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HEARING

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON

LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES

UNITED STATES SENATE

ONE HUNDRED THIRD CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

SHELDON HACKNEY, OF PENNSYLVANIA, TO BE CHAIRPERSON OF THE
NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

JUNE 25, 1993

Printed for the use of the Committee on Labor and Human Resources



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C O N T E N T S

STATEMENTS

FRIDAY, JUNE 25, 1993

	Page
Shelby, Hon. Richard C., a U.S. Senator from the State of Alabama	1
Foglietta, Hon. Thomas M., a Representative in Congress from the State of Pennsylvania	3
Hackney, Sheldon, nominee for the position of Chairman, National Endowment for the Humanities	8

APPENDIX

Hackney, Sheldon, prepared statement	51
Biographical sketch of	56
Wellstone, Hon. Paul D., a U.S. Senator from the State of Minnesota, prepared statement (with attachment)	64
Blackwell, Hon. Lucien E., a Representative in Congress from the State of Pennsylvania, prepared statement	65
National Association of Scholars, Stephen H. Balch, president, prepared statement	66
Setting the record straight, by Eden Jacobowitz	70
Responses of Sheldon Hackney to questions asked by Senator Kassebaum	75
A message to the university community, by Alvin V. Shoemaker	77
Letter from Sondra Myers, cultural advisor to the Governor of Pennsylvania, in support of Sheldon Hackney, to Senator Harris Wofford, dated June 10, 1993	78
Letter from the Pennsylvania Congressional Delegation, in support of Sheldon Hackney, to Senator Edward M. Kennedy, dated June 16, 1993	79
Penn and Philadelphia: Common Ground, by Sheldon Hackney, report of	81
A Presidential Nomination? Forget It., by John C. Danforth, from the Washington Post	93
A Dependence on Trust and Civility, by Thomas Ehrlich	94
The Sheldon Hackney I Admire, by Mike Wallace, correspondent, CBS/60 Minutes, from the New York Times	94
Letters of support for the Sheldon Hackney nomination	95



NOMINATION

FRIDAY, JUNE 25, 1993

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES,
Washington, DC.

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:36 a.m., in room SD-430, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Senator Edward M. Kennedy (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Present: Senators Kennedy, Pell, Wofford, Kassebaum, Coats, and Hatch.

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR KENNEDY

The CHAIRMAN. We'll come to order.

At the outset of the hearing, I thought I would outline the way we intend to proceed, and that is first, to ask our good friends and colleagues, Senator Wofford and Congressman Foglietta, to make introductory comments.

Senator Heflin and Senator Shelby had intended to be here. As we all know, it was a long evening, and I know they are enthusiastic in their support, Mr. Hackney, but as you are well aware, we were in until the wee hours of the morning, and they asked me to extend their best wishes, and they will include their comments in the record itself.

Then, we'll hear whatever brief opening comments members of the committee wish to make, and then we'll hear from you.

[The prepared statements of Senators Heflin and Shelby follow.]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF SENATOR SHELBY

Mr. Chairman, it is with great pleasure that I introduce Dr. Francis Sheldon Hackne to this committee. I appreciate the opportunity to make this introduction, for I believe that Dr. Hackney is exceptionally qualified to serve as the Chairman of the National Endowment of the Humanities.

Dr. Hackney is a native Alabamian from one of the State's renowned and distinguished families. He received his bachelor's degree from Vanderbilt University in 1956. He spent the next 5 years serving his country in the U.S. Navy and went on to earn his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from Yale University. Subsequently, he continuously has advanced in an outstanding career in higher education.

It would be difficult, if not impossible because of time constraints, to talk about all of Dr. Hackney's accomplishments; however, I would like to highlight some of his achievements which illustrate his fitness to serve in this capacity.

He is a noted historian of the American South who has received numerous honors and awards for his publications. In 1969, he was the recipient of the Albert J. Beveridge award for the best book on American History.

Dr. Hackney has chaired and holds membership on a number of boards—the American Council of Education, the Educational Testing Service, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, the West Philadelphia Partnership, the Philadelphia Mayor's Commission on the 21st Century, the Afro-American His-

torical and Cultural Museum, and the Consortium on financing Higher Education to name a few of them.

In addition, he actively has participated in professional associations such as the Rockefeller Commission on the Humanities, the Committee on Rights of Historians of the American Historical Association, the Association for the Advancement of Mental health, the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational fund, the American Friends of Hebrew University, and the American Philosophical Society.

As the chief executive of the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. Hackney is responsible for all academic and administrative functions of its 12 schools, its medical center, and its more than 20,000 employees. The University has experienced a 347 percent growth in its endowment and a 300 percent increase in annual voluntary contributions under Dr. Hackney's leadership. Almost 4 years ago, the University launched a 5-year fundraising campaign with a goal of \$1 billion. This is the largest fundraising project undertaken by an Ivy League institution and the second largest by any American university.

Dr. Hackney obviously is a well-rounded individual with broad experiences. He is an intelligent and responsible historian and academician who possesses the credentials and skills needed to chair the National Endowment of the Humanities. It is increasingly difficult to find individuals as talented as Dr. Hackney who are willing to work and share their expertise as public servants. I am very happy that he is involved in this process, and I wholeheartedly express my strong support for Dr. Hackney's nomination.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Wofford, we are glad to have you here this morning and look forward to whatever comments you would like to make in introduction of Mr. Hackney.

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR WOFFORD

Senator WOFFORD. Mr. Chairman, with great enthusiasm, I introduce Sheldon Hackney to this committee. Sheldon may be a "son of the South," but he is an adopted son of Pennsylvania. We have seen him in action in Pennsylvania as the head of one of the great universities of our State and this country, not just for the past 12 weeks, but for the past 12 years, during which he has earned our respect, friendship, and support.

As you know, Mr. Chairman, in a previous life, I spent 12 years as a college president, and I know something of the challenges of heading a university, especially in a time of sharp debate in a diverse and changing society. We are all aware that there have been some controversies at the University of Pennsylvania this spring. But let me tell me from my own experience, hardly a season goes by without controversy on a college campus.

Most college presidents are charged with being too liberal by some and too conservative by others, too interventionist by some and too removed by others. That is the life of a college president. So if absence of controversy were the standard for confirmation, then no college president should apply.

In this regard, Mr. Chairman, I'd like to submit for the record our colleague Senator John Danforth's column from today's Washington Post.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be printed.

[The Washington Post article referred to appears in the appendix.]

Senator WOFFORD. In considering this nomination, we should look at Sheldon Hackney's extraordinary record of accomplishments at the University of Pennsylvania and as an administrator and student before that. In 12 years at Penn, Sheldon has forged much closer ties to the community. He has led in developing forms of community service. He has rebuilt the undergraduate curriculum

and enhanced the university's reputation as one of the leading research institutions in the world.

The chairman of Penn's board of trustees, the former chair of First Boston, Alan Schumacher, recently said: "Penn's accomplishments since Sheldon's arrival in February 1981 are without parallel in higher education. He has clearly been one of Penn's greatest chief executives."

Sondra Myers, who is Governor Casey's cultural adviser, wrote: "Dr. Hackney is not an idealogue; he is a pragmatic idealist, in the tradition of our Founding Fathers, who has a passionate commitment to learning and a profound knowledge of the importance of learning to the future."

I would ask also that the full text of Sondra Myers' letter be inserted in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be so included.

[The information referred to appears in the appendix.]

Senator WOFFORD. Finally, Mr. Chairman, let me close on a personal note. I have known Sheldon Hackney and Lucy Hackney for many years, and worked together with them on many fronts. Sheldon Hackney is thoughtful, quiet, gentle. But don't for 1 minute underestimate the strength and leadership that underlies these traits. He is steady, strong, and wise.

It is these characteristics, Mr. Chairman, along with this scholarship and experience, that will make Sheldon Hackney an outstanding chair of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

I commend him to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Congressman Foglietta has been a good personal friend of mine for many, many years and one of the outstanding members of the Congress. We are delighted to welcome you, Congressman, and appreciate your taking the time to join us.

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE THOMAS M. FOGLIETTA, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. FOGLIETTA. I thank you, Senator. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I thank you for the opportunity to speak to you on behalf of my good friend and adopted son of Philadelphia, Dr. Sheldon Hackney.

Until last year, I represented the University of Pennsylvania and the diverse community around it. Dr. Hackney entered the presidency of the university in 1981, the same year I entered Congress. Over the last 12 years, we have worked together on many complicated projects and contentious issues.

Throughout the years, in every instance, Sheldon Hackney dealt with these issues with grace, with sensitivity, with commitment, with creativity and with deep understanding.

As my friend Harris Wofford testified from first-hand experience, presiding over a university is a difficult job. Funding crises never seem to end. Just like managing a big cities, problems of crime, homelessness, drugs, health care and housing dominate the daily agenda. Civil disobedience is commonplace. Protests and demonstrations are a daily occurrence.

Throughout it all, for 12 years, Sheldon Hackney surmounted these pressures and led the University of Pennsylvania to bigger

and better things. When Sheldon Hackney came to the University of Pennsylvania, he encountered a historically contentious relationship between the university community and the surrounding neighborhoods. Dr. Hackney brought the diverse peoples together and forged a healthy relationship.

Dr. Hackney led the University of Pennsylvania's drive to increase its endowment by 347 percent. At the same time, voluntary contributions increased by 300 percent. The university's 5-year "Campaign for Penn" initiated by Dr. Hackney in 1989 is on track to raise \$1 billion, making it the second-largest campaign ever for an American university.

Embattled by crime on campus, Sheldon Hackney has led a strong war against crime, and the university is now a much safer place because of his efforts.

I also know Sheldon Hackney to be a champion of the First Amendment, for all students, for all groups, for every issue. You don't have to take my word for that. Just walk through the campus on any given school day, as I have done dozens of times. You will see the leafletting, you'll hear the bullhorns that make the Penn campus a living, breathing testament to the First Amendment.

In Philadelphia, we regard Dr. Hackney as one of the city's greatest assets—an asset we hate to lose. My colleagues in the Pennsylvania Congressional Delegation join me in a letter supporting Dr. Hackney's nomination. They all know Dr. Hackney as a strong leader at one of our State's most prestigious universities. And may I submit that letter for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be included.

[The letter referred to appears in the appendix.]

Mr. FOGLETTA. Sheldon Hackney is a champion of ideas, a steward of diverse thought. I am proud to be part of this prestigious panel introducing Sheldon Hackney to you, a man uniquely qualified to lead the National Endowment for the Humanities.

I thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Congressman. We are delighted to have you join us, and if you wish to remain—we know you have other responsibilities, and Senator Wofford, obviously, we welcome your participation.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Hackney, we welcome you. You were born in the South and lived for many years in Pennsylvania, but we too in Massachusetts take a certain pride in your appointment. I know that you have the good sense and judgment to spend time in Vineyard Haven, on Martha's Vineyard.

Mr. HACKNEY. Yes. I wish I were there now.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, later, over the weekend, maybe—we won't make it too warm for you in here. [Laughter.]

But you have many, many friends up there, some of whom are here—Art Buchwald and Rose Styron, and others—and they are very dear and valued friends of yours as well as mine.

I want to welcome Dr. Hackney to the committee this morning and commend him on his nomination to be Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

I am pleased to see so many members of the Hackney family here today. We welcome each of you, and I'll ask Dr. Hackney to introduce you after the comments of members of the committee.

The Endowment is an important Federal agency that provides support for advanced scholarly research. It plays an effective role in encouraging academic work in the humanities.

Dr. Hackney's remarkable career and lifelong commitment to public service give him outstanding professional qualifications for this position. His integrity, vision, and sense of purpose, and his strong standing in the academic community demonstrate his extraordinary leadership qualities that will be a great asset to the Endowment.

Few in the academic community have such a record of accomplishment and range of achievement. Dr. Hackney is an historian of the first rank. His scholarship has been honored with the Southern Historical Association's Prize for Best Work in Southern History and the Albert Beveridge Prize in American History. He has served with great distinction as the Provost of Princeton University, the President of Tulane University, and now President of the University of Pennsylvania.

The humanities along with the sciences are the intellectual foundation of our history and our culture. Universities are at the cutting edge of research and debate in this field, and Dr. Hackney has been deeply involved in these issues. He has often spoken of the importance of including all points of view in the humanities. Universities provide a forum for these disciplines, and outreach brings greater understanding into neighborhoods and communities across the country. The Nation as a whole will benefit from Dr. Hackney's ability and leadership in this process of bringing people together and understanding ourselves more clearly.

Let me also say that Dr. Hackney has demonstrated remarkable restraint in recent months while critics have unfairly debated his role in a recent controversy at the University of Pennsylvania. He was unwilling to intervene in established university procedures for resolving conflicts on the campus. It might have been expedient for him to intervene, but he was concerned that to do so would set an unfortunate precedent for future interference in the university's legitimate procedures. Now that the controversy has been settled, he has done the right thing again, by directing a comprehensive review of these procedures to see that they meet the needs of the students and the university.

Dr. Hackney took a principled stand and demonstrated his strong character in this controversy. He refused to bend to one side or the other and deserves credit for doing so. He is a man of outstanding achievement and integrity, whose commitment to free speech and respect for diversity is unquestioned.

Finally, Dr. Hackney's eminence as an historian will bring needed perspective and prestige for the Endowment. He has a clear sense of the Nation's past and an equally clear vision of its future. President Clinton has made an excellent choice in Dr. Hackney to head this agency, and I look forward to working with him in the years ahead.

Senator Kassebaum.

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR KASSEBAUM

Senator KASSEBAUM. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And welcome, Dr. Hackney.

Mr. HACKNEY. Thank you. It's good to be here.

Senator KASSEBAUM. You bring to this position certainly not only the qualifications of a distinguished scholar, but the head of two very prestigious universities. And you, perhaps better than anyone, know the importance of the humanities. The studies of history and philosophy and literature by their very nature invite debate, and an examination of differing points of view. You have been challenged by that, of course, many times.

I think that the chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities must not only bring the scholarly qualifications to hold the position, but also a firmness of purpose and a credibility that is necessary to ensure strong public support and confidence in the National Endowment for the Humanities. It is a role that combines a number of talents, and I think that this morning will be an excellent opportunity for you to present your thoughts on this, and I look forward to hearing them and welcome you here.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Kassebaum.

Senator Hatch.

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR HATCH

Senator HATCH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for holding this hearing.

Dr. Hackney, we welcome you to the committee. We appreciate having you here. I certainly want to welcome you, and I want to acknowledge and mention that we are all aware of your distinguished record of scholarship and studies and high understanding of history, and I want to congratulate you on the fine record that you have.

There are, however, concerns that have been raised—you have been a very controversial nominee—with regard to your record, and these concerns go to the heart of what we might expect in the next number of years if you become Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

The purpose of this hearing is to raise some of those concerns that have been raised and to permit you to explain or give reasons for whatever has raised those concerns. I will have several questions for you at the appropriate time, and I just want to say I look forward to the hearing and I look forward to becoming better acquainted. I appreciated the meeting we had in my office. I was impressed then, and I have been impressed since as I have studied your record. But I think this is a good time to get some of these questions behind us and see just where we go from here. And I'll try to do a good job of getting those aired, along with others here on the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. You always do a good job, Senator.

Senator HATCH. I'll do my modest job. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Coats.

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR COATS

Senator COATS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Dr. Hackney, I also welcome you here and echo my colleagues' comments relative to your impressive academic background and

record, and also indicate, as you and I discussed during your visit, that I think it is important that we clarify a number of issues that have been publicly aired and discussed and talked about. You certainly have the opportunity here today to air your side of a number of these questions. It is important for us to understand those answers.

Mr. Chairman, the National Endowment for the Humanities holds an important place in American life. Its goal is to promote and celebrate those things which humanize and elevate our lives and our culture.

The Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities has two essential duties, in my opinion. The first is to value quality in thought and expression, and the second is to be scrupulously, passionately balanced and fair.

By the nature of the humanities, many of its divisions are deep, and its arguments are bitter. But this is precisely the reason our Government must be even-handed in the distribution of funds and grants that come out of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

This fairness and balance, we have found, is not easy. It is difficult because within the academic community, there is a strong pull—at least, today there is—toward political correctness. An NEH chairman needs to actively fight that pressure, sometimes, I think, just to stay neutral.

The former Chairman of the NEH, Lynne Cheney who, in my opinion, set a very high standard at this job, wrote to me, and I would like to quote part of that letter: "Balance is not just a passive task. You actually need to fight against a swift current of political correctness. If you aren't anchored by a firm belief in fairness, you will quickly drift into the orthodoxy of the day, even with the best of intentions."

Now, that current has carried many respected institutions of learning to places that I don't think they ought to be. We have seen a number of universities adopt the view in which diversity is made an enemy of dissent. They sometimes show a thin and partial tolerance that protects only those who share what many view as very liberal values. But we know, or at least we should know, that there are no victories for diversity that can be bought by the loss of freedom, and we know that the humanities wither and die in an environment of intimidation and discrimination.

So I trust that we can address a number of questions that go to these issues and that we can shed some light on some of the issues that have been publicly raised regarding yourself, Dr. Hackney, and particularly your involvement in matters as president of the University of Pennsylvania. I welcome that opportunity, and I know you welcome that opportunity.

Mr. HACKNEY. I do indeed.

Senator COATS. So we look forward to pursuing that this morning.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Coats.

We have been joined by Senator Pell who, especially, in terms of the development of the National Foundation for the Arts and the Humanities, has certainly had more to do with these two institu-

tions than any other member of the Congress or the Senate or the administration.

We welcome his comments at this time.

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR PELL

Senator PELL. Thank you very much indeed, Mr. Chairman. I would say that I share the kudos with Jack Javits, who really took a tremendously leading role in this regard.

I believe President Clinton has made a great decision in nominating you, Dr. Hackney, to chair one of the finest agencies of our Federal Government. As you know, we have had a long-time interest in the efforts of our Government to support and encourage the humanities. And one of the authors of the earlier legislation which established the endowments 28 years ago now, I welcome this opportunity to be with you.

My own view is that the chairmanship of the humanities endowment is without a doubt the most powerful position in the humanities in the United States. So you have to have a real ability, which I believe you have, to lead and to inspire. You are man of great stature and intelligence, and will be an effective chairman.

I congratulate you on your work at two major universities, Tulane and the University of Pennsylvania, and prior to that as provost and professor at Princeton University.

I regret the recent flurry of press about two incidents on the Penn campus, as it skewed what was clearly an enormously successful 12-year presidency there, and I congratulate you for Penn's recent success as one of the beneficiaries of Walter Annenberg's largess. These incidents have been blown out of proportion and have generated needless controversy about the nomination.

So our task today is to establish the fact that Dr. Hackney can and will do the grand job for which he is being nominated, and I will reserve any further comments for later.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Pell.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Hackney, would you introduce the members of your family, please; and maybe they would be good enough to stand?

Mr. HACKNEY. I would be very pleased to. My wife, Lucy Durr Hackney; my son, Fain Hackney, a Philadelphia lawyer; my daughter, Elizabeth McBride, a teacher like her father, from Connecticut, and her sister-in-law, Shivonne McBride; and Ann Ryan, from Harrisburg, PA, my sister-in-law.

The CHAIRMAN. I am familiar with the trouble remembering names in a large family. [Laughter.] We welcome all of you, and we'd be delighted to hear from you at this time.

STATEMENT OF SHELDON HACKNEY, NOMINEE FOR THE POSITION OF CHAIRMAN, NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

Mr. HACKNEY. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I am pleased to be here to talk about a great range of things and about the National Endowment for the Humanities. If I may, I would like to start by telling you something about myself, some-

thing about what I have done in my career, and then something about how I see the National Endowment for the Humanities.

At first glance, my life really does not appear to be one that was ever in need of transformation. Yet I can bear personal witness to the sort of personal transformation that I believe the humanities have the power to accomplish.

I was born and raised in Birmingham, AL, the third son of a thoroughly Methodist family that eventually included five sons, the offspring of a marriage that is now in its 64th year.

My childhood was spent during the Great Depression and World War II, and I was acutely aware that my world was one of scarcity and vulnerability. Nevertheless, my childhood was actually unproblematic, at least if you don't count my being continuously terrorized by my older brothers.

My father was a newspaperman before the war. As that was not the era of the journalist as hero, and as his family was large, when he returned from the Navy, he set himself up in business buying and reselling war surplus material. His business evolved, and he eventually did very well.

As I went through public school in Birmingham, like most children of middle-income families, I could imagine for myself various futures, each of them honorable and productive, but I never imagined the life that I have actually had. That life was opened up to me in part because of two superb history teachers at Ramsay High School in Birmingham, Mary McPhaul and Ellen Callen, and in part because I loved to read.

My mother read to us a lot when we were young, and when I was a bit older, I remember listening wondrously to her practicing the dramatic book readings that she did for literary clubs around the city, legitimate theater not having a very lively presence in Birmingham then.

Although reading was a bit of magic for me, I was thoroughly imprisoned in the myth that real boys did not work very hard in school, and real men were men of action rather than thought.

The major reason, however, that the world was saved from having yet another lawyer was my older brother, Fain, whom I worshipped. He was charismatic and multitalented and very imaginative, so that he was always the leader in the neighborhood and the one who would organize our play, not only the standard games like "kick the can" and "hide and seek," but elaborate war games and a gam we called "town," in which everyone had a role selling something, and Fain was always the banker because he could draw so well and make beautiful dollar bills. My other older brother, Morris, always got the lemonade concession and ended up with all the money that Fain had issued from the Bank.

Fain was a young man of grandiose projects, usually too grand ever to finish, but always exciting enough to draw in everyone else. Despite all his talent, he had an uneven academic record, reflecting his enthusiasms and his lack of focus, but he had a great time and made all those around him have a great time also. He went off to the University of Alabama where, in those days, parties were known to occur. He had a wonderful time during his freshman year, and his abysmal grades showed it.

Something happened to him in that following summer, and I really do not know what the transforming event was in his case. But he became a different person. He started reading books that were not required for school. He began to listen to classical music and to write poetry and to talk about serious subjects.

He transferred then to Birmingham Southern College and started to work at his courses. I was absolutely fascinated. Part of his plan for remaking his life was to become a Navy pilot, which he did. When I went off to Vanderbilt on a Naval ROTC scholarship, he was on the West Coast and then in Japan, flying amphibious patrol planes.

Letters from him were not only reports of adventures in exotic places, but accounts of what he was reading and thinking, and of course, guilt-producing questions about my intellectual life which, even at Vanderbilt, could be as sparse as one wanted it to be.

It was at about this time, because of Fain's example, if not his specific recommendation, that I was captured by the novels of William Faulkner, Ernest Hemingway, and especially Thomas Wolfe. I am almost embarrassed to remember how much I identified with Eugene Gant, a young southerner coming of age by trying to read his way through the Harvard library.

Vanderbilt itself was saturated then, and perhaps now, with the tradition of the Fugitive poets from the 1920's and the Agrarians, and I studied them with great appreciation. Although the Agrarians had taken their stand 20 years before, in very different times, and had since then taken very diverse political paths, the big questions that they raised—questions about what is the good life, and what is the value of tradition, and what is the function of Government, and what are the perils of modernity—were common and lively topics of debate among my friends.

We also talked, of course, about race relations, an omnipresent concern of southerners, black and white, that was intensified by the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in the Brown case that put an explanation mark in the middle of my colleague years.

For reasons that I find difficult to explain, but that probably have to do with my religious training, I had broken away from southern white orthodoxy even before going to college and had concluded that racial segregation was wrong.

As a historian, I have continued my interest in race because it is a major factor in American history. As an individual, I have continued my commitment to racial equality because I believe it is right and because I believe that group relationships are one of the major unresolved questions on the domestic scene.

I was devastated by the death of my brother in a military plane crash in Japan in 1954 during the summer after my sophomore year. He had meant so many things to me that it was not until years later that I realized that his most important gift to me was to give me permission to use my mind in serious ways, to risk pursuing a subject that I enjoyed, to spend my life in pursuit of education for myself and for others. Watching him change, and being thereby lured into the pleasures of thought as a way of enhancing experience, transformed my life and gave it purpose.

After 3 years on a destroy and 2 years teaching weapons at the United States Naval Academy in Annapolis, I went to Yale to study

under C. Vann Woodward, the leading historian of the South and the man who became the most important influence on my career as a historian and on my devotion to academic freedom, intellectual honesty, free speech, and the obligations of collegiality.

I had been attracted to Woodward not only by his reinterpretation of the history of the South from Reconstruction to World War I, but by his very subtle exploration in the essays collected in *The Burden of Southern History*, of what it means to be a southerner and what the history of the South means to the Nation and to the world.

After Yale, I joined the faculty at Princeton, where I worked away at becoming the best teacher and scholar I could possibly be, while raising a family and doing the sort of committee assignments and quasi-administrative tasks that faculty are called upon to do.

My career as a historian in fact was diverted because I kept saying yes to such requests. When William G. Bowen became president of Princeton in 1972, he invited me to become his provost. The slippery slope turned into a water chute. I became president of Tulane University in 1975 and of the University of Pennsylvania in 1981. This confirms the truth of the aphorism that life is what happens to you when you are planning something else.

I believe that my 20 years of major responsibility in universities has prepared me to lead the National Endowment for the Humanities. For the past generation, universities have provided tough environments. University presidents operate in a sea of powerful and conflicting currents. To succeed, one must have a very clear sense of strategic direction, a fundamental commitment to the core values of the university, the strength to persevere through contentious times, and the ability to gain and keep the support of a variety of constituencies. I have not only survived in that environment; I have prospered, and my institutions have thrived.

Among the values that I hold dear is a belief that a university ought to be open to all points of view, even if some of those views expressed are personally abhorrent. I take some pride in having protected the right to speak of such diverse controversial figures from William Shockley, when I was at Princeton, to Louis Farrakhan, when I was at Penn. The university really should belong to all of its members, but not be the exclusive domain of any particular person, group, or point of view.

During my 12½ years at Penn, I have made the undergraduate experience my highest priority. Penn has revamped the general education components of the curriculum in each of its four undergraduate schools, provided a livelier sense of community through the creation of freshman houses within the residential system, added a reading project that asks freshmen to read a common book and then to discuss that book in seminars during orientation week and through the first year, revised our advising system, revitalized the freshman seminar program, and drawn senior faculty into the teaching of introductory courses.

I have increased the diversity of the Penn student body and worked hard to sustain an inclusive and supportive atmosphere on campus, to provide a campus in which everyone has a very strong sense of belonging and in which our animated debates are carried out with civility.

I have also created a new sense of partnership with the school system of the city of Philadelphia, and a national model program of volunteerism that I institutionalized a year ago by establishing the Center of Community Partnerships to stimulate and coordinate the involvement of faculty, staff and students in off-campus service activities.

Universities exist, I think, to create new knowledge and to preserve and communicate knowledge. The National Endowment for the Humanities, as a sort of university without walls, through its research, education and public programs, is engaged in the same effort. I am dedicated to the proposition that we can improve the human condition through knowledge, that our hope for tomorrow in this troubled world depends on the sort of understanding that can come through learning.

I have a great deal of respect for the National Endowment for the Humanities. It is the single most important institution in American life promoting the humanities, and it has a long record of accomplishment. I believe there are things that can be done to extend and broaden the impact of the National Endowment for the Humanities as it fulfills its statutory task of stimulating the humanities.

I like to think of the humanities as human beings recording and thinking about human experience and the human condition, preserving the best of the past, and deriving new insights in the present. One of the things that the National Endowment for the Humanities can do is to conduct a national conversation around those very big perennial questions: What is the meaning of life, what is a just society, what is the nature of duty, and so on. In this big conversation, it is not the function of NEH to provide answers but to ensure that there is a discussion to create a forum in which all voices can be heard.

Because they are not just for the few but for everyone, no single approach to the National Endowment for the Humanities mandate is adequate. There is a need for balance among research aimed at creating new knowledge, educational programs to ensure that the humanities are creatively and invitingly represented in the curricula of our schools and colleges, and public programs to draw everyone into the big conversation. Those three activities should be related to each other and should be mutually supportive.

I think the country has never needed the humanities more than now. We not only face the challenges of a new geopolitical situation and the problems of adjusting to economic competition in a new global marketplace, but we face a crisis of values at home. What is happening to the family and community? Who are we as a Nation, and where are we going? What holds us together as a Nation, and what do citizens owe to each other? What is the relationship of the individual to the group in a society whose political order is based upon individual rights and in which group membership is still a powerful social influence?

Even more importantly, the humanities have the capacity to deepen and to extend to new dimensions the meaning of life for each and every one of us. They have the capacity to transform individual lives, not necessarily in the external circumstances of those lives, but in their internal meaning.

Every human experience is enhanced by higher levels of knowledge. When I listen to a piece of music, I may like it and think it beautiful; but the person who knows the historical context of its composition and understands what the composer was trying to accomplish technically and can compare the composition and even the performance to others will get infinitely more out of that experience than I will. That is why I enjoy talking about common experiences with people who will see it through a different lens. The task of the NEH is to enrich the conversation and to bring more people into it.

The premise of my approach to the tasks of the National Endowment for the Humanities is simple but profound. The more you know, the more you hear and see and feel. Knowledge extends and intensifies experience. The more you know, the more you can know. Knowledge provides a framework into which experience and knowledge and more knowledge can cling to and fit into. The more you know, the more meaningful life is. I think that can be the gift of the National Endowment for the Humanities to the American people.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Hackney and biographical sketch appear in the appendix.]

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. That was an enormously creative and insightful comment for the committee.

I was following your statement, and appreciated your observation about how we can listen to a piece of music and like it, "but the person who knows the historical context of its composition and understands what the composer was trying to accomplish technically and can compare the composition and the performance to others will get infinitely more out of the experience than I will." I remember talking with Shelby Foote about the Civil War, and he said that when you are writing that history, you ought to visit those battlegrounds on the anniversary days that those battles were fought so that you could see and hear the birds, look at the trees and feel the atmosphere of those situations. Your comments about music echo his thoughts about the Civil War.

Before getting into a discussion of your views on the National Endowment for the Humanities and what you think are its current strengths and also areas where it can be strengthened, I want to give you the opportunity to relate to the committee, and therefore, really to the Senate and our colleagues, the two incidents which have been the subject of a good deal of commentary in recent months, and your own thinking at the time about how to approach them. Perhaps you could share with us a bit of your own view, with the benefit of hindsight, about whether you would have handled those the same way and what you may have learned from those experiences. I think it is important for you to have the opportunity to describe these events, and we look forward to hearing from you on that.

Mr. HACKNEY. I'd be glad to, Senator Kennedy. This has been a long and very painful spring for the University of Pennsylvania and for me and for the students who were caught up in the Eden Jacobowitz case. For Eden himself, I believe it was a painful experience, and for the young women who were involved, who were the

complainants in that case, it cannot have been a pleasant experience, and it must have affected their academic work as well, on both sides.

So I have learned some things from this experience and would love to share a bit of that with the committee. Perhaps I could say something about the facts for those here who may not have read all of the facts.

This was an incident that occurred in January in which a group of sorority women were going to celebrate the founding of their sorority, and they do that in a ritualistic way, by singing a song and doing a little dance. They went outside to do that and were apparently making a good deal of noise in the singing of that song, disturbing some students in the dormitory outside of which they were standing.

A group of students began shouting very ugly things at them. There is no question that racial slurs were hurled at them. They were I think justifiably angry about that; went up and tried to identify the students who were hurling those epithets, those hateful epithets. The only student who would admit to saying anything was Eden Jacobowitz, who said that he had used the term, "water buffalo," and had yelled at the sorority sisters who were singing, "If you want to have a party, there is a zoo nearby." There in fact is a zoo within about a mile of the university.

I don't want to get into a psychoanalysis of where the term "water buffalo" came from, but it has become a case of some renown. We do have at the University of Pennsylvania—

The CHAIRMAN. Excuse me. How is that term used here? I think we've got to refer to those particular words.

Mr. HACKNEY. Yes. Eden Jacobowitz is an Israeli who was raised in Israel, and there is a Hebrew term, "behayma," which is frequently used among people; it is a mild reproach, but used quite commonly. It sort of means, "Oh, you rude person." And this was, so their theory goes, sort of a subconscious translation of that very common term in Hebrew to English. There is no other explanation that one can think of.

There are some things to realize here that are difficult to get in the press accounts. One is that the student judicial system at Penn is set up to be independent of me; I am not involved in it, nor is the provost. I think that is an error and one of the things that needs to be corrected next year, when a faculty-student committee goes back to review the procedures and to reform them. I think there should be a way for senior officials of the university to become more involved earlier in such cases. But in the current circumstances, it was not.

We also have a racial harassment policy that is extremely narrowly focused. It is meant to say to students you may say anything you want, you may express any opinion you want, you may say even terrible things, but you must not, you should not, use racial slurs in face-to-face confrontations with other people in a way that is intended only to hurt, only to do damage. This is really tantamount to assault, if you will, where there is no intention of furthering the discussion, but simply to hurt. I have learned something about that as well, and I'll come back to that later.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this a face-to-face confrontation?

Mr. HACKNEY. No. I think this was a misapplication of that policy in the circumstances, and I think a great mistake to try to pursue it, for several reasons. One, it was not really a face-to-face encounter. The other is a matter in equity, if you will. Eden Jacobowitz was only one of a group of people engaged in this activity, and maybe the least culpable one, and there is a matter of sort of fairness in pursuing him and not others. But the judicial inquiry officer only knew about him and decided that it was a case of sufficient seriousness that it ought to be heard by a faculty-student panel. So charges were brought after an investigation, and at that point the procedure was off, and I was not in a position to intervene although I was urged to do so throughout the spring. I think it would have been perhaps better for me to have intervened in an extraordinary way, but it would have thrown the university into turmoil, and it would have undermined the whole judicial system, and would have been a terrible thing, I think, for the university. So I did not do that, and I think that was still the correct decision.

Eventually, this became a matter of national note. There was a great deal of publicity. Our system also allows the respondent in such student judicial proceedings to talk, to reveal anything he or she wishes, but it holds other members of the university community to respect for the confidentiality of the proceedings, that is, I and the complainants in this case really were not allowed to speak.

The complainants eventually decided that they could never get their point of view out unless they withdrew the complaint, which they eventually did in May and made a statement about their point of view. I think they did not become convinced of Eden Jacobowitz' innocence; they simply wanted to get the case over with. It was a very painful vent for them, and for everyone, and for Eden Jacobowitz as well.

So the case is over, and we are now trying to learn what we can from it. One of the things that I come away with is the fact that although I believe civility is extremely important on the campus, and although I think we ought to have a statement of standards, if you will, a policy, that tells students that we expect them to behave with some civility with regard to other people on the campus and not use racial slurs, I believe it is a mistake to try to enforce that with punishments that are arrived at through some adversarial student judicial process. It just doesn't work very well and ought not to be tried.

I have appointed a commission of people from inside and outside the university—faculty members, some trustees, and distinguished individuals from outside the university—whose task it will be next year to engage the entire conversation in a discussion about all the things that we do to create a campus atmosphere that will support free inquiry. One of the things that that commission will look at is the racial harassment policy, but they will be looking at other things as well.

There will also be a faculty-student committee that will look at the procedures themselves to see what can be done to make sure they operate better than they did this spring. This is justice delayed is justice denied. It should not take so long to get a disciplinary case before a panel and have it disposed of.

My own sense through the spring was that if the faculty-student panel could have heard the case, they would have reached the right decision about it, and it would have been less painful for everyone involved.

The CHAIRMAN. And if I could just ask you to relate the other incident involving the publication.

Mr. HACKNEY. Yes, the newspaper. In the middle of April, on a Thursday just before the last week of classes, a group of black students, having been increasingly antagonized from their point of view by the student newspaper throughout the year, thinking that the student newspaper was not only insensitive in the way it handled matters of interest to African American students, but also having no black reporters on the staff and seeming not to care much about the black point of view, confiscated an entire edition of The Daily Pennsylvanian one morning. That was a very large and contentious crisis at the university.

There are several things that are being repeated in the press that simply are not true. One is that I did not react strongly on that occasion and did not condemn the confiscation—but I did. I did, on the day on which we were going through the crisis, when feelings were very high, issue a statement in which I said that free speech and diversity seemed to be in conflict. Now, let me emphasize the word "seem." Then I go on to say in that statement that there can be no doubt that free speech is the paramount virtue of the university; it is the core value of the university. And everything that I have said through my career in fact emphasizes that. I believe that very strongly.

I have used every forum at my command since that time to repeat my conviction that the confiscation of newspapers is wrong. I reprinted the university policy that I had promulgated 4 years earlier that it was a violation of university policy to confiscate newspapers. It is also true that that was a violation of our open expression guidelines. The open expression committee issued an advisory opinion earlier the next week or soon thereafter, saying that the confiscation of newspapers was a violation of the open expression guidelines.

It has also been suggested that the students who were involved in that are being let off, that the university does not think it is serious enough to pursue. That is just a misperception. Those students involved will face disciplinary procedures when they return to campus in the fall.

The CHAIRMAN. Were their transcripts delayed?

Mr. HACKNEY. There was one student who was a senior, and his transcript has been held pending his satisfaction of this disciplinary issue.

The CHAIRMAN. We in the Senate are often asked to intervene in legal proceedings when it appears that an injustice may have been done. We generally decline to do so because we recognize the importance of allowing the legal proceedings to take their course, and then when they are concluded, we in the Senate can review those proceedings to see if reforms are appropriate. So this is what the Senators do, and it appears to me that is exactly what you did at the university.

Mr. HACKNEY. Indeed.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Kassebaum.

Senator KASSEBAUM. Thank you.

Dr. Hackney, I have heard many confirmation statements, and I would just like to say I don't know that I have ever heard one that was more beautifully written, and obviously by quite a fine writer.

Mr. HACKNEY. Thank you very much. It is from the heart, Senator.

Senator KASSEBAUM. Well, I think that was very evident.

Also, as you know, and I think in our conversations, I said that unfortunately, there has been much press that has preceded you, and I think that there will be tough questions that we have to ask because they will come on the Senate floor if not asked here, and I think it is only fair that you have the opportunity to respond.

This morning, the Wall Street Journal editorial page stated that the question that is before this committee is "whether someone who has compiled a record of appeasement in line with the prevailing political winds should sit at the helm of the National Endowment for the Humanities, disbursing large sums of taxpayer money in the form of grants."

Do you believe your record is one of appeasement in line with the prevailing political winds?

Mr. HACKNEY. Absolutely not. I think throughout my career, from the very beginning, I have been devoted to free speech on campus—open inquiry, I would say would be a better term for it—because I refer here not only to allowing controversial speakers to speak, but indeed, making sure the campus was open to all points of view in the free forum that is there.

But I have also been very concerned about the ethics of teaching, if you will—that is, teachers, I believe, who are covering sensitive subjects should make sure that alternative points of view are presented to the students so the students can make up their own minds. That is certainly the way I teach, and in a statement of standards that I helped to draft for the American Historical Association, that was a feature as well.

So I have held this as a core value for myself throughout my career. I believe it is the core value for universities in general, and I am absolutely devoted to it. I have protected the rights of speakers with whom I do not agree on the left and do not agree on the right. I think that is the obligation of a university president. The chairman of NEH I think has a similar obligation to make sure that the NEH is open to all voices, that people from different points of view can apply for grants and if their grants are meritorious—that is, if they are excellent—they should be able to get grants from the NEH.

As I said, the NEH should not have a social agenda. It should be very concerned about stimulating the conversation and making sure the conversation takes place. But it is not a social laboratory.

Senator KASSEBAUM. When we visited, I asked you, because I knew you felt quite passionate about First Amendment rights and freedom of speech, if as the chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, you were faced with a recommendation, actually, that came to you that was perhaps an obviously questionable poem, presentation, would you believe that free speech prevailed over a concern for how taxpayer dollars were being spent?

Mr. HACKNEY. That's a very good question and a very tough one, I must say. I believe the first line of defense, if you will, is the integrity of the review process itself. That is, one must make sure at the NEH that we have very good people on the merit review panels, and those people should include, I think, not only scholars and professionals in the field, but people who are interested in the humanities who are not professionals at it. That merit review should be very vigorous. The staff of the National Endowment for the Humanities also, being professionals, adds their advice that comes forward to the National Council, also a sterling body, if you will, of people in the field who can provide their advice.

But in the end, it is the chairman who makes the decision. And I realize that using taxpayer money is a very serious matter, and I will take that responsibility very seriously, and I am prepared to consider the advice that comes to me but make the appropriate decision.

Senator KASSEBAUM. I guess I have to preface this next question with perhaps my own thoughts, but I feel, frankly, that way too much energy and frequently talent is drained off in worrying about political correctness. You have been quoted in the past as saying that the impact of political correctness on American university campuses is "greatly exaggerated."

Mr. HACKNEY. Yes.

Senator KASSEBAUM. And I can only say I hope so. Do you believe that political correctness contributes to the free exchange of ideas and tolerance of different points of view in American academia today?

Mr. HACKNEY. I believe, Senator, that political correctness is present on campuses, and it can be a problem. And it would be a serious problem if it were to capture a campus, if it were to become the orthodoxy, shutting out other points of view. There are various forms of political correctness; it means different things to different people. It began, ironically enough, as a term of self-derision used by people who are politically correct about themselves, and then it was picked up as a general term.

But I think in general one can think of it as a term that refers to being overly solicitous of the rights of minority groups and of fashionable and trendy concerns in the present. I think that is one form that could be quite worrisome because you want to have a very balanced and fair approach to things on the campus.

The other form I frankly worry about a bit more is that there is an intellectual form of political correctness that I think is a serious enough intellectual trend so that it should be represented on the campus. I am thinking here of deconstructionism and poststructuralism, a rather radical form of relativism, if you will, with the notion that every thought is a political thought and that every statement is a political statement, so there can be no objective test for truth.

I myself recognize that relativism exists. We are all affected by who we are and where we come from and our value system, but that is not to say that there are not tests for truth that should be applied. Some answers are always better than others, and if you use the test of truth that scholars learn, you will get better an-

swers than if you simply say this is a political matter and you ought to live out your politics.

So I think the political correctness is on campuses; it probably ought to be there in the sense that it needs to be debated. And what better place to debate the ideas in political correctness than on a college campus?

It is also worth university presidents being very clear that the campus must remain open and not captured by any particular point of view.

Senator KASSEBAUM. I am only smiling, Dr. Hackney, because I couldn't help but think as you were talking about this how I am grateful we don't get into this on the Senate floor. We'd still be on the budget if that were the case. [Laughter.]

I have other questions, but would just ask one more before I yield my time. I was some years ago on the Kansas Council of Humanities, and I am a strong supporter of the State's role in the humanities effort. In expanding access for the humanities, I would just like to hear your thoughts on what you see the role of the States in relation to the council here.

Mr. HACKNEY. I think the State humanities councils are a very important element in the American system for stimulating the humanities. I have not yet reached a firm and fast opinion about how best to enhance the relationship between the NEH and the State humanities councils, but I realize there are some serious questions there, and I will turn my attention to them if I am confirmed, as soon as I get there.

I do believe that the relationship can be improved, that the State councils are very important not simply as recipients of funds but as partners in the enterprise. My general notion is that we can increase the impact of the Federal dollars spend on the humanities through better coordination among different divisions within the National Endowment for the Humanities itself, among different departments of Government—the Department of Education, the Smithsonian, the Library of Congress all do humanities programs. If we can coordinate those a little better, we'd get more bang, if you will.

The same is true with the State humanities councils. Through more lively cooperation between the National Endowment for the Humanities and the councils, we should be able to get a better impact, I think.

Senator KASSEBAUM. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Pell.

Senator PELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Following up on Senator Kassebaum's question, I would comment on the fact that you have the arts community, all of their council members, appointed by the Governor. In the humanities, I think only six are appointed by the Governor. The result of that has been much less involvement with the warp and woof of Government. They talk about "politization." Well, there should be some politization in the sense that there should be a relationship between the humanities and the political public. And in this regard, I would urge you the next time you take a trip around the United States to ask the local people who is the chairman of the human-

ities endowment and who is the chairman of the arts—you'll find as a general rule, the arts president is better-known in the State than the humanities, and the reason for that is because of this involvement of State Government. The State humanities councils resist it very heavily, but I think from the viewpoint of overall benefit to the community, it is to their advantage.

I know when Senator Javits and I started it, we wanted to have the same rule apply to both, but in those days, we didn't have the leverage of the humanities, which were then the big political force, and they were able to resist us.

So I would hope you would keep an open mind on the thought that the State councils should be involved with the State legislature and with the Governor so that it is part of the political process.

In that regard, to be specific and following up on Senator Kassebaum's question, how do you propose to enlarge the relationship between the general public or the political structure of it and the local councils?

Mr. HACKNEY. I take your point about the nature of the State humanities councils, and I have been aware of your position on this, and will certainly be very glad to pay some close attention to it and study the matter. My general impression is that now is probably not a propitious moment to ask States to take on additional expenditures, so my guess is we have a little time to study this and to see if it might work and might improve the situation.

One of the first things that I hope to do is to begin talking with the Federation of State Humanities Councils, but also with individuals in the field, that is, in State humanities councils, to get a better understanding of how they operate and what the partnership between the NEH and the State humanities councils might be and how the State humanities councils are related to their local governments. I think they are, as you say, all now private, self-perpetuating bodies, with the exception of a handful. But I would be glad to look at that very carefully.

Senator PELL. I thank you.

The National Endowment for the Humanities was established as a nonpartisan, impartial institution, but many of us feel that both the NEA and the NEH have become politicized in recent years. How would you as the chairman answer that criticism, and also recognize the fact that "politicize" means different things to different people? I just finished saying I think it should be more politicized, in the sense of being more involved in the warp and woof of Government; how would you handle that?

Mr. HACKNEY. I think your point is not that they should be politicized in a partisan sense or an ideological sense, but that they should be part of the running of the people's business in the State, which is a very different point of view.

Senator PELL. Exactly.

Mr. HACKNEY. I feel very strongly—in fact, I don't think I can say strongly enough—that I think the NEH ought not to be engaged in either partisan or ideological affairs; that it should be conducting the conversation, if you will, and not weighing in on one side or the other.

So I would be very alert to making sure that the NEH is not engaged in politics in that sense.

Senator PELL. Thank you.

The taxpayers—all of us—are known to object to both NEA and NEH projects from time to time as being not worthy of the attention they receive, and the artists and writers in turn rigorously defend their work supported by public funding. How would you as chairman of the NEH seek to reconcile these two views, because you will certainly get them because you can't help it, but in the thousands of grants that are made, there are going to be a few that turn sour, and you'll get this criticism.

Mr. HACKNEY. Well, as I say, I think one needs to start with a review system that is of absolute integrity and that has the best possible people in it, reviewing proposals to make sure that they are the best quality possible. And that is a multilevel review system that stops with the chairman exercising his or her own opinion. If that review system is rigorous, as I think it should be, then I think the problems will be minimized, especially if the chairman is alert and exercises some good common sense.

Senator PELL. That is right, and you should not be hesitant in exercising that common sense, and if a project is truly offense, don't hesitate to exercise your power in that matter.

Mr. HACKNEY. I would agree, yes.

Senator PELL. Thank you.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Pell.

Senator Coats.

Senator COATS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Dr. Hackney, I too was impressed with your opening statement, the quality of the presentation.

Mr. HACKNEY. Thank you.

Senator COATS. And, as I was during our visit in our office, I was impressed with your answers to a number of the questions because I think you in many instances are clearly grasping the nature of the debate and the controversy, so I am pleased with some of your responses.

What I would like to do is try to pursue some questions that have been raised relative to the consistency of your responses and some of the decisions or activities that took place at the University of Pennsylvania surrounding some of these cases.

The now notorious "water buffalo" incident with Eden Jacobowitz—see if you can help me understand this and reconcile what appears on the surface to be an inconsistency.

My understanding is that Eden Jacobowitz attempted to change the date of his initial hearing which was scheduled for April 26th because his adviser was scheduled to attend a conference in California and would be unable to attend that hearing. His request apparently was denied. However, at a later time the hearing was indefinitely postponed only 3 days prior to the hearing at the request of the complainant. Why did the complainant's request receive different consideration than Eden Jacobowitz' request?

Mr. HACKNEY. I think it would be a great mistake in general to think of the university as a place like a corporation, with a CEO who issued orders every day, or a military organization in which

the commanding officer issued orders. It is not a command structure. And in particular in this case, the student judicial procedures are not under my command; they are run by a retired faculty member who is called a judicial administrator, who has the responsibility for making the arrangements to which you refer.

So I cannot really answer on his behalf exactly what happened. I know generally that the young women wanted the case delayed for a bit because the adviser, who is not a faculty member, actually, that they had, who was going to help them in the hearing withdrew from the case, and so they were faced on the day before the hearing without having a faculty adviser who could take them through it. And that is, I believe, why it was postponed the second time.

Senator COATS. While that may be true of the way universities are structured today, no one in ultimate command or in charge—

Mr. HACKNEY. Well, that's not quite what I said, Senator.

Senator COATS. All right. Let me make sure I get that correct, then—not a command structure similar to the military or similar to corporations.

Mr. HACKNEY. Yes, that's right. It is a shared governance system in which authority is delegated down from the trustees through the president to other entities in various ways. It is rather subtle.

Senator COATS. How would you apply that same description to your position and role as chairman of the Endowment for the Humanities?

Mr. HACKNEY. A completely different system. There, the chairperson has the authority to make the grants. In fact, in the statute, the chairman is held responsible for those grants. I would be expecting to be held responsible by the Congress for the grants that are made, and I would hold the entire structure in the National Endowment for the Humanities responsible to me for the quality of the recommendations that come to me.

Senator COATS. For the benefit of trustees of universities across the land who may be contemplating these types of decisions relative to their university structures in the future, what would your recommendation be based on your experience at the University of Pennsylvania?

Mr. HACKNEY. The trustees need to be involved. I generally admire the notion of shared governance in a way. One has to be very careful in each area where authority is being delegated that it not be delegated too far.

From my personal experience obviously, in the spring, in the student judicial procedures, I think they are structured wrong. We should learn from that, and we should get the president and the provost much more involved earlier in the procedures in that. We have had a similar case, I must say, with regard to faculty misconduct, where the procedure for pursuing faculty members who do engage in scientific misconduct is also not structured so that the president and the provost have any role at all. That is in the process of being changed at Penn.

My advice to trustees therefore would be to review all of the delegation of authority in the university and make sure it is structured so that the people who should have authority and should be involved indeed do have it.

Senator COATS. There are a number of other questions relative to the procedure or the process on the Eden Jacobowitz case. I assume your answer would be the same for each of the questions that I would ask relative to decisions made leading up to the time that the complaint was dismissed. Let me just ask this. Was there any point in that process where your authority as president of the university came to bear in the decisions that were made up to the point where the complaint was dismissed?

Mr. HACKNEY. My role was first to try to get the case to a hearing panel, because I was relatively confident then that it would come out right, so I did State my opinion about that to the judicial administrator that it would be good if this case could be heard by a panel this spring. I don't think that was intervening in the substance of it at all; it was just an admonition to him.

I think that was the primary way in which I was involved.

Senator COATS. Can you describe the role of the judicial administrator, John Brobeck?

Mr. HACKNEY. Yes. The judicial administrator is there simply to run the process. He recruits the panel members. He instructs them. He schedules the hearings. He is present at the hearings to make sure they run properly. That, basically, is his role, and he transmits the results of the hearings to the vice provost for university life.

Senator COATS. So it was appropriate, then, that Dr. Brobeck intervened, or made a decision relative to Dr. Alan Cours' request for a delay of the hearing, indicating that it need not be delayed due to Dr. Cours' travel out of time because it would not be a full hearing with witnesses, only to learn, then, the evening before the hearing that that decision was being reversed. Was that appropriate?

Mr. HACKNEY. I am not at all sure that was appropriate. I had set up an inquiry panel again to look at this particular case and how it was handled and to find out what went wrong in the procedures. The results of that inquiry board will be given to the faculty-student committee that will be looking at the procedures next fall and drafting some reforms of them. So I am not in a position to judge right now whether each individual decision was appropriate or not appropriate.

Senator COATS. There was another incident involving Gregory Pavlik, and it seems to be an inconsistency in terms of how the process treated Mr. Pavlik versus Mr. Jacobowitz. Would you care to comment on that?

Mr. HACKNEY. In what sense were they—

Senator COATS. Apparently in March of this year, Gregory Pavlik, a student columnist, was informed by a phone call that no less than 31 charges of racial harassment had been filed against him. Pavlik was notified only 9 days later that the university was dropping the investigation. According to the March 26th edition of The Daily Pennsylvanian, "Had it not been for pressure from Dr. Cours, the judicial inquiry office investigation might have continued for many more weeks and even could have resulted in the filing of formal charges." What was the difference between this case and Mr. Jacobowitz' case, and why would one be resolved within days and the other take 6 months; and who interceded in Mr. Pavlik's case to bypass the process?

Mr. HACKNEY. Yes, I did play a role there, but it was completely appropriate, and that I will leave for you to judge. Professor Cours did call me when Mr. Pavlik had been approached by the judicial inquiry officer, and Professor Cours explained to me what was transpiring. It sounded to me absurd in the extreme that someone who wrote things in the student newspaper could even be deemed to be in violation of this policy, that there was no relationship at all between the policy and someone who expresses opinions in the student newspaper.

My assistant then asked the JIO what was going on. This was during the investigation period. And I think the JIO reassessed the situation and saw it in a much better light and dropped the charges, which I think was absolutely appropriate.

Senator COATS. But you did see a distinction between that and the Eden Jacobowitz case, because you did not intervene.

Mr. HACKNEY. I really did not know about the Eden Jacobowitz case until after it was in full cry, so I was not able to do anything about it.

Senator COATS. Mr. Chairman, I am not sure what the time frame is.

The CHAIRMAN. I think if the Senator wants to continue for a few more minutes, that's fine.

Senator COATS. I would, thank you, if that's appropriate, I would. Otherwise I'd be happy to wait for a second round.

The CHAIRMAN. No. That's fine. Please proceed.

Senator COATS. Thank you.

Questions have also been raised as to whether there has been equal and fair treatment of the students and the police officer and museum official involved in The Daily Pennsylvanian incident. Apparently, on May 15th, the New York Times reported that "University of Pennsylvania officials appear to have a double standard in disciplining minority students involving racial incidents." They go on to say that "Critics point out that while the university is bringing disciplinary charges against Mr. Jacobowitz, it has taken no action against the group of black students who destroyed 14,000 copies of the student newspaper." You have answered that, and I assume have been in contact with the New York Times, or maybe they should have been in contact with you.

Mr. HACKNEY. Senator, I despair about the press.

Senator COATS. At the time of the article, however, a full month after The Daily Pennsylvanian incident, the university still had still not brought disciplinary action against the students; yet it was only 1 day after the event that the university began proceedings against a police officer and museum official whom the students had filed charges against for attempting to stop them. Why the inconsistency?

Mr. HACKNEY. In the case of the policeman and the museum, they are employees of the university so they are subject to the disciplinary actions that may be meted out by their superiors. There was a board of inquiry that looked into the behavior there and that reached conclusions and transmitted those conclusions to the superiors of these two officers. That is an administrative process that is much quicker and easier to operate than the student judicial procedures, which are still going. But the students who are involved

will be pursued through a different process. We will need a special judicial inquiry officer to pursue that case, and I think we need a very strong faculty member to pursue the student case.

Senator COATS. Mr. Chairman, assuming we are going to have a second round, I will just finish with a brief comment and then allow other members to ask questions.

I appreciated your answer regarding the whole issue of political correctness. Fortunately or unfortunately, you have become a symbol of that issue, which I think is unfortunate for you personally, although I think it is fortunate from the standpoint that our Nation is at least going to have a debate on the issue because I think it is important to have that debate.

Obviously, it extends far beyond the University of Pennsylvania and far beyond you, and I don't think it all should laser beam into your nomination. Nevertheless, we are here talking about it, and I listened carefully to your answer to a previous question on that. I would hope that you would be able to bring that perspective to the National Endowment for the Humanities in terms of the significant influence it has across the Nation and particularly in our universities, because in my opinion, there are few things if any that are more intellectually dishonest and fraught with hypocrisy than the whole concept of political correctness, which appears to deny individual rights and appears to suppress speech, and that is very intolerant if those freedoms are exercised by those of conservative thought but championed by those of liberal thought.

So I think this is an important debate and one that we ought to have. Again, I don't think it should center around your nomination; I think it should be much broader than that. But clearly in your role, should you be nominated to head up the National Endowment for the Humanities, you would be playing a central role in that debate.

And as I indicated to you in our visit in my office, there is no place in America probably more attuned to the concept of political correctness than the town and the environment in which you are about to enter. And as the former administrator of that agency has said, it is easy to be pulled in one direction on that. Finding that balance and fairness that we talked about earlier I think is very, very critical, and I would hope that should you be nominated, you could diligently champion the rights of free speech, the rights of expression, regardless of which side of the political spectrum it came from.

Having said that, you are put in the unenviable position of exercising judgment and restraint because we are utilizing taxpayers' funds, and that separates it, in my opinion. So that is a tough balance to find, and I am hopeful that you can walk through that mine field.

Mr. HACKNEY. Senator, I think that was extremely well-put. I have spent my career trying to make sure that I was centered even as I was being buffeted by pressures. That is what a university president does. I think I can assure you that if I am the chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities and confirmed by the Senate that I will be doing the same thing there and that I am up to the task of applying standards and common sense to the decisions about how to use the taxpayers' money.

It is a tough job, and it has to be done under pressure, but I think my 18 years as a university president really has prepared me to do that, and I am eager to take on the task.

I also am very pleased that you said what you did about the political correctness and my role in stimulating the debate. If I can be of service to the Nation in stimulating an important debate, that's a good thing. But I must say I resent bitterly being victimized and slandered by slogan, and I hope that in the process of the hearing, which is one of the reasons that I am glad to be here, is that I should be able to clear up something about who I am. I am not just a cardboard figure. I am someone who has spent a career defending free speech and will do that in the National Endowment for the Humanities as well.

Senator COATS. And I and others would be violating our own injunctions here were we to do that to you, and I don't think that is appropriate either.

Mr. HACKNEY. I appreciate that.

The CHAIRMAN. I was just going to say that I don't really think your nomination is a referendum about orthodoxy or political correctness, and you have responded in your own words about that. It is about an extraordinary career, academic achievement and leadership, and an incredible record as an historian, it is also about one who has been enormously involved in helping to fashion and shape education policy. Others may define what they perceive this nomination to be about, but this Senator certainly does not.

Senator Wofford.

Senator WOFFORD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Sheldon, I am very glad that from your statement this morning, people have met the real Sheldon Hackney. You have been caricatured for some weeks since you were nominated, and your friends have had to write letters to the editor, and the chairman of your board, and all kinds of people around the country to answer the misstatements that you have cleared up this morning, such as that no action was taken against the students who indefensibly destroyed copies of *The Daily Pennsylvanian*, and even that you had initiated the prosecution of the student in the "water buffalo" incident. But in your statement today, you fully answered our questions. For those of us who will never despair about the press, I hope it is played in full or in good part under the headline, "Meet the Real Sheldon Hackney."

I'd like to ask the always real Sheldon Hackney to reflect a little on one aspect of this. Knowing higher education and what has happened in universities and colleges, especially the leading ones, all across this country in developing these very intricate judicial proceedings about how to deal with students, and the speech codes, and the diversity statements, having seen them grow up over the years—and as an expert on this, in no way have you been a leader or a proponent or an initiator, nor are you responsible for that process; it has grown like Topsy, all throughout academia. Would you reflect a little more on whether it has gone too far, whether the old days of a dean or fellow students dealing with students who were making too much noise outside, or were shouting offensive things from windows, whether these speech codes that get all entangled as they go beyond the First Amendment into so many dif-

ferent conflicts, whether they have gone too far and whether we should take a new look, a sharp look, a critical look at them in academia and go back to something that is closer to the First Amendment?

Mr. HACKNEY. As I said, Senator, earlier, yes, I have learned from our experiences this spring, and even though I am still convinced that civility is a very important value for the campus—it really is one that enables the debates to take place in a vigorous way and lets everybody take part—I do not now think that a speech code backed up by punishments that are meted out through a judicial system is the right way to do that. I think it is counter-productive, as we have proven this spring.

I might say more generally that university campuses are the locus for these debates because they are a bit more open. One of the things that we learned during the 1960's during those turbulent times—not very pleasant times at all, but exciting in some sense and interesting times—one of the things that we learned was that when there are conflicts in society, when there are tensions in society, they will show up on university campuses, and they will generally show up on university campuses first.

So universities have been struggling with the question of values in American life, with the question of intergroup relations in American life; they have been struggling with trying to find a new set of relationships and a new set of rules, some of which were destroyed in the 1960's. So I think it is not surprising that university campuses are this cauldron of intellectual debate. I hope that we can come through it in good fashion and get back to a bit more equanimity.

I agree with your notion that if we could use some of the old techniques, the real educational techniques of deanly justice, if you will, calling students who have done something wrong or who are in conflict with other students together to talk about it. We actually do a lot of that now in residence halls with peer advising groups and with resident advisers in residence halls, but we probably need to do that even more in the future. I think it is a very good suggestion.

Senator WOFFORD. Well, I am primarily interested in the future and your leadership of the National Endowment for the Humanities, since I have great respect for your leadership of the University of Pennsylvania. Would you wish to comment on whether the Endowment could play a greater role in our schools? Do you believe that perhaps more programs should be targeted to children in schools?

Mr. HACKNEY. Indeed. I think one of the important matters that the National Endowment for the Humanities should be and is engaged in is making sure that the knowledge that is being created on university campuses and by independent scholars is translated into curricular material in very exciting ways. In this, we should be in league with the Department of Education, as I think the National Endowment for the Humanities is. I would love to pursue that more vigorously if I am the chairman of the NEH. I think there is a great deal to be done there.

I believe also that there are ways in which we can link the public programs—for instance, the Civil War series that was such a tre-

mendous hit and contained very powerful visual images of what war is like and of the conflicts that this Nation went through in the mid-19th century—as Senator Kennedy was saying, how those could be linked up with discussions and conversations in the classrooms at the same time; or, now that series is available in videocassette, and how that videocassette can be brought into the classroom to discuss as part of a Civil War course, for instance. There are things that can be done that are quite exciting and quite imaginative, and I think we are up to it.

Senator WOFFORD. The other question related to that, or the larger question over that, is do you see ways and means in which the National Endowment for the Humanities could play a role in expanding the humanities to a broader cross-section of Americans?

Mr. HACKNEY. Oh, absolutely. In the schools is one place, but to me, not even the most exciting place, even though I am a teacher, and I believe also that scholarship is very important, and the National Endowment for the Humanities should make sure that American scholarship in the humanities is still the best in the world. But the exciting arena for me, I think, is the public arena, where we can draw more Americans into participation in the humanities in a way that will enhance and maybe even transform individual lives and that will provide for communities, which really need an opportunity to discuss their values and where they are going, provide them that opportunity.

Senator WOFFORD. Some years ago I was on the State Council for the Humanities that worked with the National Endowment for the Humanities. That letter that I read from Sondra Myers, Governor Casey's cultural adviser, is from someone who chaired for a long time in a most creative way our Council for the Humanities in the State and was head of the National Association of Humanities Councils; and her support for you, and mine, out of my own experience dealing with the Endowment, comes from experience in thinking of how the Endowment could play a much wider role. And I have a sense that you will give it drive and imagination in doing so.

Mr. HACKNEY. Indeed, I have already talked with Sondra Myers a bit about how to use some of her ideas. One of the nicest about that letter for me, of course, was that she knows me, so it was doubly nice to hear words of support. She is also quite imaginative, and I think there are other people who are not professionals in the humanities who do have very bright and imaginative ideas about how to do humanities programs in local communities in ways that are really quite exciting, and I will reach out and bring them into the process of decisionmaking.

Senator WOFFORD. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Wofford.

Senator Hatch.

Senator HATCH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Dr. Hackney, I have to tell you that I envy you, because when I was at Brigham Young University, I was a history major, and had I not gone on a mission for the Mormon Church within the United States of American confines, I wanted to go to Germany—Francke being, in my opinion, the greatest historian of all time, al-

though I am sure that is subject to dispute—but had I gone there and spoken German, I probably would have come back and gotten a Ph.D. in history, and I would not have had to go through these terrible experiences here in the U.S. Senate. [Laughter.]

Senator COATS. Think how different the chairman's life would have been had that happened.

Senator HATCH. To be honest with you, I think it would have done the chairman a lot of good. [Laughter.] At the time, I was working my way through as a janitor—and I might add that many have felt that that was the highest aspiration I could possibly have or achieve—but the reason this gets to be so upsetting to people, and why so many editorials have been written, very critical of you, is because this very committee rejected Carol Iannone, and it was done, in my opinion, on a political correctness basis. One of the leading academic groups in the country, the Modern Language Association, was the spearhead behind stopping Carol Iannone from serving as just one member of this very important National Endowment. And that has a lot of people very upset because they feel like when it comes to political correctness, liberals impose it upon conservative ideas, but they don't impose it on liberal ideas that are out of whack. And frankly, I don't think you should impose it on any ideas, especially in an academic environment.

On the other hand, I am not president of the University of Pennsylvania, either, a very complex and very difficult matter to run.

Let me just take a few minutes, because I think you know that I am apathetic toward you. You came to my office, I asked you a number of pointed questions, and we had some time together. I admire your scholarship. You are a great historian, and you are a great human being, and I don't want to see you maligned, either, just because you may have made some mistakes, if that's what they were, or you may not have made the judgment that others think you should have exercised, or that you may not have pleased people who may not share your same philosophy or ideology. I think you have a right to that.

In the Wall Street Journal today, it does a fairly good job of bringing up what they consider to be some of the questions, and I am going to give you an opportunity to answer these, and then I have some others.

It is entitled, "Mr. Hackney's Nomination."

"It is hardly necessary by now to explain why Mr. Hackney is the university head who presided over the world-famous 'water buffalo' case, which saw a Penn freshman charged with racial harassment and Penn's administration in full cry, pressing the case. They did this, Mr. Hackney told us earlier on, because the administration had to 'abide by the procedures that are in place.' Moreover, he went on, those procedures were in his view, 'just and fair.'"

It goes on to say—and I am just reading some excerpts—"Only after the publicity—and after the sorority women dropped their charges—did Mr. Hackney conclude that the university's legal machinery, designed to punish 'offensive speech,' needed overhauling."

And then they say, "No overhauling can fix what is wrong with university harassment codes"—and they are talking about political correctness codes when they call them 'harassment codes,' I am sure.

They go on to say, "They were produced by compliant university administrators cut from the same fine cloth as Sheldon Hackney, who end up arguing that they have no choice but to follow the' procedures.' Over the past decade, obliging administrators brought those procedures and' solutions' into being in order to appease the grievances of activist students and professors."

How do you answer that objection? I know you have done it to a degree here, but if you want to take a crack at that, I think it is important to set this record straight once and for all and to let people know how you feel—and that it is easy to sit back and—how many years have you been a university president at Tulane and Penn combined—

Mr. HACKNEY. Eighteen.

Senator HATCH. Eighteen years. It is easy to sit back and pick some isolated instances where you are dealing with a very, very tough academic community; you've got wild-eyed professors on both sides of the issue; you've got people who are academically unbelievable teaching these kids today—you know it, I know it, everybody knows it—and you've got a lot of people who really just want that university to do the very best it can for those students. They are the vast majority, and I think most university presidents are in that category; they want to do what is right.

How do you handle that? What about these procedures? Don't you think you have an obligation to insert yourself and say, "Hey, look, the procedures is wrong. This is infringing upon free speech. Yes, it is irritating, it is obnoxious, it is offensive, but on the other hand we have got to give people the right to speak their minds."

Mr. HACKNEY. I don't think one should interfere in those procedures while the case is going forward. That would not be fair, nor wise for the university. Certainly after the case is over was the opportunity for me to speak, and I have also appointed a board of inquiry to look into the case itself to learn what it can from the procedures and where they went wrong, to provide that information to a faculty-student committee that will meet next year and devise the reform of the student judicial procedure.

Senator HATCH. Why wait until next year? You know it is a problem. Why not do something about it?

Mr. HACKNEY. Well, it is a problem, but on a university campus, you really must bring everyone else along. There is the consultative process. Those procedures were set up after a lot—

Senator HATCH. Do you mean to tell me if you don't bring everybody else along, you are going to have even more problems than if not?

Mr. HACKNEY. I think it is better, yes, to develop this consensus here, but I have spoken, and I have exerted some leadership here, and I think it will go along very well, Senator.

I have already said that the policy itself is one that I believe should be changed as well, and I believe that will be attended to next year by the commission.

Senator HATCH. That's good. I hope that is so, and I hope that Penn sets the example for all the university in this country that this kind of rubbish should not exist at universities.

Mr. HACKNEY. I do think this commission has a chance to say something that is very interesting to higher education in general.

Senator HATCH. Well, I think that they are going to be watched very carefully, certainly by me, and I think everybody who is interested in universities in this country, because something has to be done with the outrageous approach toward political correctness on campus, which generally applies only to one side. I am not saying in all cases, but generally, it does.

The Wall Street Journal continues on—and I think this is a good editorial from their perspective—they go on to say, “The Senators at today’s hearings might begin by asking some hard questions about Mr. Hackney’s response to the seizure, by a group of minority activities, of an entire press run of the Penn student paper, The Daily Pennsylvanian. It would tell them volumes about the candidate’s ability to act in defense of free speech,” and so on.

Then they accuse you of this: “What Mr. Hackney in fact did after the theft was to issue a statement awash in pious evenhandedness, which repeatedly exculpated the seizure of the papers as a protest activity.”

Would you care to answer that?

Mr. HACKNEY. Yes. I think that is simply wrong. I think my statement speaks for itself. I found the confiscation of the newspapers to be a violation of university policy that could not be tolerated on the campus, and I said repeatedly that speech is the paramount value of the university, and we are proceeding against those students.

Senator HATCH. I have your statement here, and in your statement—and I am just reading excerpts, and perhaps it is unfair not to read the whole statement, but let me try to be fair in reading the excerpts, and it will be even more fair by having you respond in any way you care to—in your second paragraph, you say: “This is in instance in which two groups important to the university community—valued members of Penn’s minority community and students exercising their rights to freedom of expression—and two important university values—diversity and open expression—seem to be in conflict. It is unfortunate that earlier attempts to establish a dialogue regarding these issues were not effective. It is important that all members of the university understand the circumstances that surround this conflict.”

I think it is a good statement. Then you say at the bottom of the next paragraph: “Of course, any alleged violations of this or other university policies will be investigated according to established university procedures.” We come back to the procedures.

And you felt obligated to follow those procedures as university president.

Mr. HACKNEY. I did, yes.

Senator HATCH. You felt that if you did not follow those procedures, I presume, that you would be subjected to even greater criticism by, really, everybody at the academic community once they were established.

Mr. HACKNEY. Well, it is not only a matter of what people think of me, Senator; it is a matter of how the university can function. But if I were to intervene capriciously in cases, I think we could not have a system that people would respect on the campus, and it would not work.

Senator HATCH. All right. If I were the university president, I might feel a little bit the same way you did. I might want to respect the procedure a little bit, too, realizing it is there, it may not be right, and we may have to change it—but at least it's there, and you can't just unilaterally overrule it, since it involves the faculty, the students, and almost everybody else involved with the institution; right?

Mr. HACKNEY. Exactly. Right.

Senator HATCH. It is easy to criticize on isolated instances. I have no doubt about that. And I am not trying to give you an easy time here.

Mr. HACKNEY. I have no doubt about that. [Laughter.]

Senator HATCH. I am a powder puff, I know that. [Laughter.]

You say this in the next paragraph: "In the ensuing altercations between security personnel and some of the students involved in this protest activity against the editorial policies of The Daily Pennsylvanian, students were handcuffed by university police and transported to university police headquarters."

Then, in the next couple of paragraphs, you seem to indicate that you were upset about that and you felt that the police had to be investigated. Am I mischaracterizing that?

Mr. HACKNEY. That is correct. We set up a board of inquiry there as well that has looked at the police response to this incident. Their task was to use the existing standard operating procedures of the police and to determine whether the police officer exceeded his authority under the standard operating procedures—used more force than was necessary.

Senator HATCH. Well, the minority community on the University of Pennsylvania, what was it—about 5.6 percent, or 6 percent, something like that?

Mr. HACKNEY. A little bit higher, I would think, 6, 6.5 percent.

Senator HATCH. But it was below 10 percent.

Mr. HACKNEY. Yes.

Senator HATCH. And really below 7 percent.

Mr. HACKNEY. I think slightly below 7 percent.

Senator HATCH. In other words, they really were a very distinct minority on campus, but still more as a minority group than any other Ivy League college; is that right?

Mr. HACKNEY. That is correct.

Senator HATCH. And you were trying to cultivate having African American students and other minority students on campus, right?

Mr. HACKNEY. The task is not simply to cultivate African American students—

Senator HATCH. Well, to give them the opportunity to be there and get an education at Penn—

Mr. HACKNEY. Absolutely.

Senator HATCH. [continuing]. And to show that the Ivy League schools have some sensitivity in these areas as well—without doing quotas, I take it.

Mr. HACKNEY. Absolutely right. The matter is to create an atmosphere on campus in which students can feel free to participate fully.

Senator HATCH. And minority students, if my experience is correct—and you can correct me if it isn't—tend to feel, because they

are almost an insular minority at great universities like this, that maybe they are singled out sometimes even by campus police in comparison to other students.

Mr. HACKNEY. That's true.

Senator HATCH. Am I mischaracterizing that?

Mr. HACKNEY. No. That is true, and that is a running theme in fact.

Senator HATCH. And if they get the idea that you are taking the side of the campus police over what is fair and civil to them, then what happens?

Mr. HACKNEY. Well, one must be evenhanded here. I think it is not simply a matter of my trying to curry favor in the African American community. I think the obligation is for the president to be fair and to apply standards of fairness in judging the behavior of all people from whatever category—employees, students.

Senator HATCH. And part of that is showing them that they are part of the community and that their feelings are going to be considered.

Mr. HACKNEY. I would think that in general that is true.

Senator HATCH. And some of them do come there because they have been raised in ghettos or have had lack of opportunities in their lives, and may sometimes come there with a chip on their shoulder, feeling that they aren't treated fairly.

Mr. HACKNEY. I think that is true, Senator—

Senator HATCH. Do you think that is a fair statement?

Mr. HACKNEY. It is not only true of African American students, who come in great varieties, as you know—some feel very much at home immediately, others do not—but there are other students from other groups who come to the campus perhaps as the first member of their family who have gone to college, and they feel a little uncertain sometimes. And I think we do well to try to make sure that the campus atmosphere values each individual as an individual and makes sure that they feel that they belong there so they can get the most out of the educational experience.

Senator HATCH. It is a matter of great concern to you, isn't it?

Mr. HACKNEY. Absolutely, it is.

Senator HATCH. It should be. It should be. I think the other Ivy League schools ought to be concerned, too, and they ought to do it outside of the realm of quotas and ought to be doing it by searching out the best students and getting them there, and giving them the opportunity.

Mr. HACKNEY. I couldn't agree more.

Senator HATCH. But there is no question that that is a reality, isn't it?

Mr. HACKNEY. Absolutely, yes.

Senator HATCH. And you have to face it in the inner city of Philadelphia, right?

Mr. HACKNEY. Yes.

Senator HATCH. And the University of Pennsylvania is right in the middle of Philadelphia, isn't it?

Mr. HACKNEY. It is. It is in—

Senator HATCH. It isn't in the elite section of Philadelphia, is it—and you may feel that it is, but I have been there—

Mr. HACKNEY. It is an urban garden, Senator. [Laughter.]

Senator HATCH. Now I can see why it is going to be impossible to reject you in the Senate because you have such a way with words. But let me go a little further here.

I don't like the police being singled out, either. They must feel a little bit insular themselves, because they are always picked on every time there is a criticism.

Mr. HACKNEY. We need them.

Senator HATCH. That's right. In other words, having them investigated doesn't mean you are going to crush them or turn around and trample on them, does it?

Mr. HACKNEY. Absolutely not.

Senator HATCH. You are going to make sure their rights are protected.

Mr. HACKNEY. Yes.

Senator HATCH. Well, I have to say I think your statement could have been a little less mushy.

Mr. HACKNEY. Others have said the same thing—some members of my own faculty.

Senator HATCH. Keep in mind that comes from a former janitor, though, so it is easy for me to say that.

Mr. HACKNEY. That was also done in the heat of combat, if you will.

Senator HATCH. And it is pretty extensive, too—I mean, there is a lot of stuff in here that someone could try to split hairs on.

Mr. HACKNEY. Yes.

Senator HATCH. People wouldn't do that to you, I know. But you do say, as I indicated above, "Two important university values now stand in conflict. There can be no compromise regarding the First Amendment right of an independent publication to express whatever views it chooses." Now, I personally would have preferred you to say, "This is abominable, and somebody is going to pay a price for this, and we are going to punish you, because this is not the way you treat free expression at this university. We don't care what race or what nationality or what religion or whatever else you are; this just doesn't play at the University of Pennsylvania." I'd have preferred that.

On the other hand, I have seen university presidents across the country who would have done exactly what you did and would have handled it, let's massage this, let's take it easy, let's worry about all of these feelings and so forth, and let's see if we can resolve this so everybody in the end is happy. That's a good way to do it sometimes, isn't it?

Mr. HACKNEY. Well, free speech is a fundamental value for a university, and I agree in general that keeping the campus together so that we can learn from those experiences is very valuable. But I have not, did not, will not compromise on open expression.

Senator HATCH. Well, let me go back to the Wall Street Journal. I have to admit your statement is good, and it could have been better—but that's true of every statement, isn't it?

Mr. HACKNEY. Yes. I will take that criticism.

Senator HATCH. I imagine even some of your historical writings could be improved upon, even by you.

Mr. HACKNEY. Yes. I would love to go back and write my book again now.

Senator HATCH. I'd like to write some of your sections over myself. [Laughter.] I think they'd be far more accurate. No, I'm only kidding.

Here, it says, you emphasize civility and sensitivity. "These are stellar virtues indeed, but perhaps there is something in the air breathed around university buildings that disconnects them utterly from the virtues of courage and leadership." I kind of alluded to that, but what we consider courage and leadership around here may not fly at a university, or as a police chief may not fly at a university, or as a member of the armed services may not fly at a university. But I still think there is some valid criticism there. Would you disagree, that you could have handled it a different way?

Mr. HACKNEY. Possibly. I certainly might have used stronger words in the statement. I think if you look at my career from beginning to end, you will find numerous examples of courage, if courage is making tough decisions and being willing to risk the criticism that comes from them. I have done that in countless circumstances.

Senator HATCH. I appreciate it, and I imagine if we could take the time here today, we could bring all those circumstances out where you exhibited courage as well as tolerance. And to isolate a few instances that were difficult, that would have been difficult for any university president, may not be fair.

They say: "But the much more insidious problem with the Sheldon Hackneys of American university life, and their number is legion, is that instead of courage, we must listen to their casuistry about 'tolerance'; instead of leadership, we must bear their silent complicity in the suppression of honest opinion." Do you feel that is a justifiable statement?

Mr. HACKNEY. That is an absolutely unfair statement.

Senator HATCH. It is a very well-written statement and a wonderful editorial. What do you think about its accuracy?

Mr. HACKNEY. I don't really much appreciate it, Senator.

Senator HATCH. Well, I can understand why. I think what we are saying is that it takes a lot of courage to run the National Endowment for the Humanities and to run it right, and to do it fairly, and to make sure those grants are fair, and to make sure people are treated fairly, and to make sure that you have true consideration of ideas from across the spectrum, whether or not you agree or disagree with those. Would you agree that's a fair statement?

Mr. HACKNEY. I would agree absolutely, and I think I have been prepared for that, and I am willing to do it.

Senator HATCH. Let me take one other criticism here—and I don't mean to take so long, but I think maybe I can get through a lot of this stuff. One other criticism in this, and then I'd like to go through two other criticisms before I finish.

"When Penn scholar Murray Dolfman—accused of a ludicrous charge of racism for trying to bring home the significance of the 13th Amendment—had his classroom invaded by 'protesters,' President Hackney had not a word to say in defense of Mr. Dolfman's academic freedom, nor was he moved to discipline the disrupters. On the contrary, it was Mr. Dolfman whom the procedures forced

to make a public apology and to attend a 'sensitivity' training class."

Could you tell me what was involved there and why you did not come to the aid of Mr. Dolfman and stand up for his academic freedom, since he was one of your professors and a scholar of some renown?

Mr. HACKNEY. He was—well, he was an adjunct professor, and the incident that led to that was an incident in which he really humiliated black students in his class by finding them at fault for not knowing what the 13th Amendment held. And it made them not only humiliated but quite angry.

Senator Hackney. You see, I think that might be a good teaching method, since the 13th Amendment is so important to their lives. Maybe it is good for him to challenge them and say, hey, what's the matter with you people; don't you understand this very important section?

Mr. HACKNEY. I think it is very difficult to know exactly what went on—

Senator HATCH. How he handled it.

Mr. HACKNEY. —how he handled it, yes. But his colleagues in his department, which is the legal studies department in the Wharton School, did investigate that, and—

Senator HATCH. They felt that he had handled it in an inappropriate way.

Mr. HACKNEY. —they felt that he had gone beyond his role as a teacher, and they therefore, with the dean's agreement, did not renew his contract for a year and required him to do a sensitivity session.

Senator HATCH. So your approach, since that was the procedure at the University of Pennsylvania, to allow the faculty to make these determinations, your approach was not to overrule the faculty—

Mr. HACKNEY. Yes, absolutely.

Senator HATCH. —without somebody bringing better facts to your attention.

Mr. HACKNEY. That's right.

Senator HATCH. All right. Now, Dr. Hackney, a group of 16 very esteemed law school professors wrote what I believe is a very compelling "open letter" to you in connection with the newspaper confiscation incident. I believe that this letter was in response to your remarks about one of these incidents and specifically, your characterization of the incident as "an apparent conflict between two important university values, diversity and open expression," to quote you.

I would like to read this brief letter in its entirety because I find it extremely compelling, and I would like you to answer it.

"The undersigned are members of the law faculty. We believe that the deliberate removal from circulation of 14,000 copies of The Daily Pennsylvanian calls for us to State three points with unequivocal clarity. First, the removal of the newspaper because it published writings by one columnist which some students found offensive was a flagrant violation of freedom of thought and freedom of discussion. It was a direct denial of the principle which is most

basic to the university's mission. It was conduct which cannot be excused or tolerated."

"Second, the fact that the newspapers were confiscated as an act of protest cannot excuse it or make it any less tolerable. Those who disagree are, of course, entitled to protest, but not by attempting to silence those with whom they disagree."

"Third, the important university values of diversity and open discussion were not in conflict here. The offensive columns in no way prevented the university from carrying out its policy of diversity and its many programs to promote understanding. Removal of the newspaper struck at the heart of the most fundamental diversity which the university should foster—diversity of thought, views, and expression."

"It may well be that the university has not done all that should be done to promote racial diversity, and that must occupy a high place on the continuing agenda. But we disserve democratic values if, in our efforts to promote that diversity, we chill diversity of expression."

"Signed," and I won't read all the names, but they are eminent professors at your university.

Now, first, do you agree with this letter's observation that "Removal of the newspaper struck at the heart of the most fundamental value which the university should foster—diversity of thought, views and expression"?

Mr. HACKNEY. I do.

Senator HATCH. OK. That is important, because if you did not, I probably could not support your nomination.

Mr. HACKNEY. I absolutely do. They are absolutely right about that.

Senator HATCH. And I did not put this in a way that I knew I would get the right answer, either. I am asking you very straightforwardly, because I knew that you would give that answer. And I think it is important for the people of America to know that you feel that way. I am trying to understand, though, why you describe this as a conflict between "diversity and open expression."

Could you please explain that description of the newspaper incident, and also whether you continue to feel that your characterization at that time was accurate and/or appropriate?

Mr. HACKNEY. If I could rewrite it, I certainly would rewrite it to remove the ambiguity. What I was intending to say there—

Senator HATCH. So you admit it was ambiguous, but you didn't know that at the time.

Mr. HACKNEY. Well, it was misinterpreted, I think. If it is read closely, I think it says what I meant it to say.

Senator HATCH. OK.

Mr. HACKNEY. But it is capable of misinterpretation. I was trying to say that these two values that are important to the university—diversity and free expression—appear to be in conflict, the word that you used, but they really should not be, I should have gone on to say, that we need to accomplish both of those at the same time, and they can be accomplished both at the same time. But in this instance, we did have a conflict on the campus from a group that felt that its being, its identity, was not appreciated and not treated well by The Daily Pennsylvanian, and that is why they

were motivated to do what was a very unwise and bad thing, to confiscate the newspapers.

But I do say in that statement that free expression is the paramount value, and I now, of course, would like to have said it more strongly so that people could have recognized it better.

Senator HATCH. Like all of us, in retrospect, we wish we might have said things a little bit better or a little bit differently—but that doesn't mean that the point you were making was not valid. Well, I appreciate that.

Let me just say that if I had the time, I would go into your speeches about Jesse Helms and about the National Endowment for the Arts. As one of the people who helped bring about that compromise that resolved the problem and kept the National Endowment for the Arts alive, there were plenty of good reasons why Federal dollars should not be used in reprehensible ways.

Mr. HACKNEY. Yes.

Senator HATCH. And one of your other speeches, you kind of made that clear that you do agree that there are places where Federal dollars should not be called upon.

Mr. HACKNEY. Yes.

Senator HATCH. And I would have brought both of those out. And I want you to know that had it not been for Senator Helms, we probably would never debated the matter and never would have had the controversy, never would have had the knowledge we have about it, nor would we have the good feelings about the National Endowment that currently exist today, nor would it be as strong as it is today, in my opinion.

So in my opinion, you did a great service whether or not you agreed with the way it was done. And I don't see any redeeming value in Serano's work that was criticized—and we could go into others as well.

Let me just end by saying this. When an academic organization like the Modern Language Association, filled with wonderful academics and wonderful thinkers in our society, with people who ought to be at the forefront of free expression and First Amendment rights and privileges, shoots down a well-published and decent human being like Carol Iannone, and really, it is done politically, there should have been a lot of academics coming out of the woodwork saying that's outrageous. There were some, by the way. And I have to say that one reason that I am doing this is to remind our colleagues on this committee who shot her down that it was a pretty rotten thing to do, and that even though they did not agree with her, even though she was more conservative, she still had academic credentials and intellectual capacities that deserved recognition and would have brought some force and some diversity to the National Endowment.

I think that all too often, some of the tolerance is not found in those with the liberal persuasion who are constantly criticizing some with the conservative persuasion for lack of tolerance.

I think there is no excuse for either side to be intolerant or to be intolerant of free speech rights in our society today, whether you are conservative or liberal.

And frankly, I do not think you deserve all of the criticism you have gotten. I think Charles Krauthammer, whom I have a great

deal of respect for, has written a very interesting piece, and as he looks at it, as he has gotten the information, I can see why he wrote it, and I can see how he feels the way he does. But I hope that he will look at your total record, the 18 years as president of two institutions, two great institutions, and the diversity of the faculty and student bodies that you have had to work with, and the many, many decisions and difficulties that you have had to resolve, and I think maybe give you the benefit of the doubt in the end. And frankly, I don't have to give you the benefit of the doubt. I believe that you mean what you say. I believe that you are a tolerant person, and I believe you are going to do the best you can. And you have been honest here today, saying you wish you could have done things a little bit differently. To me, that is the most redeeming thing in these hearings, and I want to compliment you for it and tell you that I intend to support you in this committee and on the floor, and I hope that when you get there, assuming that you will, and I believe you will, I hope that you will be a continual leader with the best of those 18 years in helping to really do the work of the Endowment, which everybody on this committee thinks is some of the most important work that can be done in our society.

I apologize, Mr. Chairman, for taking so long. I had one other very embarrassing question I was going to ask you, but I think I'll avoid it. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Just very briefly, Carol Iannone was rejected because she wasn't qualified.

Senator HATCH. Now, see—see what I mean? There are those typical liberal remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. And all anyone has to do is look at the Citation Index on the Arts and Humanities and Social Services Citation Index—

Senator HATCH. I looked at it.

The CHAIRMAN. [continuing]. And just look through that and make a list. And at this point, we'll put a list of her academic writings in the record. It will be very short, indeed.

Senator HATCH. Free speech always has trouble on this committee, too.

The CHAIRMAN. And to try and pawn that individual off as a qualified individual is—

Senator HATCH. Well, I can give you hundreds of names in the academic community that would stand up for her—

The CHAIRMAN. We will be in order.

Senator HATCH. See how we tackle problems?

The CHAIRMAN. We listened to your diatribe, and now we are going to hear the facts.

Senator HATCH. I see.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Hackney, let me just ask you about your own outreach programs into the community. Universities today are much different, certainly, than they were in the 1950's when I went to college. At that time, you did not have the representation at many universities in terms of minorities; you did not have it with regard to gender; you did not have opportunities for those with handicaps or disabilities. And as I think you appropriately pointed out, universities have evolved and changed, and the tempo has

changed, obviously and dramatically in these universities to be much more reflective of what is happening in the communities.

Mr. HACKNEY. Indeed.

The CHAIRMAN. I would be interested to hear what you have done in terms of outreach programs to the city. As I understand it, this has been one of the areas that you have initiated and provided to which you have important leadership, and maybe you could just outline those briefly.

Mr. HACKNEY. Surely. As Congressman Foglietta mentioned in his introduction, when I arrived at Penn, there was not much in the way of a relationship between the city and the university. In fact, as I went around early on, speaking to civic groups, I would frequently see hostility in the comments and the looks of the people in West Philadelphia, because in the sixties, a large tract of land was cleared of houses, and the University City Science Center was build, and the university itself expanded a little bit by incorporating four more blocks into its campus. And there was a tradition there of hostility between the city, the neighborhoods around the university, and the university.

I thought that was unhealthy. I also thought that even though our primary objective at the university was teaching and the creation of knowledge for people at the university, that we had resources that could be used to benefit the people who live around us and who live in the city.

In addition, it is true that the health and vitality of the city of Philadelphia is very important to the university. So I began early on trying to create bridges, if you will, in various ways with the neighborhoods around us and with the city itself. We have been an extremely good citizen of Philadelphia, and this has increased.

The exciting part really began in 1985 with a seminar that was taught by me and two other historians on "The University and the City," the tradition of it and the interaction between the universities and their neighborhoods. One of the students in that seminar wrote a paper, saying that it would be very good if a youth improvement corps could be created in West Philadelphia, drawing into it young men and women who did not have a lot to do in their lives. And that was the time of the MOVE incident. In fact, we had that youth improvement corps up and organized and funded for the summer when a fire bomb was dropped and burned down 69 houses in West Philadelphia. We immediately expanded that program and made places available for each and every teenager in the affected neighborhood. They spent that summer and are still at work doing projects to improve their neighborhoods in various ways, to study about their neighborhoods, to take the desires and what they learn in their neighborhood activities back into their schools. We have teachers involved, and this has grown into a very imaginative effort to create community schools in the neighborhoods. We are operating now in five schools in West Philadelphia.

These neighborhood schools, or community schools, are places that offer a variety of services and activities in addition to the regular schooling. There is preschool child care, afterschool child care, adult programs on the weekends, literacy programs; we do health screening using University of Pennsylvania medical students and

nursing students. A great variety of activities go on in that neighborhood school.

We have expanded that initial effort so that now there are more than 60 programs at work in West Philadelphia that take Penn faculty and students out into the community to be of service—and not in a way that imposes their view of what should happen on the community, but in response to community efforts. That has now begun to pay off, so that we have a very healthy sense of cooperation between the residents who live in the neighborhoods around the university and the university.

To give you a couple of examples, there is a program called PENN-Links that trains Penn undergraduates in how to do a science experiment before a 6th grade class and lead a discussion in what can come out of that, the scientific principles that can be learned from that experiment. We have about 2,000 Penn students doing various things in West Philadelphia from tutoring to visiting senior citizens in their homes.

There is a very interesting program called "Say Yes to Education," in which a Penn alumnus and his wife have adopted a 6th grade class and promised them college tuition if they finish high school. The first class is just now graduating. There were 112 in the initial "adoption," if you will, and 40 of them are graduating on time. There will be at least 30 more graduating next year. It is a great success story for urban education, and they have provided not only the promise of college tuition but enrichment activities and support all the way through those 6 years of middle school and high school.

Another Penn alumnus and his wife have adopted a 3rd grade class with the same deal. We have more than 6,000 Penn people at work in the community around us in volunteer activities. It is a national model program, and I am very proud of it. We have just made sure that it continues by setting up a Center of Community Partnerships, a new position at the university, whose director will coordinate all university activities and stimulate university activities, bringing faculty and students together who want to work in the communities around us.

I am very pleased to say there has been for the last 4 or 5 years a rising tide of interest in public service and volunteerism, and we are trying to capture that at the University of Pennsylvania. Senator Wofford, of course, has been a stellar theorist and champion of volunteer activity, and I think Penn is a good example of what can be done through volunteer activity.

The CHAIRMAN. That's a wonderful record and an enviable one. Senator Kassebaum.

Senator KASSEBAUM. Thank you. I just have one more brief question, but again, it is one I think Dr. Hackney is going to be asked on the floor, and I think it is important.

This raises the question of the use of Federal dollars for other purposes than research in universities. It has happened at a number of universities. In 1991, it was reported in the Philadelphia Inquirer that the University of Pennsylvania had used Federal research money to buy such items as flowers and so forth.

Could you elaborate on the statements made in the Philadelphia Inquirer article and explain if Federal research dollars were in fact misused?

Mr. HACKNEY. Yes, I'd be glad to do that, Senator. We have been negotiating research contracts with our cognizant agency, Health and Human Services, for a good while. There was no reason for anyone at Penn, and certainly not for me, to think that there was anything amiss in our research contract operation. When this broke upon the national scene in early 1991 at another great research university, I immediately thought that we ought to make sure that we were not guilty of anything like the same sorts of mistakes that were being revealed at other places. So our wonderful executive vice president, Myrna Whittington, and I had a conversation immediately and said that we would start, and we did start, a review by ourselves of our own procedures. Our principle was that we simply do not want to have Federal dollars that do not belong to us, and that we want to make sure that all Federal dollars are spent appropriately.

We started our own review. The Health and Human Services auditors came in that spring—I have forgotten the exact date, probably in March. We cooperated with them aggressively. They were looking at one part of our operations, the general and administrative expense component of indirect cost recoveries. When they identified items that were either inappropriate or did not belong there, we moved right away to agree with them and returned the money that they said had been overcharged, which we did. About \$930,000, we sent to them immediately.

Before the Health and Human Services auditors came in, though, we had determined that the president's house, which is a very small part of the G and A indirect cost pool, a very small part—the flowers and the janitorial supplies are an example—even though those were legal and were known to HHS auditors, we decided that that was not appropriate, and we took those out and still exclude them from our indirect cost pool.

The great majority of the \$930,000 that was identified as inappropriate or improper had to do with alumni relations activities. That should not have been in the indirect cost pool, and as soon as we knew that it was, we agreed that it was inappropriate and not proper, and we sent the money back. That \$930,000 is a lot of money, indeed, and I am really upset that we had to send it back or that we got it in the first place, because it was not appropriate, but it amounts to one-half of one percent of indirect cost recoveries over that 5-year program. And I think there is some evidence of our willingness to attack a problem aggressively and to clear it up in the fact that the Health and Human Services auditors and the university reached an agreement quickly after this settlement on a new 3-year contract. So I think we did what we had to do in that circumstance.

Senator KASSEBAUM. Well, as I said, it wasn't just the University of Pennsylvania. There are many of the larger institutions particularly that have found that this is difficult, and I am pleased that you have undertaken such a rigid review and procedures regarding this because it is easy to have those things happen. But it is a question, and I think clearly it is one that is troubling to the public

as they look at and are surprised to find Federal dollars supposedly going to research and designated for that going elsewhere.

I would just like to close by saying I found it really so interesting to hear you answering the many questions that have been put forward to you, and I am struck with how one can easily get tied in a Gordian knot if they don't have a pretty firm direction. And I am sure you would agree that with all the rights that one has, they have responsibilities. And I think as I have listened to you that I am convinced that a university president should not be involved in handling individual cases that occur at a university. And I am struck that the board of inquiry and so forth—at what point did the university lawyers handle the situation? It would seem to me that in almost all these situations, it would be counsel for the university that would enter in and make a determination of what and how it should be handled. And this is really not particularly relevant except to, I would suggest, the National Endowment for the Humanities. It seems to me it is going to be very important to be sure there are those firm guidelines, and that no matter how one might personally feel about one case or another, there are those guidelines that have to be adhered to, whether you might want to make an exception here or an exception there, because if that occurs, then I think it is very easy to find oneself in real difficulty—and particularly with the pressures that you know come at the National Endowment for the Humanities or the National Endowment of the Arts, and this has been particularly true through the past several years, as well as for the new pressures on the universities.

Mr. HACKNEY. That is excellent advice that I will take.

Senator KASSEBAUM. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Pell.

Senator PELL. Thank you very much.

I would just say how great it is to see so many members of your future staff here for this hearing, and not worrying about coming up to the Hill and being seen.

Mr. HACKNEY. It is encouraging.

Senator PELL. A disappointment I have is that the White House does not have a point person whom those interested in the humanities, the arts, the museums, can be in touch with. For the time being, I guess you will be that point person. But there should be somebody actually in the White House; there has been in prior administrations.

Mr. HACKNEY. If I am confirmed, Senator, you may call me any time, and I will respond.

Senator PELL. Thank you. Just in closing, I would be very interested in your thoughts as to what you hope to see accomplished in the National Endowment for the Humanities under your stewardship.

Mr. HACKNEY. I would hope to increase the levels of coordination among the different divisions of the NEH and among the other Government agencies doing humanities programs in coordination with the NEH, and to engage in a real partnership with the State Humanities Councils to increase the participation of the American people in humanities activities.

I think there are some imaginative ways in which we can go about that. I do not have a blueprint as yet, as I should not, I think. I need to talk to a lot of people who are involved and to pick up their ideas and to learn a bit more about it.

But right now, I would think that one interesting thing to try with a portion of the NEH activities is to perhaps identify some themes that the State Humanities Councils and the different divisions of the NEH, and perhaps different agencies of Government, might create programs around all at the same time, so that we could pursue a similar theme. Something like this was done on a special occasion during the celebration of the Bicentennial of the Constitution in 1986 and 1987, and something like that could be done again, not waiting for another great anniversary, but simply picking a thematic area that is of great importance and great interest—perhaps the notion or the question of what is it that holds us together as a Nation. We are a very diverse people. That is even recognized in our motto, “E pluribus unum.” Well, how do we become one out of many? It is a very fascinating notion, and in a time when we are becoming more diverse, ethnically and culturally and every other way, we ought to think very carefully about what do we owe to each other as citizens. I think the National Endowment for the Humanities can play a role in creating that conversation that will allow us to pay some attention to the basic values, the fundamental values of the country, and I am looking forward to doing that.

Senator PELL. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Coats.

Senator COATS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Dr. Hackney, I have a series of questions to just clarify a couple of the matters. One, on the question of the investigation and prosecution according to the university procedures of the students involved in the newspaper incident. I want to just get the sequence of timing.

Did this incident take place right near the end of the academic year?

Mr. HACKNEY. Very near the end of the year, yes.

Senator COATS. And that's the basis for waiting until the fall?

Mr. HACKNEY. By the time the process could get to the point of having a hearing, the students were mostly gone. We did put a “judicial hold,” as it is called, on the transcript of a student who was a senior, so he will have to come back and satisfy that disciplinary hold. The other students will return in the fall, by which time we will have a special JIO in place and can proceed.

Senator COATS. Was an investigation initiated immediately after—

Mr. HACKNEY. Yes, there was a—no. We need a special JIO. There was a sort of investigation. The board of inquiry did look at some aspects of student behavior, but was mainly focused on the police and their behavior.

Senator COATS. So one of your recommendations, then, to the board of trustees—I think you had indicated you would leave some recommendations for a change in the process—would be a revision of that process?

Mr. HACKNEY. Absolutely, yes. I am frankly appalled at how long it takes us to get these cases to a hearing, and that is not good, and we need to change the process.

Senator COATS. Earlier in your testimony in response to my questions on the Eden Jacobowitz matter, and comparing that with Greg Pavlik, you indicated that with Mr. Pavlik, it came to your attention fairly immediately, and the reason you responded so quickly was that you felt it was an egregious situation to which you ought to respond; but you did not have that same immediacy of knowledge relative to the Jacobowitz case.

Now, Mr. Jacobowitz has stated that just 2 days after the incident—in fact, that happened late on the night of the 13th—on the 15th of January, 1993—and I am quoting from him now—“On January 15th, I approached President Hackney after an informal question and answer session he was holding at the Helail organization, where I take my kosher meals, and I told him my entire story. I told him everything I had said and everything the complainant said and how I was under investigation for racial harassment. I asked him for help because I had been told by a professor that cases labelled ‘racial harassment’ by the university tend to become big cases, proceeding longer than usual only because of that label. I could not believe that he, Dr. Hackney, did not remember that I approached him on January 15th and poured my heart out to him about how alarmed I was about this incident.”

That doesn't seem to square with your earlier answer in terms of your not having knowledge of the case, and that's the reason you did not intervene.

Mr. HACKNEY. I actually do not remember that. I did speak at Helail, as I do every year, at least; I do remember that evening, which would have been, I think, 2 days after the incident itself. It could well have happened, but I just don't remember it.

What I probably would have done on that is to see where the investigation was and ask one of my assistants to look into it. At that point, nothing would have happened. We had just had a similar incident that the JIO also investigated and did not proceed with. So I probably would have felt that there was no reason to worry that an injustice was about to be done, and I actually do not remember speaking—

Senator COATS. You have no recollection of the conversation—

Mr. HACKNEY. No.

Senator COATS. —or an association or meeting with Mr. Jacobowitz?

Mr. HACKNEY. No, no. Those are really interesting events. I speak, and then there is sort of a group discussion, and then I stand around for maybe an hour talking to individual students, and I simply do not remember that.

Senator COATS. Some questions have been raised about the university's inequitable treatment of speakers, and I am quoting here from the Boston Globe, who said in a June 24, 1993 edition: “When a student organization invited the counsel general of South Africa to speak on campus, and black groups threatened disruption, the administration refused to pay security costs, and the speech was canceled. But when Louis Farrakhan brought his”—and I am quoting the paper—“hate fest’ to Penn in 1988, Hackney not only

anteed up for extra security, but authorized the payment of part of the minister's honorarium from mandatory student activity fees."

I wonder if you could explain that and answer the question as to whether or not this is inconsistent with university policy.

Mr. HACKNEY. I can explain it. The invitation to the ambassador from South Africa came in the early eighties—I don't recall when, and it doesn't say there; probably 1983 or somewhere—

Senator COATS. I don't have the date.

Mr. HACKNEY. —it was fairly soon after I got to the university. The invitation was issued, he agreed to come, and then the student group that was issuing the invitation was told that the university policy was for all groups that were hosting a speaker to pay the security costs. They could not afford that, so they wrote the ambassador and withdrew the invitation. And as soon as I heard that, I said to myself, and indeed said to the provost, "This isn't right. We really can't have a policy that lets those who can afford it speak and those who can't afford it not speak." So we changed the policy right away, and therefore there was a different policy in place—in fact, we changed the policy so that the university paid the security costs for speakers who come to the campus. So there was a policy change between that incident with regard to the ambassador from South Africa and Louis Farrakhan's visit.

Senator COATS. Thank you.

I wonder if I could follow up on a question that Senator Hatch asked you. Some of the more controversial items that we have been involved in with the National Endowment of the Arts have involved Mapplethorpe—I am not exactly sure how to pronounce his name—and the Serano exhibits. Now, I understand the difference between a university making a decision as to whether or not to exhibit those and the National Endowment making a decision as to whether or not to issue a grant. We don't need to pursue that. I am just wondering, do you subscribe to the tenet that not awarding a grant would amount to censorship, or do you see a reason for discretion in judgment?

Mr. HACKNEY. No. I think there is room for discretion in judgment and a lot of room for very vigorous and rigorous review of merit. It is a multilayered review process at the NEH, and I will make sure that that is one of rigor and integrity, and I will not be afraid to use my own judgment about the merits of proposals that come to me.

Senator COATS. So you see a distinction between the display of a crucifix in urine if it is displayed at the University of Pennsylvania and a decision made in the board room of one of the endowments relative to whether taxpayers' funds should be used to display that?

Mr. HACKNEY. Well, I would. That's a hypothetical. I think, yes, I recognize that using taxpayer money is a real responsibility, and I am prepared to carry that out.

Senator COATS. I wonder if I could just finish by getting to the question of diversity. I would be interested in knowing how you define "diversity."

Mr. HACKNEY. We use the Government categories, Senator.

Senator COATS. Then it is important that we know how we define it. [Laughter.] And I can assure you, between now and the time this reaches the floor, I'll find out. [Laughter.]

Mr. HACKNEY. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission standard forms.

Senator COATS. Let me tell you why I bring this up. As you know, I am concerned that the Endowment for the Humanities review process be a fair process, and you have indicated that you have the same concern. I think in order to function fairly, that process has to be informed by the advice of qualified people who represent a range of viewpoints.

You may be familiar with an incident at Duke University in 1990, when a Duke University English professor, Stanley Fish, wrote the provost saying, "In my view, members of the National Association of Scholars should not be appointed to positions on key academic committees." I am wondering if you have any particular opinion about the National Association of Scholars and potential representatives from that organization being appointed to committees of the Endowment for the Humanities?

Mr. HACKNEY. That would not be a disabling factor in their appointment to the National Endowment for the Humanities so far as my recommendations might go. Some of my best friends are members of the NAS.

Senator COATS. Are you some of their best friend?

Mr. HACKNEY. That is not yet clear.

Senator COATS. Dr. Hackney, I try to operate on a principle relative to nominations that the presumption ought to be in favor of the individual making the appointment, so that U.S. Supreme Court nominations or Cabinet positions or a position such as yours, the presumption ought to rest in favor of the President who is making the appointment. And I think the burden of proof rests not on the appointer, but on those who may seek to deny the nomination, and it takes some clear and convincing evidence indicating that the individual is not qualified before I would think that presumption would be overcome.

This really has nothing to do with you, yet in a sense, it has a lot to do with your nomination because, as Senator Hatch indicated, there are some deep wounds and deep feelings regarding Dr. Carol Iannone's denial of a position, not as chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, but as a member of the advisory board.

Now, it seems ironic to me that the acting director of the National Endowment for the Humanities is someone who does not have a Ph.D. I think having a Ph.D. is important for that position, and I am pleased that you have the academic background and qualifications that you have. It doesn't seem to me that it would be critical that an individual have a Ph.D. to serve on the advisory committee; yet doesn't it seem ironic that the acting director does not have a Ph.D., and yet someone who did have a Ph.D., Carol Iannone, was not even qualified to serve on the advisory committee?

Mr. HACKNEY. I followed that case in the newspapers, but not terribly closely. I really don't have a personal position on it now. The matter of what the qualifications should be for National Coun-

cil membership and other positions in the NEH is a serious one, and I will certainly study it very carefully.

Senator COATS. Well, I ask the question because I think that that advisory committee ought to have some diversity.

Mr. HACKNEY. It sure should.

Senator COATS. And that diversity might be obtained by someone who has less than what would be considered liberal academic credentials, although I would question a denial of the fact that Dr. Iannone didn't have adequate credentials when such distinguished scholars as Jacques Barzun; Edward Shills, a distinguished professor of social thought at the University of Chicago; Donald Kagan, dean of Yale College; historian Gertrude Himmelfarb, who was the 1991 Jefferson Lecturer in the Humanities, and Joseph Epstein, editor of *The American Scholar*, the journal of Phi Beta Kappa, all gave very high endorsements for Dr. Iannone. I do not fall in that category of scholarship, but I think that for a position on an advisory committee, that that ought to be ample qualification, and I hope that you would exercise some discretion and judgment relative to appointment of individuals even if they did not necessarily fit a more rigid ideological background.

Mr. HACKNEY. I will do that, yes. Ideological rigidity is not me, frankly. Fairness, I think, is. And I do think that diversity needs to be represented there.

Senator COATS. And I thank you for your testimony and your patience this morning.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. HACKNEY. Thank you very much, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. I'm going to leave Carol Iannone alone.

Senator Wofford.

Senator WOFFORD. Mr. Chairman, thank you for asking those questions about the ways in which Sheldon Hackney has tied the University of Pennsylvania and the Philadelphia community, thank you Mr. Hackney for your response. And unless you have changed your mind about the quality of your writing and feel so strongly you could do better, I would like permission to put your annual report of 1987-88 in the record. It is not very long, but it is very hard-hitting and eloquent on Penn and Philadelphia common ground.

Mr. HACKNEY. I would consent to that.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be so included.

[The document referred to appears in the appendix.]

Senator WOFFORD. Just in closing, a quick comment on the three main thrusts from the outside world right now before us. The Wall Street Journal proposition, a rather peculiar one, in the "Review and Outlook" piece on June 9th, says: "As it is, this Democratic nominee will be voted upon by Democrats Ted Kennedy, Claiborne Pell, Howard Metzenbaum, Chris Dodd, Paul Simon, Tom Harkin, Barbara Mikulski, Jeff Bingaman, Paul Wellstone, and Harris Wofford." This hearing this morning, with the thoughtful, constructive, probing questions from our three Republican colleagues, suggests that there is a bipartisan spirit in this room today, and I am sure, knowing this committee, that is going to be the way we will approach your nomination.

Then, there was the Charles Krauthammer article today in The Washington Post, which said that if we on this committee had any gumption, we would turn this into a debate on political correctness, and says you are the symbol of political correctness, and I think you persuasively conveyed that that is not you, and there is no case for turning this into a debate on political correctness. If it did, I probably in fact would agree with Charles Krauthammer's critique of political correctness, and I think, knowing you, that you agree with a fair amount of it yourself.

Mr. HACKNEY. Indeed. I have spoken and written about that.

Senator WOFFORD. And your words are strong on the subject.

Nor is it a debate on Carol Iannone, and since I wasn't around, I have nothing to contribute to that. But to those who would from the outside try to turn this process into a debate on those other issues, we have the real answer from our colleague—whose article I am putting in the record and I commend to us—Senator Danforth's article, "A Presidential Nomination? Forget It." He says that the American people are tired of the politically lucrative field of divisiveness. That they want us to stop using Presidential nominations for the purpose of making a political point, or furthering a philosophical position, or establishing our own moral superiority, or embarrassing the President of the United States, whatever party may at the time occupy the White House. His thesis is that it takes courage to be a nominee. I have seen you engage in acts of courage over many years, but I am delighted that despite the challenges Senator Danforth points out, you have the courage to be a nominee.

Mr. HACKNEY. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Just in conclusion, I again want to recognize your wife, Mrs. Hackney. We know of her by her reputation as an enormously accomplished, gifted and talented person who has been very much involved in the university and has been an ombudsman for the university, and I am sure much more, but she has a very enviable record. I would note historically that she is the niece of Justice Hugo Black and so has had enormous interest in terms of both the public life and political life of the Nation. So we are very glad that she has joined us here today.

I will include in the record the New York Times editorial.

[The New York Times article appears in the appendix.]

The CHAIRMAN. Just on a personal note, you received the Bevridge Prize in American History, an enormous achievement and accomplishment. If I could just take another moment of your time, I asked Shelby Foote what part of the Civil War he left out, and he said the naval engagements, that they did not have the photography and so on, so that much of the documentation that was there for the other parts of the Civil War were not available, and he said he thought there were equally interesting manifestations of the same kind of heroism and bravery in those engagements.

I wonder whether you would agree with him, or whether you have any opinion about that?

Mr. HACKNEY. Actually, that is not my period—but I think he is right, and it is because of the absence of a photographic record—

The CHAIRMAN. The Brady pictures and others.

Mr. HACKNEY. [continuing]. Right, which are so powerful and so immediate in their impact. It is amazing after 150 years that they

really do still have that great impact and bring home the horrors of war and the bravery on both sides. It would be nice to have the naval engagements there to complete the record, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Dr. Hackney is a superb candidate for this position. President Clinton has made an excellent choice. The hearing provided an opportunity to address all the issues raised by his critics. Dr. Hackney is clearly committed to free expression, and he dealt with that issue eloquently and convincingly, and he will apply that principle in a fair and evenhanded way at the Humanities Endowment.

I intend to ask the committee to move the nomination as soon as possible, and I expect him to be confirmed by a solid bipartisan majority in the U.S. Senate.

The committee stands in recess.

[Whereupon, at 1:20 p.m., the committee was adjourned.]

[The appendix follows:]

APPENDIX

Prepared Statement of Sheldon Hackney

At first glance, my life does not appear to be one that was ever in need of transformation, yet I can bear personal witness to the sort of personal transformation that I believe the humanities have the power to accomplish.

I was born and raised in Birmingham, Alabama, the third son of a thoroughly Methodist family that eventually included five sons, the offspring of a marriage that is now in its sixty-fourth year. My childhood was spent in the Great Depression and World War II, and I was acutely aware that my world was one of scarcity and vulnerability. Nevertheless, my childhood was unproblematic, at least if one doesn't count my being continuously terrorized by my older brothers.

My father was a newspaperman before the war. As that was not the era of the journalist as hero, and as his family was large, when he returned from the Navy he set himself up in business buying and reselling war surplus material. His business evolved, and he eventually did very well.

As I went through public school in Birmingham, like most children of middle-income families, I could imagine various futures for myself, each of them honorable and productive, but I never imagined the life I have actually had. That life was opened up for me in part because of two superb History teachers at Ramsay High School, ^{in Birmingham} Mary McPhaul and Ellen Callen, and in part because I loved to read. My mother read to us a lot when we were young, and when I was a bit older I remember listening wondrously to her practicing the dramatic book readings that she did for literary clubs around the city, legitimate theater not having a very lively presence in Birmingham then. Although reading was a bit of magic for me, I was thoroughly imprisoned in the myth that real boys did not work very hard in school and real men were men of action rather than thought.

The major reason, however, that the world was saved from having yet another lawyer was my older brother, Fain, whom I worshipped. He was charismatic and multi-talented and very imaginative, so that he was always the leader in the neighborhood and the one who would organize our play, not only the standard games like kick-the-can and hide-and-seek, but elaborate war games and a game we called "town" in which everyone had a role selling something, and Fain was always the banker because he could draw so well and make beautiful

dollar bills. My brother, Morris, always got the lemonade concession and ended up with all the money that Fain had issued from the bank.

Fain was a young man of grandiose projects, usually too grand ever to finish but always exciting enough to draw in everyone else. Despite all his talent, he had an uneven academic record, reflecting his enthusiasms and his lack of focus, but he had a great time and made all those around him have a great time also. He went off to the University of Alabama where parties were then known to occur. He had a wonderful time his freshman year, and his abysmal grades showed it.

Something happened to him that following summer, and I don't know what the transforming event or experience was. In any case, he became a different person. He started reading books that were not required for school. He began to listen to classical music, to write poetry, and to talk of serious subjects. He transferred to Birmingham Southern College and started to work at his courses. I was fascinated.

Part of his plan for remaking his life was to become a Navy pilot, which he did. When I went off to Vanderbilt on a Naval ROTC scholarship, he was on the West Coast and then in Japan flying amphibious patrol planes. Letters from him were not only reports of adventures in exotic places but accounts of what he was reading and thinking and guilt-producing questions about my intellectual life, which even at Vanderbilt could be as sparse as one wanted it to be.

It was at about this time, because of Fain's example, if not his specific recommendation, that I was captured by the novels of William Faulkner, Ernest Hemingway, and especially Thomas Wolfe. I am almost embarrassed to remember how much I identified with Eugene Gant, a young Southerner coming of age by trying to read his way through the Harvard library. Vanderbilt was saturated, of course, with the tradition of the Fugitive poets and the Agrarians, and I studied them with appreciation. Though the Agrarians had taken their stand twenty years before in very different times and had since then taken diverse political paths, the big questions they had raised (about what is the good life, and what is the value of tradition, and what is the function of government, and what are the perils of modernity) were common and lively topics of debate among my friends.

We also talked of race relations, an omnipresent concern of Southerners black and white that was intensified by the Supreme Court's ruling in the Brown case that put an exclamation mark in the middle of my college years. For reasons that I find difficult to explain, but that

probably have to do with my religious training, I had broken away from southern white orthodoxy even before going to college and had concluded that racial segregation was wrong. As a historian, I have continued my interest in race because it is a major factor in American history. As an individual, I have continued my commitment to racial equality because I believe it is right and that group relationships are one of the major unresolved questions on the domestic scene. In the more formal curriculum at Vanderbilt, Dewey Grantham, Herb Baily and Henry Swint in the History Department increased my interest in History.

I was devastated by the death of my brother in a military plane crash in Japan in 1954 during the summer after my sophomore year. He had meant so many things to me that it was not until years later that I realized that his most important gift to me was to give me permission to use my mind in serious ways, to risk pursuing a subject that I enjoyed, to spend my life in pursuit of education for myself and for others. Watching him change, and being lured into the pleasures of thought as a way of enhancing experience, transformed my life and gave it purpose.

After three years on a destroyer and two years teaching weapons at the United States Naval Academy in Annapolis, I went to Yale to study under C. Vann Woodward, the leading historian of the South and the man who became the most important influence on my career as a historian and on my devotion to academic freedom, intellectual honesty, free speech, and the obligations of collegiality. I had been attracted to Woodward not only by his reinterpretation of the history of the South from Reconstruction to World War I, but by his subtle exploration, in the essays collected in The Burden of Southern History, of what it means to be a Southerner and what the history of the South means to the nation and the world.

After Yale, I joined the faculty of Princeton where I worked away at becoming the best teacher and scholar I could possibly be while raising a family and doing the sort of committee assignments and quasi-administrative tasks that faculty are called upon to do. My career as a historian, in fact, was diverted because I kept saying yes to such requests. When William G. Bowen became President of Princeton in 1972, he invited me to become Provost. The slippery slope turned into a water chute. I became President of Tulane University in 1975 and the University of Pennsylvania in 1981. This confirms the truth of the aphorism that life is what happens to you while you are planning something else.

I believe my twenty years of major responsibility in universities has prepared me to lead the National Endowment for the Humanities. For the past generation, universities have provided tough environments. University presidents operate in a sea of powerful and conflicting currents. To succeed, one must have a clear sense of strategic direction, a fundamental commitment to the core values of the University, the strength to persevere through contentious times, and the ability to gain and keep the support a variety of constituencies. I have not only survived in that environment, I have prospered, and my institutions have thrived.

Among the values that I hold dear is a belief that a university ought to be open to all points of view, even if some of those views expressed are personally abhorrent. I take some pride in having protected the right to speak of such diverse controversial figures from William Shockley at Princeton to Louis Farrakhan at Penn. The university should belong to all of its members and not be the exclusive domain of any particular person, group, or point of view.

During my twelve and a half years at Penn, I have made the undergraduate experience my highest priority. Penn has revamped the general education components of the curriculum in each of its four undergraduate schools, provided a livelier sense of community through the creation of freshman houses within the residential system, added a reading project that asks freshmen to read a common book and then to discuss that book in seminars during orientation week and throughout the year, revised our advising system, revitalized the freshman seminar program, and drawn senior faculty into the teaching of introductory courses. I have increased the diversity of the Penn student body and worked hard to sustain an inclusive and supportive atmosphere on campus, to provide a campus in which everyone has a very strong sense of belonging and in which our animated debates are carried out with civility. I have also created a new sense of partnership with the neighborhoods around us, as a close working relationship with the school system of the City of Philadelphia, and a national model program of volunteerism that I institutionalized a year ago by establishing the Center for Community Partnerships to stimulate and coordinate the involvement of faculty, staff and students in off-campus service activities.

Universities exist to create new knowledge and to preserve and communicate knowledge. The NEH, as a sort of university without walls, through its research, education, and public programs, is engaged in the same effort. I am dedicated to the proposition that we can improve the human condition through knowledge and that our hope for tomorrow in this troubled world depends on the sort of understanding that can come through learning.

I have great respect for the NEH. It is the single most important institution in American life promoting the humanities, and it has a long record of accomplishment. I believe there are things that can be done to extend and broaden the impact of the NEH as it fulfills its statutory task of stimulating the humanities.

I like to think of the humanities as human beings recording and thinking about human experience and the human condition, preserving the best of the past and deriving new insights in the present. One of the things that the NEH can do is to conduct a national conversation around the big questions: what is the meaning of life, what is a just society, what is the nature of duty, and so on. In this big conversation, it is not the function of the NEH to provide answers but to insure a discussion, to create a forum in which all voices can be heard.

Because they are not just for the few but for everyone, no single approach to the NEH mandate is adequate. There is a need for balance among research aimed at creating new knowledge, educational programs to insure that the humanities are creatively and invitingly represented in the curricula of our schools and colleges, and public programs to draw everyone into the big conversation. Those three activities should be related to each other and should be mutually supportive.

The country has never needed the humanities more. We not only face the challenges of a new geopolitical situation and the problems of adjusting to economic competition in a new global marketplace, but we face a crisis of values at home. What is happening to family and community? Who are we as a nation and where are we going? What holds us together as a nation and what do citizens owe to each other? What is the relationship of the individual to the group in a society whose political order is based upon individual rights and in which group membership is still a powerful social influence.

Even more importantly, the humanities have the capacity to deepen and extend to new dimensions the meaning of life for each and everyone of us. They have the capacity to transform individual lives, not necessarily in the external circumstances of those lives, but in their internal meaning.

Every human experience is enhanced by higher levels of knowledge. When I listen to a piece of music, I may like it and think it beautiful, but the person who knows the historical context of its composition understands what the composer was trying to accomplish technically and can compare the composition and the performance to others will get infinitely more out of the experience than I will. That is why I enjoy talking about common experiences with people

who will see it through a lens different from mine. The task of the NEH is to enrich the conversation and bring more people into it.

The premise of my approach to the tasks of the National Endowment for the Humanities is simple but profound. The more you know, the more you hear and see and feel. The more you know, the more you can know. The more you know, the more meaningful life is. Such can be the gift of the NEH to the American people.

STATEMENT FOR COMPLETION BY PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEES

PART I: ALL THE INFORMATION IN THIS PART WILL BE MADE PUBLIC

Name: Hackney (LAST) Francis (FIRST) Sheldon (MIDDLE)

Position to which Chairman, National Endowment for Date of
nominated: the Humanities nomination: _____

Date of birth: 5-12-33 (DAY MONTH YEAR) Place of birth: Birmingham, Alabama

Marital status: Married Full name of spouse: Lucy Judkins Durr Hackney

Name and ages
of children: Virginia Foster Hackney 4/29/58 36 years old
Sheldon Fain Hackney 10/4/60 23 years old
Elizabeth Hackney McBride 1/18/64 29 years old

Education:	Institution	Dates attended	Degrees received	Dates of degrees
	<u>Birmingham Southern College</u>	<u>1952</u>	<u>n/a</u>	<u>n/a</u>
	<u>Vanderbilt University</u>	<u>1952 - 1956</u>	<u>BA</u>	<u>1955</u>
	<u>American University</u>	<u>1959-1961</u>	<u>n/a</u>	<u>n/a</u>
	<u>Yale University</u>	<u>1961-1965</u>	<u>MA/ Ph.D.</u>	<u>1963; 1966</u>
	_____	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____	_____

Honors and awards: List below all scholarships, fellowships, honorary degrees, military medals, honorary society memberships, and any other special recognitions for outstanding service or achievement.

PLEASE SEE PAGE 1A

Honors and Degrees
Page 1-A

Honorary Degrees:

Doctor *honoris causa*, Université de Technologie de
Compiègne, 1991
Doctor *honoris causa*, University of Edinburgh, 1989
Doctor of Philosophy, Hebrew University of Jerusalem,
1984
Doctor of Laws, Haverford College, 1983
Doctor of Humane Letters, Philadelphia College of
Textiles, 1981

Honors and Awards:

Maimonides Award from the Anti-Defamation League of
B'nai B'rith, Philadelphia, 1988
West Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce Award of
Merit for service to the community, 1987
Appointed Honorary Professor, Shanghai Jiao Tong
University, 1984
Southern Historical Association's Charles S. Sydnor Prize
for best work in Southern History published during
1968-69
Albert J. Beveridge Prize in American History awarded by
the American Historical Association for the best book
in American History published in 1969

Memberships:

List below all memberships and offices held in professional, fraternal, business, scholarly,
civic, charitable and other organizations for the last five years and any other prior mem-
berships or offices you consider relevant.

Organization	Office held (if any)	Dates
Please see page 2A		

Employment record: List below all positions held since college, including the title or description of job, name of
employer, location of work, and dates of inclusive employment.

University of Pennsylvania, President and Professor of
History, 1981--- (Please see attached for job description)
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Tulane University, President and Professor of History
1975-1981, New Orleans, Louisiana

Princeton University, Provost and Professor, 1972-1975
Associate Professor, 1968-1972; Assistant Professor, 1966-68
Princeton, New Jersey

Page 2A - Memberships

Organization	Office Held	Dates
American Council on Education	Board	1991—Present
American Friends of Hebrew University, Philadelphia Chapter	Member	1983—Present
World Affairs Council	Chairman's Advisory Committee	1981—Present
Association of American Universities	Executive Committee	1984-90
Alopecia Areata Research Foundation	Honorary Member	1984-89
NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.	Philadelphia Committee	1986—Present
American Philosophical Society	Member	1988—Present
National Collegiate Athletic Association	Presidents Commission	1989-93
Pennsylvania Association of Colleges and Universities	Executive Committee Secretary-Treasurer	1989—Present 1992—Present
Board of Advisors, PBS Documentary "Making Sense of the Sixties,"	Board of Advisors	1991
Philadelphians for Good Government	Steering Committee	1991—Present
Boards:		
The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching	Board of Directors Chairman	1976-84; 1986— 1982-83
Urban Affairs Partnership Philadelphia	Member	1984-91
Monell Chemical Senses Center	Board Member	1981—Present
University City Science Center	Board Member	1981—1985
Committee to Support Philadelphia Public Schools	Board Member	1983—Present
Pennsylvania Economic Development Partnership	Board Member	1987—Present
Bear Stearns Companies Inc.	Board of Directors	1987—Present
Say Yes to Education Foundation	Board Member	1988—Present
Greater Philadelphia Urban Affairs Coalition	Board Member	1991—Present

Pennsylvania Partnerships for Children	Board Member	1991—Present
Campus Compact (Project for Public and Community Service)	Executive Committee	1992—Present
Philadelphia City Charter Reform Committee	Member	1992—Present
The West Philadelphia Partnership	Chairman	1981—Present

Memberships

American Historical Association	Member	
Southern Historical Association	Member	Life
Organization of American Historians	Member	
The Union League of Philadelphia	Member	1991—

Page 2B - Employment Record

The President shall hold office upon such terms as the Trustees shall determine.

Functions and Duties of the President: As the chief executive officer of the University, the President is its educational and administrative head. He or she is responsible to the Trustees for conduct, coordination, and quality of the University's program and for its future development. The President shall have the authority to perform all acts which are necessary to make effective the policies and actions of the Trustees unless a resolution of the Trustees specifically grants such authority to another person or entity. As a liaison between the Trustees and the faculty, the President shall inform each of the views and concerns of the other relating to the programs and administration of the University.

The President shall hold the academic rank of professor, shall be a member of every Faculty of the University, and may at his or her discretion call a meeting of any Faculty.

Government experience:

List any advisory, consultative, honorary or other part-time service or positions with Federal, State, or local governments other than those listed above.

Member, Mayor's Private Sector Task Force on Management and Productivity, 1992-1993

Member, Pennsylvania Economic Development Partnership, 1987-

Member, Philadelphia 2000

Published writings:

List the titles, publishers and dates of books, articles, reports or other published materials you have written.

Please see page 3A

Political affiliations and activities:

List all memberships and offices held in or financial contributions and services rendered to all political parties or election committees during the last five years.

Please see page 3B

Page 3A - Published Writings

- Publications:** POPULISM TO PROGRESSIVISM IN ALABAMA, Princeton University Press, 1969.
- "Southern Violence," *American Historical Review* Vol. LXXIV, pp. 906-925, February 1969.
- "Power to the Computers: A Revolution in History?," AFIPS, *Proceedings of the 1970 Spring Joint Computer Conference*.
- POPULISM: THE CRITICAL ISSUES, Little, Brown and Co., 1971.
- "Origins of the New South in Retrospect," *Journal of Southern History*, May 1972.
- "The South as a Counterculture," *The American Scholar*, Spring 1973.
- UNDERSTANDING THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE: RECENT INTERPRETATIONS, 2 vols., ed. with James M. Banner, Jr., and Barton J. Bernstein, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1973.
- BLACKS AND THE POPULIST REVOLT, Gerald H. Gaither: Introduction by Sheldon Hackney. University of Alabama Press, 1977.
- PARTNERS IN THE RESEARCH ENTERPRISE: UNIVERSITY-CORPORATE RELATIONS IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, prologue and co-editor. University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983.
- "Supply, Demand and the University," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, January 1984.
- "The Clay County Origins of Mr. Justice Black: The Populist as Insider," *Alabama Law Review*, Vol. 36, No. 3, Spring 1985.
- "The University and Its Community: Past and Present," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Nov. 1986.
- "Student Financial Aid for Public Service," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, Op-ed page, November 14, 1985
- "Angling for red herrings in academe," *The Christian Science Monitor*, December 9, 1985
- "College shouldn't be just for the rich," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, February 9, 1986
- Is My Armor Straight? A Year in the Life of a University President*, Richard Berendzen, Adler & Adler, 1986 - review in *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, June 15, 1986
- "Skyrocketing Tuition: Why College Is So Expensive," *Educational Record*, American Council on Education, Spring/Summer 1986
- "Colleges must not cut quality to curb costs," *USA Today*, guest editorial, March 3, 1987

"Cutting Student Aid Would Be Unfair," *The Washington Post*,
 guest editorial, May 17, 1987

"Idealism is alive on campus, and it can be lifelong," *The
 Philadelphia Inquirer*, Op-ed page, April 8, 1989

"The Helms Amendment Imperils the Basis of Intellectual
 Freedom," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, September 6, 1989

"Perspectives on Literacy," *YMCA Souvenir Journal*, October 1990

"Dealing with Campus Rape," *Higher Education and National
 Affairs*, American Council on Education, Vol. 40, Nov. 4, Feb. 25,
 1991

"Campuses aren't besieged by politically correct storm troopers,"
Philadelphia Inquirer Op-ed page, October 3, 1991

"Don't relegate education to the marketplace" (with Marvin
 Lazerson), *Philadelphia Inquirer* Op-ed page, July 12, 1992

Page 3B - Political Contributions for Sheldon and Lucy Hackney

Reporting Year: 1992

January 28	Clinton for President (LH)	\$500.00
January 29	Foglietta for Congress	\$500.00
February 11	Clinton to President Committee (LH)	\$500.00
March 22	Bill Clinton for President (LH)	\$500.00
October 21	Marjorie Margolis Mezvinsky (LH)	\$500.00
October 24	PA Democratic Committee (LH)	\$1000.00
October 30	Joe McDade Committee	\$500.00
May 16	Lynn Yeakel for Senate (LH)	\$500.00
*	John Murtha	\$500.00

Reporting Year: 1991

March 28	Murtha for Re-election Committee	\$500.00
September 19	Citizens for Senator Wofford	\$500.00
September 28	Rendell '91	\$500.00
November 2	Harris Wofford for Senate	\$500.00

Reporting Year: 1990

October 31	Foglietta '90	\$200.00
November 21	Bill Gray for Congress Committee	\$500.00

Reporting Year: 1989

May 25	Citizens for Arlen Specter	\$1,000.00
June 13	Citizens for Arlen Specter	\$1,000.00
October 19	Foglietta '89	\$500.00
October 30	Foglietta '90	\$500.00

Reporting Year: 1988

September 20	Democratic National Committee	\$500.00
October 14	Senator John Heinz	\$500.00
November 4	Committee for Democratic Opportunity (Bill Gray)	\$250.00
November 4	Murtha for Re-election Committee	\$250.00

* Specific date unavailable

Future employment
relationships

1. Indicate whether you will sever all connections with your present employer, business firm, association or organization if you are confirmed by the Senate.

I will be on leave without pay from my position as Professor Of History at the University of Pennsylvania

2. State whether you have any plans after completing government service to resume employment, affiliation or practice with your previous employer, business firm, association or organization.

I may return to teach History.

3. Has a commitment been made to you for employment after you leave Federal service?

Policy allows up to four years leave without pay to serve in federal government in Presidential appointments.

4. Do you intend to serve the full term for which you have been appointed or until the next Presidential election, whichever is applicable?

Yes.

Potential conflicts
of interest:

1. Describe any financial arrangements, deferred compensation agreements or other continuing financial, business or professional dealings with business associates, clients or customers who will be affected by policies which you will influence in the position to which you have been nominated.

None.

2. List any investments, obligations, liabilities, or other financial relationships which constitute potential conflicts of interest with the position to which you have been nominated.

None

3. Describe any business relationship, dealing or financial transaction which you have had during the last five years whether for yourself, on behalf of a client, or acting as an agent, that constitutes a potential conflict of interest with the position to which you have been nominated.

None.

4. List any lobbying activity during the past 10 years in which you have engaged for the purpose of directly or indirectly influencing the passage, defeat or modification of any Federal legislation or of affecting the administration and execution of Federal law or policy.

As President of the University, I have spoken from time to time with Senators and members of the House of Representatives about legislation affecting Penn and higher education, including student financial aid, research funding programs, tax policy on gifts, limits on tax exempt bonds, funding for research facilities, tax treatment of educational benefits, etc. (Please see Page 5A)

5. Explain how you will resolve any potential conflict of interest that may be disclosed by your responses to the above items.

I don't believe any exists, but I will resign from any activity that presents an apparent conflict of interest.

Page 5A - Senate and House of Representative Appearances**December 8, 1983**

Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education and Subcommittee on Select Education, House Committee on Education and Labor - Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Topic: The relationship between the Federal Government and Research Universities.

March 4, 1985

House Committee on the Judiciary and House Committee on Education and Labor - Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Topic: H.R. 700, The Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1985

May 25, 1993

Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs - Washington, DC. Topic: S. 635, the Anti-Apartheid Act, and Economic Sanctions against South Africa

September 12, 1985

Subcommittee on Education, Arts and Humanities, Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources - Washington, DC. Topic: Reauthorization of the Higher Education Act, and Campus-Based Student Aid

STATEMENT OF SENATOR PAUL WELLSTONE
 COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES
 HEARING ON NOMINATION OF SHELDON HACKNEY
 TO BE CHAIR OF THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES
 June 25, 1993

Mr. Chairman, I would like to voice my strong support for the nomination of Dr. Sheldon Hackney to be the Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH).

I was very pleased to hear that President Clinton had nominated such a distinguished member of academia to head the Endowment. For the last twelve years, some say that the Endowment has served as more of a forum on political ideology than an agency with a mandate to promote the humanities. Vartan Gregorian, President of Brown University, described Dr. Hackney as having a "judicious, moderate temperate." Mr. Chairman, I recently met Dr. Hackney, and I couldn't agree more with this assessment. I also think that such a temperament is exactly what NEH needs to have at its helm.

I have been very disappointed to see some of the recent criticisms of Dr. Hackney by several national columnists. As you know, before I was elected to the United States Senate, I was a college professor and I can tell you that the problems on the University of Pennsylvania campus are not unique. This Committee, as you remember, held a hearing which I chaired on freedom of speech on college campuses last fall. Many students, faculty, and administrators testified to the fact that an atmosphere of intolerance is not uncommon on college campuses nationwide. Some campuses have tried to combat these problems by imposing so-called speech codes. Whether or not one agrees with the use of such codes, I don't think it's fair to link Dr. Hackney's qualifications to head the Endowment with the University of Pennsylvania's policies.

Let me say that again: I do not believe that the problems at the University of Pennsylvania have any impact at all on Dr. Hackney's suitability to be the Chairman of the NEH. His record as an outspoken advocate of free speech precedes him. He is a widely respected southern historian and university president.

The Endowment disburses millions of dollars in grant funding to promote the humanities in this country. The Chairperson of the Endowment needs to be a proven administrator with a strong background in the humanities. Dr. Hackney possesses both of these qualities.

Mr. Chairman, as our society becomes more complex and diverse, I don't think we can understate the importance of the Endowment to making the humanities accessible to all Americans, without geographic boundaries. I commend the President on his selection of Dr. Hackney to head this important agency. As the saying goes, he is a "scholar and a gentleman."

Responses to Senator Wellstone

Q. Many of those who testified in last fall's hearing described a growing atmosphere of intolerance on college campuses. Do you agree with this characterization?

A. I agree that there is an increasing amount of tension among racial and ethnic groups on campus, and this is reflected in rising intolerance.

Q. Do you think that this is still true today, almost a year later?

A. Unfortunately it is still true, and it is still a problem.

Q. Do you think that such an atmosphere led to the recent controversial events at the University of Pennsylvania?

A. Yes, the events this spring at Penn are a reflection of the growing atmosphere of intolerance that your committee explored last fall.

Prepared Statement of Representative Blackwell

Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to join with my colleagues from Pennsylvania in introducing a man who has committed his boundless energy and unparalleled intellect to improving the quality of our nation's academic institutions. Sheldon Hackney is a man who always stands up for what he believes, and he is certainly not afraid to fight in defense of free speech, and academic freedom.

As the President of the University of Pennsylvania in the great City of Philadelphia, Dr. Hackney has presided over one of the finest schools in the nation with a remarkable sense of persistence and dedication. His tenure has earned him widespread and much deserved praise from every corner of the globe, and he has developed a reputation as a President who is quick to resolve disputes in the fairest manner possible.

The City of Philadelphia has certainly come to appreciate, and indeed rely on the leadership of Dr. Hackney. As one of the city's great academic institutions, the University of Pennsylvania serves not only as an academic center, but as one of the great centers of culture in Philadelphia and the entire nation. Dr. Hackney has always made the greatest effort to reach out to the community, and involve youths and adults alike in Penn's multitude of cultural, academic, and athletic programs. leadership, Penn and Philadelphia have joined together, and enjoyed a tremendous relationship that has allowed for an exceptional level of growth, for both town and gown alike.

In this day and age Mr. Chairman, when University presidents nearly always find themselves under fire, Dr. Hackney has remained above the fray, and sought to find that small piece of middle ground that is so essential in any dispute resolution. I have had the good fortune to work with Dr. Hackney personally on many occasions, and I have always been struck by his kindness and decency. He is a distinguished scholar, and he possesses the necessary skills to effectively administer the agency charged with supporting our nation's academic and humanistic livelihood.

Philadelphia's loss will be the nation's gain. In choosing Dr. Sheldon Hackney, President Clinton has demonstrated the importance of this vital Agency. I have the greatest confidence that Sheldon Hackney will serve this Nation with leadership and outstanding ability. Thank you Mr. Chairman.

**Prepared Statement of Stephen H. Balch, President,
National Association of Scholars**

I would like to thank the United States Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources for the opportunity to place this statement in the record.

For some time now, American academic life has been troubled by the issue of politicization. Scholars, journalists, and the general public have become increasingly aware of the extent to which the standards that have traditionally governed research, teaching, and campus life are being distorted by political and ideological pressures, above all in the humanities. With the nomination of Dr. Sheldon Hackney to the chairmanship of the National Endowment for the Humanities, this issue and its consequences for federal policy toward the humanities come before the United States Senate.

The NEH is unique among federal agencies. Its mission is the enrichment of humanistic scholarship, a responsibility requiring intellectual integrity and liberal vision. Since the chairman of the NEH oversees the agency's decision-making machinery, he must ensure that its deliberations are governed by considerations of scholarly or cultural merit, and — to the extent that this is humanly possible — insulated from political bias or interest-group pressure. This is true whether the decisions made determine support for highly specialized individual research, or projects that will receive broad public exposure.

All those who participate in these decisions, whether NEH staff or outside scholars involved in peer review, must be able to do their work in full confidence that their judgments will not be subordinated to ideological prejudice or censorship. Foremost among his duties, the NEH chairman must maintain an institutional climate in which such confidence prevails. Because of his office's visibility, the NEH chairman also bears a general responsibility for leadership within American higher education. Thus, he must be a credible and unflagging champion of intellectual freedom and scholarly integrity in all their aspects.

Sadly, it can no longer be taken for granted that most senior academic leaders have these qualities. In the case of Dr. Hackney, a confusing mixture of statements and actions seriously clouds a record otherwise possessing many merits. Recent events at the University of Pennsylvania, over which he has presided for twelve years, raise particular doubt that he has a proper regard for the essential right of free expression in academic life or the determination to defend it against political assaults. To confirm Dr. Hackney's nomination, the members of the Senate must satisfy themselves that his reactions to these events have not been so egregious as to disqualify him for leadership of the NEH. This requires, in turn, that Dr. Hackney appropriately clarify at least one of his statements, and provide a convincing account — not yet in the public record — that would correct the impression of many individuals on the Penn campus that his administration has been impermissibly lax in disciplining students involved in a major infringement of this right to free speech.

Despite the satire lately aimed at Dr. Hackney, he is not a figure of fun. Were this so, his nomination could be lightly dismissed. It is precisely because Dr. Hackney is such a well-known, experienced academic executive that he deserves to have his case scrutinized closely and his explanations carefully weighed. Indeed, Dr. Hackney, in both his strengths and weaknesses, is representative of current American higher education leadership, and any assessment made of him will have the added benefit of revealing much about the academy's overall state of mind.

Whatever his limitations, Dr. Hackney can point to genuine accomplishments in the course of a long academic career. He has been the president of two major universities and the provost of a third. During his tenure at the University of Pennsylvania, he has greatly augmented its endowment, enhanced the appearance of its campus, generally refrained from inappropriate interference with faculty self-governance, and displayed a consistent interest in undergraduate teaching, continuing to offer a course in American history while shouldering heavy administrative burdens. Though some of the policies pursued at Penn have, in my opinion, been very misguided (most notably the introduction of a speech code and the institution of dormitory-based sensitivity programs that jeopardize the intellectual autonomy and privacy of students), Dr. Hackney, in some of his most memorable public utterances, has shown that he can be an eloquent defender of cultural freedom. Moreover, until the events of April, some knowledgeable observers of Penn believed the climate of intellectual freedom on campus to be steadily improving. For example, faced with strong campus opposition to the institution's first broadly drafted speech regulations (and the manner in which they were being implemented), Dr.

Hackney displayed an admirable willingness to engage the arguments of his critics, inviting one of the most persuasive to appear before the University's board of trustees. As a result of the debate which followed, the code was narrowed and refined, limiting the definition of verbal harassment to expression only intended "to inflict direct injury on the person ... to whom ... [it] ... is directed." While this revision did not prove successful in preventing abuses and follies, Dr. Hackney's willingness to undertake it demonstrated that he possessed some apprehensions about chilling expression of opinion at Penn. Finally, in at least one case, Dr. Hackney intervened promptly and decisively when informed of harassment charges that were in transparent violation of University regulations. As a result, the charges were immediately dropped.

Unfortunately, more recent events at Penn have revived doubt about Dr. Hackney's credibility and firmness in defending basic academic principles, especially when pressures are acute (which is, of course, precisely when the most dependable commitment to principle is needed). These incidents have also undermined confidence in his ability to impart to subordinates his own personal ideals. This is particularly important because the NEH, through its peer review system and staff recruitment practices, has an intellectual culture that resembles that of the academy. Like a university, its decision-making processes can easily become tainted in the absence of leadership that is uncompromising in its opposition to politicization.

To decide whether Dr. Hackney can provide appropriate leadership, two recent episodes at Penn should be examined in detail. The case of Eden Jacobowitz, an undergraduate accused of racial harassment for calling noisy sorority members "water buffalo," has attracted national and international attention. To most of the journalists and editorialists — liberal and conservative — who commented on it, the case demonstrated the self-defeating quality of speech codes in doing individual justice or reducing intergroup tension. The Jacobowitz case, as well as another serious episode that received less coverage, also exhibit the abuses that can occur when harassment codes are implemented by administrators with little grasp of the value of free expression or the nature of a university. In addition, they raise questions about the realism of some of Dr. Hackney's earlier statements that the phenomenon of "political correctness" had been "greatly exaggerated." An NEH chairman cannot afford to be a Pollyanna, and it would be well to ask Dr. Hackney whether recent troubles have led him to reconsider his once rosy view.

It would be particularly helpful to know whether, in the wake of the Jacobowitz case, Dr. Hackney still believes that the "criminalization" of accusations of prejudice, as opposed to efforts at conciliation involving moral suasion, is wise. In the Jacobowitz case, a verbal exchange — probably involving no more than a lapse of manners and temper — was elevated into a "high moral crime," subject to lengthy and cumbersome procedures, and carrying the possibility of indelibly stigmatizing the accused. The result has not done the parties, least of all Dr. Hackney and his university, any good.

Also disturbing was the reported remark of a student judicial officer that the content of Jacobowitz's utterances was less important than how it was perceived by his accusers. The use of a subjective test renders it impossible to anticipate reliably infractions, the classic definition of a "chilling effect." It also shows how a supposedly "narrow code" can still have mischievous consequences. Indeed, *The Washington Post*, on May 2, 1993 (in an editorial, "Speech Code Silliness"), argued that the use of such tests "leads to absurd difficulties and injustice," and specifically cited the Jacobowitz case as "a sobering example."

The second episode, involving a conservative *Daily Pennsylvanian* columnist, Gregory Pavlik, has even more serious implications for an assessment of Dr. Hackney's leadership. Pavlik, who had written a series of columns critical of affirmative action and Martin Luther King, was accused of harassment by the leaders of a black student organization. Instead of immediately dismissing the complaint, student judicial officers notified Pavlik that proceedings would go forward. Only when Pavlik enlisted the support of a sympathetic professor, who contacted Dr. Hackney, were the charges dismissed. Dr. Hackney's personal role in this affair was, of course, commendable, but the very necessity of his intervention indicates a disturbingly illiberal mentality on the part of key subordinates. The Senate should seek an explanation of why individuals of such limited understanding were entrusted with adjudicating harassment complaints. Failure to ensure that University middle management is chosen in a manner that guarantees the reasonable and equitable execution of sensitive policy does not bode well for Dr. Hackney's stewardship at the NEH.

It would be troubling enough if events only raised questions about Dr. Hackney's ability to choose, guide, and supervise staff. Unfortunately, the theft of almost the entire press run of

the *Daily Pennsylvanian* on the day of Pavlik's last column compels consideration of Dr. Hackney's own views about the free marketplace of ideas. It also raises a most serious question about his resolution and evenhandedness in translating principles into action when pressures come not from "traditionalists," but from groups with which he has greater personal sympathy.

In an essay in the September 6, 1989 issue of *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, Dr. Hackney was sharply critical of legislation sponsored by Senator Jesse Helms that would have prohibited the National Endowment for the Arts from funding work that "denigrates the objects or beliefs of the adherents of a particular religion or non-religion," or that "debases and reviles a group or class of citizens on the basis of race, creed, sex, handicap, age or national origin." Arguing against anything smacking of censorship, Dr. Hackney noted perceptively that art "is inherently unsettling, because it reorders the world for us, perhaps challenging our assumptions and beliefs, or reaffirming our perceptions for new reasons" (though, strangely, the University of Pennsylvania's own harassment code, promulgated that same year, contained quite similar language, explicitly prohibiting "any behavior verbal or physical that stigmatizes or victimizes individuals on the basis of race, ethnicity or national origin"). As Dr. Hackney surely knows, the justification for unfettered speech is precisely the same as that for unfettered art, and speech, like art, is also most exposed to the risk of censorship when it conveys a disagreeable view.

In examining Dr. Hackney's reactions, some contrasting features of these two episodes might usefully be kept in mind. The criticism of the NEA emanated from Christians and cultural conservatives outraged by a federally funded exhibit that included the picture of a crucifix immersed in urine. In the case of the *Daily Pennsylvanian*, the outrage was voiced by black student groups and directed at the opinions of a conservative columnist. The controversy over the Helms amendment centered on whether "offensive" art should be federally subsidized, that over the *Daily Pennsylvanian* on whether an "offensive" newspaper could simply be circulated. The action taken by those aggrieved by the NEA was the lawful one of introducing legislation, however misconceived; by contrast, the critics of the *Daily Pennsylvanian* attempted to obstruct physically, and probably unlawfully, the distribution of a newspaper.

The differences in the origins of these threats to free expression should not have affected Dr. Hackney's reaction to them, though differences in their nature might well have argued for a more vehement response in the affair of the *Daily Pennsylvanian*. Surprisingly, however, Dr. Hackney's immediate comment on the confiscation of the *Daily Pennsylvanian* (printed on April 20th in the University's official publication, *Almanac*) conveyed an equivocation and uncertainty wholly absent from his earlier statements repudiating artistic censorship. Rather than issuing the simple straightforward condemnation that this atrocious and unacceptable act clearly called for, Dr. Hackney felt obliged to make his now famous observation that "two important university values, diversity and open expression, seem to be in conflict." While he did go on to affirm that there could be no compromise regarding First Amendment rights, he thought the context required that he also stress that there should be "no ignoring the pain that expression may cause." (Indeed, a very large part of his statement consists of apologetic reassurances — not, as one might expect, to the staff and readership of the *Daily Pennsylvanian*, but to the "minority community at Penn" — as to how tensions between the campus security force and minority students would be investigated and reduced.) Concluding his statement, Dr. Hackney urged that members of the University of Pennsylvania community work together "to narrow the distance that now seems to preclude ... [the] ... peaceful coexistence" of diversity and open expression, arguing that "Penn must be both a diverse and welcoming community for all its members, and one in which freedom of expression is the supreme common value." How this circle might be squared was never explained. Debate, of course, can be sharp and civil, but to expect that debate be congenial is to misunderstand its nature and, perhaps, subtly to encourage its constraint.

In an institution devoted to the life of the mind, diversity is not in tension with controversy; rather, diversity requires that controversy flourish. A university agenda devoted to narrowing differences of opinion in search of a "welcoming community," instead of exploring them in the pursuit of liberating knowledge, is illegitimate and self-defeating.¹ This would be equally and painfully true at the NEH, where scholars of every outlook must be assured not of a "welcome" but of statutorily mandated fair, disinterested evaluation.

¹ This point was made forcefully in a letter to Dr. Hackney signed by the dean of the University of Pennsylvania Law School and fifteen of its faculty members, who observed that the "removal of the newspapers struck at the heart of the most fundamental diversity which the university should foster — diversity of thought, views and expression."

As a requirement for approval of his nomination, Dr. Hackney should be expected to dispel the ambiguity that now exists regarding his understanding of the nature and consequences of intellectual freedom, and to provide assurances that he does not utilize a double standard when open expression is jeopardized.

Both in his April 20th statement and in another carried on April 22nd in *Penn News* (an administrative publication of the University of Pennsylvania), Dr. Hackney assured the Penn community that violators of University policies would be subject to the provisions of the University judicial system. To date, however, none of those suspected in the theft of the *Daily Pennsylvanian* appears to have faced a hearing, nor does it seem that anyone was actually charged until a complaint was filed by a faculty member — rather than the administration itself — several weeks after the event. Ironically, the one security officer who did detain students caught in the act of carrying away copies of the *Daily Pennsylvanian* was reassigned to desk work, pending an investigation of his actions.

In light of the gravity of the offense, hesitation in identifying and charging suspected perpetrators would constitute a serious dereliction of duty. Moreover, since the misdeed was immediately visible to everyone on campus, ensuring a vigorous investigation was from the first a matter of presidential responsibility.

Dr. Hackney must clarify the record. As a requirement for approval of his nomination, he should be expected to describe in some detail — and with appropriate chronology — the actions his administration took to identify and charge the perpetrators of the *Daily Pennsylvanian* theft. This description should contain convincing evidence of an investigation whose vigor and dispatch was commensurate with the severity of the offense. A university willing to proceed with charges in the case of an ill-tempered remark can certainly be expected to move swiftly against those who would block the circulation of its campus newspaper. Unless Dr. Hackney can assure reasonable observers that his administration has not been uncertain or negligent in this matter, confidence in his ability to enforce the laws and regulations governing the NEH will be seriously impaired.

It is a decidedly unhappy circumstance when a distinguished educator and leader of one of America's most esteemed universities must be asked publicly to reaffirm his dedication to principles that only a few years ago were taken for granted, not only in academic life but in American society at large. Though Dr. Hackney has significant merits, the events that have coincided with his nomination require that he explain his seemingly weak and equivocating response. They particularly require that he remove the impression that his defense of intellectual freedom and willingness to enforce rules varies with the political winds. The American people have the right to a National Endowment of the Humanities whose policies are categorically committed to intellectual freedom and procedural fairness. Can Dr. Hackney ensure that he will follow such policies?

EDEN JACOBOWITZ

521 Jorgen Street Lawrence N.Y 11559

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

January 13, 1993

On Wednesday night, January 13, between eleven P.M. and midnight, members of the Delta Sigma Theta sorority were assembled outside my window stomping their feet, shouting, screaming and singing. In response to the unusually loud noise while I was trying to study and my roommate was trying to sleep, I waited twenty minutes and shouted "shut up!" The noise did not cease so I shouted "Shut up you water buffalo," and since the women sang about "looking for a party," I said "If you're looking for a party there is a zoo a mile from here." This is all I shouted.

The women, who later brought charges against me, entered the building and were directed to my room by 3 women on my floor who heard what I had shouted and who testified that it was not racial. I was not in my room at the time, but the complainants still proceeded to shout at my roommate "You white boy! You white boy! We are going to get you thrown out of school!"

On the same night, the complainants brought their racial harassment charges and the police immediately began an investigation in the dormitory. I was visiting the room of the women who heard me shout out the window when there was a knock on their door. The police had arrived to ask questions. They police did not approach me, so I walked up to them, knowing I had not done anything wrong, and volunteered my information to them. I told them what I shouted, but I certainly did not think they were there to investigate my actions.

January 14, 1993

The next morning at approximately 10:15 AM Detective Forsythe of the University Police knocked on my door and asked me to come with him for questioning at campus police headquarters. I skipped class, and went with him, telling him the entire story. I also asked him whether I would be able to speak with the women to tell them that I had meant nothing offensive when I shouted "water buffalo." He told me this might be a possibility later. But I thought the quickest solution to any "problem" would be to allow me to speak with the complainants. Later that day, I was shown a police list containing all the words the complainants claim that they heard from all the many windows. Nothing on that list matched what I actually had said. I thought that in a rational judicial system that if I proved I never said anything on that list, and explained that I never meant anything racial, the charges would be dropped. But this system, which President Sheldon Hackney promulgated and defended, was anything but fair and rational.

January 15, 1993

On January 15, I approached President Hackney after an informal question and answer session he was holding at the Hillel Organization, where I take my kosher meals, and I told him my entire story. I told him everything I had said, and everything the complainants said, and that now I was under investigation for racial harassment. I asked him for help because I had been told by a professor that cases labeled "racial harassment" by the University tend to become big cases proceeding longer than usual, only because of that label. He had the opportunity at this early stage in the process to obtain the information about the case and to make sure justice was carried out quickly. But he never offered assistance, even when the judicial system had failed and the process had been violated. When the University newspaper interviewed President Hackney they asked him "Couldn't you... encourage them to settle [the case] and throw it out, way back when- when you heard about it?" And he responded "But I don't even remember now when I heard about it. I don't normally get involved." I could not believe that he did not remember that I approached him on January 15 and poured my heart out to him about how alarmed I was about this incident.

January 19, 1993

On January 19 I received a letter from Robin Read notifying me that a complaint had been filed against me. It also indicated that I would have to schedule a meeting with Robin Read immediately.

January 26, 1993

At approximately 9 AM I met with Robin Read with my first advisor, Dr. Francine Walker, Director of the Office Student Life at the University, at my side. At this meeting I made it clear to Robin Read that I had absolutely no racial intentions when I shouted "water buffalo." I also repeatedly explained that water buffalo was simply a reference to the noise, and I asked once again to meet with the complainants. Both Robin Read and my first advisor, her colleague in the Division of University Life, insisted that this meeting would not be a good idea. But I strongly disagreed. I feel that if I had been allowed to speak with the complainants from the beginning, this case would not have lasted longer than a few days. But with the reluctance of the judicial officer to set up this meeting along with President Hackney's reluctance to intervene, all communication and "exchange of ideas" was obstructed. President Hackney, in a letter he has sent responding to the issue refers to "the supportive community we seek to create at Penn." But how can we have a "community" where one student is not permitted to talk to his accusers in a peaceful, friendly setting?

Racism was the furthest thing from my mind when I shouted out the window. When Robin Read shockingly asked me if my thoughts were racist when I shouted, I made that point completely clear. Yet she still proceeded with these absurd charges and allowed them to remain for over four months. This is an extraordinarily long time to decide whether a word like "water buffalo" is racial. For an Israeli-born orthodox Jew raised on Hebrew, using the word "behemah," which means "water oxen" literally and "foolish person" in slang, is certainly not a racist act. In addition animal references, commonly used when people are making noise at a University, should certainly not be labeled racist. Indeed, one of the most famous animal references, "Animal house," is the title of a movie about noisy, predominately white fraternity boys, and was certainly not considered racist. At Penn the dormitory most commonly called a "zoo" is a noisy and predominately white dorm. Knowing all this, President Hackney should have intervened, or at the least, should have demanded that the judicial office speed the trial up and make a final decision by a certain date, not to prolong my ordeal.

January 26-March 22

From January 26-March 22 the investigation by Robin Read continued. It was a period during which we had several meetings. I felt that she had certainly collected enough information to vindicate me. I asked on numerous occasions to meet with the complainants to apologize for my unpleasant words and to tell them that the only reason I shouted was because they made extremely loud noise. But after I asked for a meeting numerous times the judicial office finally presented the idea to the complainants and they rejected it.

March 10-26

During this period I met with Robin Read twice. In the first meeting she notified me that she decided that I had violated the Racial Harassment policy based on her incorrect assumption that "water buffaloes are dark primitive animals that live in Africa." She also told me that it did not matter what I meant when I shouted out the window and that all that mattered was how the women interpreted what I said. This also should have been grounds for President Hackney's intervention because it was completely contradictory to the judicial policy that states that the words have to be intended by the speaker "only" to "inflict direct injury" in order for them to be classified as racial harassment. She then proposed a completely unfair settlement which I could agree to instead of a hearing. If I agreed to (1) apologize for racial harassment (2) conduct

procedural irregularities. Dr. Kors spoke to Steven Steinberg from the President's Office who explained the details of the case to the President. But Dr. Hackney responded that there was no cause for intervention even though he was now well informed about everything that had transpired.

 May 3, 1993

On May 3, I was notified that a new hearing was to be scheduled for May 14. Along with many University administrators, the president has always claimed that the Judiciary was completely independent. At one point we had received the word of the judicial administrator that this hearing on May 14 would only be a discussion of the dismissal of charges without any witnesses. He decided that it should not be a full hearing because our original hearing that was scheduled for April 26, when we had 20 witnesses prepared to testify on my behalf was, in the words of a top University official- "wrongly postponed," and now my witnesses were dispersed. But on the night of May 12, at 10:30 PM, only 33 hours before the scheduled hearing, University officials forced the judicial administrator to go back on his word making him change the meeting to a full hearing. Now 33 hours before the new hearing date, with all our witnesses whom we had been told not to bring, gone on summer break- We were instructed to "do [our] best." This was a blatant interference with the so-called independent judiciary, and my right to due process. The University only agreed to honor its word after The American Civil Liberties Union of Pennsylvania and Sonia and Arnold Silverstein, my pro-bono lawyers, threatened to go to court and seek an injunction against this kangaroo hearing.

Soon after, Dr. Kors and I were notified that the University's lawyers would not allow one of my main witnesses, my first advisor, Dr. Fran Walker, to testify about a critical settlement hearing in Robin Read's office- the evidence of which clearly would have established my innocence, and which Dr. Walker had twice confirmed by telephone to Dr. Kors. All these severe violations of due process did not appear to concern the judicial office, the University's administrators, or President Hackney. I truly believe that if I did not expose this incident to the public the scape-goating would have continued and the judicial system would have ruined my future without anyone knowing about it.

 May 14

On May 14, the hearing for the dismissal of charges took place. At this hearing Dr. Kors and I were allowed to speak for only a fraction of the time allotted to the complainant's side. We were also warned by the tribunal consisting of three faculty members, one graduate student and one undergraduate all chosen by the judicial office, that we were not to speak about the case to the press anymore. They had placed a "gag order" on my advisor and me. Within hours we held a press conference at the offices of the ACLU with my lawyers present as well, notifying the public about this gag order. Later that evening we received a call from University officials claiming that there never really was a gag order and notifying us that this gag order was lifted.

 May 24

On May 24 the University published the findings of the tribunal of the May 14 hearing. The University decided to proceed with the case in the fall. But in a surprise press conference the complainants decided to drop the charges because they felt that they could not get a fair trial within the University's corrupt judicial system.

 May 28

On May 28 President Hackney began sending a disturbing letter to everyone who had written to him. He claims that there have been many inaccuracies and distortions in the press. I would like to make it clear that I have always been completely honest with the press, presenting the evidence as accurately as I could. I believe that he and his politically correct counterparts did not care that a student was unjustly accused of racial harassment.

In his letter President Hackney has tried to convey the impression that many people "do not share the same sense of crisis and calumny that has been so much in the news." First of all, this message is false. Many noble individuals, primarily alumni, have written me letters expressing great concern, and many have felt compelled to withhold donations from the University. Most students, black and white, including those who organized a free speech rally at the University in early May, have been disgusted by the University's mishandling of this situation. Second of all, it is abominable that President Hackney does not share this sense of crisis. Because of serious racial tensions on campus which should definitely concern President Hackney, an innocent freshman had an entire semester ruined by unjust charges. Robin Read attempted to ruin my future by creating a judicial record for me and adding notations to my transcript. These damaging and very serious charges hung over my head from January till late May and created extraordinarily painful circumstances. The abuses of a grossly imperfect judicial system and the unjust suffering of a student should certainly concern a University President.

President Hackney has also provided false information regarding the policies and procedures, by referring to the press reports as "one-sided media coverage that our current charter permitted." The current charter clearly allowed the complainants to respond the moment that I stepped forward, and at their press conference the complainants finally exercised that right. The President of a University should accurately present the judicial policies when writing to such a large group of concerned individuals.

President Hackney has continuously asked to allow "the process to run its course." But I gave the process over four months, far more time than necessary, to realize that water

buffalo is not a racial epithet. This process has taken away something irreplaceable- a semester of my freshman year. I was supposed to learn how to deal with college students this year, not college judicial officers.

Finally I would like to make it clear that the real issue here is not racial harassment. The real issue is Freedom of Speech. I established my innocence from the beginning. The only reason this case was able to drag on so long is because the University has a speech code limiting the constitutional rights of students. By the standards of that speech code I should have been found innocent, but because it was in the hands of incompetent and cruel judicial officers my future was almost ruined.

QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD BY SENATOR KASSEBAUM FOR SHELDON HACKNEY, NOMINEE FOR CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT OF THE HUMANITIES

1. *Regarding the Eden Jacobowitz affair, did you think the charge of racial harassment against Mr. Jacobowitz was justified? If so, please explain why.*

I did not think the charge of racial harassment was justified. Penn's policy is very narrowly focused. It applies only in situations in which racial or ethnic slurs are used in face to face encounters and with no other intent than to inflict harm. The facts of the case do not meet these criteria. In addition, because of the misapplication of the policy and the confusions that abound in this case, I have come to feel that even though civility is very important in an educational setting it is a mistake to try to enforce it among members of the campus community through rules and penalties administered through a judicial system.

2. *In retrospect, do you believe you should have intervened in the university judicial process brought against Mr. Jacobowitz, or do you stand by your action not to intervene?*

As awful as the spring was, I still think it was not appropriate for me to intervene in the judicial procedure. There is no provision for the President or for any officer of the University to intervene. To have intervened would have called into question the legitimacy of the entire system that handles dozens of cases every year, denied to the complainants their right to have their complaint adjudicated by a faculty-student hearing panel, and thrown the campus into an even more divisive crisis than the one through which it actually lived. Had the system worked properly, and a hearing panel heard the case, I believe that justice would have prevailed. As it turned out, the case came to a close when the complainants withdrew their charges.

3. *In the episode involving the theft of 14,000 copies of the Daily Pennsylvanian, the University's student newspaper, in April, 1993, please explain your reaction at the time of the incident, including the complete statement issued by your office.*

I append the statements issued at the time of the incident. I believe they make clear that I recognized the seriousness of the violation and emphasized the primacy of free speech on a university campus.

4. *Please describe in detail what your administration did to identify and bring charges against those responsible for the Daily Pennsylvanian theft? Has anyone ever been charged in the theft? If so, what was the result in terms of penalties meted out?*

The Committee on Open Expression (an important faculty-student committee that monitors the Open Expression Guidelines) has ruled that the incident was a violation of the Open Expression Guidelines, thus making clear that charges would be brought. A number of students apparently involved in the incident have been identified and will face judicial procedures when they return to campus for the fall term. The one senior involved has had a "judicial hold" put on his transcript, meaning that he must clear up his disciplinary status before receiving his degree or being able to have his transcript sent to employers or graduate schools. In view of the seriousness of this case, the Vice Provost for University Life has appointed a respected senior faculty member to serve as the Special Judicial Inquiry Officer for this case.

5. *Do you believe your response to the incident was appropriate considering the seriousness of the act in the context of First Amendment rights to free expression?*

Yes, although I do wish now that in my original statement I had not used a formulation that was so easily taken out of context and misrepresented. If I could write the document again, I would undoubtedly use language that was even clearer and stronger in condemning the confiscations.

6. *Your responses to the Jacobowitz affair and to the newspaper theft incident have been characterized as employing a double standard on the issue of free expression. What is your response to that charge.*

The charge is absolutely false. Throughout my career, I have defended free inquiry, free speech, and academic freedom for people from all parts of the political spectrum, left, right and center. I have repeatedly done so when under considerable pressure to cancel appearances of controversial speakers or to discipline students or faculty who have earned the disapproval of persons or groups on the campus and off. The list of speakers whose security arrangements I have personally supervised is a veritable who's who of controversy over the past 20 years, from William Shockley to Louis Farrakhan and all shades of opinion between.

One incident in particular has been used to suggest that I am less than even handed. In the early 1980s, the South African Ambassador to the United States accepted an invitation to speak from a student group. The student group was then informed that University policy (which preceded my arrival at Penn) required host groups to pay all the costs of invited speakers, including security costs. Special security required for the South African Ambassador would have incurred substantial costs. The student group therefore withdrew the invitation. As soon as I heard of this situation and realized that it was based on a University policy, I changed the policy. The University isn't really open to all points of view if a host group is required to be rich enough to pay the costs involved in keeping opponents of the speaker from disrupting the event. The new policy was thus in effect when all subsequent speakers, including Louis Farrakhan, have been invited to speak on campus.

7. The Wall Street Journal reported that at the time of a speaking engagement by artist Andres Serrano on the University of Penn campus in 1989-90, you refused to order the removal of campus sidewalk graffiti depicting anti-religious and graphic sexual symbols. Please explain what occurred.

As with so much that the Wall Street Journal has reported about me, the facts are wrong in important respects, highly distorted in other respects, and the story presented in a misleading way. Early on the morning of April 13, 1993, members of Penn's groundskeeping crew arrived on campus to find, written in chalk, graffiti depicting religious and sexually graphic and offensive symbols and slogans on Locust Walk, the main pedestrian thoroughfare intersecting the Penn campus. The groundskeeping crew, on its own initiative, immediately washed off this graffiti. Later that day the students -- members of a gay rights group on campus -- who had originally done the graffiti writing, protested to Penn's Assistant Vice Provost for Student Life that the erasure of the graffiti violated the University's Guidelines on Open Expression. The Committee on Open Expression, following precedent, found that the graffiti was protected speech as long as the graffiti was temporary and did not permanently deface University property. Members of the group returned the next day and renewed their graffiti writing. The issue was handled under regular University open expression policies and procedures. I was not personally involved in it. The incident did not relate to Andres Serrano's visit to Penn, which took place on December 5, 1990.

8. Please explain your criticism of the Helms Amendment as it pertained to the work of artists, Robert Mapplethorpe and Andres Serrano.

I did criticize the language of the Senate amendment to the NEA-NEH appropriation bill for FY90 (the Helms Amendment) because I believed that the language of the bill -- which Congress wisely did not include in the final version of the appropriations legislation -- was impossibly vague and overbroad. The Helms amendment to the FY90 appropriations bill would have imposed unworkable content restrictions, and I believe that Congress has been wise in its judgement not to adopt it.

9. The Wall Street Journal reported that you proposed banning ROTC from the University of Pennsylvania campus in 1990 because of the military's prohibition on gays and lesbians serving in the military. Is this true?

As with a number of other assertions made by the Wall Street Journal, this is simply untrue. I am a supporter of ROTC on campus. Indeed, I am a product of the NROTC program at Vanderbilt University, and I have spoken frequently on campus about why I think it is a good program.

10. You have been quoted in the past as stating that the impact of "political correctness" on American university campuses is "greatly exaggerated." Do you believe that "political correctness" contributes to the free exchange of ideas and tolerance of different points of view in American academia today?

The term "political correctness" is almost hopelessly vague and imprecise. It began as a term of self-derision, and now it has taken on a life of its own as a caricature of a certain kind of liberal left orthodoxy that is so solicitous of the interests of groups that can claim the status of having been victimized by society that the general interests of the University are of secondary importance and at times even the search for truth is threatened. Fortunately, "political correctness" does not dominate American campuses, though it is something about which faculty and academic leaders ought to worry about. I believe that I am representative of the broad mainstream of the American professoriate that sees danger in any potentially intolerant orthodoxy, but that may also see partial merit in some ideas that may be part of a "politically correct" position.

FROM THE TRUSTEES

Below, the Chairman of the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania shares with the campus his message to the Trustees upon the resignation of President Sheldon Hackney

A Message to the University Community

April 16, 1993

We were delighted to learn earlier this week of President Clinton's intention to nominate Sheldon Hackney as the next Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities. While it is difficult indeed to imagine Penn without Sheldon, this is a magnificent opportunity for him and one that reflects well not only on him but also on Penn.

Sheldon's appointment, which is yet subject to Senate confirmation, has accelerated what has been his intention to step down as the successful conclusion of the Campaign for Penn. However, it along many factors also account, including the uncertain timing of the Senate hearings, Sheldon informed me earlier this week that he intends to resign as president of Penn no later than June 30, 1993, to give the Trustees the opportunity to begin immediately the search for Penn's next president and to identify an acting president to serve in the interim. The executive committee met yesterday on campus; we have begun to convene the consultative committee to advise us on Penn's next president and will be prepared to announce the acting president next week.

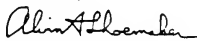
Penn's accomplishments since Sheldon's arrival in February 1981 are without parallel in higher education. He has clearly been one of Penn's greatest chief executives, leading one of higher education's most thorough and effective institutional planning processes. While maintaining its strong regional base, Penn's student body has become nationally and internationally diverse. Looking toward Penn's long-term future as well as its current operations, Sheldon has continued our tradition of solid fiscal management. His presidency has seen endowment increase five-fold to top \$1 billion for the first time in history. The Campaign for Penn is fast becoming one of higher education's legends, already having raised \$955.3 million toward the \$1 billion goal, and providing funding for 122 endowed chairs, the highest number in the history of higher education development efforts.

Beyond these successes, Sheldon leaves the lasting imprint of his multifaceted efforts that strengthened Penn's reputation as a leading research university that provides a superb undergraduate education, his leadership of nationally-recognized activities that place Penn in the vanguard of university-community partnerships, and his firm and clear devotion to creating a humane and civil environment for all members of Penn's community.

As we look to the future, we do so with a strong foundation of outstanding faculty, students, administrators and staff, a solid financial base, and a reputation for being the best managed institution of higher education in the country. Thanks to Sheldon and all of those who have been part of his team, the University of Pennsylvania is well positioned to continue its emergence as, in his words, "the leading international research institution that really cares about undergraduate education." As we move to form the consultative committee to advise the Board of Trustees on candidates for Penn's next president, we do so with confidence. Penn is an exciting place to be, and its leadership is one of higher education's most compelling posts. I have no doubt that we will attract an outstanding group of candidates.

Finally, I am sure you join me in wishing Sheldon and Lucy the very best as they move into the next phase of their extraordinary lives.

Sincerely,



Alvin V. Shoemaker



COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
HARRISBURG

SONDRA MYERS
CULTURAL ADVISOR TO THE GOVERNOR

P. O. Box 1026
Harrisburg, PA
17108-1026
(717) 783-5281
Fax No. (717) 783-1073

June 10, 1993

Senator Harris Wofford
United States Senate
Room 283A
Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Harris:

It is with great enthusiasm that I commend to you the confirmation of Sheldon Hackney as Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities. I bring to this endorsement extensive knowledge of and experience with the Endowment and with Dr. Hackney.

As a former chair of the Pennsylvania Humanities Council and a past president of the Federation of State Humanities Councils, I have worked with the Endowment for over twenty years. The agency, although modest in size, is of primary importance in fostering and supporting research and dissemination of ideas which are critical to Americans' understanding of our own history and of our knowledge of the world and our place in it.

As a nation we are at a crossroads. We are entering a new millennium, one which presents us with the challenges of maintaining our precious legacy of democracy in a climate of a domestic and international change. The NEH is the leading federal agency to nurture understanding of ourselves and others. It requires, more than ever before, the leadership of one who is deeply grounded in the disciplines of the humanities and who has the skills, experience and vision to guide this major agency into the future.

I have had the privilege of knowing Sheldon Hackney since he came to Pennsylvania to assume the presidency of one of our premier academic institutions. During his tenure at the University of Pennsylvania, the institution has made enormous strides in developing-academically and economically, and, critically important, too, in its responsibility to the community.

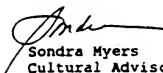
Dr. Hackney is amply qualified for a position of national leadership. His intellectual acuity, his integrity of character and his overriding concern for the public good are qualities that insure a well conceived and well managed

Endowment, one which will preserve the principles and purposes which informed its creation by the Congress. It will be an agency for the people.

Dr. Hackney is not a ideologue; he is a pragmatic idealist, in the tradition of our Founding Fathers, who has a passionate commitment to learning and a profound knowledge of its importance to the future of American democracy.

I have full confidence that he would serve the National Endowment for the Humanities with honor and distinction. I hope and trust that the committee will confirm his nomination with all due speed and confidence.

Sincerely,



Sondra Myers
Cultural Advisor to the Governor

Pennsylvania Congressional Delegation

JOHN P. MURPHY, M.C. _____
AUSTIN J. BURNETT, M.C.
WILLIAM J. COYNE, M.C.
JOSEPH M. MCMADE, M.C.
BLAD SHUSTER, M.C.
STEERING COMMITTEE

HOUSE ANNEX B
ROOM 336
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
(202) 755-1445

June 16, 1992

Senator Edward Kennedy
Chairman
Committee on Labor and Human Resources
Senate Dirksen Office Building, Room 428
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Kennedy:

We write to express our unequivocal support for the appointment of Dr. Sheldon Hackney, President of the University of Pennsylvania, for the Chairmanship of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

As members of the Pennsylvania delegation, we have worked closely with Dr. Hackney and are personally familiar with him and his impressive work with the University of Pennsylvania. We believe Dr. Hackney is strongly committed to the Endowment's mandate to increase our nation's understanding and appreciation of the humanities. He has served as President of the University of Pennsylvania since 1981, after serving as President of Tulane University, and professor and provost at Princeton University.

Throughout his academic and administrative career, Dr. Hackney has proven an exceptionally talented scholar and leader. He is a person of remarkable intelligence, integrity, and sound judgement who, at Penn, has helped build a university community of more than 40,000 students, faculty, and staff that is a cross-section of American life.


In addition, Dr. Hackney is a distinguished scholar of the American South who has served prominently on such prestigious bodies as the Rockefeller Commission on the Humanities and the ACE Commission on Women in Higher Education. He also chaired the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and was elected to the American Philosophical Society in 1988.

We believe Dr. Mackney would make a compelling contribution as part of the Clinton Administration. Indeed, we can think of no one more qualified to head our nation's lead agency in support of scholarship and public understanding of our cultural heritage. We recommend him without reservation. We thank you for your attention.

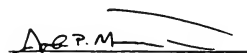
Sincerely,



Thomas M. Foglietta, M.C.



Harris Wolford, U.S.S.



John P. Murtha, M.C.



Lucien E. Blackwell, M.C.



Marjorie Margolis-Mezvinsky, M.C.



Robert A. Borski, M.C.



William J. Coyde, M.C.



Austin J. Murphy, M.C.



Paul E. Kanjorski, M.C.



Paul McHale, M.C.



Ron Klink, M.C.

Penn and Philadelphia: Common Ground

The earliest universities were high-walled places built for contemplation and study—typically set apart from real world intrusions and the din and distractions of urban life.

But the University of Pennsylvania, from its very beginning, was cast in a new mold, philosophically and physically.

Our founder, Benjamin Franklin, established an institution whose curriculum departed decidedly from the standard focus on the classical texts. He opted instead for a mix of mathematics, science, moral philosophy, natural law and the study of government—a curriculum that stressed the application of knowledge. His intent, in the words of William Smith, Penn's first Provost, was that students should be "...rendered capable of Thinking, Writing and Acting well, which is the grand aim of a liberal education."

Franklin and his colleagues opted, too, for an institution that would be a pivotal player on the urban stage. They set the foundation for a university whose students and faculty then, as now, draw strength and vigor as they apply their knowledge—as they give and take, in the best sense of the words, from the world around them.

The following pages focus on the dynamic interaction between Penn today and the community of which it is a part—the important links our University has built to its immediate neighbors and the entire Delaware Valley.

In three pages we describe how Penn plays a leading role in the economic and cultural life of West Philadelphia and throughout the

City. We describe, also, how Penn serves as a key drawing rail for economic development in a region that sits at the hub of the entire Northeast corridor.

Just as importantly, we describe the creative and unselfish ways in which Penn's students, faculty and staff strive to apply their own time and the resources of the University, academic and otherwise, to local needs—simultaneously completing their education beyond the classroom and contributing in a myriad of ways to the lives of Penn's neighbors.

The following portrait is an index with the picture drawn by those who would have us believe that only a college student is self-centered, uncaring and concerned mainly about material comforts. Instead, the efforts and programs summarized here demonstrate the extent to which so many of today's Penn students share their time and talents with others.

Further, what follows is only a glimpse of some of the ongoing efforts of literally thousands of Penn students, faculty and staff.

It would be impossible to catalogue here each of these efforts given the University's large number of academic departments and student and faculty groups. Such a catalogue easily would list more than 250 community programs and projects cutting across nearly all of the University's academic disciplines and taking such disparate forms as

—Hundreds of individual one-on-one tutoring and big-brother/big-sister activities that bring together Penn students, faculty and staff and West Philadelphia youngsters. Many of the projects fall under the umbrella of Penn Extension, the University arm whose purpose is to



develop and encourage volunteer service to the community.

—A range of initiatives to stimulate community and business development in the neighborhood and commercial strips adjoining the campus, including active and successful efforts to help West Philadelphians and to target West Philadelphia ventures for University purchases. These "Help West Philadelphia" and "Buy West Philadelphia" efforts included more than \$2 million this year in Penn purchases from neighborhood vendors, an increase of nearly 60 percent over last year; and,

—A program whose scope covers as many as 15,000 persons—the Penn-initiated West Philadelphia Mental Health Project, an effort to bring desperately needed coordination and continuity in the multi-agency delivery of emergency and ongoing mental health services in West Philadelphia.

In between we would find timely academic-based research, along with student and faculty involvement, in a

Several ranges of difficult and current public policy issues. Members of the Penn family, for instance, are playing key roles in evaluating the curriculum and designing ways to retain students in Philadelphia's public schools; others have been at the center of the drive to reform the State tax laws and reduce the City wage tax, and have been deeply involved in such issues as the Convention Center, the City's waste disposal crisis, and the future of the region's mass transit system.

The picture that emerges is one of a relationship in which the University and the City are important to one another. We stand on common ground, our futures very much intertwined.

Penn's presence in the City of Philadelphia helps us attract the best faculty and students, in both cases drawn by the quality of life and the cultural, professional and research opportunities that only a great urban center offers. The City, conversely, benefits from the University's intellectual and professional expertise on significant issues, and from the magnetism that Penn's research talent and facilities play in drawing commerce to the region.

Much of our work is carried out through coalitions involving the University, our neighboring sister institutions, and most importantly the people who live and work in West Philadelphia.

Foremost among these coalitions is the West Philadelphia Partnership (WPP), composed of the area's non-profit educational, health care and scientific institutions, residential civic associations and business interests. The WPP's "Buy West Philadelphia" and "Hire West Philadelphia" campaigns—to name only two of its



Food and clothes for the homeless: Penn junior Debbie Gutmann, a volunteer in the University City Hospitality Coalition

successful efforts—best demonstrate how the University's resources can make a far-reaching positive impact when the planning and decision-making begins with a true partnership between the University and the community.

We dedicate this Annual Report to all of our partners in West Philadelphia—and to all of the University's students, faculty and staff members who have created a record of successful programs and have shaped a foundation of trust and mutual commitment to a stronger West Philadelphia. We look forward to building on that foundation, and to forging yet even more creative and productive links with the community in which we live, learn and work.

Sheldon Hackers
Sheldon Hackers
President

West Philadelphia Improvement Corps

The Focus Is On Real Problems

Central to all of the programs that link the University and the community are several principles:

—Community residents must play an active role in the decision-making process. To best encourage the necessary sharing and reciprocal working relationships, a partnership must exist between the University and the community.

—To encourage the most serious involvement by participants—one that will last beyond the founding generation of all parties—the service activity and the educational program must be connected.

—To achieve intellectual integration across disciplines, and between theory and practice, research opportunities must be linked with service experiences, and

—To ensure a long-term significance, work must be funded and institutionalize the service-learning process.

An effort at Penn successfully met these terms and has attracted state, national and even international acclaim—and has served as a demonstration of the value of innovative efforts—like the West Philadelphia Improvement Corps (WEPIC).

Keating on at-risk youth, WEPIC was born in a general honors course in the School of Arts and Sciences. The course is taught jointly by Ira Harkavy, Vice Dean of the



▲ *West Philadelphia High WEPIC participants retune the school's pipe organ*

School, Professor of History Lee Harkavy, and President Shondra Harkavy. It requires students to write what Harkavy calls a "participatory action research plan" for solving problems facing the community.

"The intention is for students to examine the issues and to propose ways to improve the quality of life," explains Harkavy, who also serves as director of the Office of Community Outreach Policy Studies within Penn's School of Arts and Sciences.

From one such paper three years ago came a plan for a summer youth corps for disadvantaged high school students. The plan revolved around the proposal that middle school and high school students who up to then had encountered academic difficulties in the traditional classroom setting might succeed academically if the education process were integrated with real-world employment skills—especially with projects geared to improving the community.

The most widely acclaimed project has been a run-down abandoned house at 60th Street and Osage Avenue. To renovate the



Housing Rehab: West Philadelphia youths on a WEPIC job site

house. Harkavy and his Penn students brought together—under the umbrella of the West Philadelphia Partnership—resources from Penn., the School District of Philadelphia, the city's Private Industry Council, the U.S. Department of Labor, the Philadelphia Urban Coalition, the Philadelphia Area Labor Management Committee, the state Departments of Education and Labor and Industry, the Philadelphia

Housing Development Corporation, and unions representing the city's teachers, sheetmetal workers and plumbers.

Some 20 students from West Philadelphia High School who until then had demonstrated little interest in math skills found their skills to be much easier learned in measuring

steel or designing a staircase for the neighborhood house they began rehabilitating under the direction of two teachers from the high school and two retired carpenters.

"The students changed," says Walt McAuley, one of the retired carpenters. "I don't know if it was because they recognized that we were doing something to improve the community, or because they were

learning job skills at the same time, but they became more attentive. They started learning not only from us but from each other, and became able to better figure out problems for themselves."

At the same time, teachers at West Philadelphia High School report better work habits and a noticeable boost in the morale of the school staff and other students who have been exposed to WEPIC.

WEPIC has moved from that first project to the point where it now involves more than 150 neighborhood students in landscaping, recycling, cleanup activities, mural painting and tutoring. It has been designated a National Demonstration Project by the U.S. Department of Labor, and has been recognized as an international model by the German Marshall Fund of the United States, which has sponsored study tours to Europe to disseminate information about the program.

Administered by the West Philadelphia Partnership, WEPIC programs now include students from six local public schools:

—In the summer of 1988 students from the West Philadelphia High School rehabilitated the school's pipe organ, which had not sounded a note in years. Members of Penn's Curtis Organ Restoration Society volunteered to sponsor this effort with WEPIC—an effort that saw some 2,300 pipes removed and cleaned under the direction of West Philadelphia High School music teacher Paul Murphy and organ repair specialist Pat Murphy. At least three of WEPIC's participating students are considering careers in

organ repairs as a result of the project:

—Others WEPIC students carried out landscaping and mural painting around the school and at the Bryant Elementary School at 60th Street and Cedar Avenue:

—At the Lee Elementary School on 48th Street, WEPIC did an extensive cleaning and painting on the school's property, making a noticeable impact in the neighborhood; and.

—WEPIC youngsters carried their newfound landscape expertise to the Philadelphia Zoo, where they sharpened and added to their skills this past summer.

"WEPIC is the most important academic-community project underway in the country," states Lee Benson.

"On one hand it brings together a cross-section of disciplines to carry out academic-based research that benefits a community. At the same time it is a powerful demonstration that Penn's undergraduates can contribute to community revitalization."

U. S. Secretary of Labor Ann McLaughlin cited WEPIC as "a new model for partnerships, and as an example of the kind of cooperation we need for the future of our country." She called WEPIC the kind of partnership "that is crucial in transforming at-risk children, at-risk schools and at-risk neighborhoods."

In addition to WEPIC, just across the Schuylkill River in the Point Breeze neighborhood sits another outstanding example of an academic project that is paying dividends in community improvement.

This one was designed in Penn's Wharton School Real Estate Center.

as part of a course taught by Professor William Zucker. It has seen undergraduate and graduate students, the University's Department of Physical Plant and the Point Breeze Federation team up to transform an abandoned, rundown shell into a modern single-family dwelling.

"You don't develop an understanding of real estate by sitting in a cubicle doing regression analysis," explains Zucker.

"Real estate is about real life, about development and involvement with government agencies, trade unions and marketing. It's about hands-on experience."

Zucker's students received that hands-on experience, using the guidance of Penn's Physical Plant staff to do much of the rehabilitation in the house themselves. As a result, 2220 Latona Street has a proud new community owner, and the students have used the proceeds from their sale of the house to purchase the shell next door to start the process all over again.

Where to call:

West Philadelphia Improvement Corps
(215) 747-1645

Office of Community Oriented Policy Studies
School of Arts and Sciences
University of Pennsylvania
(215) 898-3351

Greening Project

'...And Before You Know It, You Have A Community Going'

Urban gardening is not unique to West Philadelphia. In neighborhoods all across Philadelphia and other cities, local residents are turning forgotten parcels of land into flower and vegetable gardens.

The way it has shaped up in West Philadelphia, however, is unusual. It is urban gardening and much more—a new tool for citizen empowerment and community improvement. It involves the multidisciplinary resources of the University, community residents, the West Philadelphia Partnership, Philadelphia Green, the city and state governments, and a \$750,000 three-year grant from the J.N. Pew Charitable Trust.

Leading the effort at the University are faculty and students from the Department of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning in the Graduate School of Fine Arts. As the planning process unfolds in the Department, the coordination of field projects is being supervised by the Organization and Management Group, originally affiliated with Penn's Fels Center of Government.

The faculty and students are working with local residents and Philadelphia Green, an outreach program of the Pennsylvania Horticulture Society, to identify community needs and goals. Together, they are designing a broad range of landscape and improvement projects throughout West

Philadelphia, including work at more than 60 street and garden sites. More importantly, they are building new means for citizens to become involved in community improvement.

"Once a garden is put into place on one corner, a group down the street wants a garden just like it," explains Gary Smith, Adjunct Assistant Professor of Landscape Architecture.

"Next they plant trees along the street to connect the two gardens, and people start putting out window boxes. Then before you know it, you have a community going."

"Once the local residents have organized around a garden, they call City Hall to get the streets repaired and the curbs reset. Then they call to get better lighting. They become resource and politically organized as a neighborhood."

Anne Whiston Spiern, Professor of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning and chair of that department, says that gardens lead to people working together on larger community issues.

"People who don't agree on a whole lot else agree on gardening," Spiern states. "The spirit of gardening is one of nurturing, generosity and caring. People give away their treasures and other things they can't consume. The gardens are a great way to bring people together to get other things accomplished."

For Penn's students, Spiern says, the community gardens provide valuable teaching opportunities, serving as models for understanding neighborhood and urban dynamics. Using gardens as a microscope for the city, students explore such issues as traffic patterns, commerce and communication. At the same time, they get hands-on experience in

planning, the use of materials, and how to work with clients and contractors.

Before the three-year West Philadelphia Landscape Plan and Greening Project is completed, Spiern plans to expand its interdisciplinary credentials by working with the West Philadelphia Improvement Corporation (WEPIC), which originated in the College of Arts and Sciences, to establish a commercial garden center. Young people from West Philadelphia will be trained for employment in horticulture and landscape management—another step in making the greening project not only a gardening effort but a vehicle for ongoing community-wide development.

Who to call:

West Philadelphia Landscape Plan
& Greening Project
(215) 662-9707

Organization and Management
Group
(215) 662-9707



*Urban Greening: Lillie Cunningham in her urban garden, at Brown & 49th Streets, part of the West Philadelphia
Urbanist Plan and Greening Project involving Penn's Department of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning*

Penn and Public Education

Time to Invest In Young People'

The spotlight on public schools can sharpen or fade with the ebb and flow of a political campaign, or perhaps with the thought-provoking statements of a government administrator or prominent educator.

At Penn, however, the spotlight remains sharply focused. In many ways and for more than one reason. Not the least of those reasons is the University's recognition of its ability and obligation to apply its resources to help the immediate community and the society at-large to educate young people—young people who can survive and flourish in our economy and who can improve the quality of life for everyone.

The most dramatic of these efforts has been the Say Yes To Education Foundation, made possible by a generous contribution of funds and time from Penn Alumnus George Weiss and his wife, Diane. George and Diane captured the City's imagination last year when they pledged to pay for college or post high-school training for all of the 112 sixth-graders who were then graduating from the Belmont Elementary School—a school with one of the highest concentrations of at-risk youth in the City.

The Weiss family further established the Say Yes to Education Foundation to provide a year-round program of tutoring and summer activities in writing, human sexuality and career development for the students. The effort now involves

more than 150 Penn student volunteers and community workers who help tutor the West Philadelphia youngsters.

"One of the reasons we are doing this," explains Diane Weiss, "is because my husband and I believe that it is time to invest in young people. Yes, we know that many of the children have enormous problems, and that the battle is an uphill one. But we will work with all of these young people to help them achieve the highest level they can."

The University's commitment to public education takes other forms:

—Penn was a founder of the Committee to Support the Philadelphia Public Schools, an effort to marshal institutional and corporate support and build a sounder financial base for the City's public school system.

The Committee's efforts include the combined \$3.7 million Philadelphia Alliance for Teaching Humanities (PATHS) and Philadelphia Renaissance in Science and Mathematics (PRISM)—pilot programs aimed at invigorating the teaching of writing, history and science in the elementary grades. The Committee also sponsors Education for Employment/Drop-Out Prevention, a joint effort with the Private Industry Council to reduce drop-out rates through career guidance services and job placement.

—Penn, through its presence in the West Philadelphia Partnership, co-founded the Collaborative for West Philadelphia Public Schools, a consortium of institutions and businesses dedicated to strengthening the area's public schools.

Through the Collaborative, more than 400 local college students are tutoring children in 24 public

schools and community centers. This year it launched an audacious campaign to raise \$1.6 million to provide college scholarships and advising for students graduating from the three high schools in West Philadelphia: University City High School, Bartram High School and West Philadelphia High School.

—The University's just-established Center for the Study of Black Literature and Culture is the nation's first research center to study the issue of Black literature in the curriculum of urban public schools.

Founded and directed by Dr. Houston Baker, Professor of English and Albert M. Greenfield Professor of Human Relations, the center's scholarly mission includes the development of new teaching approaches in literacy, drawing from Afro-American literature and literature of other minorities traditionally under-represented in American school curricula. The center will serve as a model for other urban universities and public school systems, and will provide a site for scholars to share their insights and study issues in Caribbean, Latin American and African literature.

—Penn's Center for Information Resources provides training for students with handicaps, some 93 percent of whom have found employment after graduation.

The Center offers training in computer programming and word processing, and arranges internships for students that in many cases leave them with as much hands-on experience as most computer science majors.

—The University's School of Engineering and Applied Science is a



Say Yes Youngsters in the University's Say Yes to Education Program, led by the Graduate School of Education's Dr. Yvonne V. Neuberger, assistant associate professor of education and consultant to the program.

major participant in the Philadelphia Regional Introduction for Minorities to Engineering (PRIME), a program to widen professional opportunities for racial and ethnic minorities and women. PRIME offers free classes in math, computer science, engineering and communication skills at Penn and at other area universities.

—The Wharton School's I.E.A.D. program introduces young Black and Hispanic students to opportunities in business careers. In the past eight years I.E.A.D. has brought 230 high school students from across the nation to Penn to attend classes with the Wharton faculty, with some 20 percent having matriculated to Penn and many others having gone on to other top schools.

—Established just this past year, the Wharton West Philadelphia Project launched its Young Entrepreneurs at Wharton program,

a summer effort for 36 local youngsters who, with the guidance of Wharton graduate students who will provide ongoing advice, designed and opened their own small businesses, etc.

—Penn's College of General Studies, in addition to housing the University's programs for part-time, degree-seeking students, offers a range of fast credit and non-credit courses that meet the University's resources available to the general community. More than 12,000 persons participated in the College's programs last year—including programs geared to make the University's vast scientific resources available to present and potential science teachers; programs that help international students develop English language skills; a program to encourage minority high school students to pursue careers in health care; and programs that welcome white citizens to the University's classes.

Where to call

*Graduate School of Education
University of Pennsylvania
(215) 898-1819*

*College of General Studies
University of Pennsylvania
(215) 898-7326*

*Penn Extension (Volunteer Center)
(215) 898-4831*

Penn Medicine

A Tradition Of Service

More than a century ago, horse-pulled wagons carried Penn's doctors through Philadelphia's streets to the sick and injured.

Later, the University's doctors and nurses travelled in a hospital car pulled by horsepower of a different kind—the engines of the old Pennsylvania Railroad, carrying Penn's already renowned health care services to treat ill persons all along the eastern seaboard.

Today, a state-of-the-art twin engine helicopter speeds specially trained health professionals to critically ill or injured patients throughout a 90-mile radius. At speeds of up to 170 miles an hour, the PENNSTAR Flight Service responds with emergency transit not only to the Hospital of the University of Pennsylvania (HUP) but to other regional health care centers.

The modes of transport have changed, but not the University's commitment in providing high quality medical care and applying the benefits of its medical research and expertise to the residents of West Philadelphia and the entire Delaware Valley.

This commitment in its modern-day form takes several shapes, and includes free care provided by HUP to those unable to afford such care. A broad range of programs is operated by Penn's Schools of Medicine, Nursing, Dental Medicine and Veterinary Medicine, the University's Clinical Practices, HUP, Children's Hospital of Philadelphia and the Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic:



Checking it Out: West Philadelphia youths benefit from a tradition of service to the community by Penn health care personnel.

— HealthPASS is a health maintenance organization established for Medicaid patients in West Philadelphia. It is a state-run component of the Medicaid program in which the School of Medicine, HUP and Children's Hospital participate. Some 12,000 children are enrolled in HealthPASS through Children's Hospital's Department of Pediatrics, comprising the largest single unit in the HealthPASS system. HUP, with 5,000 enrollees, is the third largest HealthPASS provider in the city. As part of HealthPASS, HUP's Department of Obstetrics and Gynecology works with a nursing agency to offer home visits to obstetrical patients.

— HUP's Obstetrics and Gynecology Department serves residents of West Philadelphia through its OB/GYN Clinic and its

Family Planning Clinic. Some 18,000 visits per year take place at the OB/GYN Clinic, including patients seen at a special Teenage Pregnancy Clinic. The Teenage Pregnancy Clinic works with teenage mothers and their husbands and parents, and handles 200 deliveries each year. A total of approximately 13,000 visits each year occur at HUP's Family Planning Clinic, which includes a special Teenage Family Planning Clinic. The Teenage Family Planning Clinic sees patients both at HUP and at schools in the community.

— Penn's Supportive Child/Adult Network, based in the Nursing Education Building, is teamed with clinical services at Children's Hospital to provide multidisciplinary care for the prevention and treatment of child abuse and neglect. It is the largest program of its type in Philadelphia, with links to the Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic, the Philadelphia County Children

and Youth Agency, and a number of other community groups in the City. The program includes family-centered protective services in the home, social work counseling, outreach nursing, and psychological services as well as medical care.

— Through the Division of General Pediatrics at Children's Hospital, students from Penn's Schools of Medicine and Nursing have formed alliances with schools in West Philadelphia to sponsor such programs as health fairs at West Philadelphia High School and the Turner Middle School, and a series of Saturday health education sessions with organized recreation at the Turner School.

— Penn faculty and students from the Schools of Nursing and Medicine are planning a number of additional initiatives, including AIDS screening programs for pregnant women; a drug abuse prevention program for pregnant women; a program to study long-term effects of anemia in children in West and South Philadelphia; a program to monitor and target interventions on a variety of child health issues; and a study of the barriers preventing pregnant women from receiving prenatal care.

— Students in Penn's School of

Nursing work with homeless mothers and their infants at several sites in West Philadelphia, including the People's Emergency Shelter at 37th and Chestnut Streets and a second nearby shelter for abused women. The students consult with families, perform basic examinations and provide health care services.

At Studio 55, a community health facility on 55th Street, Nursing students teach classes on health care for teen parents. And at the West Philadelphia Community Center, faculty and students from the School of Nursing conduct vision, hearing, growth and language development assessments for the Center's day care



High tech: PENNSTAR, the latest addition to the University's health care arsenal.

children, in addition to providing basic health education for the children and their families.

— Penn's Leonard Davis Institute of Health Economics this year launched a comprehensive assessment of health needs in Philadelphia and the suburbs. Funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts, this effort calls for the Institute to identify the extent of such public health problems as AIDS, infant mortality, drug and alcohol abuse, teenage pregnancy, the homeless, the chronically mentally ill and the medically underserved. The Institute then will make recommendations to Pew on these issues.

— Another comprehensive effort is the University's West Philadelphia Mental Health Project — an effort to bring continuity of treatment to the more than 15,000 chronically mentally ill persons in West Philadelphia who heretofore have roamed in and out of the area's multi-agency pattern of delivery of services.

Headed by Dr. Peter C. Whybrow, Chair of Penn's Department of Psychiatry, the project is aimed at reorganizing emergency services for the mentally ill in West Philadelphia; securing an adequate number of hospital beds for psychiatric patients; and developing a data base for patients in West Philadelphia so as to provide appropriate follow-up after discharge.

— Penn's College of General Studies (CGS), with the help of a planning grant from the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, has embarked on an ambitious effort to increase the number of minority students entering careers in health and medicine.

This will be accomplished through a vehicle established by CCS: the Greater Philadelphia Health Corps. The Corps is working with educators and counselors from area high schools that have large minority populations, local community colleges, and CCS and other Penn resources to provide academic enrichment, career exploration, internships, mentors, college orientation and financial support to bridge the gap between the potential and actual participation of minorities in the health fields.

— The University's School of Veterinary Medicine is playing the lead role in addressing the growing threat of rabies to people and animals in the City.

A survey this year by the Vet School found that more than 40 percent of household cats and 33 percent of household dogs in Philadelphia have not been vaccinated against rabies within the past three years — numbers that explain and confirm the growing concern among health officials that a dramatic increase in animal rabies cases in the Philadelphia suburbs poses a serious threat to people and pets in the City.

In response to the Vet School's findings, the Philadelphia Department of Health, private veterinarians and local humane societies have collaborated with the School on a low-cost rabies vaccination program for dogs and cats.

— The largest single provider of dental services for underprivileged persons in West Philadelphia is Penn's School of Dental Medicine. In addition, Penn dental students provide services to handicapped persons and Job Corps participants in West Philadelphia.

Where to call:

*Hospital of the University of Pennsylvania
(215) 662-2561*

*School of Nursing
University of Pennsylvania
(215) 898-5074*

*West Philadelphia Mental Health Project
(215) 662-2886*

*School of Veterinary Medicine
University of Pennsylvania
(215) 898-1475*

*Office of Clinic Management
School of Dental Medicine
University of Pennsylvania
(215) 898-8975*

John C. Danforth

A Presidential Nomination? Forget It.

Nominees are now routinely subject to a public trashing.

If the president calls to say that he will nominate you for a job subject to confirmation by the Senate, just say no.

The president's call should be a cause of great personal satisfaction. Presidents don't offer nominations to just anyone. That he has offered you an important position in his administration shows that a lifetime of hard work has paid off. Your achievements are known even to the president of the United States. Thank the president profusely for the honor. Then just say no.

Why risk the reputation you have worked so hard to earn by subjecting yourself to what can become a presidential nominee? All that you have worked a lifetime to build can be wiped out in the months that will pass between your nomination and the confirmation that may or may not follow.

First you will submit to the administration details about the most intimate aspects of your life. Have you ever smoked dope? How about your sex life? What clubs do you belong to? Then, if officials in the administration feel that you are not an obvious embarrassment, your files will be turned over to the FBI for a background check. That means that the FBI will make house calls on at least three-dozen of your neighbors, friends and business associates.

What the FBI uncovers is supposed to be confidential. Don't count on it. Your life will be reviewed by the administration and then by at least one member of each party in the Senate. College-age drug use, while generally not a cause of disqualification, may be leaked to the media to the humiliation of you and your family. The fact that public disclosure of FBI files is a violation of both federal law and Senate rules should be of no comfort to you. Determined opponents are not deterred if leaking information will serve the purpose of defeating a nomination. Media recipients of the leak will claim the highest principles of their trade when they protect the leaker.

The carriage of presidential nominations now litters the landscape of Washington. Being illegal aliens, whether or not it violated the law, now is grounds for withdrawal of a nomination. So is failure to file Social Security tax returns for his dependents. A request for a deposition by the Securities and Exchange Commission can end a nomination, as can provocative law review articles written by a professor. And, in the case of an assistant secretary of Housing and Urban Development, the nominee's sex life, while not sufficient to cause her defeat, became the subject of a nationwide telephone campaign. This trashing of presidential nominees is

not done in private. It is not a matter of something coming up quietly that suggests the nominee is unfit for the job at hand. Rather, the whole episode is played out on the front pages of the daily press and at the top of the evening news. Furthermore, the esteemed jurist will be known as the person with the illegal boyfriend, and the writer of scholarly articles will be known as a Quota Queen.

The next controversial nominee will be Sheldon Hackney, the president's choice to chair the National Endowment for the Humanities. Hackney is under fire for his "politically correct" handling of various racial controversies during his presidency of the University of Pennsylvania.

One would hope that university campuses would be centers of civil discourse, where racial and ethnic groups live in harmony. But, alas, that is not always the case. Young people, eager to try out the new experience of freedom from parental control, test the limits of the university's commitment to free speech. The result is speech that is intentionally outrageous and offensive. Meanwhile, members of minority groups, sensitive to insults, challenge the school's administration to prove its commitment to respecting minority rights.

It is a difficult challenge for university administrators to keep the peace on campuses where uproar is more the rule than the exception. Some administrators do the job better than others. Some seem too ready to appease one group or another in the name of preserving campus order. A case can be made that Hackney went too far in his efforts to placate outraged black students and that free expression suffered.

But what is the point in raising this issue in the context of Hackney's nomination? He is not being considered for a new position in university administration, and his ability to deal with campus crises seems irrelevant to the job of chairing the NEH. The president has chosen this man to implement the administration's policies. The president will be accountable for his performance in office. The mission of the NEH is to "promote progress in the humanities" by making grants to individuals, institutions and organizations. Surely Hackney's background as a distinguished scholar, author and teacher qualifies him for this work.

The attack on Hackney for his management of the University of Pennsylvania, while unrelated to the mission of the NEH, is directly related to the politically incursive field of racial and ethnic diversiveness. If the racial turmoil of a university campus can be transported to Washington, the political benefits are enormous.



The real issue is whether there are any limits to how far we can go in using a presidential nomination for the purpose of making a political point, or furthering a philosophical position, or establishing our own moral superiority or embarrassing the president of the United States, whatever party may at the time occupy the White House.

Today there are no such limits, and no limits will or should be supplied by rule or law. If there is to be some minimum standard of decency we accord presidential nominees, it will arise from an expression of disgust by the American people for what we are doing to nominees who previously have lived exemplary lives. And that disgust will reflect our sense that those who have been nominated are more than stand-ins for political positions. They are human beings.

Until that recognition dawns upon us, my advice is: If the president calls, just say no.

The writer, a Republican from Missouri, was the chief sponsor of Clarence Thomas's nomination to the Supreme Court.

A Dependence on Trust and Civility

■ **Campus life:** Clinton's nominee to head the Humanities Endowment is unfairly blamed for a university war of words

By THOMAS DIRLICH

Controversy is nothing new at the National Endowment for the Humanities, but the attacks that University of Pennsylvania President Sheldon Hackney is likely to face as President Clinton's nominee to head the endowment are bound to be misleading and undeserved.

Taking a stand for dialogue and decency is a major role of university presidents. Often we find ourselves smack in the middle of a high-decibel war of words. That happened to Hackney when the term *water buffalo* construed by some as a racial slur targeted his institution as an ideological battleground.

Penn. like other college campuses, was caught up in a frenzy where the combatants were the "politically correct" left and the "libertarian" right. The protagonists trashed each other, the institution and the institution's leader.

Most often, such spectacles play out within campus boundaries. But occasionally, the cudgels are taken up by mercenaries on the national scene. Actual facts are

treated as attack vehicles for the right-wing just warriors' charge. When the facts are so for the president to act, he must act in accordance with the tenets of the judicial precedents necessary to protect the rights of peace.

During the water buffalo incident, some students claimed that the name calling was in violation of the Penn student code, and a student judicial process was set in motion.

Campus codes for resolving charges of sexual and racial harassment are complex and not handled very well. That's not surprising. After all, our country has been trying to make its legal system work smoothly for more than 200 years, with only uneven results. No college or university president should interfere with the student judicial process any more than a corporate CEO should interfere with an employee grievance procedure or a governor with a grand jury investigation.

Unfortunately, that common-sense ethic of management has been lost in the sound and fury. Across the pages of countless newspapers, biases have appeared that blame Hackney for the incident, for the fact that it was referred to a student judicial process and for the reality that the process took time. In the end, the students who brought the grievance dropped it, though not without a parting shot or two of their own.

It is ironic that the incident that was considered as a harbinger of the end of the world is still an ongoing search for civility. As a superb teacher, he will strengthen his institution's principal purpose of educating Americans in our humanistic traditions.

He understands that the "main" must take the long view. For there are final answers to the questions that ask "Why?" Those questions are the most important with which we must grapple. Key attributes of civility and decency, a keen sense always open to new approaches and a firm moral compass.

These are the very qualities of mind and heart that define Sheldon Hackney. As a historian, he has sought coherent meaning in the complex happenings of the American past. He brings to that inquiry a strong moral dimension and a caring concern for the impact of historical events on individual lives—the same concern that guides him as a university president.

Hackney personally represents the opening words of the Penn policies of harassment that he promulgated five years ago: "Our community depends on trust and civility. A willingness to recognize the dignity and worth of each person at the university is essential to our mission."

Thomas Dirlich, provost of the University of Pennsylvania from 1981 through 1987, is president of Indiana University.

Letters to the Editor

The Sheldon Hackney I Admire

The Lani Guinier battle is over, but another one looms, this time not about a professor at the University of Pennsylvania, but about the president of that same Ivy League redoubt, Sheldon Hackney, whom Bill Clinton has nominated to chair the National Endowment for the Humanities, where Lynne Cheney used to sit.

For the past dozen years, Mr. Hackney has run Penn admirably. Before that he was president of Tulane University and earlier, provost at Princeton. He is a teaching historian by trade, his major scholarly preoccupation his beloved South. Unlike Ms. Guinier, it is not his writings that have triggered hostile reaction to his nomination from the editorial writers of *The Wall Street Journal*; instead, what has riled his critics are recent events at Penn in which Mr. Hackney, you aver, went out of his way to coddle minorities. You paint him as the wimpish captive of the forces of political correctness.

I should explain that this man is my friend and that I know him well enough to suggest that perhaps you should get to know him and his academic management style better before you fulminate against him further, for this is a strong, gentle, quietly courageous man whose years in academe have been distinguished and almost universally applauded.

It is obvious that university campuses today are yeast, sometimes quarrelsome places, especially urban campuses like Penn, where each year more and more minorities come to study, to exercise their intellects and their emotions. Each year new tensions develop, new muscles are flexed, group for group, minority for mi-

nority. But Mr. Hackney has labored to make Penn a place of comity despite the conflict quotient; and this at a time that Penn's undergraduate minority enrollment has grown from 13% to 38%.

He is about to undergo the Washington ritual of Senate confirmation hearings, during which no doubt he'll be asked, among other things, about those recent events described by one writer as "racial sensitivity gone haywire," which calked down on him the wrath of those aforementioned critics. In the best of all worlds, perhaps, university campuses would spawn more light, less heat, but those—apparently—are not the conditions that prevail at many campuses across America.

Mr. Hackney has dealt with various eruptions over the years, including protests against the predictable spectrum of invited speakers from Farrakhan to Reagan; despite all, he has succeeded by and large in keeping the peace at Penn. Dedicated to freedom of speech for all comers, he has inevitably stumbled. Who hasn't? But for his critics to define him, his convictions and his career in terms of those virtually solitary fumbles is unfair and dishonest.

If Sheldon Hackney's fine stewardship of a great university can be so misrepresented, it is not difficult to comprehend why capable others who might be called upon to serve in Washington would think thrice before subjecting themselves to similar misinformation, occasionally malicious politically motivated calumny.

MIKE WALLACE
Correspondent
CBS/60 Minutes

New York

Letters of Support for the Sheldon Hackney Nomination

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 16, 1993

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Today, I am officially nominating a native of Alabama, Dr. Sheldon Hackney, to be the next Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities. Dr. Hackney is among the most respected leaders in American higher education. He has served for the past twelve and a half years as the President of the University of Pennsylvania, after serving for five years as the President of Tulane University and three years as Provost of Princeton University. Dr. Hackney has a distinguished record both as a first-rate scholar, author, and educator and as an astute and temperate administrator.

Dr. Hackney is uniquely suited for the challenge of heading the agency and carrying out its mission to support the humanities public programs, education and research. He was, for example, a founding member of the Collaborative for Philadelphia Schools and the Committee to Support the Public Schools, projects which profoundly changed the way the humanities are taught in the Philadelphia public schools.

Dr. Hackney is one of the leading Southern historians of his generation. He has continued to teach courses in American history while serving as President of the University of Pennsylvania, an uncommon practice for executive officers of universities and a measure of the importance he places on teaching. His support for undergraduate education led him to seek a reorientation of the curriculum at Penn to ensure that the teaching mission of the university was granted the same priority as the research mission.

"In a democratic society," a recent NEH Report to the President stated, "the humanities -- those areas of study that bring us the deeds and thoughts of other times -- should be part of every life." Throughout his twenty-five year career as a historian and teacher, Dr. Hackney has worked tirelessly to meet that goal, and, when confirmed by the Senate, will build upon his record of achievement in advancing the humanities and making them more accessible to all Americans.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Bill".

The Honorable Edward M. Kennedy
Chairman
Committee on Labor and Human Resources
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510



COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
HARRISBURG

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June 10, 1993

Senator Edward Kennedy
United States Senate
Room 315
Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Kennedy:

It is with great enthusiasm that I commend to you the confirmation of Sheldon Hackney as Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities. I bring to this endorsement extensive knowledge of and experience with the Endowment and with Dr. Hackney.

As a former chair of the Pennsylvania Humanities Council and a past president of the Federation of State Humanities Councils, I have worked with the Endowment for over twenty years. The agency, although modest in size, is of primary importance in fostering and supporting research and dissemination of ideas which are critical to Americans' understanding of our own history and of our knowledge of the world and our place in it.

As a nation we are at a crossroads. We are entering a new millennium, one which presents us with the challenges of maintaining our precious legacy of democracy in a climate of a domestic and international change. The NEH is the leading federal agency to nurture understanding of ourselves and others. It requires, more than ever before, the leadership of one who is deeply grounded in the disciplines of the humanities and who has the skills, experience and vision to guide this major agency into the future.

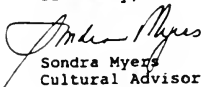
I have had the privilege of knowing Sheldon Hackney since he came to Pennsylvania to assume the presidency of one of our premier academic institutions. During his tenure at the University of Pennsylvania, the institution has made enormous strides in developing-academically and economically, and, critically important, too, in its responsibility to the community.

Dr. Hackney is amply qualified for a position of national leadership. His intellectual acuity, his integrity of character and his overriding concern for the public good are qualities that insure a well conceived and well managed Endowment, one which will preserve the principles and purposes which informed its creation by the Congress. It will be an agency for the people.

Dr. Hackney is not a ideologue; he is a pragmatic idealist, in the tradition of our Founding Fathers, who has a passionate commitment to learning and a profound knowledge of its importance to the future of American democracy.

I have full confidence that he would serve the National Endowment for the Humanities with honor and distinction. I hope and trust that the committee will confirm his nomination with all due speed and confidence.

Sincerely,



Sondra Myers
Cultural Advisor to the Governor

EXECUTIVE CHAMBERS

HONOLULU

JOHN WAINCE

June 15, 1993

The Honorable Edward M. Kennedy
Chairman
Committee on Labor and Human Resources
United States Senate
722 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-1102

Dear Senator Kennedy:

I join the members of the Hawai'i Committee for the Humanities in urging the confirmation of Dr. F. Sheldon Hackney as Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) and have enclosed a copy of the committee's letter in his behalf.

President of the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. Hackney has a distinguished record in teaching, public administration, and community service. His accomplishments in these areas demonstrate the strengths he will bring to the Humanities Endowment.

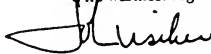
During his tenure, Dr. Hackney has shown his commitment to the public value of the humanities by emphasizing community service as an important part of the University's mission. He has been successful in engaging the public, the neighboring institutions, and businesses in partnerships with higher education. Dr. Hackney will bring to the NEH this vision and understanding of the role of educational institutions in responding to the needs for the humanities in communities across America.

Dr. Hackney can be expected to bring to the NEH the same energy and creativity with which he led his most recent fund-raising effort -- Campaign for Penn -- which successfully raised over \$1 billion, 18 months ahead of schedule. His continued emphasis on forging public/private partnerships will result in greater leveraging of federal funds and expanded humanities resources nationally.

I have every confidence that Dr. F. Sheldon Hackney is eminently qualified to serve as Chairman of the National Endowment of the Humanities and ask that you give him every consideration during his confirmation hearing.

Your consideration of this matter is deeply appreciated.

With warmest regards,



JOHN WAIHEE

UNIVERSITY of PENNSYLVANIA

The Consultative Committee for the Selection of a President

Box 100 Franklin Building
Philadelphia, PA 19104-6280
Tel. 215-896-7325 FAX 215-573-2193

June 7, 1993

Mr. Alvin V. Shoemaker
Chairman, Board of Trustees
Chair of the Consultative Committee

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Professor of English
Ms. Jun S. Bang (C'94)
Mr. Stephen B. Burbank
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Dr. P. Ray Vegeles (C'80)
Trustee

Ms. Barbara Ray Stevens
Vice President and Secretary of the
University
Secretary to the Consultative
Committee

Ms. Sherrill L. Rosoff
Staff Coordinator

The Honorable Edward M. Kennedy
United States Senate
SR-315 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510-2101

Dear Senator Kennedy:

President Sheldon Hackney has announced his resignation as president of the University of Pennsylvania effective June 30, 1993, following President Clinton's announcement that he would nominate him as the next Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

The Trustees are beginning a national search for his successor and, as Chair of the Committee charged to advise them, I write to you now to ask your assistance in identifying candidates for Penn's presidency.

As background for prospective candidates, let me attempt to provide a very brief, and therefore incomplete, description of the University of Pennsylvania, from my perspective. Penn, one of eight Ivy League institutions, is a leading international research university committed to excellence in undergraduate education. Building on a legacy established by Benjamin Franklin more than 250 years ago, Penn is in the vanguard of urban universities that have forged strong partnerships, through teaching, research and service, with their local communities. The University has 12 schools, four of which have undergraduate degree programs. It also has over 100 centers and institutes. Penn's Medical Center, which is composed of the School of Medicine, the faculty practice plan and a 750-bed hospital, is poised to lead the next generation of medical education, biomedical research and patient care. Penn's schools share one of the nation's most beautiful urban campuses; their undergraduate, graduate and professional programs are characterized by strong interdisciplinary initiatives that span departmental and school boundaries; their faculties and students are known for rigorous intellectual inquiry and lively academic and personal interchange.

In the decade ahead, Penn's Trustees seek to build upon the significant successes of the past and to enhance Penn's fundamental strengths: the quality of its faculty, students and academic programs, the international dimensions of the University, and the management and development of its financial, physical and human resources.

The Trustees believe it will be desirable for the next incumbent to have the following characteristics:

- Be a strong chief executive responsible for the educational and administrative leadership of the University.
- Have a distinguished academic career or, if not in education, strong academic credentials as well as having achieved distinction in his or her chosen field.
- Be sensitive to the importance of undergraduate education within a university with a strong school of arts and sciences and a range of distinguished graduate and professional schools.
- Be ready to support and advance Penn's focus on its urban relationships and international reach.
- Be prepared to make difficult choices in this era of fiscal constraints and organizational change, and to pursue internal efficiencies and new sources of revenue.
- Demonstrate a strong commitment to and capacity for major efforts in fundraising from external sources.
- Be forceful in articulating the vision of the University to internal and external constituencies.
- Exhibit imagination, a sense of personal conviction, a strong appreciation of the mission of a modern research university with undergraduate education at its core, and the foresight to bring new educational concepts to the University.
- Be sensitive to the needs of and able to work with diverse constituencies, including faculty, students, staff and other members of the University community.

The Consultative Committee will be reviewing candidates in the context of the University's commitment as an equal opportunity and affirmative action employer.

Please send your nominations or recommendations directly to me at the following address: Box 100, Franklin Building, Philadelphia, Pa. 19104-6280. They will be held in confidence. The Committee has determined that it will not reveal the names of any persons under consideration. In addition, because of the need for absolute discretion, we ask that you do not contact candidates yourself. In addition, if you have other comments and suggestions about the University of Pennsylvania and our future, I would welcome hearing from you.

Sincerely,



Alvin V. Shoemaker
Chairman of the Board of
Trustees



June 21, 1993

Senator Edward P. Kennedy
 Chair, Committee on Labor and Human Resources
 Russell Senate Office Building
 Room 315
 Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Kennedy:

We are writing on behalf of the Board of Directors of the Federation of State Humanities Councils to express our support for the nomination of Dr. Sheldon Hackney as Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities. Dr. Hackney has the experience needed to lead the NEH in carrying out its tripartite mission of supporting humanities public programs, research, and education.

His work in building a partnership between the West Philadelphia community and the University of Pennsylvania is an important achievement. Dr. Hackney has also worked with the public school system in Philadelphia and the state, bringing the considerable educational resources of Penn to the assistance of teachers in schools. It is this sensitivity to the public and to the importance of responding to community needs that powerfully impresses us. We believe he will be a strong advocate for the public mission of the humanities, of making the humanities available to all the American people, and we look forward to working with him in these endeavors.

Dr. Hackney is a nationally recognized scholar of Southern history and is the recipient of one of the major national scholarly prizes offered in the field of American history. He is also a dedicated teacher who has set aside time for the classroom despite the demanding duties of his presidency. Not surprisingly, he has devoted a great deal of energy to bringing undergraduate education to the forefront at Penn. An institution already distinguished internationally for its research achievements, Penn is now known as well for its commitment to teaching.

His achievements in fund raising are extraordinary. He led Penn through one of the most successful capital campaigns in the history of higher education. Penn will achieve its goal of \$1 billion eighteen months ahead of schedule. A person of Dr. Hackney's accomplishments sitting as Chairman of the NEH has many advantages, including that of building partnerships between Federal and private support for the humanities. Dr. Hackney is perfectly qualified to meet this challenge.

We are aware that some of the events occurring at Penn in the last few months have been used by some people to cast an unfavorable light on Dr. Hackney's nomination. In our view, it would be unfortunate if these criticisms were allowed to obscure the evidence of his record and his qualifications for heading the NEH. Running a university is one of the most demanding jobs in

the nation. The average tenure of a college president is a little under four years, according to some reports. Many leave their jobs involuntarily; some leave burned out. Dr. Hackney has served as president of two universities spanning a period of seventeen years. Both his administrations, at Tulane and Penn, have been judged successful. Indeed, these institutions have flourished under his tenure and he comes now to the Endowment at the peak of his career. He has shown himself to be a popular president, an effective manager, and a sure-footed leader. These are considerable accomplishments in this day. We think his commitment to the public value of the humanities, his knowledge of research, his commitment to education, and his administrative experience make him an ideal head for the NEH. We look forward to his confirmation as its next Chairman.

If we can be of any assistance to you or the Committee during your review of his nomination, we hope you will not hesitate to call on us.

On behalf of all the humanities councils, we wish to thank you for your continuing support of the NEH.

Sincerely,

Charles Muscatine
Charles Muscatine
Chair

Jamil S. Zainaldin
Jamil S. Zainaldin
President

cc: Board of Directors
State Humanities Councils

The
NHA National Humanities Alliance

22 June 1993

The Honorable Edward M. Kennedy
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Kennedy:

I write on behalf of the Board of Directors of the National Humanities Alliance (NHA) to declare our strong support for the nomination of Sheldon Hackney to lead the National Endowment for the Humanities. We urge you to vote affirmatively for his confirmation.

The alliance is a rather broad coalition of more than seventy-five humanities organizations (see attached membership list) and, as such, rarely takes positions on presidential nominations -- either for or against -- because of the diversity of opinion both among NHA's member organizations and within the individual memberships of each of our members. Last December, in the wake of Mrs. Cheney's decision to resign before the end of her second term, the NHA board developed criteria for the selection of a new endowment chair (copy attached) which were provided to our members to assist them in offering the new administration suggestions for filling the NEH leadership position. The NHA board decided upon an alliance endorsement because by its own criteria, if one were to seek the ideal candidate to effectively lead the National Endowment for the Humanities, it is difficult to imagine an individual better suited than Sheldon Hackney.

Mr. Hackney is a distinguished leader with a record exhibiting the skills, talents, and knowledge needed to chair the National Endowment for the Humanities. He has a record of accomplishment as a historian and as an effective leader of the especially complex institution that is the urban research university.

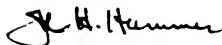
We believe that he combines intellect with the political and diplomatic skills required of an NEH leader and that are likely to serve him well in building productive working relationships with the President, Congress, the public, and the academic community. (Although the University of Pennsylvania is a private institution, Mr. Hackney has acquired considerable political experience in working with the Pennsylvania legislature and executive as well as the city of Philadelphia.)

The endowment is comprised of three major areas of grantmaking activity -- scholarly, educational, and public. Mr. Hackney has a record of interest and activism in working not only with the scholarly community, but also with the educational and public humanities communities.

Mr. Hackney has spoken and written eloquently on freedom of expression and inquiry. We believe that he understands well the importance of the humanities in a democracy. We anticipate that he will use the NEH chair's "bully pulpit" effectively to help Americans to better understand the value and importance of the humanities for their own lives and the life of the nation.

Finally, the recent controversy at Penn has been both fueled and distorted by inaccurate reporting and unfair characterizations of Sheldon Hackney. The Wall Street Journal editorial writers and other columnists apparently know little of the realities of the conflicting forces with which a university president deals. We are confident that you and your colleagues will consider this nomination in the context of Mr. Hackney's record of more than twenty-five years as a distinguished academic leader and scholar -- a strong and inspired choice to lead the endowment.

Sincerely,



John H. Hammer
Director

Please Note New Address/Phone/FAX - Effective 27 February 1993:

National Humanities Alliance Tel: 202/296-4994
21 Dupont Circle, NW - Suite 604 FAX: 202/872-0884
Washington, DC 20036

Enclosures (2)

11 December 1992

Criteria for the Selection of a Chair of the
National Endowment for the Humanities¹

This position, vital to the cultural life of the nation, demands the talents and skills of a distinguished leader who has compiled an imposing record of accomplishment in the humanities and significant administrative experience. The new chair should fuse intellectual attainments with political and diplomatic skills of a high order, so as to establish and maintain a cordial and effective working relationship with the President, the Congress, the academic community, and the public. He or she should be a person of demonstrably broad cultural sympathies and interests, an effective manager, and a persuasive advocate for the transformative power of the humanities for both individuals and society, and a catalyst for heightened awareness of the role the humanities play in a democracy. Finally, the chair must be committed to the goals of the NEH as presented in the Declaration of Findings and Purposes in the enabling legislation (copy attached).

¹Prepared by the Executive Committee of the National Humanities Alliance as a contribution to the search for a new chair for the National Endowment for the Humanities.

The
NHA National Humanities Alliance

ACTIVE MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL HUMANITIES ALLIANCE

American Academy of Religion
 American Anthropological Association
 American Association of Museums
 American Association for State and Local History
 American Council of Learned Societies
 American Folklore Society
 American Historical Association
 American Musicological Society
 American Philological Association
 American Philosophical Association
 American Political Science Association
 American Society for Aesthetics
 American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies
 American Society for Legal History
 American Sociological Association
 American Studies Association
 Association for Asian Studies
 Association for Jewish Studies
 Association of American Colleges
 Association of American Geographers
 Association of Research Libraries
 College Art Association
 Commission on Preservation and Access

Shelby Cullow Davis Center for Historical Studies
 Princeton University
 Federation of State Humanities Councils
 The George Washington University
 History of Science Society
 Independent Research Libraries Association
 Linguistic Society of America
 Medieval Academy of America
 Middle East Studies Association
 Modern Language Association
 National Council of Teachers of English
 National Humanities Center
 Organization of American Historians
 Phi Beta Kappa Society
 Renaissance Society of America
 Research Libraries Group
 Social Science Research Council
 Society for the History of Technology
 Society of Biblical Literature
 Special Libraries Association
 Speech Communication Association
 Teachers for a Democratic Culture

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL HUMANITIES ALLIANCE

African Studies Association
 American Dialect Society
 American Library Association
 American Numismatic Society
 American Society for Theatre Research
 Association of American Law Schools
 Association of American University Presses
 Center for the Humanities, Wesleyan
 University, Connecticut
 College English Association
 Commonwealth Center for Literary and Cultural
 Change, University of Virginia
 Community College Humanities Association
 The Council of the Humanities, Princeton
 University
 The Hastings Center
 Institute for Advanced Study
 Institute for the Humanities, University
 of Michigan
 Institute for the Medical Humanities, University
 of Texas Medical Branch, Galveston

Institute of Early American History and Culture,
 College of William and Mary
 International Research and Exchanges Board
 Midwest Modern Language Association
 Northeast Document Conservation Center
 Philological Association of the Pacific Coast
 Popular Culture Association
 Shakespeare Association of America
 Sixteenth Century Studies Conference
 Society for Ethnomusicology
 Society of Architectural Historians
 Society of Christian Ethics
 South Atlantic Modern Language Association
 South Central Modern Language Association
 Doreen B. Townsend Center for the Humanities
 University of California, Berkeley
 University of California Humanities Research
 Institute, University of California, Irvine
 Virginia Center for the Humanities

February 1993

June 21, 1993



The Honorable Edward M. Kennedy
 United States Senate - SR 315
 Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Kennedy,

I am writing to express the Massachusetts Foundation for the Humanities' unconditional support for the nomination of Sheldon Hackney to become Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Despite the attempts by some to caricature Mr. Hackney as "Mr. Political Correctness," aided and abetted by the increasingly irresponsible national press, Mr. Hackney is surely one of the most distinguished and highly qualified persons ever nominated to head the NEH. Moreover, he is widely recognized as a leading proponent of free speech in higher education.

In serving successfully as the president of one of the nation's leading universities for over a decade, Mr. Hackney has demonstrated his administrative ability, commitment and skillful leadership on behalf of all three parts of the academy's mission — research, teaching and community service. With the addition of outstanding credentials in the humanities, he is the ideal person to lead the Endowment during the coming era of budgetary restraint and political reform.

This Foundation has total confidence in Mr. Hackney. We wish you and him an early, speedy and trouble-free confirmation.

For the Foundation, I am,

Yours sincerely,

David Tebaldi
 Executive Director

xc: K. Kruse
 J. Zainaldin

MASSACHUSETTS FOUNDATION FOR THE HUMANITIES
 One Woodbridge Street • South Hadley, MA 01075 • 413 • 536 • 1385

The State Department



Stonewall, Texas

May 25, 1993

Dear Senator Kennedy,

For twenty years now, I have known Dr. Sheldon Hackney as the son-in-law of Clifford and Virginia Durr of Alabama -- who were, for many years, leaders in the New Deal ~~and other~~ important posts.

Dr. Hackney is a ^{of course} man of fine character with ^{in my} high integrity and intelligence, and he is a supporter of the First Amendment. I hope you will give him every consideration as Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities. I believe Sheldon is a gentleman, a scholar and a very able person to head the Humanities.

With high regards,

Lucy Bird Johnson

The Honorable Edward M. Kennedy
315 Senate Russell Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20510-2101

cc: Senator Nancy Kassebaum

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
The University of Pennsylvania

June 3, 1993

The Honorable Edward M. Kennedy
Chairman
Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources
428 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Kennedy:

As a member of the Board of Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, I offer the strongest endorsement of Sheldon Hackney for the position of Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities and I urge the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee to approve his appointment without reservation.

Since becoming Penn's 21st chief executive in 1981, Dr. Hackney has focused on a range of institutional needs, including curricular reform, research enhancement, development and long-range planning, public involvement, and internationalization, and he has achieved an exceptional record as a national leader in each of these areas. In spite of this, in difficult situations, Dr. Hackney has proven that he can bring together complicating elements to produce a constructive solution. But such accomplishments are even more meaningful in the context of Dr. Hackney's deep and abiding commitment to freedom of expression.

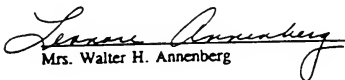
In recent months, two incidents on the Penn campus have put Dr. Hackney's personal and institutional values to the test. In both cases, in spite of intense media coverage, President Hackney demonstrated not only remarkable restraint in dealing with the deluge of publicity but also great integrity in helping to continue a "wholesome and mutually supportive campus community."

One episode involved the printing of racially hostile commentaries in the independently operated campus newspaper and the resulting confiscation of that publication by some minority students. The second episode involved a white student's alleged racist slur in response to excessive noise by several black sorority women. Both incidents raised a host of complicated legal issues, especially First Amendment protections. In his handling of these and other incidents throughout his term as president, Sheldon Hackney has steadfastly articulated freedom of expression, civility, and respect as the core values of the University. He has made it clear on numerous occasions that the Bill of Rights provides for certain freedoms but it does not give people the freedom to abuse that concept.

Walter and I respectfully ask you to give Sheldon Hackney an opportunity to serve his country with the same strong devotion, energy, and fairness that has guided his presidency at the University of Pennsylvania.

Senator Kennedy, please give this your most careful consideration. I cannot imagine President Clinton putting forward a better candidate from either the Republican or Democrat standpoint.

Sincerely,


Mrs. Walter H. Annenberg

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Office of the President

Massachusetts Hall
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138
(617) 495-1500

May 21, 1993

Dear Senator Kennedy:

I am writing you to say that I believe Sheldon Hackney would be an excellent Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities: he is an even-headed, thoughtful, and extremely intelligent person with a strong commitment to the humanities as an important educational role in our public and civil life, as well as in teaching and research. He has been running extremely complex institutions for two decades, with great success. He has a national reputation for great integrity, fairness, and great conscientiousness. It is very hard for me to imagine a candidate who would be equal to President Hackney for this position at this time. (Smart), (New Leadership)

Princeton University

Woodrow Wilson School
of Public and International Affairs
Rubenstein Hall
Princeton, New Jersey 08544 1013
FAX (609) 258-2809

June 10, 1993

The Honorable Edward M. Kennedy
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510-2101

Dear Senator Kennedy:

I write to urge your support for the nomination of Sheldon Hackney to head the National Endowment for the Humanities.

I have known Sheldon since he was a young member of Princeton's History Department during the late 1960s. In those turbulent times he stood out as a junior faculty member who was strongly supportive of the integrity of the University against assaults from the radical left. He showed then, as now, a deep commitment to freedom of inquiry and of speech as essential to the well-being of both the American university and the American society. The attacks made on him in recent months by certain journalists seem to me to misread badly both the situations at the University of Pennsylvania with which he has to deal and his response to those situations.

Sheldon Hackney would bring to the leadership of the NEH solid experience as the administrator of two great research universities, an active concern for the relationship of our institutions of education to the general society, a thoughtful and caring judiciousness, and great personal integrity. All these are, in my view, qualities that would make him an effective, fair-minded, principled leader of the NEH.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,


President Emeritus
Princeton University

Lehigh University



Peter Likans, President

Alumni Memorial Building
27 Memorial Drive West
Bethlehem, Pennsylvania 18015-3089
telephone (215) 758-3155
fax (215) 758-3154

June 17, 1993

Senator Edward Kennedy
United States Senate
Room 315
Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Kennedy:

I am pleased to express my support for the confirmation of Sheldon Hackney as ~~Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities~~. Sheldon and I have served as presidents of Pennsylvania universities for more than a decade, as colleagues working together on the common challenges that face many elements of our society. We have worked together on the Commission for Independent Colleges and Universities in Pennsylvania, and served together on the Governor's Economic Development Policy Board. We have been allies in advancing the right kind of principles in intercollegiate athletics, directing in turn our two sister athletic leagues: the Ivy League and the Patriot League. Finally, we have served together on the Board of the Pennsylvania Partnerships for Children, which was founded by his wife, Lucy. In all of these diverse activities, over a significant period of our professional lives together, I have watched this man exercise a quiet kind of leadership that has impressed me deeply. I am quite certain that there could be no better leader for the National Endowment for the Humanities.

As a man of your experience must realize, the president of a major American university has one of the great challenges of contemporary America. For eighteen years Sheldon Hackney has presided over major American universities, first as president of Tulane for six years, and then as president of the University of Pennsylvania for twelve. In the latter role he presides over a billion dollar budget with more than 14,000 faculty and staff and more importantly has responsibility for more than 20,000 wonderfully independent students, 24 hours a day, 365 days a year. Sheldon has met these crushing responsibilities with extraordinary grace and civility, with dignity and honor and tact. Under his leadership, Penn has demonstrated remarkable capacity to plan for success in a era of extraordinary financial

ORGANIZED 1884 INCORPORATED BY THE CONGRESS 1887



400 A STREET S.W. WASHINGTON, D. C. 20001 | 202-544-2422

The Honorable Edward Kennedy
 Chairman
 Senate Committee on Labor & Human Resources
 United States Senate
 Washington, DC 20510-2101

June 21, 1993

Dear Senator Kennedy:

After a consultation among its elected leaders, the American Historical Association, the oldest and largest professional organization of historians in the United States, has issued the enclosed endorsement of Dr. Sheldon Hackney to be Chair of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

The American Historical Association was chartered by Act of Congress in 1889 and its 16,000 members are a major element in college and university faculties throughout the United States.

Sincerely,

Samuel R. Gammon
 Ambassador (Retired)
 Executive Director

The American Historical Association strongly endorses the nomination of Sheldon Hackney to be chair of the National Endowment for the Humanities and urges the Senate to vote for his confirmation.

As the largest single source of support for the humanities disciplines, the Endowment is extremely important to any effort to improve the quality and equity of our educational system, as well as to sustain the intellectual values that undergird our system of governance and the nation's most cherished goals and aspirations.

Dr. Hackney is a distinguished historian and teacher, a capable administrator, and an experienced and successful university president. We are confident that Dr. Hackney will bring to the Endowment the intellectual standards, democratic values, and fundamental fairness for which he is justly reputed. To have a scholar-teacher of his eminence, ability, and integrity guiding the NEH during an increasingly contentious era is a result devoutly to be sought.



ASSOCIATION OF RESEARCH LIBRARIES

June 9, 1993

The Honorable Edward M. Kennedy
 Chair, Labor and Human Resources Committee
 The United States Senate
 Washington, D.C. 20510-2101

Dear Mr. Chairman:

On behalf of the Association of Research Libraries, I am writing to express ARL's strong support for the nomination of Sheldon Hackney as Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities. We believe that throughout his career, Dr. Hackney has demonstrated a keen understanding of the research mission of higher education and the humanities which makes him ably suited to assume the Chairmanship of NEH.

We believe that Dr. Hackney meets several other key qualifications important to an NEH chair. First and most importantly, the candidate should have a strong and unwavering commitment to the freedom of inquiry and expression. Much of Dr. Hackney's professional work has been focused on First Amendment issues and many times, he has spoken out against censorship of the arts. Second, we believe that a recognition of community service is important. Dr. Hackney, as a founding member and chair of the Collaborative for Philadelphia Schools, demonstrates an appreciation for working beyond the walls of the university in promoting and stimulating community-based programs. Finally, the NEH requires a strong and capable administrator. Dr. Hackney's leadership and administrative skills as president of the University of Pennsylvania and as president of Tulane University are well known and respected.

As a scholar, leader, and supporter of First Amendment rights, Dr. Hackney is a truly excellent choice for this critically important post to the humanities, research, and education communities and to the Nation.

Sincerely,

Duane E. Webster
 Executive Director



MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

10 ASTOR PLACE

NEW YORK NY 10003

The Honorable Edward M. Kennedy
 Chair, Labor and Human Resources Committee
 United States Senate
 Washington, DC 20510-2101

21 June 1993

Dear Senator Kennedy:

I write on behalf of the Executive Council of the Modern Language Association of America (MLA) regarding President Clinton's nomination of Sheldon Hackney to head the National Endowment for the Humanities. Established in 1883, the MLA is an organization of 32,000 college and university professors of English and the other modern languages and literature. Elected by the membership at large, the MLA Executive Council is responsible for conducting the business of the association.

Meeting on 21 May 1993, the members of the MLA Executive Council considered the possibility of Sheldon Hackney's nomination and concluded that he had outstanding qualifications for the position. Our judgment rests not only on our experience as teachers and scholars but also on our familiarity with the NEH, both as evaluators of proposals and recipients of fellowships and other grants.

Because we have strong commitments to scholarship in the humanities, we place great value on Sheldon Hackney's achievements as a scholar as well as on his accomplishments as the chief administrative officer of two large universities that prospered under his direction. We know that his knowledge of intellectual developments in the humanities will serve him well as head of the endowment as will his understanding of the many complex problems currently facing higher education. In addition, we value what we have learned about his character and judgment. Presidents of colleges and universities throughout the country have demonstrated their respect for him by electing him to the governing board of the American Council on Education.

The breadth of Mr. Hackney's interests is noteworthy. As a university president, he has not only recognized research, he has also emphasized good teaching, setting the standard for all faculty members by regularly teaching undergraduate students. Equally admirable has been his contribution to the improvement of Philadelphia's public schools, especially the humanities programs. Finally, we point to his encouragement of the public humanities, about which he has testified before Congress on several occasions.

We believe that Mr. Hackney has the background, experience, and character needed to provide strong and responsible leadership for the NEH in the years ahead, when many new demands are likely to be made not only on the schools and higher education but also on the many other cultural institutions the NEH serves. We therefore urge you and the other members of the Labor and Human Resources Committee to confirm Sheldon Hackney as chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

I thank you for your time and attention. With good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Elaine Marks
 President
 Modern Language Association

Chair
 Department of French and Italian
 University of Wisconsin, Madison

HISTORY OF SCIENCE SOCIETY

CONSTITUENT OF THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES
Founded in 1924 Official Journal 1955

Keith R. Benson, Executive Secretary
 History of Science Society Executive Office
 University of Washington, DH-05
 Seattle, WA 98195
 (206) 543-9366
 (206) 685-9544 (FAX)

Department of Medical History and Ethics
 University of Washington
 School of Medicine, 5B-20
 Seattle, Wa 98195
 (206) 543-3447

18 June 1993

The Honorable Edward M. Kennedy
 Chair, Labor and Human Resources Committee
 United States Senate
 Washington, DC 20510-2101

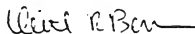
Dear Senator Kennedy:

In my capacity as Executive Secretary of the History of Science Society, I am writing you to support with great enthusiasm the nomination of Sheldon Hackney to head the National Endowment for the Humanities. Professor Hackney is a first-rate scholar, a proven and effective administrator, and an individual of utmost integrity. His academic record speaks to his accomplishments and I am extremely confident that he will continue this same record as head of NEH.

Like many members of my professional society, I am concerned by the number of politicized debates in the recent past concerning the funding of NEH projects. I am certain that Mr. Hackney will provide the moderate leadership that the agency needs to eliminate these contentious issues and restore the scholarly reputation to the NEH that it deserves and should enjoy.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if I may be of more assistance in supporting this important nomination.

Sincerely,



Keith R. Benson

AFRICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION

Emory University

Credit Union Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30322
404/329-6410

Fax: 404-329-6433

June 17, 1993

The Honorable Edward M. Kennedy
Chair, Labor and Human Resources Committee
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510-2101

Dear Senator Kennedy:

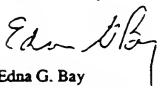
I write to express my personal support for the nomination of Sheldon Hackney as Chair of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Mr. Hackney is a well-respected scholar with a broad understanding of the research mission of higher education and the humanities. As president first of Tulane University and later the University of Pennsylvania, he continued to keep active in his research and to teach, primarily in the undergraduate classroom.

A successful administrator and university leader, Sheldon Hackney has always done a good deal of community service in projects for the general public and for precollegiate education. In short, the range of his experience and interests fully corresponds to the support interests of the NEH.

Mr. Hackney is a man of high personal integrity who is an excellent choice for leading the NEH.

Yours sincerely,



Edna G. Bay
Executive Director

*Society of Biblical Literature**Founded in 1880**David J. Lull
Executive Director*

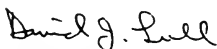
June 15, 1993

The Honorable Edward M. Kennedy
 Chair, Labor and Human Resources Committee
 United States Senate
 Washington, DC 20510-2101

Dear Senator Kennedy:

I am writing in support of the confirmation of Sheldon Hackney as Chair of the National Endowment for the Humanities. Professor Hackney is a widely respected scholar and has a broad understanding of the place of the humanities in American society. He has demonstrated a commitment to undergraduate teaching as well as to the research mission of higher education. As a founding member of the Collaborative for Philadelphia Schools, he has demonstrated that he believes public service is an integral part of a university's mission. Professor Hackney has had a distinguished career in university administration. In addition to being a persuasive fundraiser, he has, in the words of Robert M. O'Neil (professor of law and former president of University of Virginia), "shown exceptional devotion to free expression throughout his career . . . His record on free speech is exemplary." In short, he would bring precisely the kinds of professional experience, life of scholarship, and public service that the NEH deserves and needs at this stage in its history.

Sincerely,



Dr. David J. Lull
 Executive Director

cc: The Honorable Nancy Landon Kassebaum, United States Senate
 Mr. John Hammer, Executive Director, National Humanities Alliance

The National Italian American Foundation

660 Eleventh Street, N.W., Suite 901 • Washington, D.C. 20001-4596 • (202) 634-1221
FAX (202) 634-1102

June 21, 1993

Founding Chairman
Jerro F. Paulucci 1975-1992
Past Presidents
Magg. Carlo C. Baroni 1975-1977
John A. Valpey 1977-1980
Frank D. Sarda 1980-1989

Senator Edward M. Kennedy
Chairman, Labor and Human Resources Committee
SD-430
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Chairman Kennedy:

As Vice-Chairman of the National Italian American Foundation, I write to offer my unconditional support for the nomination of Sheldon Hackney to be the next Director of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

I am proud to have known Sheldon Hackney for many years and consider him a good friend. Yet, obviously that is not why I write this letter. Sheldon Hackney also happens to be an extremely well-qualified person to assume the helm of NEH at this critical time in its history.

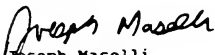
Sheldon Hackney would bring stature, substance and reason to the NEH as its Director. He has a career in higher education replete with enduring contributions in several extremely challenging positions. As a longtime resident of New Orleans I can attest to Sheldon's great effectiveness as both President and Professor of History at Tulane University. Sheldon Hackney demonstrated great skill as an administrator at Tulane while never abandoning his commitment to academics.

Sheldon Hackney possesses many fine qualities which will serve him well as NEH director. He is a lifelong academic. He served for two years with great distinction on the Rockefeller Commission on the Humanities.

The National Endowment for the Humanities needs a leader with the intellect, integrity, purpose and vision that Sheldon Hackney represents. He is in a position to restore the independence of the National Endowment for the Humanities which was so much a part of the intent of Congress in the authorizing statute. Sheldon Hackney has been involved with all of the humanities under the purview of NEH and would come into the position as someone already familiar with the programs and constituencies he would serve.

I am most pleased to offer this support to Sheldon Hackney. He is a man of principle, passion and purpose. He is a leader not afraid of new challenges. He is the ideal person for the National Endowment for the Humanities and I urge his immediate confirmation for the good of NEH and the nation.

Sincerely,



Joseph Maselli
Vice-Chairman

AMERICAN
ARTS
ALLIANCE



June 15, 1993

The Honorable Edward M. Kennedy
Russell Building 315
Washington, D.C. 20510-2101

Dear Senator Kennedy:

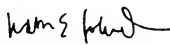
On behalf of the 2,600 art museums, dance, opera, and theatre companies, performing arts presenters and symphony orchestras represented by the American Arts Alliance, we are writing to express our strong support for Sheldon Hackney as Chairman for the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH).

The NEH requires a strong and capable leader. As President of the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. Hackney has successfully led the institution in a broad range of pursuits. As a founding member and chair of the Collaborative for Philadelphia Schools, this well known scholar has demonstrated the importance of service beyond the gates of the university. At the national level, he has worked with the American Council of Education and the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. Furthermore, he has demonstrated a strong commitment to freedom of expression, a central component of our democratic system.

We are fully confident that Dr. Hackney possesses the necessary qualities to guide this important agency into the future. His profound knowledge of the disciplines of the humanities, passionate commitment to learning, leadership capabilities, and overall concern for the good of all will ensure a well managed and effective Endowment. He is truly a remarkable choice to fill this important post.

Sincerely,


Robert P. Bergman
Chair


Judith E. Golub
Executive Director

THE
**SIXTEENTH
 CENTURY
 JOURNAL**

EDITOR: Robert M. Jungkelt, Institute for Research in the Humanities, Ohio Observatory | The University of Cincinnati, Main Hall, W 5326, MANAGING EDITOR & BOOK REVIEW EDITOR: Robert V. Schnucker, 111 N. 115, Northeast Missouri State University, Parkville, MO 63501 | PRESS ASSOCIATE EDITOR: Robert A. Pugh | Concordia College, 1275 N. Sprague, St. Paul, MN 55104 | EDITOR OF SIXTEENTH CENTURY ESSAYS & STUDIES: Charles G. Raven, History Department | University of Missouri | Columbia, MO 65211

The Honorable Edward M. Kennedy
 United States Senate
 Washington, D.C.

6-11-1993

I am writing this letter to you as the chief administrative officer of the 2,300 members of the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference in support of Dr. Sheldon Hackney who has been nominated to serve as the chairperson of the National Endowment of the Humanities.

Dr. Hackney's record as a scholar and teacher, as a top notch university administrator, as a community leader, and as a strong defender of intellectual inquiry and freedom of expression makes him a marvelous candidate for the NEH position.

As a scholar, Dr. Hackney is well known for his articles and books on southern history particularly his Populism to Progressivism in Alabama which won the Albert J. Beveridge prize for the best book in American History published in 1969. He is an excellent teacher and is one of the rare academic administrators who has continued the marvelous nineteenth century example when college and university presidents taught undergraduates.

As a community leader, he has been involved in his home community as well as the nation's community. The former is best seen in his work to help improve the Philadelphia school system through a strengthening of the humanities curriculum. His work at the national level includes work with the American Council of Education and the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

Dr. Hackney has been the president of two major universities and while president at the University of Pennsylvania, he not only improved the schools reputation but helped conduct a phenomenal fund raising campaign that should bring in about one billion dollars over a five year span.

Finally and in contrast to much what one might conclude from reading the press the past few weeks, Dr. Hackney is passionately committed to freedom of inquiry and freedom of expression. The "water buffalo" incident sadly was blown out of proportion and does not reflect Dr. Hackney's life long support for First Amendment rights. It is sad to see how the press can take an incident that would have passed unnoticed except for the fact that it took place on a campus where the president is being considered for a key position in the government and turn that incident into something it is not and attempt to destroy in a few moments what a person has dedicated his/her life to defending and achieving.

Dr. Hackney is a terrific choice to head the National Endowment for the Humanities and you are strongly urged to confirm him for that position.

Sincerely,

RVS

Robert V. Schnucker, Executive Secretary
 Sixteenth Century Studies Conference

ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN HISTORIANS



OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June 23, 1993

The Honorable Edward M. Kennedy
 United States Senate
 Washington, DC 20510-2101

Dear Senator Kennedy:

I am writing as President of the Organization of American Historians, representing 12,000 scholars, teachers, and students of American history, to urge you to support President Clinton's nomination of Sheldon Hackney, President of the University of Pennsylvania, to head the National Endowment for the Humanities.

A distinguished historian, successful administrator in higher education, and a longtime champion of both scholarly research and the public presentation of the humanities, Hackney possesses the qualities that will enable him to provide the NEH with creative new leadership, devoid of partisan rancor. Renowned among colleagues for open-mindedness and judicious judgment, he has, throughout his career, demonstrated a commitment to scholarly rigor, community and public service, and the free exchange of ideas.

Hackney's first book, a prize-winning study of Alabama politics and the turn of this century, remains a classic investigation of the interplay of radical prejudice, political reform, and agrarian unrest in the Progressive era. His presidencies of Tulane and the University of Pennsylvania have been characterized by a commitment to excellence in research and teaching while seeking innovative ways of connecting scholarship with public service. As a member of the American Historical Association's Committee on the Rights of Historians, in 1974, he helped draft a pioneering statement of professional standards that identified respect for intellectual pluralism, and the protection of freedom of speech in the university community, as hallmarks of academic freedom.

Given the key role played by the NEH in promoting scholarly research, excellence in teaching, and public humanities programming, it is essential that the Endowment move beyond the bitter debates of recent years and focus once again on fostering humanistic endeavors in an atmosphere of respect for diversity of opinions. The Organization of American Historians is delighted to endorse the nomination of Sheldon Hackney. We urge the Senate to confirm his appointment.

Sincerely,

Eric Foner
 President,
 Organization of American Historians

EF/shc

The Metropolitan Museum of Art

1000 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10028-0196 (212) 879-5500 Telex 646674 Fax 2125703478

PRESIDENT

June 21, 1993

The Honorable
Edward M. Kennedy
315 Senate Russell Office Building
Washington, DC 20510-2101

FAX 224-2417

Dear Ted,

I am writing you to express support for Sheldon Hackney to be Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities. Your support for his candidacy is critical to his approval by the Senate.

I have known Sheldon well for 15 years and have watched his entire presidency at the University of Pennsylvania. Indeed, my son was one of the many young people who were privileged to be at Penn during Sheldon's tenure. We have seen Sheldon and his wife on many occasions over these years. We shared "donors" to the Met and the University of Pennsylvania so I know him to be a much respected and effective president, fundraiser, and soul mate in the non-profit world.

My sense of Sheldon is based on long years of discussion and observation during my years as American Ambassador to Venezuela, then to Czechoslovakia and for the last seven years as a museum president. He is a strong, intelligent and humane leader, the likes of which the U.S. Government only rarely attracts into its service. Throughout his career and indeed, throughout his life, Sheldon has advocated and practiced policies that encourage free and open expression of competing views.

Sheldon will bring to this important job the humanist tradition of a historian and a family tradition rooted in that same spirit. For more than a decade he has run one of our finest universities with a sterling record during a difficult time for the academy. Few university presidents have accomplished as much with so little uproar during this past twelve years as Sheldon.

When you look closely at his record, I am sure you will determine that he will make an outstanding leader of the National Endowment for the Humanities. I hope that you will be one of those who welcome his appointment.

Sincerely,


William H. Luers

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION

Office of the President

June 23, 1993

The Honorable Edward M. Kennedy
United States Senate
315 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510-2101

Dear Senator Kennedy:

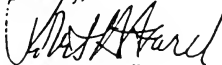
On behalf of the associations listed below, I wish to express the strong support of the higher education community for the nomination of Sheldon Hackney to head the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH). We urge you to give his nomination prompt and favorable consideration.

For the past 18 years, Sheldon Hackney has provided progressive and vigorous presidential leadership at two major institutions of higher learning, Tulane University and the University of Pennsylvania. During this time, he has earned the respect of his colleagues in higher education for the intelligence, integrity, and judgment he has brought to the task of dealing with the complex economic, political, and social issues that currently confront college administrators. At both Tulane University and the University of Pennsylvania, he has championed and fostered the development of a campus community that encourages the exploration and debate of a full spectrum of ideas in an environment of civility and mutual respect.

A distinguished historian, Dr. Hackney is uniquely qualified by both training and experience for the position to which he has been nominated. His proven record as a scholar and administrator indicate his readiness to provide strong leadership and clear direction to the NEH.

A review of Sheldon Hackney's distinguished career can only lead to the conclusion that he is an exceptional choice for this position. We urge you and your colleagues on the Labor and Human Resources Committee to confirm this outstanding nominee as the next chair of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Sincerely,



Robert H. Atwell

Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges
 Association of Jesuit Colleges and Universities
 Council of Independent Colleges
 National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education
 National Association for Independent Colleges and Universities
 National Association of Student Financial Aid Administrators
 National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges
 United Negro College Fund

June 23, 1993

The Honorable Edward M. Kennedy
 Chairman
 Committee on Labor and Human Resources
 428 Dirksen Building
 Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Ted:

I want to add my voice to those supporting Sheldon Hackney to be Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

The nation is fortunate that an individual of Dr. Hackney's caliber has been nominated to head the NEH. Dr. Hackney has served with distinction for the past 12 years as president of the University of Pennsylvania. He served as president of Tulane University from 1975 to 1981 and as provost of Princeton University from 1972 to 1975.

Dr. Hackney is a noted scholar of the Southern United States and an award-winning author. He is also a professor of history at Penn who regularly teaches undergraduates. He has conducted one of the most successful fund-raising campaigns in higher education history at Penn and has been an effective leader in community activities and education organizations.

Dr. Hackney's efforts have built the University of Pennsylvania's reputation as a leading research university that provides a superb undergraduate education. He has emphasized teaching, research and service as the three central missions of modern research universities.

I believe his outstanding record and life achievements make him ideally suited to head the NEH. I have complete confidence in his abilities and judgment, and I urge you and the members of the Committee to give his nomination favorable consideration.

Sincerely,



Joseph M. McDade
 Member of Congress



Popular Culture Association

Bowling Green State University
Bowling Green, OH 43403
June 10, 1993

Senator Edward M. Kennedy
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510-2101

Dear Senator Kennedy,

I am writing to urge you to vote for the confirmation of Sheldon Hackney to head the National Endowment for the Humanities. I believe that Mr. Hackney is receiving undeserved bad press because of an unfortunate series of events at the University of Pennsylvania, and the bad-mouthing he has subsequently received from the press.

All evidence points to the fact that, throughout a distinguished career as teacher and educator, Dr. Hackney has maintained the highest integrity about freedom of speech and integrity in pursuing education's highest goals. Those people who have known him closely and those of us who are familiar with him only through his words and actions feel that he represents our foremost goals. We see no evidence that he has compromised on freedom of speech under duress or for convenience.

I represent 3500 academics who vigorously favor the confirmation of Mr. Hackney. We do not speak as a special interest. Rather we feel that the fate of American education and of the humanities in general rest to a large extent on the National Endowment for the Humanities and we therefore deeply support those people who in turn want to carry out the NEH's purposes.

The Popular Culture Association, for which I speak, therefore strongly urges you to back the confirmation of this competent and dedicated man.

Sincerely,

Ray Browne

Ray Browne
Secretary/Treasurer

RBB/lt

PRESIDENT

Felicia Campbell
English Department
Univ. of Nevada
Las Vegas, NV 89154

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Dean of Academic Affairs
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Louisville, KY 40272

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Social Sciences
Cornish Community College
Cornish, NY 14830

Don Wall
English Department
Eastern Washington University
Cheney, WA 99004

SECRETARY-TREASURER

Ray B. Browne
Popular Culture Association
Bowling Green State University
Bowling Green, OH 43403

PROGRAM COORDINATOR

Pat Browne
BGSU Popular Press
Bowling Green State University
Bowling Green, OH 43403

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Bellevue, WA 98007

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Monmouth, OR 97361

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Northern Michigan University
Marquette, MI 49855

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Morningstar College
Sioux City, IA 51106

Estée Lauder Companies
 767 Fifth Avenue
 New York, NY 10151
 Tel. 212-572-4200
 Fax 212-572-6745

Leonard A. Lauder
 President and
 Chief Executive Officer

ESTÉE
 LAUDER
 COMPANIES

June 24, 1993

The Honorable Edward M. Kennedy
 United States Senate
 Washington, DC 20510-2101

Dear Senator Kennedy:

I'm writing you in support of the nomination of Dr. Sheldon Hackney to head the National Endowment for the Humanities. I serve on the Board of Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, and therefore have known Sheldon Hackney intimately over the entire time of his tenure at the University. Simply stated, he is a man of extraordinary talent, brilliance, and deep humanitarian convictions.

I urge you and your fellow Senators to confirm his appointment...it will be a great step for the Nation.

With warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,



Leonard A. Lauder

LAL:lm

AMERICAN
 ANTHROPOLOGICAL
 ASSOCIATION

June 28, 1993

The Honorable Edward M. Kennedy
 Chair
 Committee on Labor and Human Resources
 428 Senate Dirksen Office Building
 United States Senate
 Washington, DC 20510-6300

Dear Senator Kennedy,

This letter is in reference to the nomination of Sheldon Hackney to be chair of the National Endowment for the Humanities. I was prompted to write for two reasons.

First, to the extent we will be successful in addressing many of the critical issues facing our country, from understanding and celebrating our commonalities to making difficult choices among legitimate but competing claims on limited resources, we may well find more useful guidance and ideas from the humanities than we receive from the sciences. Even with its relatively small budget, the Endowment can encourage development of important advancements in understanding ourselves, our society, and our world. Therefore, the question of who heads the Endowment reaches far beyond the narrow self-interests of the individuals seeking Endowment grants.

Second, the concept and practice of "political correctness", if need they can be defined, are at best troublesome, and at worst destructive, a view which no doubt puts me at odds with many persons who also consider themselves philosophic and/or political liberals. The well publicized events at the University of Pennsylvania concerning Dr. Hackney gave me reason to pause when evaluating Dr. Hackney's ability to lead the Endowment, even recognizing that the media was presenting in all likelihood less than fully accurate reports.

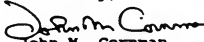
However, after reading more about those incidents and Dr. Hackney's background, I have concluded that he should be confirmed. Dr. Hackney has a distinguished scholarly background, a rich understanding of the nation's history, has demonstrated a strong commitment to reaching out beyond the academy, and has experience administering a large organization. Whatever errors he may have made in the recent incidents at Penn, his overall record for defending the freedom of speech is strong.

More importantly, he clearly is a person who learns from his experiences. The tendency to deny that ability in people with whom we may not entirely agree, or who have had to act in difficult situations is one of the peculiarities of the current political climate. We ask such understanding for ourselves, but are slow to extend it others. The tendency makes it increasingly difficult to attract qualified persons to public service and runs counter to the nation's traditional belief that persons can learn from their experiences. We should beware of the would-be public servant who claims to have been right from the start.

I urge your support for Dr. Hackney's nomination.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,


John M. Cornman
Executive Director

DREXEL
UNIVERSITY

Office of the President
1301 Locust Street
Philadelphia, PA 19104
TEL: 215 398 1100
FAX: 215 398 1104

June 23, 1993

The Honorable Edward Kennedy, Chairman
Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee
315 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Kennedy:

It is my pleasure to write to you concerning the nomination of Sheldon Hackney as chair of the National Endowment for the Humanities. I am the president of Drexel University, and my campus is contiguous with that of the University of Pennsylvania where Sheldon Hackney has served with distinction as president for a number of years. In my five years as President of Drexel, I have worked closely with Sheldon and he has always been a person who has demonstrated a remarkable concern for the issues affecting higher education and the arts. Indeed, he has been a spokesman for freedom of speech, freedom of expression and, what we call in the academy, academic freedom.

What you may want to know, Senator Kennedy, is that Sheldon Hackney has been instrumental in helping to transform West Philadelphia by the leadership role he has played in our community. Quite frankly, his leadership will be missed in significant ways as he has galvanized the largest part of his university to be sensitive and responsive to the needs of the West Philadelphia community, which, in large part, is minority.

It is important to note that his leadership was by example and not just by word. Throughout the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Sheldon Hackney is both honored and respected for his stands on issues impacting the higher education community. His tenure at Penn has been marked by a remarkable resurgence of Penn as one of the major players in higher education in the country. Not only has he overseen a remarkable capital campaign, he has also overseen the continuing growth and development of Penn as one of the nation's elite universities.

Allow me to share with you that Sheldon Hackney is also a "good guy." He is down to earth and is known to be a truly civil person. He respects the views of all people and allows them to say what they think. He also says exactly what he thinks. I believe that he has taken many a difficult stand, and I have always found him to be a person of both conviction and courage. In other words, he has a lot of backbone.

When one combines his intellectual interests, his scholarly pursuits, and the broad range of experience he has had at Princeton, Tulane, and Penn, one can readily see the reason that he is almost a perfect candidate for chairing the National Endowment for the Humanities. It is my pleasure to recommend Sheldon Hackney to you without reservation or qualification.

Sincerely yours,



Richard D. Breslin, Ph.D.
President

EMORY UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30322

PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY

June 17, 1993

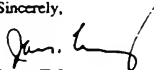
Dear Senator Kennedy,

As a Trustee of the National Humanities Center, a private nonprofit institute for advanced study, and as a citizen deeply committed to the well-being of the humanities in the United States, I write in support of the nomination of Sheldon Hackney to become Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Sheldon Hackney would bring to the leadership of the NEH his valuable experience as the president of two major American universities, an active concern for the relationship of our institutions of education to society as a whole, a thoughtful and caring judiciousness, and great personal integrity. All of these qualities would make him an effective, fair-minded, principled leader of the NEH.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,



James T. Laney

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE
HANOVER · NEW HAMPSHIRE
03755

THE PRESIDENT

June 4, 1993

Senator Judd Gregg
393 Russell Senate
Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Gregg:

I write to endorse the nomination of my friend F. Sheldon Hackney for Chair of the National Endowment for the Humanities. The nomination, I believe, will come before the Senate Committee on Labor and Education within the next several weeks.

As you of course already know, Dr. Hackney is a distinguished historian whose scholarship has won major awards from the historical profession. More than that, he has been a gifted and decisive academic administrator, serving with distinction as president of both Tulane University and the University of Pennsylvania. I have had the privilege of knowing him for more than fifteen years, and of serving under him, briefly, as Dean of the University of Pennsylvania Law School. In more recent years, I have had an opportunity to work closely with him in the Council of Ivy Group Presidents. These experiences have deepened my appreciation of his outstanding personal qualities.

Sheldon Hackney will administer the National Endowment for the Humanities with sensitivity, vision, and good sense. He brings outstanding qualities of character and mind to the position and a deep commitment to the role of humanities in American life. I very much hope that you will find his nomination worthy of your support.

Sincerely,



James O. Freedman

