district court in Kansas City. For the next two years she worked as a litigation associate at Nutter, McClennan & Fish in Boston, before joining the Michigan Law School in 1989. Julie's husband Stuart Field also moved to the U-M from Boston, accepting an appointment in the Department of Nuclear Physics.

Mark Mitshkun is a graduate of the U-M's Residential College (1971) and a magna cum laude graduate of the Wayne Law School (1974). He spent seven years in Seattle at the office of the King County Public Defender, eventually directing the office's Mental Health Division. From 1981 to 1989 he was on the clinical faculty at Boston University, where he was granted clinical tenure and promoted to the rank of clinical associate professor after a full faculty review in 1987. Mark has developed course materials in immigration law and practice in addition to teaching a wide range of clinical courses. He joined Michigan's clinical faculty in the fall of 1989. At the same time his wife Diane Rosenblum switched her teaching career (in special education) from the Brookline schools to Huron High School in Ann Arbor.

Paul Reingold has been associated with the Law School since 1982. He served as the acting director of the Michigan Clinical Law Program from 1982 to 1989, when he was given clinical tenure and awarded a long-term clinical professorship. Paul graduated magna cum laude from Amherst College in 1973, and he earned his J.D. at Boston University in 1977. He worked as a Legal Services attorney for five years, and as an assistant city attorney in Ann Arbor for a year, before coming over to the Law School. As the program director, he designs the clinical course, authors most of the major grant proposals, and supervises the hiring of new faculty in the general clinic. Paul has worked on cases at all levels of state and federal practice, including three cases in the U.S. Supreme Court.

Nick Rine is a past president of the Michigan Trial Lawyers Association (1985-86) who has 15 years of litigation experience. He was a partner in the Detroit firm of Philo, Cockrel in the early 1970's, and from 1977 to 1987 he was a partner at Kelman, Loria, also in Detroit. He left the firm in 1988 to try his hand at full-time writing. Nick is a well-known Michigan trial lawyer with contacts around the state and throughout the Midwest. He has also published several practice-oriented articles on employment discrimination, evidence, and the law of torts. He is twice a graduate of Wayne State University (B.A. 1969; J.D. 1973). Nick came to the Michigan Law School in the fall of 1989.

THE CHILD ADVOCACY LAW CLINIC FACULTY

DONALD N. DUQUETTE, a graduate of Michigan State University, and the University of Michigan Law School, is Director of the Child Advocacy Law Clinic and the Interdisciplinary Fellowship Program in Child Abuse and Neglect. Prior to attending law school, he worked as a social worker in child protection and foster care. Before joining the clinical law faculty in 1976, he served as an assistant professor of Pediatrics and Human Development at Michigan State University. His principal research and teaching interests are in clinical law and interdisciplinary approaches to child welfare law and policy. He is editor and principal author of *Advocating for the Child in Protection Proceedings*.

JUDITH G. OLIN received her bachelor's degree from New York University and her J.S. from the State University of New York at Buffalo. Before coming to the Child Advocacy Law Clinic she practiced as a legal services lawyer in Massachusetts and Buffalo, N.Y. for four years, representing indigent clients in the areas of administrative law, landlord-tenant, and family and matrimonial law.

SUELLYN SCARNECCHIA received her bachelor's degree in history from Northwestern University and her law degree from the University of Michigan. She practiced for six years with the law firm of McCroskey, Feldman, Cochrane and Brock in western Michigan, specializing in employment discrimination litigation on behalf of plaintiffs. She left the firm as a partner and joined the Child Advocacy Law Clinic in 1987. Her research interests focus on gender and racial bias in trial courts. She is currently teaching a Women and the Law Clinic.

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Urban Communities Program

NEWSLETTER FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LAW SCHOOL PROGRAM IN LEGAL ASSISTANCE FOR URBAN COMMUNITIES

801 Monroe Street • 531 Legal Research • Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109-1210 • (313) 763-9152

April 1993

The Program in Legal Assistance for Urban Communities

The Program in Legal Assistance for Urban Communities was established in 1989 by the University of Michigan Law School to assist poor communities in their transformation and redevelopment. The Program's goal is to enable community-based organizations serving low-income areas to surmount some of the legal obstacles they face as they strive to rebuild their neighborhoods' economic and social bases. The Program serves a variety of community-based organizations while offering select law students an opportunity to work directly with the organizations as part of a clinical educational experience. In this unique program, the clients who receive assistance are the organizations and their communities, rather than individuals. The Program seeks to provide legal assistance that improves the quality of life in the clients' communities.

The Program focuses on economic development problems which often lie at the root of community concerns and often depend upon legal expertise for solutions. Community economic development law utilizes corporate law, tax law, property law, landlord-tenant law, environmental law, and municipal law. It includes such areas as nonprofit housing redevelopment, neighborhood-oriented commercial development, community education, and the development of worker-owned ventures. Business and community development issues are addressed through a transactional mode of legal practice, rather than a dispute-oriented mode. Through the Program, students negotiate and create innovative contractual remedies for disputes and new forms of joint economic or social ventures. Each student advocates community economic development law and develops his or her skills as researcher, interviewer, counselor, draftsman, and negotiator. The Program is designed to provide students with a valuable experience which exposes them to the unique practical and ethical dilemmas that can arise outside the context of litigation.

Among its activities, the Program

in Legal Assistance for Urban Communities forms community economic development corporations and pursues federal tax-exempt status under §501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue code for client organizations. It assists in the development of low- to moderate-income housing, addresses legal issues of abandoned properties, and drafts legislative reform proposals. The Program educates clients about how they can be effective in legal matters. It also initiates and organizes coalitions of client organizations around areas of common concern. In addition, the Program develops cooperative relations with a range of Detroit governmental and nongovernmental entities in order to promote the interests of community-based organizations.

Program Director, Rochelle Lento, brings experience as a community organizer, campaign and political advisor, and as an attorney in public and private practice to the Program. The Program also has a part-time staff attorney, Robert Poznanski, who has expertise in housing law. ■

Community Reinvestment Act: Analysis of CRA and Perspectives for Communities

A new project for this spring concerns the Community Reinvestment Act of 1977 (CRA). The Act was created to affirm the idea that banks and savings institutions are granted charters to help meet the convenience and needs of the communities where they are located. The Act states that banks and savings institutions have a continuing

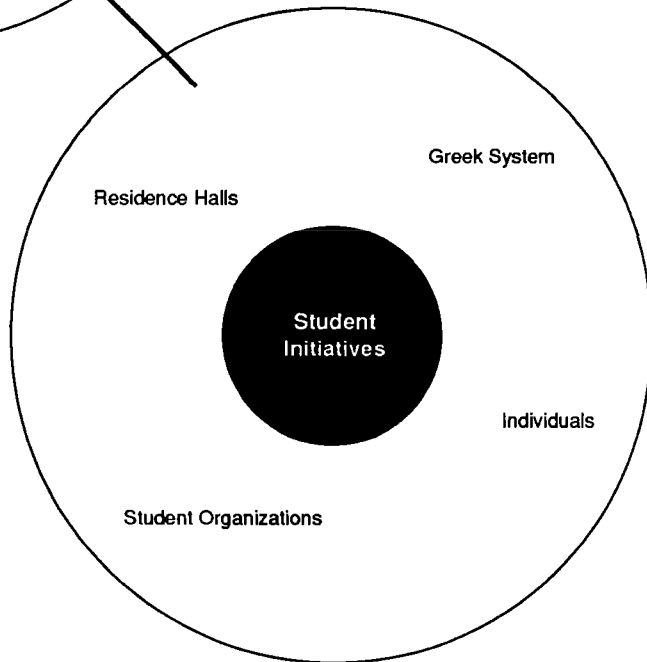
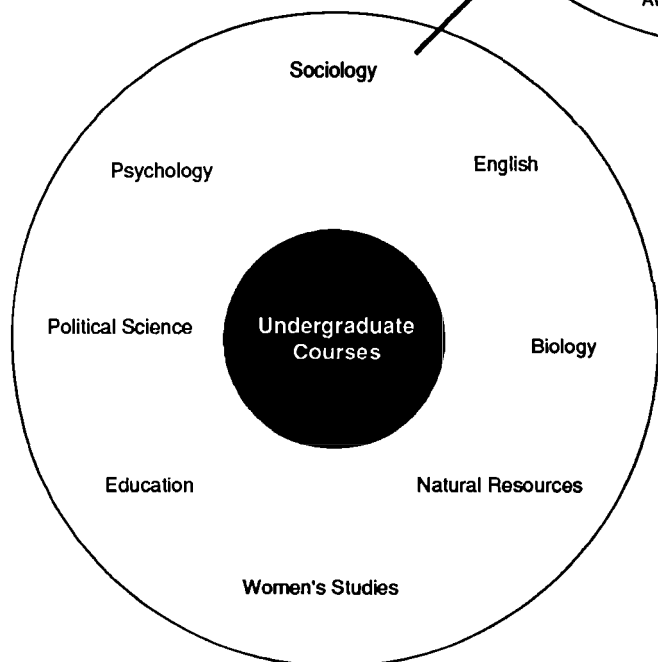
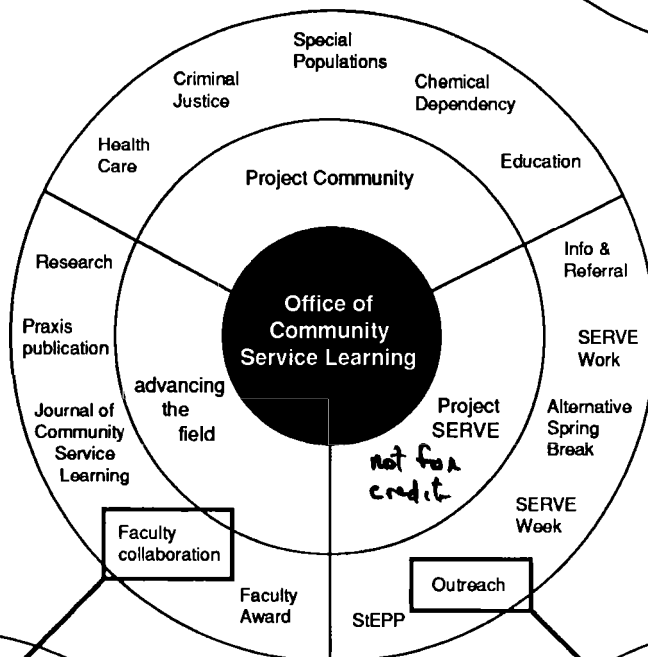
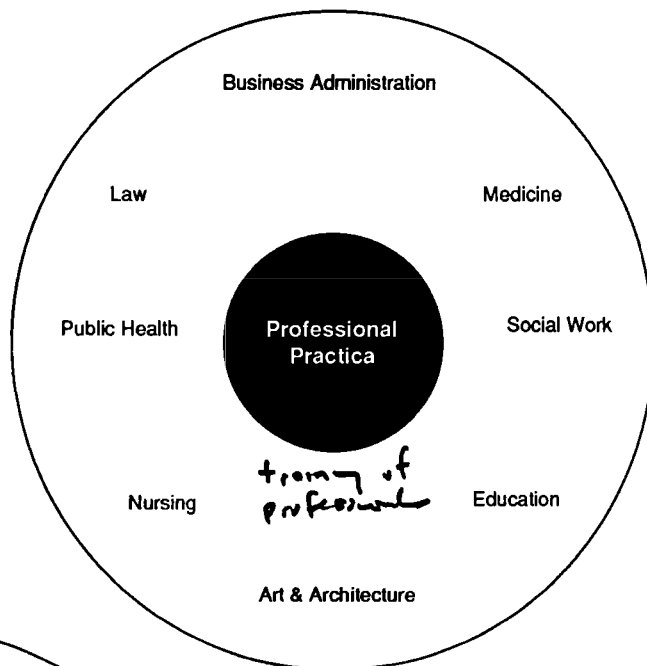
and affirmative obligation to serve the public, and especially to meet the deposit and credit needs of the local communities in which they are chartered.

This obligation exists because financial institutions have some special privileges, including: charters to do business; deposit insurance; and access to special borrowing privileges such as the Federal Reserve discount window and Federal Home Loan Bank advances. CRA requires federal agencies that supervise financial institutions to encourage institutions to meet the credit needs of their communities, including the needs of residents in low- and

moderate-income neighborhoods.

The Legal Assistance Program project is to produce a report to introduce Detroit area community organizations to CRA. It is hoped that by informing and educating organization leaders about the potential use of CRA, the organizations may use it as a tool to increase credit availability in low- and moderate-income neighborhoods in which they operate. A senior student advisor in the Program has conducted the research, including interviews with bankers and community organizers in Detroit to draft the report. ■

Task Force on Community Service Learning
University of Michigan



Greene
Neil Chabro

TASK FORCE ON COMMUNITY SERVICE LEARNING
Michigan Union Tappan Room
Saturday, May 15, 1993
10:00 - 11:15 a.m.

AGENDA

Bry
Sharon
Jeff

4400 students

Service enhances
academic learning

1. Welcome and Purpose of the Meeting

Jen

First time belonged

2. Eli Segal on National Service

Homelien → advocacy
Phenomenal experience

3. Introduction of Congressman Ford

Transfer - university =
Chrysler

Bryan Bryant

Detroit Summer

Gang leader conflict resolution

4. Community Service Learning at the University of Michigan

90 kids, half from Detroit +
ml from around the
country

5. Multicultural Education and Service Learning

6. Proposed Symposium on Community Service

7. Closing

- Infrastructure
eg. supervising volunteers
- Course to reinforce guidelines

MEMORANDUM

TO: Task Force on Community Service Learning
FROM: Barry Checkoway
SUBJ: Next Regular Meeting
DATE: May 14, 1993

Our next regular meeting is scheduled for Wednesday, May 19, at 8:30 a.m. in the 6th floor conference room of the Fleming Building.

Enclosed are some materials for review in preparation for the meeting. They include:

Michigan Summer of Service Proposal

Chapters on Service Learning - Definitions, etc.

Wingspread Principles of Good Practice

Enclosed also is a draft agenda for the meeting.

See you soon!

TASK FORCE ON COMMUNITY SERVICE LEARNING
Fleming Building 6th Floor Conference Room
Wednesday, May 19, 1993
8:30 - 10:00 a.m.

A G E N D A

1. Welcome and Announcements
2. Summer of Service Proposal
3. Key Concepts of Service Learning
4. Wingspread Principles of Good Practice
5. Agenda for Task Force Retreat
6. Closing

Task Force on Community Service Learning

Revised Brainstorming List

According to Constituencies

Students

Develop a student strategy

Prepare and disseminate a comprehensive list of programs, courses, faculty, etc.

Residence hall training

Faculty/Academic Culture

Develop a faculty strategy -- consciousness-raising, increasing involvement, building support, overcoming obstacles, etc.

Foundation proposal to make CSL part of the academic culture, e.g., research projects, course revisions, etc.

Requirement in 2 or 3 key units, e.g., Business Administration.

Put community service on UM transcript.

Working paper reviewing the CSL literature.

Community

Develop a national strategy.

Conduct a campuswide/national symposium on CSL.

Hold MCC meeting here next year.

President or Vice President attend MCC meeting.

Support new Journal of Community Service Learning.

Bring national speakers to campus on CSL issues, e.g., Norman Brown, Edgard Beckham, Robert Coles.

Use National Commission funds to visit other programs nationwide.

Existing Programs

Strengthen support, space, staff, and \$\$\$.

Talk with Philip Power about his CSL Center idea.

Other

Schedule task force retreat for June 2.

Summer of Service 1993 followup - voluntary program?

Hire a student for task force summer staff.

PROPOSAL SUBMITTED TO:
The Commission of National and Community Service
529 14th Street, N.W., Suite 452
Washington, D.C. 20045
(202) 724-0600

TITLE: MICHIGAN SUMMER OF COMMUNITY SERVICE LEARNING

SUBMITTED BY: THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
University Task Force on Community Service Learning
Division of Student Affairs (Office of the Vice President
and Office of Community Service Learning)

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH:

- Eastern Michigan University
- Focus: HOPE
- United Community Services of Metropolitan Detroit
(Youth Volunteer Corps, NAACP Detroit Branch)
- Warren/Conner Development Coalition
(Youth on the Edge...of Greatness)
- Learning Community Coalition

CONTACT: Barry Checkoway, Chairperson
University Task Force of Community Service Learning
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109
(313) 763-5960

TOTAL AMOUNT REQUESTED: \$1,795,730

NUMBER OF STIPENDED PARTICIPANTS: 350

NUMBER OF NON-STIPENDED VOLUNTEERS: 700

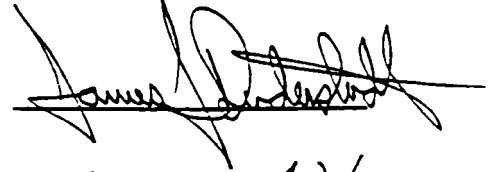
SUMMARY OF PROJECT ACTIVITIES AND COMMUNITIES SERVED:

The purpose of the Michigan Summer of Community Service Learning is to engage young people in meeting critical community needs in Detroit and Ypsilanti (including the area of Willow Run). The program will involve university students and community youth from diverse racial and economic backgrounds in serving the health, education, environment, and safety of at-risk children. It will be managed by the University of Michigan in partnership with community agencies with records of excellence in community service, and demonstrated capacity in working with young people.

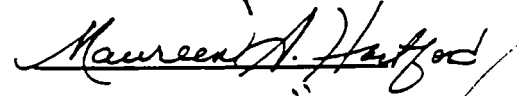
Michigan Summer of Community Service Learning
Title Page Signatures

SIGNATURES OF LEGAL APPLICANT AND PRINCIPAL PARTNERS

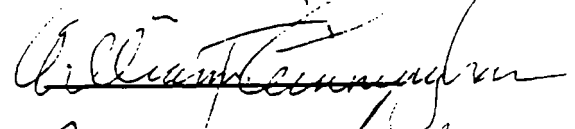
The University of Michigan
James J. Duderstadt, President



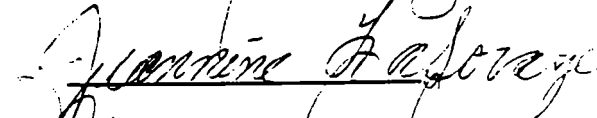
The University of Michigan
Maureen A. Hartford, V.P. for Student Affairs



Focus: HOPE
Father William T. Cunningham, Executive Director



Learning Community Coalition
Jeannine LoSavage, Director



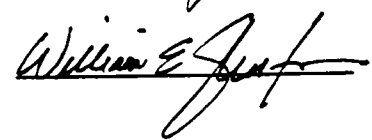
Warren/Conner Development Coalition
Maggie DeSantis, Executive Director



United Community Services of Metropolitan Detroit
Geneva Williams, President



Eastern Michigan University
William E. Shelton



Certification – Signature

Before You Start

Before completing certification, please read Certification Instructions, page 23.

Signature

By signing this Certification page, the applicant certifies that it will agree to perform all actions and support all intentions stated in the Certification sections in Part III of this application. The three Certifications are:

- Certification: Debarment, Suspension, and Other Responsibility Matters
- Certification: Drug-Free Workplace
- Certification: Lobbying Activities

The Regents of the University of Michigan

Organization Name

Summer of Community Service Learning

Project Name

Alan Walter Steiss, Ph.D., Director, Div. of Research Development
and Administration

Name and Title of Authorized Representative

Signature

Date

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MICHIGAN SUMMER OF COMMUNITY SERVICE LEARNING

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A. PROGRAM NARRATIVE

Community Needs and Benefits

The cities of Detroit and Ypsilanti (including the area of Willow Run) Michigan, face similar circumstances. Following years of sustained growth as hubs of automobile production, they have suffered through economic recession, changes in industry, and reductions in federal expenditures. Private institutions have disinvested from the area in favor of suburban and sunbelt locations, and public institutions have disinvested by reducing the levels of services provided. This has resulted in a downward cycle of deteriorating infrastructure, worsening social conditions, and withdrawal from participation in the community.

In addition, state budget deficits and tax revenue shortages have caused cutbacks in services for the poor, members of minority groups, displaced workers, and other special populations. Soup kitchens, housing shelters, and health clinics report increasing requests for emergency services.

These cities have many children from poor families who live in inadequate housing in disinvested neighborhoods. They may lack access to health care, immunizations against disease, nutritious meals, and basic resources needed for a good start in life. In 1993, nearly half of all children under 18 years of age in the city of Detroit, for example, are living below the poverty level.

These cities also have young people who attend unsafe schools with inadequate facilities, drop out of school, or cannot find a job. They may become affected by class inequities and racial segregation, abused by adults victimized by poverty, and become victims of violence. They are only part of the overall population — indeed, many children and youth are achieving despite forces beyond their control — but they represent continuing needs for community response.

These cities also have citizens who have organized in response to these conditions — with exceptional efforts to plan new programs, provide needed services, and revitalize their communities. Their organizations are increasing in number and capacity, and demonstrate that citizens can take initiative and mobilize resources to help themselves.

The community agencies with which we propose to collaborate have records of excellence in serving the community. They have deep commitments to meeting local needs, a range of quality programs and services, and demonstrated capacity for providing placements for students. They are a solid foundation on which to develop the present program.

Program Objectives

The Michigan Summer of Community Service Learning will have the following objectives:

- Engage young people in meeting critical community needs in Detroit and Ypsilanti (including the Willow Run area) Michigan;
- Demonstrate the potential of community service to provide tangible and measurable benefits for serving the health, education, environment, and safety of at risk children;
- Develop the leadership skills of young people in ways which serve the community;
- Increase multicultural interaction and understanding between university students and community youth diverse backgrounds;
- Contribute to university students' understanding of the forces affecting communities, root causes of problems, and strategies for change;
- Strengthen the lifelong social responsibility and civic mindedness of university students;
- Create a model of community service learning for replication elsewhere;
- Assist participants by contributing to the costs of their educational training.

Program Participants

The Michigan Summer of Service Learning will provide meaningful service opportunities, stipends, and post-service benefits for 350 participants. Stipended participants will be 17-25 years old and from diverse racial, economic, and educational backgrounds.

Three hundred entering, current, and just-graduated university students will be recruited from the three campuses of the University of Michigan — Ann Arbor, Dearborn, Flint, and from Eastern Michigan University.

University recruitment efforts will include publicity posters, stories, and advertisements in school and community media, notices in career planning and community service offices, and direct mail to campus groups. With assistance from the Office of Admissions and Office of Minority Affairs, special efforts will be made to identify and involve students who come from the target cities of Detroit and Ypsilanti.

Selection of university students will be based upon review of a written application designed for the purpose and, in some cases, a supplementary interview seeking additional information. The aim is to select qualified participants from diverse racial, economic, and educational backgrounds, who have strong commitment to community service and who want to make a difference in one of the target cities.

Community agencies will recruit and select 50 community youth to participate in the program. Each agency will develop its own process for recruitment and selection. Most of these youth will be drawn from programs described elsewhere which operate on an ongoing basis regardless of the fate of this proposal.

Service Activities

Focus: HOPE

Focus: HOPE is a non-profit civil rights and human rights organization which aims to resolve the effects of discrimination and to build integration in the Detroit area.

For the Michigan Summer of Community Service Learning, 50 University participants will work in the following programs:

- 20 university students will work with the Focus: HOPE Food Prescription Program to supply nutritious U.S. Department of Agriculture commodity foods to low income at-risk mothers, babies, and preschool children at five self-centers in the Detroit area. This is the largest Commodity Supplemental Food program in the United States,

- 20 university students will work with at-risk children in the Glazer School. Focus: HOPE adopted this K-5 school from the public school system for operation on a year-round basis. The university students will tutor children in several skills — including computer usage — and involve them in environmental improvement projects in the neighborhood, and

- 10 university students will work in the Focus: HOPE Center for Children. The Center provides infant and toddler care, preschool children, and a before-after school program for the children of participants in Focus: HOPE employees and trainees, thus linking child care to economic development in areas of high unemployment.

United Community Services of Metropolitan Detroit (Youth Volunteer Corps) (NAACP Detroit Branch)

United Community Services of Metropolitan Detroit (UCS) is a major human services agency working to build strong and caring communities, neighborhoods, and families throughout metropolitan Detroit and southeastern Michigan.

For the Michigan Summer of Community Service Learning, 100 university students will work with UCS in the following programs:

- 20 university students will work with the Youth Volunteer Corps of Metropolitan Detroit (YVC): One of the largest youth corps in the nation, YVC brings together more than 600 young people from diverse backgrounds to serve the community. The student participants will work with community youth in packing emergency food boxes for shelters and soup kitchens; helping handicapped children at day camp and the Special Olympics; beautifying the neighborhoods by helping to renovate housing; working with children by providing tutoring, child care, and playground monitoring; and dramatizing issues of teen interest through the YVC Traveling Theater Troupe.
- 20 participants will work with the NAACP Thurgood Marshall Community Development Corporation: This program is associated with the NAACP Detroit Branch, the largest branch of this organization in the United States. The students will work hand-in-hand with community youth in activities designed to promote health, education, and safety of at-risk children through community development.
- 40 participants will work with the Special Summer Program: This program provides funding for eighty to one hundred Detroit community and neighborhood-based organizations for leisure, recreation, and educational services for low income children (ages 6-14) with some special problem or need. The students' university will serve as monitors/liaisons to these organizations to assist in their program implementation and assure that they meet their summer objectives of serving at-risk children.
- 20 students will work with the Campership Program: This program enables low income youth (ages 6-21) to experience an outdoor camping experience. The students will serve as camp counselors, special skills instructors, leadership training specialists, parent liaison coordinators, and assistant camp directors.

Warren/Conner Development Coalition
(Youth on the Edge....of Greatness)

Warren/Conner Development Coalition (WCDC) is a neighborhood-based community development corporation whose mission is the revitalization of Detroit's eastside. Youth on the Edge....of Greatness (YOE) is a WCDC program which involves at risk youth (ages 12-18) in crime prevention, public safety, and community development.

For the Michigan Summer of Community Service Learning, 20 YOE graduates (community youth) will be hired to serve as team leaders of the project. They will work together with 10 university students to receive community crime prevention and public safety training, and to play roles as Crew Supervisors, Crime Prevention Practitioners, and Study Group Facilitators and Researchers.

- Crime Prevention Practitioners will form block watches, canvass the neighborhood with crime prevention information, provide auto etching and auto theft "courtesy ticketing" services, and encourage people to complete anonymous reports through the NARC Hotline on crack houses and chop shops.

- Study Group Facilitators and Researchers will conduct research and propose recommendations on two issues of increasing importance in the community: guns/gun violence and public housing conditions. YOE graduates will use the research and recommendations in meetings with school board members and other public officials.

Learning Community Coalition

The Learning Community Coalition serves a critical need in building community collaboration for the education of at-risk children in Ypsilanti which is suffering from declining economic conditions.

For the Michigan Summer of Community Service Learning, 140 university students will work with the Coalition in the following programs:

- University students and parent/community teams will be given training to provide a multicultural reading program. Teams will work with small groups of at-risk children reading stories, learning some history related to books, choral reading, songs, dance, and creative writing. Children will learn some word processing and desk top publishing skills as they write and publish their own stories.

- NASA Science Program: University students, parent volunteers, and NASA college students will work in teams to provide hands-on math and science lessons already prepared by NASA. Workshops will include classes at the School of Engineering at the University of Michigan and the planetarium at Eastern Michigan University.

- Math Program: University students and community volunteers will collaborate in math clubs to help children keep and expand math skills over the summer. Schools will provide books, workbook and hands-on math manipulatives, and training to use materials.

- Health Fitness Program: University students, recreation department staff, and parent volunteers will conduct a range of instructional and fitness programs. One goal is to help children develop health awareness, respect for their bodies, and learn activities for individuals and groups to be more physically active. Teens and parents will learn coaching and refereeing skills designed to promote the health of at risk children. Participants will activate neighborhoods to sustain their own health fitness programs within neighborhood housing and church centers. Ypsilanti Recreation Department will provide overall administration and coordination of the

program, some of which will be conducted on the campuses of the University of Michigan and Eastern Michigan University.

B. OTHER PROGRAM ELEMENTS

University-Community Advisory Committee

A University-Community Advisory Committee will guide the program. Committee members will represent the university community agencies in the target cities; and other at-large representatives of the community. Emphasis will be placed on individuals who represent the social diversity of the area population, including students who will be viewed as equal partners and active participants in the process.

Advisory committee members will advise and consult with the staff directors in policy, planning, and program decisions. They will meet regularly, provide diverse perspectives on arising issues, and help build support for the program in the community.

Program Management

The program will be managed through faculty and staff at the University of Michigan. The Office of Community Service Learning will serve as the focus of activity. This office has ongoing supervision of Project Community and Project S.E.R.V.E.—both higher education leaders in community service learning.

The program will be directed by two professional staff members, two faculty members, and two students with experience in the field. This group will have responsibility for overall management, implementation, and evaluation of the program. They will have responsibility for approving and selecting community agencies in accordance with stated purposes and procedures. They will routinely gather information from agencies, monitor the scope and quality of activities, and collaborate with the community to enlarge and improve the experience.

Program directors will select three graduate students to serve a university-community liaison, responsible for coordination between program management and community agencies. They will review activities with agency field supervisors; meet individually with and monitor progress of student participants and community youth; notify staff of significant changes, problems or other developments in the field; and maintain positive working relationships with the agency.

Each community agency will involve its executive director and assign one or more professional staff to serve as field supervisors for the program.

One or more student participants will be designated to serve as team leaders in each community agency.

Planning for Implementation

With the advice and consultation of the University-Community Advisory Committee, program staff will finalize an action plan for implementation. The plan will include the objectives and activities of the program, roles and responsibilities of the participants, and strategies for successful implementation.

The planning, implementation, and evaluation of this program will emphasize the following principles: mutual agreement on objectives among the program partners; respect for institutional differences and resource capacities; community involvement in the identification of issues; youth as competent citizens and community resources rather than passive recipients of services; service and learning as reciprocal activities; social responsibility of the university to the community; and an empowering process in which all participants develop as a result.

Selection of Community Agencies and Field Supervisors

Selection of community agencies were guided by the collaborative concept. The aims of the concept are to assure a quality experience for student participants and community youth; to implement needed activities that serve the community; and to strengthen collaboration between the university and community.

Implementing the collaborative concept means that we limited the number of community agencies and drew on the following criteria for their selection: location in one of the target cities; capability for accommodating multiple student participants and provision of adequate physical facilities for program purposes; and ability to involve participants in meaningful health, environment, education, and/or public safety projects that improve the lives of at risk children. Each agency executive director is expected to create and maintain a favorable atmosphere for meaningful service; to identify one or more staff members able to provide quality supervision; and to allow staff sufficient time for program preparation, conferences with participants, and consultation with program staff at the university.

Field supervisors will be identified by the agency executive director and approved by university program staff. Persons identified should demonstrate evidence of competence in student supervision, possess the interest and time for participation, and show commitment to the objectives of the program.

Community Service Learning and Learning Contracts

University student participants and community youth will be viewed as part of a process in which they develop knowledge and enhance learning while serving the community. Knowledge development is not accidental but results from actual experience in conjunction with structured learning activities.

At the beginning of the program, each participant will prepare a Learning Contract. This written statement will be shaped by the interests and objectives of the individual participant and the programs and needs of community agency. Each participant will be expected to read at least one book related to the community service by the end of the summer.

Opening Orientation and Training

Program participants will be expected to participate in an Opening Orientation and Training. The orientation will provide a vehicle for participants to get acquainted, build working relationships, and develop knowledge for beginning the program. Workshop sessions will include information on the purposes and procedures of the program; roles and responsibilities of the participants; functions and services of the community agencies; and an assessment of the needs and resources of the community, a critical component of the community service learning process. Other sessions will include training in practical hands-on skills — e.g., multicultural organizing, team building, tutoring younger children — required in each community agency. Yet other sessions will emphasize leadership skills, e.g., setting goals, formulating strategy, strengthening commitment. With the assistance of the University of Michigan Outdoor Recreation Challenge Course, other sessions will employ indoor and outdoor experiential exercises designed to challenge individuals, develop group cohesion, and build spirit for the program.

Young people will be enlisted to serve as workshop trainers in their areas of expertise, such as the New Detroit Youth Non-Violence Training Program, a group of young people (funded by the W.K. Kellogg Foundation in conjunction with the Center for Non-Violent Social Change in Atlanta) who train others in non-violent conflict management in urban neighborhoods, and Students Educating Each other about Discrimination (SEED), a group of local youth with a national reputation for educating themselves and training others about overcoming racial discrimination in multicultural communities.

Midsummer Leadership Development Program

Tentatively scheduled for the University of Michigan Fresh Air Camp in Pinckney, Michigan, this program will provide an opportunity for participants to step back, assess progress, and build momentum for the remainder of the program. Participants will review their own progress in achieving predetermined activity and outcome objectives. They will make decisions about the best use of resources, make changes in objectives or activities as appropriate, and provide feedback to key people. They will have a chance to tell stories, share experiences, strengthen their sense of community, and build mutual support.

Closing Community Conference

This conference will provide a closing opportunity for participants to assess their experiences and evaluate the overall program. Each participant will have an opportunity to describe his or her individual involvement, the nature and extent of individual learning, the scope and quality of the group process, and the impacts of activities on the broader community. Each participant will describe what he or she will take away from the summer, and how this will affect their future plans. The conference will be designed to provide a sensitive ending, and provide information essential for future project development.

Post-Service Learning

Post-service learning activities will be developed to facilitate continuing education and leadership development after the summer program. Activities will include opportunities for further reflection, knowledge development, research and writing, in addition to follow-up problem solving and program planning.

Program participants will also have the option to enroll in Sociology 389/Project Community, a course offered at the University of Michigan. They will receive 3 credit units from the university for undertaking an academic course of study that builds upon the learning of their community service.

Community Education and Network Newspaper

Program participants will produce a weekly newspaper to facilitate the exchange of information about projects within the cities, across communities, and between Michigan and communities elsewhere, including information on Summer of Service programs in other areas of the United States. The newspaper will include project stories, editorial opinion columns, calendar listings, and other features.

In consultation with the University's News and Information Services, program participants also will formulate a communications strategy designed to extend the educational reach to the broadest general audience. The strategy will assure coverage in local, regional, and national newspapers, radio, and television.

Venture Grants Program

Student participants and community youth will be eligible to apply for venture funds to undertake special service projects of their choosing, e.g., purchasing lumber to build bookshelves at the local community center.

Participatory Action Research

The program will promote participatory action research projects that strengthen the service learning and benefit the community. In consultation with the University-

Community Steering Committee and the University Office of the Vice President for Research, we will issue a Request for Proposals inviting university and community participants to propose research projects consistent with the program objectives. Special efforts will be made to stimulate projects that develop knowledge to strengthen the health, environment, education, and public safety of children at risk.

Cultural Programs

Student participants and community youth will attend at least one cultural enrichment program during the summer. Participants also will be encouraged to offer cultural programs of their own, building on their experiences during the summer.

Detroit Rackham Building

The Detroit Rackham Building will serve as a base of operations for program coordination and educational activities in that city. The building is located in the heart of the city near downtown and accessible to groups from the entire community. The building has offices, classrooms, and other facilities for individual and group meetings, evening and weekend programs, technical assistance, community consultation, and other supportive services. Special programs might include skills sessions in organizational development and community capacity-building, urban affairs, and multicultural education.

Multiplier Effect and Middle Schools

The program will demonstrate a multiplier effect by engaging additional participants, especially middle school children, in community service learning activities. For example, support will be offered to Detroit Summer '93 — a voluntary program which involves young people from Detroit and nationwide in efforts to research river pollution, turn vacant lots into playgrounds, and rehabilitate houses — for activities that involve middle school children in the process.

The program also will identify representatives of area middle schools, and involve them in meetings designed to formulate strategy for strengthening community service learning in the schools. These meetings will include teachers, parents, and children themselves, and will be first such meetings of their kind on an areawide basis.

Sustainability

At the University of Michigan, the University Task Force for Community Service Learning has been established to assess the status of community service learning campuswide, and to propose new initiatives and pilot programs worthy of external funding and national recognition.

During the summer, the Task Force members will formulate a two-phase strategy for sustaining the program in subsequent summers without funding from the Commission on National and Community Service. First, they will identify and involve campus and community groups with interest in community service learning. There are many university programs and nonprofit community-based organizations which already collaborate together, and which offer an excellent foundation on which to build new initiatives.

Special efforts will be made to increase university-community collaboration in Detroit. The University has personnel with knowledge and skills that could contribute to the Detroit community, and the present program will allow us to strengthen planning and coordination of activities which have operated independent of one another for years.

Second, the Task Force will identify public and private institutions which show interest in proposals to strengthen community service learning. They will consult with the University's Division of Research Development and Administration to (1) screen funding sources by subject and field of interest (2) identify potentially interested institutions (3) investigate grants history and (4) initiate contact for possible proposal preparation.

They also will compile a list of government, private corporation and nonprofit foundation funding opportunities interested in funding proposals to strengthen community service learning. They will produce an information packet on funding opportunities for community service learning for distribution to interested individuals and groups on campus and in the community, and make this information available to other programs supported by the Commission on National and Community Service.

In recognition of its importance, the University will create a paid position for someone who will have primary responsibility to strengthen national service community service learning and to plan for sustaining the present program in subsequent summers.

C. ORGANIZATIONAL CAPACITY

The University of Michigan

The University of Michigan is strategically situated for this initiative. The University has a long tradition of voluntary community service — from its historic role in the founding of the Peace Corps, to the active involvement of more than 5500 undergraduate and graduate students in local nonprofit and community-based organizations today. The University has a record of collaboration with organizations in these cities, experience in the placement of students within them, and expertise in the management of community service learning programs.

The University's Office of Community Service Learning — which includes Project Community and Project S.E.R.V.E. — is regarded as an exemplary office of its kind nationwide. In 1992, for example, Good Morning America featured a program segment on student community service at Michigan. Correspondent Bettina Gregory began the broadcast by saying: "In 1960, John Kennedy conceived the idea for the Peace Corps here at the University of Michigan right where I am standing now. Thirty-two years later students are turning not to government programs to serve their country. They're taking matters into their own hands by volunteering."

In 1992, Presidential Candidate Bill Clinton stood a few steps away from this place, reiterated the story about the founding of the Peace Corps, and challenged a new generation of university students to serve their country through his proposed program on national service.

The Michigan Summer of Community Service Learning will draw upon the extensive resources of the University, including its libraries, museums, and other facilities. Special efforts will be made to inform and involve university units already active in the target cities, to encourage exchange among them, and to increase integration of the university with the overall community. Units that are already active include architecture and urban planning, business administration, education, engineering, Institute for Social Research, Institute of Public Policy Studies, Literature Sciences and the Arts, medicine, natural resources, nursing, political science, public health, social work, and sociology.

For example, the School of Social Work has a nationally recognized practicum program which places more than 600 students in social agencies and community-based organizations in the three target cities. The School of Public Health has a major Community-Based Public Health Initiative which involves faculty and students in grassroots health promotion in the neighborhoods of Detroit and Flint.

Focus: HOPE

Focus: HOPE is a nonprofit civil and human rights organization. Founded in 1968, its purpose is to resolve the effects of discrimination and to build integration in the Detroit area. Its programs include:

Food Prescription Program: Started in 1971, this is the nation's largest Supplemental Food Program for low-income, nutritionally at risk mothers, babies, preschool children, and senior citizens. Each month, Focus: HOPE supplies a nutritious selection of U.S. Department of Agriculture commodity foods to eligible persons at five self-serve centers in the Detroit area.

Center for Children: This Center provides infant and toddler care, preschool education, and a before-after school program for the children of Focus: HOPE employees and trainees. The Center showcases the value of linking child care to economic development in areas of high unemployment.

K-5 Glazer School Program: Focus: HOPE has adopted Glazer School from the Detroit Public Schools to provide educational programs for at risk children in grades K-5 in a Detroit neighborhood. The school is open year-round, and includes intensive efforts to tutor the children in school subjects and community themes, and to involve them in activities designed to improve the neighborhood environment.

FAST TRACK: This is a seven and one-half week school to work transition program which upgrades the academic skills and discipline of recent high school graduates to the levels needed for further technical training, high education, or employment. Personal computers are used for intensive, self-paced math and reading instruction. Small group sessions cover math concepts, computer applications, communications, and technical career options in manufacturing. Youths who achieve FAST TRACK's demanding productivity and performance requirements are assured entry in the Machinist Training Institution or placement assistance in growth-opportunity employment.

Machinist Training Institute (MTI): This program provides state-licensed, industry specific training in precision machining and metalworking. The MTI basic course, full-time for thirty-one weeks, combines practical hands-on experience with classes in applied mathematics, manufacturing theory, graphics, quality control, and communications. Master craftsmen teach machine tool set-up and operation, including computer control, in the MTI's large and well-equipped shop laboratory. An advanced course of pre-engineering study and computer-integrated applications is also offered, full-time for twenty-one weeks.

Other Programs: Focus: HOPE informs the public and its volunteers through publications, group presentations and tours, videotape documentaries and public service announcements. Special events such as the Walk for Justice and Holiday Music Festival bring thousands of people together to affirm their commitment to

integration. Share With a Senior and Family to Family organize community concern for poor seniors and families during the Christmas holidays, and Focus: HOPE's Journalism Olympics stimulates civil rights awareness at area high schools.

University Community Services of Metropolitan Detroit
(Youth Volunteer Corps)
(NAACP Detroit Branch)

Since 1917, United Community Services of Metropolitan Detroit (UCS) has been in the forefront of community human services by fulfilling its mission of building strong and caring communities, neighborhoods, and families throughout metropolitan Detroit and southeastern Michigan. "

As the area's primary community planning and problem-solving organization, UCS brings people and organizations together to identify and seek solutions to human service needs, paying special attention to emerging social issues.

UCS provides community-based planning and problem-solving leadership through the partnership efforts of more than 800 volunteers and 100 staff members. These efforts include research, planning, community service and demonstration projects, information and referral, volunteer training and placement, coalition-building, public advocacy, and promoting citizen involvement in community affairs.

Initiated by UCS in 1991, the Youth Volunteer Corps (YVC) brings together diverse ethnic, social, economic, and geographic backgrounds. They gain practical, satisfying experiences in volunteerism, learn about teamwork, and improve interpersonal relationships and personal skills by working together on projects which improve the community.

YVC is one of the largest youth corps in the nation. More than 600 young people donate thousands of hours to community service projects during this year-round program. Programs include packing emergency food boxes for shelters and soup kitchens; helping handicapped children at day camp and the Special Olympics; beautifying neighborhoods by helping to renovate housing; helping seniors with cleaning, gardening and simple home repairs; working with children by providing tutoring, child care and playground monitoring; and dramatizing issues of teen interest through the YVC Traveling Theatre Troupe.

YVC members and those they help are from all areas of metropolitan Detroit. The young people volunteer at human service agencies such as Gleaners Community Food Bank, Habitat for Humanity, American Red Cross, Coalition on Temporary Shelter, Project S.A.V.E., Grateful Home, Inc., and many others.

YVC believes that young people are the single biggest asset for changing the community for the better. The program helps them grow and gives them

opportunities to learn that cooperation, determination and teamwork are successful tools for change.

Warren/Conner Development Coalition
(Youth on the Edge....of Greatness)

Warren/Conner Development Coalition (WCDC) is a neighborhood based community development corporation whose mission is the revitalization of Detroit's eastside. The community is beset with the economic and social problems of industrial and retail decline, unemployment, crime, and blight. It also is an area of considerable strength, with a racially and economically diverse residential population, several active neighborhood organizations, and a spirit of commitment to the future.

Founded by community leaders, WCDC is a membership organization, whose constituents include neighborhood councils and block clubs, retail and industrial firms and business associations, public and private community service institutions, and hundreds of individual residents. Members elect the 25-member Board of Directors which is equally divided among residents, businesses, and institutions. WCDC has an operating budget of \$1.5 million, 20 public and private funders and 40 corporate contributors, and a staff of 38 members. WCDC takes a comprehensive, collaborative approach to community development, operating several model programs in the areas of Youth and Family Development, Economic Development, and Community Education and Organizing. The coalition has an operating budget of \$1.5 million, and WCDC recently won the Crains Detroit Business Award for Best Managed Nonprofit in Metropolitan Detroit.

WCDC has a wide range of activities. In the area of economic development, Detroit East Community Development Corporation was incorporated to strengthen community control of the neighborhood economy. An initial project of the corporation is Mack-Alter-Square, a six-block commercial strip and community center for an area previously littered with burned-out houses and boarded-up buildings.

Youth on the Edge....of Greatness (YOE) was created in 1986 to involve at-risk youth in a program of academic support, character development, and employment opportunities. Funded as a national demonstration by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Center for Substance Abuse Prevention, YOE engages 60 young people (ages 12-18) in crime prevention and community development. The program demonstrates that at-risk youth are more likely not to use or sell drugs or alcohol if they have strong social support and serve their community.

YOE members are recruited through the WCDC network of block clubs, community groups, schools, social agencies, and probation officers. They participate in an extensive program of life skills planning, job readiness training, cultural awareness, family counseling, academic support, and recreational activities.

Learning Community Coalition

The Learning Community Coalition was established to bring together K-12, higher education, business, government, parents, and other community stakeholders to promote effective learning experiences for at risk children and their families in schools and neighborhoods in Ypsilanti, Michigan. The Coalition forms community teams and coordinates many programs through "Opportunity Centers" for children in community sites and college campuses on weekends, during evenings, and in the summer. Special efforts are made to connect community residents with teachers and counselors in order to support the learning of children in their schools and classrooms.

The Coalition serves a critical need for community collaboration in the education of at risk children in two cities suffering from worsening economic conditions. Teenage pregnancies, school drop-out rates, poor standardized test performances among minority students, increased violence in schools and neighborhoods, drug and alcohol abuse, high unemployment rates — these are facts of daily life in these cities. Public agencies, community organizations, and local schools have programs for at risk children and their families, but they have lacked the coordination needed to build support for quality services at a time when needs are increasing.

The Coalition was formed in response to these conditions, and takes an old African proverb as its operating principle: "It takes an entire village to raise a child."

D. NATIONAL LEADERSHIP TRAINING

Program participants will make a commitment to attend national training activities organized by the Commission on National and Community Service. The training may include: (1) 5-day training for participants, including program leaders and mid-level supervisors, tentatively scheduled for June on the west coast and (2) Closing weekend summit tentatively scheduled for the end of the program in August in the Washington, D.C. area.

E. NATIONAL THINK-TANK ON COMMUNITY SERVICE LEARNING

The University of Michigan will work in consultation with the Commission on National and Community Service to host a special invitational conference on community service learning. This conference will recognize the increasing importance of the field, and include invitations to selected participants from other Summer of Service programs and elsewhere.

F. PROGRAM EVALUATION

Program staff will monitor and evaluate the program throughout, both by informal discussions and formal written responses to a questionnaire designed for the purpose.

This evaluation will help identify program strengths and improvements while work is underway.

Program participants will be asked to evaluate their experience and major points of learning through a written pretest and posttest questionnaire seeking both open and closed ended responses on content and process. They also will be asked to evaluate their experience and learning 6 and 12 months after the summer.

Evaluation will employ measurable criteria relevant to community service learning. For example, university students will be evaluated according to their levels of commitment to social responsibility by the Social Responsibility Inventory developed by one of our program directors; academic learning with emphasis on the role of external forces; and non-academic learning, e.g., interpersonal development, leadership skills.

Evaluation will be viewed as part of the national effort to develop a model for the evaluation of community service learning, and to disseminate its content and process findings as a contribution to knowledge about the effects of community service learning.

G. INSTITUTIONAL AND PERSONNEL INFORMATION

The University of Michigan and the community agencies which will serve as its institutional partners have records of excellence in the leadership and management of community service programs, as described elsewhere in this proposal.

The individuals who will lead and manage this program are highly experienced and well qualified for their responsibilities. They have extensive experience in recruiting, selecting, and supervising youth participants in community service programs, and in the facilitation of the service learning process.

At the University of Michigan, the program will be managed by two professional staff members, two faculty members, and two students with experience in the field. The following five persons are already committed to the program, with one of the students to be recruited:

Jennifer Bastress

Jennifer Bastress is a nationally recognized collegiate spokesperson for the community service movement. She is the Chairwoman of Youth Service America's Youth Action Council, Chairwoman of the Training Track for C.O.O.L.'s National "Into the Streets" Program, Co-Chairwoman of the University of Michigan's Project S.E.R.V.E. Student Board of Directors, and a member of the President's Advisory Council of the Michigan Campus Compact. She has participated in the Youth Service Congressional Roundtable, and planned the first conference of the Student

Chapter One

"I like the program because I get to help little kids who are falling behind in their work. There are two that are going to pass because I helped them."

Michael, a high school student who tutors elementary at-risk children (Montemayor, 1990).

INTRODUCTION

Middle school students planting shrubs at a day care center. First graders making centerpieces for a senior citizen's luncheon. A tenth grader helping a second grader with math. Ninth graders proposing a carefully designed environmental clean-up project at their city council meeting. What do these activities have in common? Each incorporates service into the learning process.

A grassroots movement involving America's young people as active participants in their communities is gathering momentum. The success of local service learning projects has gained dedicated advocates for youth service activities across the country. Now, with the passage of the National and Community Service Act of 1990 by Congress and the recommendations of the President's America 2000 initiative, this exemplary learning strategy is also being linked to school reform.

Of even greater significance to those who work with at-risk students, service learning is a potentially powerful dropout prevention tool. Analysis by the National Dropout Prevention Center (Duckenfield, Hamby & Smink, 1990) revealed that twelve strategies were seen to be most successful in dropout prevention. Several of these practices—especially mentoring and tutoring, flexible schedules and alternative programs, school-based management, community and business collaboration, and workforce readiness and career counseling—are strong components of a well-designed school-based service learning program. Other researchers (Peck, Law & Mills, 1989) have determined that successful programs for at-risk youth should incorporate course work which emphasizes practical, real-world problem solving; experiential, hands-on learning; and experiences with responsible and mature adults. These same components are fundamental to service learning programs. Thus, service learning combines the best dropout prevention practices and provides practitioners with an innovative way to reach students at risk.

- **ability to take risks and accept challenges**
- **a sense of usefulness and purpose**
- **personal values and beliefs**
- **responsibility for one's self and actions**
- **self-respect**

Social Growth includes the social skills which are necessary for relating to others in society.

- **communication skills**
- **Interpersonal skills**
- **leadership skills**
- **ability to work cooperatively with others**
- **a sense of caring for others**
- **a sense of belonging**
- **acceptance and awareness of others from diverse and multicultural backgrounds**
- **peer group affiliation**

Intellectual Growth encompasses the cognitive skills necessary to enhance academic learning and acquire higher level thinking skills.

- **application of knowledge, relevance of curriculum**
- **problem-solving and decision-making skills**
- **critical thinking skills**
- **skills in learning from experience**
- **use of all learning styles**
- **development of a positive attitude toward learning**

Twelve year old James comes home every day to an empty house, usually feeling lonesome, with little interest in doing his homework. One day, bored with TV, James went outside looking for something to do. The other boys in the neighborhood were equally restless, and together they began to roam the streets. They ran into Arthur who offered them some beer he had found in his parents' refrigerator. Everyone had some, and soon the group got rowdy. Somehow things developed into a rock throwing fight, and James was hit over his left eye. He figured he'd have to come up with a pretty good story to tell his mother.

Schools have the potential to create an environment that provides positive alternatives to adolescent risk taking. Because it is accessible to the majority of young people, school is the logical place where intervention programs such as service learning can be implemented. Service learning allows all students to actively participate in a community that truly needs their services. In return, students develop qualities that fulfill many of their developmental needs and prepare them for a successful transition to adulthood. Many at-risk students fail to make this transition because they are more vulnerable to the adverse conditions of our society. Typically, these students come from low income or single parent households; have parents who practice high-risk behaviors; have a history of academic failure; and exhibit low self-esteem (Dryfoos, 1990). The efforts of society to meet the developmental needs of these at-risk students are often insufficient. Schools can fill this void through a revitalized curriculum incorporating service learning for all students with at-risk youth benefiting the most because they have so much more to gain.

Twelve year old Joseph has been spending several of his afternoons with a seven-year old child named Aubrey at the elementary school. Aubrey is having trouble with math, and Joseph has been matched to help him in the school cross-age tutoring program. Joseph has seen how Aubrey looks up to him and values his assistance, and he knows that he is helping Aubrey do well in school. This has made Joseph feel pretty good about himself. When he does get home, his own homework seems more important than it used to. Joseph is finding school a much more pleasant place to be because his own math skills have improved from his tutoring experience.

At both the state and local level, there has been controversy about requiring either service learning courses or hours of service prior to graduation. Service learning courses can be voluntary or mandatory. Mandatory programs can motivate students who would never normally volunteer, contribute more hours of work to the community, and expand the range of a school's educational mission (NCPC, 1988). On the other hand, voluntary programs attract students truly committed to serving others rather than those who do not care to get involved. Voluntary programs are also more manageable because fewer students participate (NCPC, 1988).

Level Four: School-Wide Integration

The final and highest level of implementation is community service as a school-wide theme. A variation of this level of implementation is a community service focus in an entire school district. This approach to integrating service into the academic curriculum is rare but highly desirable. In this type of school or district, service to others is woven into many courses and serves as an organizing principle for the total academic program (Conrad and Hedin, 1987). The school itself is organized to serve the community and the curriculum centers on addressing the real issues of the community (Cairn & Kielsmeier, 1991). As an example, students from several classes could serve the local nursing home in unique ways applicable to their course content. Science students could teach nutrition to the elderly; English students could write letters to an adopted grandparent; and industrial arts students could build ramps for the handicapped. This level of implementation has the potential to reach all students rather than a few motivated students who choose to become community service providers (Conrad and Hedin, 1987).

provides students with the opportunity to ask questions and explores potential experiences and issues that they may encounter during their service (Boyce and Cairn, 1991)

Certain skills may need to be acquired before actual participation. General service skills include cooperation, communication, organization, responsibility, problem solving, and awareness of working with special populations. The service project may also require that participants learn techniques that require hands-on experience. Technical skills include learning how to take water samples, certification in CPR, or learning the correct way to push a wheelchair.

Training is an ongoing process; it continues until the completion of the service project. Follow up occurs every time there is contact between the supervisor and the student. It is a time to address problems, raise important questions, enhance learning, and improve the performance of students (Boyce and Cairn, 1991). At some point all service projects end, and closure becomes important. Closure helps participants formally deal with the issues that surface when a service relationship is over. It is also a time to recognize the accomplishments of each student and celebrate a job well done.

ACTION

Action is the actual service of caring for others performed by the student participating in the service project. The service itself must be engaging, challenging and meaningful (MSSA, 1989b). There must be a real need in the community for the service, and students must play a significant role in designing the service experience (Cairn and Keilsmeier, 1991). It may also be necessary to adjust the initial service plan as new information is gained and new circumstances are encountered (MSSA, 1989b). Students can participate in service activities through direct service, indirect service, and civic action.

Direct Service

Direct service requires personal contact with people in need. This type of service is generally the most rewarding for students because they receive immediate positive feedback during the process of helping others. Examples of direct service are a 12th grade student counseling an incoming 9th grade student or a 5th grade student serving meals at a soup kitchen. "Whenever possible, students should be encouraged to commit to direct service projects that last for several weeks or months. This gives students time to feel they have made a contribution, to develop friendships with the people they are serving and serving with, and to understand better the problem they are working to solve" (MSSA, 1989b).

Indirect Service

Indirect service activities are commonly implemented in schools because they are easy to organize. These activities involve channeling resources to the problem rather than working directly with an individual who may need service. Examples of indirect service activities include participating in a bike-a-thon to raise money for muscular dystrophy patients and collecting cans of food for local disadvantaged families. This type of service may be of the least value to students because they are so far removed from the need and do not directly experience the benefit of their efforts (MSSA, 1989b).

Service Learning

Reading

A classroom reading assignment associated with the community service project greatly enriches the students' learning experience. This method differs from discussion in that an entire literary work is read rather than a brief excerpt. High school students can read *Silent Spring* by Rachel Carson or elementary students can have *The Lorax* by Dr. Seuss read to them to enhance service associated with an environmental project.

Writing

Writing is a natural outgrowth of discussion and assigned reading. Writing can include letters, essays, stories, newspapers, and journals. Journal writing is an excellent way for students to explore their service experience on a very personal level. Keeping a regular journal enables students to think about what is happening as a result of their service experience. It causes them to gain insight into understanding themselves and how they relate to others. Questions are helpful in directing the students' work beyond the obvious observations. The National Crime Prevention Council (1988) provides excellent examples of guided journal questions.

- What was the best thing that happened today at your site? How did it make you feel?
- What thing(s) did you like the least about today at your site? What made you dislike it?
- What compliments have you received today, and how did they make you feel? What have you learned about yourself and the people you are helping?
- How have you changed or grown since you began to volunteer at this site? What have you learned about yourself and the people you are helping?

Projects

Projects developed by students raise their awareness about issues associated with service. Many methods can be employed to accentuate the skills of each subject area. Projects may vary from posters, plays, and multimedia presentations to political campaigns and research. When students develop their own projects, their creativity is expressed and their learning becomes more meaningful. Middle school students may interview older citizens in their community and document a local oral history. Elementary school students may star in a video on school safety created and directed by high school students.

WINGSPREAD

SPECIAL REPORT

Principles of Good Practice For Combining Service and Learning

by Ellen Porter Honnet and Susan J. Poulsen, The Johnson Foundation

These Principles result from extensive consultation with more than 70 organizations interested in service and learning. Those consultations were conducted by the National Society for Internships and Experiential Education (NSIEE).

In May, 1989, a small advisory group met at Wingspread to compose the preamble and the language of the ten Principles.

The Johnson Foundation recognizes and thanks all of those who have had a hand in the development of these ten Principles of Good Practice For Combining Service and Learning.

PREAMBLE

We are a nation founded upon active citizenship and participation in community life. We have always believed that individuals can and should serve.

It is crucial that service toward the common good be combined with reflective learning to assure that service programs of high quality can be created and sustained over time, and to help individuals appreciate how service can be a significant and ongoing part of life. Service, combined with learning, adds value to each and transforms both.

Those who serve and those who are served are thus able to develop the informed judgment, imagination, and skills that lead to a greater capacity to contribute to the common good.

The Principles that follow are a statement of what we believe are essential components of good practice. We invite you to use them in the context of your particular needs and purposes.

1

An effective program engages people in responsible and challenging actions for the common good.

2

An effective program provides structured opportunities for people to reflect critically on their service experience.



3

An effective program articulates clear service and learning goals for everyone involved.

4

An effective program allows for those with needs to define those needs.

5

An effective program clarifies the responsibilities of each person and organization involved.

6

An effective program matches service providers and service needs through a process that recognizes changing circumstances.

7

An effective program expects genuine, active, and sustained organizational commitment.

8

An effective program includes training, supervision, monitoring, support, recognition, and evaluation to meet service and learning goals.

9

An effective program insures that the time commitment for service and learning is flexible, appropriate, and in the best interests of all involved.

10

An effective program is committed to program participation by and with diverse populations.

**Members of Task Force on Community Service
The University of Michigan**

1 Eli Segal meeting at
Michigan Union

Ms. Lisa Baker - Director of Public Affairs

Mr. Thomas Butts - Associate Vice President for Government Relations and Executive Director of the University of Michigan Washington, D.C. Office. Directs the activities of the Washington office and serves as principal liaison between the federal government and the Ann Arbor campus.

Judith Cawhorn - SOS Crisis Center . Works with volunteers.

Barry Checkoway, Ph.D - Professor of Social Work and Professor of Urban, Technological and Environmental Planning, College of Architecture & Urban Planning

Mark Chesler, Ph.D. - Professor of Sociology, College of Literature, Science & the Arts.

Frank Cianciola, M.A. -Associate Dean of Students. In charge of maintenance and programming for the Michigan League, the Michigan Union, & North Campus Commons, Greek Liaison, Student Organization Development Center, Office of Service and Community Learning, Major Events and student activities and programming.

Ms. Linda Forster - Assistant to Executive Director of University Relations. Staff to the Task Force.

Sarah Gegenheimer - UM Undergraduate On the Project S.E.R.V.E. Board, Greek Liaison.

Charlie Grose - UM Undergraduate - External Co-Chair for Project S.E.R.V.E. Board

Dr. Walter Harrison - Executive Director, Office of University Relations. Principal spokesperson for the University. Oversees federal relations, news and information services, marketing communications, and Michigan Radio.

Dr. Maureen Hartford - Vice President for Student Affairs. Oversees policy and judicial matters, Ombudsman, Health Service, Campus Information Center, Counseling, services for students with disabilities, emergency services, crisis lines, multicultural organizations: International Center, lesbian and gay programs, minority peer advisors, Career Planning & Placement and Housing (family housing, conferences and catering).

Jeffrey Howard - Director of Community Service Learning. Include Project Serve, a community volunteer program and source for alternative career information and Project Community, where students can get credit for volunteer activities.

Barbara Isreal, Dr.P.H. - Associate Professor of Health Behavior and Health Education, School of Public Health and Adjunct Associate Professor of Sociology.

Claudette Rowley - Project S.E.R.V.E. Graduate Intern from the School of Social Work.

Greg Shannon - UM Undergraduate - Project S.E.R.V.E. Board. Coordinator of the Alternative Weekends Program, a spin-off of the Alternative Spring Break Program.

Sharon Sutton, Ph.D. - Associate Professor of Architecture, College of Architecture & Urban Planning

11 May 1993

Mr. Eli Segal
Director, Office of National Service
Room 145, O.E.O.B.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Segal:

The Law School is delighted that you will be our honored guest speaker at Commencement on Saturday, May 15. The Class of 1993's graduation promises to be even more splendid than 1967's.

Enclosed for your information and approval are proposed itineraries for Mrs. Segal's and your day on campus. Please have Karen confirm these arrangements with me.

Also included are some materials describing our clinical programs. "An Overview: The Current Programs" provides general background information. The pamphlet and accompanying newsletter describe Professor Jeff Lehman's program of Law School Support for Community-Based Economic Development in Low-Income Urban Neighborhoods. This pilot program offers a model for other law schools in urban areas across the nation.

I thought you might also enjoy our Law School video, which visually captures the Cook Law Quadrangle and recalls the experience (pain?) of being a first-year law student. It's actually raising a lot of money for our Law School Campaign.

We are all looking forward to your visit to Ann Arbor.

Sincerely,


Anne Percy Knott

encs.

cc: Karen Ewing w/ itineraries (via FAX)



ANNE PERCY KNOTT
Assistant Dean
Law School Campaign

DEVELOPMENT
AND ALUMNI
RELATIONS

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OF MICHIGAN
LAW SCHOOL

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COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS

DELIVERED BY

JOHN H. PICKERING

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LAW SCHOOL

MAY 10, 1992

Dean Bollinger, members of the graduating class, parents
(and others who have paid the freight), friends

Thank you, Dean Bollinger, for that generous introduction.
It is a privilege to give today's commencement address. I never
thought, when I graduated 52 years ago from the Law School, I would
have this honor.

I begin with these familiar lines from Charles Dickens:

"It was the best of times, it was the worst of times,"

These words were as apt when I graduated in 1940, and they are as
apt today, as when Charles Dickens wrote them about the French
revolution.^{1/}

On the good side, we have the end of the Cold War and the
emerging democracies in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.
But just as the world seems to be improving, things at home are
worse. Distrust of our institutions increases. Incumbency is a dirty
word, like liberal and taxes. The verdict in the Rodney King case and
the resulting riots starkly reveal serious flaws in our social and legal
structure. As the noted New York Times columnist, James Reston,

^{1/}

Tale of Two Cities, C. Dickens.

asked in his recent memoirs -- Now that we are at peace with the world, why aren't we at peace with ourselves? In the few minutes I have, I shall try to suggest some answers, and what lawyers can do to help.

But first, I must say the last two decades have not been good for the image of lawyers. In the seventies there was the Watergate coverup that drove President Nixon from office. As his White House counsel, John Dean, confessed, "an awful lot of lawyers" were involved. I agree -- those lawyers were an "awful lot", not just in numbers, but also in character. They were a blot on our profession, but we survived.

The excesses, the materialism and the greed of the eighties have further tarnished the legal profession. Merger mania flourished, lawyers went to jail for insider trading, and a noted federal judge asked "Where were the lawyers?" when the savings and loan industry collapsed. "Where were the lawyers," indeed? This cry from a judge who had been the chief enforcement officer of the Securities and Exchange Commission underscores what the general public does not appreciate -- that roughly 95% of our law enforcement is voluntary. It happens because ethical lawyers carefully advise clients about the requirements and limitations of the law.

But damage has been done to the profession. Many major firms are retrenching, jobs are scarcer, and lawyer bashing is again a favorite sport, from the White House to the comics. Anti-lawyer jokes are legion. The latest one I know, which I hope you have not heard, is an argument between St. Peter and the Devil over responsibility for repairing the gate between Heaven and Hell. St. Peter said his record showed it was the Devil's turn, but the Devil refused. St. Peter then threatened to sue, and the Devil laughingly replied, "Pete, where will you find a lawyer?"

A recent report of the President's Council on Competitiveness^{2/} asserts that major reforms are needed in our legal system to restore our competitiveness in world markets. Speaking to the American Bar Association last August in support of the report, Vice President Quayle was critical of the legal profession and asked whether we need 800,000 lawyers. As I listened I wondered -- with everything that is already being blamed on the lawyers, is it really fair to blame us for one more thing -- are we lawyers really to blame because the public likes Japanese cars, VCRs, and stereos? I was struck, however, that the question about our need for 800,000 lawyers deserves serious consideration, but the jokesters are already at that also -- here is one example: according to the usual reliable sources, Government projections show that by the year 2020 -- if present trends continue -- there will be more lawyers than people in the United States.

Be that as it may, the Vice President's query -- do we need 800,000 lawyers -- also brought to mind Shakespeare's famous line:

"The first thing we do, let's kill all the lawyers."^{3/}

That is hardly what the Vice President had in mind, and the line itself is one of the most misunderstood in all literature. Taken in context, it is a pro-, not an anti-lawyer statement. England was in the turmoil of the War of the Roses -- a bloody civil war. The line was spoken by a follower of the rebel Jack Cade who preached anarchy and was killed because of the excesses he and his followers committed after they had captured London. Properly understood, the statement shows why we need lawyers. It also suggests to me the paradox of the Vice President's query -- that we may have too few rather than too many lawyers, or at least too few doing some of the things that desperately need to be done.

^{2/} An Agenda for Civil Justice Reform in America (1991).

^{3/} Henry VI, Part 2, Act IV, Scene Two.

What the public, and even some lawyers, fail to understand, is that Shakespeare was saying that lawyers, with all their faults -- and there are many -- are necessary if we are to have the system of "ordered liberty" that is essential for a fair and just society.^{4/}

This brings me back to the Rodney King verdict and the riots that followed. The King verdict is not the first, nor will it be the last, time that a jury does something wrong, unjust -- even bizarre -- in the eyes of the public. But what was unusual was the anger and the destruction that followed. Politicians are pointing fingers at each other and avoiding positive stands for fear of alienating this or that voting bloc. We have seen the tentative steps, the charges and countercharges, the withdrawals and the reassertions that the Great Society of President Lyndon Johnson is -- or is not -- responsible for the riots. Incidentally, it was on this campus that President Johnson announced the Great Society program in his 1964 commencement address and it was here that President Bush criticized the Great Society in his commencement address last year. Happily, no one has tried to blame the University of Michigan for the Los Angeles Riots!

As the dust settles over Los Angeles, the public is calling for solutions, not scapegoats. These solutions will not be easy, nor will they come from efforts to achieve partisan advantage. They will come from non-partisan efforts to use the best thinking of all parts of the political spectrum -- conservative, liberal and independent -- and of the diverse elements of our society. Here is where there is a great -- indeed a noble -- role for lawyers to play. At this great Law School, you have been trained to solve problems. You have also learned, I fondly hope, that with your professional license -- with your monopoly to serve the public -- comes some sense of professional obligation. So, in a sense this can be the best of times for lawyers. There is much work to do, if we are to remedy injustice, rebuild communities, restore trust, improve race relations and do the many other things that are needed to repair and renew our social compact --

^{4/}

Cf. Palko v. Connecticut, 302 U.S. 319 (1937).

to bridge the huge gap between what we say and what we do as a nation. Lawyers are needed for these tasks, for history teaches that there can be no free and just society without lawyers.

Just as Jack Cade and his followers wanted to do away with lawyers, the first step of any totalitarian regime is to kill, or at least stifle, lawyers, and to bend the legal system towards its bidding. Lawyers are dangerous people when they are true to the ideals of their profession. For then they believe in and serve such goals as freedom, justice, and a system in which the rights of the individual are protected against the tyranny of the mob and the excesses of autocratic or majoritarian rule. Therefore

It is no accident that the intellectual leaders of our Revolution and the drafters of our Constitution were mainly lawyers.

It is no accident that dictatorships -- whether of the right such as Hitler or Mussolini or of the left such as Communist China and the Soviet Union of Stalin -- have followed Shakespeare's line quite literally.

It is no accident that lawyers stood tall against the tyranny of the Stuart monarchs, epitomized by Sir Edward Coke's great statement that no man is above the law -- a principle that the Watergate prosecutors asserted and the Supreme Court sustained by holding that our President, like the Stuart kings, is also bound by the law.

And it is no accident that as the winds of freedom blow across China, Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union the need for lawyers and a fair legal system is recognized. Indeed, one of our greatest exports now are lawyers. American law firms are rushing to open offices in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Hundreds of American volunteer lawyers are helping these countries restructure their legal and their government systems and learn how to do business with the West.

So I say there is a paradox in the Vice President's question -- instead of having too many lawyers, we may have too few. There are challenging opportunities before us and much to do if we are ever to achieve our lofty ideal of "Equal Justice under Law" -- the ideal which is inscribed above the great doors of the Supreme Court -- but which we are far from meeting today.

Despite the work of the Legal Services Corporation, which the Reagan administration did its best to kill, and despite the massive efforts of the private bar, it is estimated that only 20 percent of our poor and disadvantaged citizens have access to justice to remedy their grievances. Regrettably, but understandably, when our citizens believe there is no justice for them, they feel alienated and shut out, and they are moved to act, like Jack Cade and his followers did and like the unhappy recent events in Los Angeles following the acquittal of the police officers charged with using excessive force against Rodney King.

Rioting and violence cannot be condoned, but as lawyers we need to understand something about their causes -- and we need to seek remedies. The King acquittal and many other things demonstrate that our legal system is far from perfect and that change is needed. We have a legal system that is truly in crisis. Many of the recommendations of the President's Council on Competitiveness are sound and should be adopted. Others should be seriously debated. But the report fails to address one of the most important issues of our society -- the pressing need that many of our citizens have for access to justice.

Courts throughout the country are underfunded and overworked. The drug problem is literally swamping the courts' ability to handle civil dockets. The lack of funds is so acute that our trial courts in the District of Columbia face the prospect of ending jury trials in August, three months before the end of the current fiscal year.

We like simplistic solutions, but I submit that it is no answer to arrest more people on drug charges, when we lack the court facilities to process them and the prisons to hold them.

Likewise, I submit, it is no answer to impose the death sentence for more and more crimes. I am personally opposed to the death sentence on both moral and practical grounds. There is no evidence whatsoever that it has ever stopped crime. The State of Michigan is to be applauded for continuing to be one of our states that have no death penalty.

Nor is it any answer to cut off habeas corpus review by the federal courts when statistics show that almost 50 percent of state death penalty cases are reversed because of constitutional error.

Yet there is a public clamor for these simplistic solutions. They are easier than attacking the social causes of crime, broken families, homelessness, inadequate education and lack of economic opportunity. They are less expensive than providing competent counsel for those accused of murder, than providing decent housing, good schools and job opportunities, than furnishing lawyers to help the poor get their rights -- less expensive, that is, until we consider the enormous cost of crime and urban riots which vent the frustration of those who feel left out -- riots that simply compound rather than solve the problems and that leave us anguished night after night as we watch the televised scenes from Los Angeles.

We are a litigious -- perhaps overlitigious -- society, but too many of our citizens remain shut off from the means to redress their grievances. That is why the American Bar Association has led the fight to improve the delivery and the availability of legal services to those who need them -- why it has fought to preserve and expand the Legal Services Corporation against the administration's effort to kill or hobble the Corporation -- why it has encouraged law firms and lawyers to do pro bono work -- why it supports prepaid legal insurance plans -- why it has a death penalty representation project to provide competent counsel for those faced with the death penalty -- why it supports full

funding for the courts and adequate compensation for our judges -- and why it supports efforts to reform our legal system and improve the administration of justice.

Few, if any, of us will ever be called on to be great champions of liberty -- to be heroes of the Bar like Sir Thomas More, Lord Coke, Abraham Lincoln, Clarence Darrow and Justice Thurgood Marshall who risked or even lost their lives in upholding justice.

But we need present day heroes -- lawyers who -- on either a full or a part time basis -- fight to uphold the rights of the individual, to protect the innocent, to see that no one is put to death without the fullest measure of due process, to represent and help the poor, the homeless, the disadvantaged, and the elderly get redress of their grievances, to oppose discrimination in all its ugly forms, to promote racial harmony, to help fledgling businesses and minority enterprises, and to work in neighborhood offices in the ghettos to advocate what needs to be done.

This work takes dedication, skill and the willingness to overcome or accept barriers.

One barrier is the large and unwarranted compensation difference between the public and the private sectors. There was no such difference when I graduated, and it was not a financial sacrifice to become a government lawyer or a professor. Indeed, the rewards for government service or law school teaching were often better, and more secure than private practice.

A second barrier -- one that unfortunately compounds the first -- is the high cost of law school and the resulting debt burden that much too often dictates career choice. My tuition was \$200 a year as an out-of-state student (in 1937 to 1940), as contrasted with more than \$17,000 now. This cost and debt is forcing too many of our best and brightest into private practice at the expense of government, academia, and public service.

Other barriers are the growing emphasis on the bottom line and specific requirements for billable hours. Happily, many firms and lawyers still believe there is more to being a lawyer than making money, and more lawyers and law firms are doing pro bono work than ever before. According to the latest information from the American Bar Association there are approximately 850 bar sponsored pro bono programs involving about 125,000 lawyers, and there are many more lawyers doing pro bono work on their own outside of these bar sponsored programs. Many large firms do pro bono work directly for organizations such as the American Civil Liberties Union, the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights under Law, the Women's Legal Defense Fund, the Legal Counsel for the Elderly, and many others. I am enormously proud that my own firm does a substantial amount of this work and has recently made a gift of \$500,000 to this Law School to support scholarships with one of the requirements being a commitment by the student to devote at least 10 percent of his or her professional life to pro bono, public service, or professional activities.

So, everything is not all gloom and doom. There are bright spots, but voluntary efforts can do only so much. That is why we must have an effective, fully funded Legal Services Corporation, why we must have public defender systems at state expense, why we must do something about the pay difference between the public and the private sectors, why we must find ways to help students who want careers in public service or public interest, and why we must increase pro bono services.

Another bright spot, and the most exciting change in the profession since my graduation, is the increasing numbers of women and minorities in our ranks. They bring a richness and a diversity heretofore lacking, but they are yet to achieve their full potential. Because of the length of time involved in coming up through the ranks, there are still too few minority and women partners in law firms, too few in leadership positions in the bar, and too few on our courts. But that too is changing -- perhaps not as fast as some of us would like, but it is changing -- particularly with the help of the American Bar

Association's Commission on Opportunities for Minorities in the Profession, and its Commission on Women in the Profession.

We hear much these days about the decline of professionalism, and the lack of civility in the bar. There are some problems that do need correction, but most lawyers are decent, trustworthy, ethical practitioners. An example of the problem, however, was a recent story in the Washington Post -- about events at the Harvard Law School -- which quoted a student as saying, "This is not a gentle place. A gentle lawyer is a bad lawyer."

I do not know whether the Harvard Law School is or is "not a gentle place." I do know and am proud that this school has not had the well publicized problems of Harvard. I also know from 52 years of experience that the young man is in for a great shock. Unlike the sports arena where nice guys are supposed to finish last, the law is still a place in which nice persons can and do finish first. Rude, angry, bumptious, or devious behavior is self defeating. Success with clients, courts, opponents and other colleagues at the bar depends upon courtesy, consideration, integrity, and a reputation for good professional work, not on bluster or braggadocio.

I could go on and on, but I must close with a few words of hope. You are entering a noble, if misunderstood, profession -- one that has stood strong against tyranny and for individual rights from the time of Magna Carta. Not all of you can be heroes, but you can, by the way you act, make a difference, and that difference can be vital -- just as alumni giving is vital to the life of this Law School.

These are exciting times -- and perhaps the best and the worst of times -- to be a lawyer. I hope these musings of mine -- from the perspective of half a century -- will tell you something of what it means to be a lawyer and the challenges ahead. You may take them as unabashed idealism -- and they are that. But there is another ideal -- the necessity of making a living. That living is easier to those who practice the idealism of our profession. I have had a fine and bully time myself. I wish you all success and happiness, and I charge you to

do your part to advance the lofty goals of our profession. Go with a passion for justice -- go with a dedication to work for the public good.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 6, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR MACK McLARTY

FROM: Howard Paster *HP*
SUBJECT: Dave McCurdy and Bill Ford

At the request of the White House, Chairman Ford has offered to Representative McCurdy:

- 1) The opportunity to be the first co-sponsor of the bill after the members of the Committee; and
- 2) The very valuable opportunity to be the first witness at the first hearing, appearing even before the Administration witnesses.

My judgment, confirmed by the Vice President, is that the Chairman has acted fairly at our behest.

In addition, we had hand delivered today a Presidential letter to Dave McCurdy taking special recognition of his extraordinary effort on this project.

*Eli - In response to
our recent visit.
Desk . Macf*