



# Collaborating to Make Democracy Work

THE NINETY-NINTH  
AMERICAN ASSEMBLY

NOVEMBER 29 - DECEMBER 2, 2001

SKIRBALL CULTURAL CENTER

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

THE AMERICAN ASSEMBLY

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

THE FIFTH ASSEMBLY IN THE  
UNITING AMERICA SERIES

This report is a public document and may be reproduced without permission.  
It is the fifth in the *Uniting America* series.

## PREFACE

On November 29, 2001, fifty-three men and women from government, business, and nonprofit organizations gathered at the Skirball Cultural Center in Los Angeles, California for the Ninety-Ninth American Assembly entitled “*Uniting America: Collaborating to Make Democracy Work.*” An additional five participants joined the process for one day by teleconference. The participants worked together over a period of three days to prepare this report on ways to encourage and enhance collaboration among the three sectors in American public life. This was the fifth in The American Assembly series entitled *Uniting America: Toward Common Purpose*, which is designed to help reverse some of the most difficult and divisive forces in our society.

This Assembly analyzed a series of profiles of collaboration in order to suggest lessons for social entrepreneurs who are involved in and/or considering ways to collaborate in solving community and national problems. In addition, as with all American Assemblies, this one offered concrete policy recommendations based on the consensus developed from a wide spectrum of people working together to help offer solutions to some of our country’s most vexing problems.

John W. Gardner chairs this project. He is now Consulting Professor, School of Education, Stanford University. The co-directors are Claire L. Gaudiani, President of the New London Development Corporation, Senior Research Scholar, Yale Law School, and former President of Connecticut College; William George, Chair of the Board and recently retired CEO of Medtronic, Inc.; and James Joseph, former U.S. Ambassador to South Africa, President and CEO of the Council on Foundations (1982–95), and currently Professor at the Sanford Institute of Public Policy, Duke University. Additionally, this Assembly benefited from the advice of an advisory committee that met in October of 2000 and again in January of 2001, and whose names are listed in Appendix A.

This Assembly explored the changing dynamics in the interaction between and among the business, government, and nonprofit sectors. Specifically, it examined how these increasingly interdependent sectors can work together more effectively to strengthen the fabric of our society. The focus of the examination

was collaborations that have had an impact on the priority issues that were the basis for the four previous Assembly projects in this series: sustaining economic growth with greater opportunity, the place of religion in public life, policies for strengthening American families, and racial equality. We recognized that various different kinds of collaborations among the three sectors have been undertaken for many other purposes, including public policy collaborations by The American Assembly and others. However, this Assembly was limited to those collaborations that have an impact on the four sets of issues considered in this series in order to maximize our contribution to uniting America.

Participants attending the Assembly identified the most appropriate ways to enhance cross-sectoral cooperation that helps reverse these divisive forces. This included naming best and worst practices, as well as additional lessons, that were drawn from case studies and from their personal knowledge and experience.

In the aftermath of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack on America, we believe this project became all the more urgent and timely. The longstanding divisive forces in American society have been temporarily obscured by a vulnerable sense of unity built perhaps more on anger, fear and determination than on full understanding of the forces at work. The new stresses we face, including a declining economy and heightened tension from actual and threatened terrorist attacks, will likely exacerbate those forces if we don't develop new and better approaches to reverse them.

The sixth and final Assembly will leverage the work of the entire *Uniting America* series by re-convening the Leadership Advisory Group for its final meeting—a two-day Assembly in March of 2002. After reviewing the recommendations made by each of the previous Assemblies and taking into consideration the changing national and international landscapes, the Leadership Advisory Group will prepare and issue a comprehensive report of the entire *Uniting America* series.

This final Assembly will serve as a springboard for the National Dialogue, which will be based substantially on the Leadership Advisory Group's report. In designing our present National Dialogue, we have built on President Eisenhower's similar use of The Assembly to create a national dialogue in 1960. This National

Dialogue will provide a forum for individuals in hundreds, possibly thousands, of communities to come together to discuss one or all of the *Uniting America* issues. We will encourage participating groups not only to identify the issues of greatest relevance to their own locales, but also to develop an action plan with policy recommendations to help better their community, thereby building a more uniting America. We are currently developing a network of national organizations with local affiliates to serve as the infrastructure for the network. To support and extend the National Dialogue, we will make use of Internet-based technologies, including among others, an interactive website with message boards, links to other relevant sites, and online polling. We will also issue the Leadership Advisory Group report to thousands of individuals and organizations via traditional mailings, distribution of CD-ROMS, and by posting the downloadable file on our website.

The *Uniting America* series began with the June 1999 Assembly on economic growth and opportunity, held in Atlanta, Georgia and was followed by the Assembly on religion in public life, held in March 2000 at Arden House, the home of The American Assembly in Harriman, New York. The third Assembly focused on issues confronting American families and was held in Kansas City, Missouri, September 2000. Racial equality, the fourth Assembly, was held in April 2001, also at Arden House.

The American Assembly developed this series in close cooperation with the leaders who form our Leadership Advisory Group, and whose names are listed in Appendix B of this volume. This group is co-chaired by three Assembly trustees: David Gergen, JFK School of Government, Harvard University and *The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer*; Karen Elliott House, President, International, Dow Jones & Company, Inc., *The Wall Street Journal*; and Donald F. McHenry, former Ambassador to the United Nations and current University Research Professor at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service; and also included Paul O'Neill, former Chair, ALCOA (on leave for government service as Secretary of the Treasury.)

The American Assembly gratefully acknowledges The Ford Foundation, Walter and Elise Haas Foundation, The David and Lucile Packard Foundation, and Rockefeller Brothers Fund, whose generous support helped make this Assembly possible. Our

appreciation is also expressed to those who have provided significant funding for the series in general and other specific *Uniting America* Assemblies:

The Ford Foundation  
The Goizueta Foundation  
The Coca-Cola Company  
Lilly Endowment, Inc.  
The Henry Luce Foundation, Inc.  
Hallmark Corporate Foundation  
The McKnight Foundation  
Surdna Foundation, Inc.  
Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation  
Charles Stewart Mott Foundation  
The Rockefeller Foundation  
Robert W. Woodruff Foundation, Inc.  
Xerox Corporation, U.S.A.  
Foundation for Child Development  
The Hauser Foundation, Inc.  
The Annie E. Casey Foundation  
Bradley Currey, Jr.

The American Assembly takes no position on subjects that it presents for public discussion. In addition, it should be noted that the participants took part in this meeting as individuals and spoke for themselves rather than for the organizations and institutions with which they are affiliated.

We would like to express special appreciation to the discussion leaders, rapporteurs, and co-directors for their fine work in helping to prepare the first draft of this report: Anita DeFrantz, Chris Gates, Claire Gaudiani, William W. George, James A. Joseph, Charles E.M. Kolb, Ellen McCulloch-Lovell, Carol Prendergast, Bruce Sievers, Edson Spencer, and Harris Wofford.

Daniel A. Sharp  
President & CEO  
The American Assembly

**FINAL REPORT  
of the  
NINETY-NINTH AMERICAN ASSEMBLY**

At the close of their discussions, the participants in the Ninety-Ninth American Assembly, *Uniting America: Collaborating to Make Democracy Work*, at the Skirball Cultural Center, Los Angeles, California, November 29–December 2, 2001, reviewed as a group the following statement. This statement represents general agreement; however, no one was asked to sign it, nor did everyone agree with all of it.

**PREAMBLE: Building Community by Design**

Since long before September 11, Americans have been inspired by countless examples of how as a nation we are both healed and bound together by our support for each other. Now more than ever, the time is ripe to expand on the many areas of collaboration that have brought people together in order to build the social, human, natural, and economic capital of our nation for all its citizens.

The psychiatrist and noted author Scott Peck has written that we build community out of crisis and we build community by accident, but we do not know how to build community by design. The problem with building community out of crisis, he contends, is that once the crisis is over so is the community.

---

This report addresses  
*how we build community  
by design.*

---

This report addresses *how we build community by design.*

**The Significance of Collaboration Among Sectors**

This American Assembly report was created by more than fifty representatives from three sectors of American democracy—government, business, and nonprofit. It describes how some of our country’s more complex problems can yield to comprehensive

solutions when addressed by inclusive groups of people of good will and competence. Both idealists and pragmatists, people from each of the three sectors struggle together and teach each other how to invent new ways to commit resources to old problems. They persevere long enough to see real changes in people's lives and in the health of their communities.

The central message of this report is that through collaborations among the three sectors creative solutions to intractable problems are possible in our society. Collaborations have the power to deal with difficult issues while embodying fairness because they include voices otherwise excluded. The increased effectiveness of collaborations emerges from their promotion of cooperation rather than competition. As a result, communities are transformed. Although this American Assembly project was begun long before the terrorist attacks, the report should be of special interest to all those who want to build upon the civic compassion so many Americans now feel as they work together for the common good.

---

...through collaborations among the three sectors creative solutions to intractable problems are possible in our society.

---

## **Profiles of Collaboration**

The observations and recommendations presented in this report emerge from an examination of profiles of collaboration from across the country and from the participants' own professional experience. The report specifically looks at:

- The Need for Collaborations Among Sectors
- Characteristics and Limits of Collaborations
- Encouraging and Enhancing Effective Collaborations
- How Collaborations Build Community

America has grown strong because each sector—government, business, and nonprofit—has had leaders willing to reach beyond the expectations of their specific sectors and invest in building for

the common good. Our history is replete with examples of how collaboration among the three sectors has, from our earliest days, contributed to our progress in establishing justice, providing economic opportunity, and promoting the general welfare. In a time of rapid change in America and the world, the need for collaboration is especially critical. Einstein said, “The world we have created today as a result of our thinking thus far has problems which cannot be solved by thinking the way we thought when we created them.” Therefore, the best minds from each sector must come together to share what they know and learn from one another. Each sector has a role to play in building the benefits of our democracy for all citizens. All evidence points to the fact that collaboration not only maximizes impact, it also offers the best hope for uniting America.

## **THE NEED FOR COLLABORATIONS AMONG SECTORS**

In seeking to unite America and make democracy work in the 21st century, we need to face and solve entrenched and complex problems. The list of our nation’s specific needs is long and daunting, and includes, among others, improving education, workforce development, affordable housing, health care, family well-being, child and elder care, environmental preservation, community and cultural development and all the many aspects of urban and rural poverty. While many enjoy a wealth of new opportunities, far too many others are being left behind. These pressing human needs call for urgent action and persistent long-term commitment.

Past experience suggests that working alone no single sector can address these challenges effectively. The failings of the government social safety net system offers clear current evidence of this. Earlier in our history, well meaning efforts by private charity and by business, each working alone, also failed to create the progress required by families living in poverty.

---

**...no single sector can address these challenges effectively.**

---

How do we muster the necessary energy, effectiveness, and will to tackle this agenda? We believe that government, business, and nonprofits, working together with engaged citizens in every community, have the power to design and build approaches for

making dramatic progress on each of the nation's most persistent problems. The goals of our democracy require that we mobilize our collective resources in this participatory way and commit to the task.

In the devastated communities of New York City and Washington, D.C. are examples of national and local resolve to address the significant challenges using collaboration among the three sectors. The

impacted areas will be rebuilt and renewed by the leadership and resources of city, state, and federal government, large

---

In the devastated communities of New York City and Washington, D.C. are examples...forged in the fire of a terrible emergency...

---

and small businesses and nonprofits, including educational, religious, and community organizations, as well as direct service providers and charities—all working together with determination. These examples, forged in the fire of a terrible emergency, are prompting America and its communities to develop a sense of moral urgency about our neighbors' human needs.

Such collaboration by government, business, and nonprofits springs forth in every major disaster. It is a proven way to secure the maximum resources of people, money, and contributions in kind, not only for the immediate emergency, but for the recovery of families and communities. The most pressing, continuing problems of the nation require no less.

Another reason collaboration is so often the best strategy is that our worst problems are increasingly intertwined. Each of the three sectors' unique comparative advantages, when combined,

---

Another reason collaboration is so often the best strategy is that our worst problems are increasingly intertwined.

---

have the potential to provide the needed comprehensive solutions. Moreover, the nonprofit and business sectors are now expected to play larger roles in collaborations.

The models we use for measuring failure and success are also changing. There is growing recognition that human and natural,

as well as economic, capital are part of a new conceptual framework. We need measures of progress that not only count the pace of economic activity, but also measure whether people are actually better off. We also need new approaches for achieving socially and environmentally sustainable development. Such efforts would uniquely benefit from creative, cross-sector collaborations.

We have examined the growing body of knowledge on collaborations to determine what has worked and what has failed. We have observed the growing experience of collaborations and find that in our democracy, citizens are responsible for civic progress—at the polls where they choose the government, in the great arena of educational, religious, and charitable organizations, and at the places where they work. Additionally, we have concluded that leaders of nonprofits, government, and business organizations need to understand more fully the great power of collaboration and to use it effectively. Most problems demand leadership from local communities. A national problem, however, calls for national leadership, whether from the “bully pulpit” of the White House or from the CEOs of the business and nonprofit sectors. Ultimately it is the responsibility of government to guarantee that no communities and no Americans are left behind. As problem by problem, community by community, collaboration succeeds, we demonstrate that our democracy is indeed capable of uniting the American people and making the blessings of liberty a reality for all.

## **CHARACTERISTICS AND LIMITS OF COLLABORATIONS**

If the importance of collaboration is clear, the means of accomplishing it are not always evident. Successful collaboration requires hard work, resources, and commitment from all participants. The growing body of experience provides important lessons about the factors leading to the success or failure of collaborative enterprises. Successful collaborations exhibit a number of common characteristics:

- They address demonstrated needs and concrete problems;
- They exhibit clear visions and tangible goals;
- The role played by each organization is well-defined;

- Partners have shared values related to the problems, agreement on approaches to solve them, and mutual respect and trust for each other;
- They benefit from strong leadership by champions who stay the course and partners who anticipate a long time horizon;
- All partners have the potential to derive clear benefits from the engagement;
- They have core funding committed from funders willing to take risks;
- They are comprised of partners who are close to the problem;
- They genuinely involve community members; and
- The organizations involved act strategically to identify the full range of essential stakeholders.

---

Successful collaborations exhibit a number of common characteristics...All partners have the potential to derive clear benefits from the engagement...

---

## Challenges and Barriers

Collaborations, while a powerful problem-solving tool, often face substantial challenges both to their work and to the very process of developing cooperation. These challenges reflect a variety of built-in differences among the three sectors. Differences in access to resources, measures of accountability, definitions of success, and institutional cultures make the process of developing collaborations among government, business, and the nonprofit sectors both deeply complex and seriously challenging. Some of these challenges include:

- Turf protection and mistrust;
- Organizations that overwhelm partners because of the amount of resources available or the level of passion about an issue;

- An excess of advocacy and a lack of true dialogue that undermine the collaborative process;
- Finding ways for business to participate in collaborations consistent with their focus on profits and competitiveness;
- Leaders who are leery of being lectured about their moral responsibility;
- Blurred roles that lead to unclear lines of accountability;
- Organizations that believe participation in larger collaboration dilutes their own efforts and resources;
- Government officials who may be reluctant to expose failed efforts to the voters; and
- Fear by nonprofits of actions that might alienate individual donors and other funders.

### **Limits to Collaboration**

Collaborations can be extremely productive in many circumstances, but they are not always appropriate or likely to succeed. Some issues may be best addressed by organizations from a particular sector. Other issues may be tackled by individuals long before they are recognized by existing organizations. Factors that limit collaboration include the following:

- A critical lack of continuity from high turnover of both business executives and political leadership;
- Unresponsive, inflexible, and bureaucratic government that can make it an ineffective partner;
- Constraints on small nonprofits, businesses, and municipal governments because of a lack of time, personnel, and funding;
- Distortion of nonprofits' missions by their need to attain measurable results;
- Disagreements based on fundamental values that are only temporarily masked by collaborative approaches; and
- Difficulty in starting or sustaining collaborative efforts because of fragmentation and lack of credible leadership.

## Lessons Learned: How to Make Collaborations Work

Innovation is brought into the mainstream by identifying cutting-edge practices, disseminating information about those practices, and encouraging others to adapt them to their own situations. It is critical to identify key lessons learned by those engaged in the difficult work of collaboration. By learning from both the successes and failures of the communities and organizations that have come before them, others will successfully be able to employ collaboration.

Among the lessons we have learned are:

- Collaborations can begin as either top-down or bottom-up efforts, but must engage the entire spectrum of stakeholders;
- Local and national collaborations require different strategies and approaches;
- Horizontal collaborations, where participants have shared power, often have better chances for success;
- It is essential to reach out to a new generation of corporate leadership and engage them more effectively in community life;
- Collaborations benefit by beginning with at least one committed funder;
- Tangible goals, even when only incremental, help move collaborations forward;
- Effective collaborative efforts should involve individuals from the community in both the development and core work of the project; and
- Participants should enter into collaboration prepared for an appropriately long time horizon.

---

Collaborations can begin as either top-down or bottom-up efforts, but must engage the entire spectrum of stakeholders...

---

## **ENCOURAGING AND ENHANCING EFFECTIVE COLLABORATION**

Business, government, and nonprofits control extensive resources—human, cultural and economic capital, and natural assets. Together, they possess enormous power to improve and transform the lives of all Americans. When collaborating to bring their strengths together to bear on community needs, these partners would enhance success by:

- Examining the reality of how change actually occurs;
- Investing in research to learn about why collaborations succeed or fail; and
- Sustaining work over the long term—both when progress is slow and when results are being achieved.

Partners must examine their own policies and priorities to change practices that discourage collaboration and to clear away barriers. Partners must pass on what they learn from failures and successes and create an ethos of collaboration among business leaders and workers, nonprofit board members and employees, and elected officials and government staff.

Both the urgency of the nation’s problems and the existing barriers to cooperation require some changes in each sector. With more national dialogue, awareness, training, and research, collaboration can be stimulated through creative incentives provided by each of the three partners.

### **RECOMMENDATIONS:**

This Assembly made recommendations for specific policies and practices that will improve the chances that collaboration will be effective.

#### **Organizational power**

All three sectors should work together to create new structures and institutions as catalysts and brokers for collaborations—providing information, resources, and guidance to groups considering such ventures. Intermediaries, like The Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC) and the Enterprise Foundation,

which stimulate local development, are two models for such structures. The following recommendations apply to all the partners in a collaboration.

Each should:

- Review guidelines, programs, applications and reporting requirements to remove barriers to collaboration;
- Commission research and evaluation, and provide recognition for model programs; and
- Reward collaboration and use it as a criterion for organization performance.

---

**All three sectors should work together to create new structures and institutions as catalysts and brokers for collaborations...**

---

## **Leadership and training**

Leadership and training in effective collaboration are needed for people engaged in all levels of business, government, and the nonprofit world.

Each should:

- Dramatically increase the exposure of local, state, and national leaders to each sector;
- Provide additional focus on, and funding for, training for effective collaboration opportunities; and
- Create structures that develop genuine community participation and broader civic engagement.

## **Research**

Each should:

- Develop and screen appropriate quality of life indicators to define what constitutes a healthy community, including, but not limited to, such factors as percentage of owner-occupied housing units, percentage of low birth weight babies, teen pregnancy rates, percentage of family dissolution, high school drop-out rates, rates of joblessness and homelessness, and use of cultural and historic resources by all segments of community;

- Commission and use research on international and national trends that affect problems being tackled by collaborations;
- Use research to enable collaborations to set goals and evaluate progress more reliably, such as applying effective citizen-engagement models and concepts of “human capital” to community building; and
- Define assets of nonprofits so all partners know what the nonprofits have to offer in collaborations (i.e., credibility, ‘brand name’, closeness to key constituencies) and can therefore play a more confident role.

## **Business**

Businesses should examine the many ways their practices affect their communities. Business leaders should also examine the way business as a constituency affects broader national policy debates.

Business executives should:

- Take the lead in engaging community issues through collaboration with leaders of the government and nonprofit sectors;
- Ensure that a culture of collaboration and philanthropy is reinforced by headquarters and local offices, for example, by using community participation as a consideration in executive review and reward;
- Mentor rising executives in community leadership, and support opportunities for them to interact with members of the other sectors;
- Recognize the value of healthy communities to business success, and the role of multi-sector collaborations in developing healthy communities; and
- Work through new groups or existing ones such as the Committee for Eco-

---

**Business executives should:  
Take the lead in engaging  
community issues through  
collaboration with leaders of  
the government and non-  
profit sectors...**

---

conomic Development (CED) and The Conference Board to become more effective advocates for the public interest in national debates—as opposed to engaging in political issues only where their firm or industry has a direct stake.

## Nonprofits

Nonprofits should use their special credibility to convene business, government, and nonprofit partners, including civic, religious, and higher education institutions, to address community causes.

- Colleges, universities, and other cultural institutions can and should incorporate civic engagements throughout, and integral to, every aspect of their missions, management, institutional practices, and educational or cultural experiences. A model can be found in the University of Pennsylvania’s *West Philadelphia Initiatives*.

---

Nonprofits should use their special credibility to convene business, government, and nonprofit partners...

---

- In light of current discussions about the role of faith-based institutions, we urge them to search for opportunities to collaborate with other sectors, especially in ways that promote reconciliation between conflicting groups and through providing leadership for individual and social change.

Foundations should:

- Increase support and long-term funding for collaborations;
- Consider increasing annual distributions to a higher level than the minimum required by law, currently five percent of assets; and
- Encourage emulation of other foundation programs such as The Annie E. Casey Neighborhood Program, that provides multi-year commitment to collaborative economic development.

## **Government**

Governments should:

- Create and extend economic incentives, such as tax credits and student loan forgiveness, to support collaborations that address critical shortages of teachers, nurses, and healthcare workers in rural and urban areas;
- Expand targeted tax credits and other incentives that support collaborative ventures to increase affordable housing, child and elder care, historic preservation, inner city and rural economic development, and energy conservation;
- Develop policy and legislative frameworks like the Community Reinvestment Act (CRA) that enable new collaborations and positively influence the public good;
- Assure that more federal grants flow directly to municipalities instead of states to give local government the power to make decisions in collaboration with other partners based on need; and
- Mobilize federal Cabinet departments and independent agencies (as is being done by the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives) to support the expanded capacity of collaboration to meet the nation's needs, by offering matching grants and other incentives.

## **CONCLUSION:**

### **HOW COLLABORATIONS BUILD COMMUNITY**

Early in the 20th century, American citizens reshaped institutions in our society that have contributed to the economic and social progress from which we continue to benefit today. During that Progressive Era, collaborations like Community Chest (United Way), American Red Cross, Girl Scouts and Boy Scouts, and community and family foundations, created new “habits of the heart” for the American people to improve our society and our democracy. Similarly, we owe future generations the innovative reshaping of our contemporary institutions to address today's challenges. The collaboration methods called for in this report represent important means of advancing our communities and our country.

As a cautionary note, we believe it is essential that the language of this affirmative vision not be permitted to mask the realities of fundamental inequities that exist today in our society. As participants in these collaborations progress toward their common goals, they must keep in mind the tension between their noble visions and the realities faced every day by our least-privileged citizens.

Rather than viewing new kinds of collaborations simply as ways of solving problems, we should see them as ways of creating social capital and a more participatory democracy which include healthy local communities and ongoing dialogues among all sectors and citizens. We advocate a holistic approach that advances racial equality, respect for

---

Rather than viewing new kinds of collaborations simply as ways of solving problems, we should see them as ways of creating social capital and a more participatory democracy...

---

religious differences, healthy families and children, educational opportunities, and economic self-sufficiency for all. We are passionate in our belief that collaborations are the best vehicle to accomplish this kind of comprehensive change. Working together to solve intractable problems in our society, we are convinced that there is value *per se* in joint efforts across sectors to achieve healthy communities and in practicing democracy rather than just living in one. Collaborative efforts will build community by enhancing civic engagement and increasing citizen participation.

We have learned through our experiences that when neighbors help neighbors, and even when strangers help strangers, both those who help and those who are helped are transformed. We call upon the leaders in the government, business and non-profit sectors to rise above their institutional self-interests to work actively together to meet the nation's needs and transform the *laissez-faire* notion of "live and let live" into the civic imperative of "live and help live."

This is the way we build community by design.

\* \* \* \*

**PARTICIPANTS**  
**THE NINETY-NINTH AMERICAN ASSEMBLY**  
**Uniting America:**  
**Collaborating to Make Democracy Work**

**Jennifer Andrews**

*Development Associate*  
Nashville Mayor's Office of Economic  
and Community Development  
Nashville, TN

**Loni Debban**

*Program Director*  
*Collaboration/TANF*  
Idaho Head Start Association, Inc.  
Boise, ID

**Laura Breedon**

*Director*  
America Connects Consortium,  
at Educational Development Center  
Newton, MA

≈ **Anita L. DeFrantz**

*President / Member*  
Amateur Athletic  
Foundation/International  
Olympic Committee  
Los Angeles, CA

**Don S. Browning**

*Alexander Campbell Professor*  
Divinity School,  
University of Chicago  
Chicago, IL

**Jackie Edens**

*Commissioner*  
Mayor's Office of Workforce  
Development  
Chicago, IL

**James P. Buden**

*Coordinator, Energy Management  
Practices*  
New York State Division of Housing  
and Community Renewal  
New York, NY

**Joe D. Edmonson**

*Former Chief of Personnel,  
Management Division*  
Headquarters Air Training  
Command  
San Antonio, TX

**Richard E. Cavanagh**

*President and CEO*  
The Conference Board, Inc.  
New York, NY

**Khadijah A. Fancy**

*Program Manager*  
NetAid  
New York, NY

**Ramiro A. Cavazos**

*Director of Economic Development*  
City of San Antonio  
San Antonio, TX

**Ellen S. Fern**

*Director of National and Corporate  
Partnerships*  
National Campaign to Prevent Teen  
Pregnancy  
Washington, DC

**Donna Chavis**

*Executive Director*  
Native Americans in Philanthropy  
Lumberton, NC

**Henry J. Fernandez, III**

*Economic Development Administrator*  
City of New Haven  
New Haven, CT

**Steve Cramer**

*Executive Director*  
Minneapolis Community  
Development Agency  
Minneapolis, MN

\* **Chris Gates**

*President*  
National Civic League  
Denver, CO

✪ **Claire Gaudiani**

*Senior Research Scholar*  
Yale Law School  
*President*  
New London Development  
Corporation  
New Haven, CT

✪ **William George**

*Chairman*  
Medtronic, Inc.  
Minneapolis, MN

† **Bart Harvey**

*Chairman of the Board and CEO*  
The Enterprise Foundation  
Columbia, MD

† **Albert Hawkins**

*Assistant to the President and  
Cabinet Secretary*  
The White House  
Washington, DC

**Alice S. Huang**

*Sr. Councilor for External Relations*  
California Institute of Technology  
Pasadena, CA

✪ **James A. Joseph**

*Professor of the Practice of Public  
Policy*  
Duke University  
*Former U.S. Ambassador to South  
Africa*  
Durham, NC

**Barbara Kibbe**

*Director, Organizational Effectiveness  
and Philanthropy*  
The David and Lucile Packard  
Foundation  
Los Altos, CA

\*\* **Charles E. M. Kolb**

*President*  
Committee for Economic  
Development  
Washington, DC

**Hunter Lovins**

*CEO – Strategy*  
Rocky Mountain Institute  
Snowmass, CO

**Abraham F. Lowenthal**

*President*  
Pacific Council on International  
Policy, University of Southern  
California  
Los Angeles, CA

**Sandy Martin**

*Executive Director, It's Business  
Coalition for Community  
Collaboration*  
Overland Park, Kansas

\* **Ellen McCulloch-Lovell**

*Director, Veterans History Project  
Library of Congress,  
American Folklife Center*  
*Former Deputy Assistant to the  
President and Advisor to the  
First Lady*  
Bethesda, MD

† **Sara E. Melendez**

*President and CEO*  
Independent Sector  
Washington, DC

**Kathy Meyer**

*Vice President of Business Development*  
Benetech  
Moffett Field, CA

**Jody Miller**

*Venture Partner*  
Maveron LLC  
Pacific Palisades, CA

**Matthew L. Miller**

*Senior Fellow*  
Occidental College  
*Syndicated Columnist*  
Tribune Media Services  
Pacific Palisades, CA

**Robert D. Miller**

*Director*  
Minneapolis Neighborhood  
Revitalization Program  
Minneapolis, MN

**Brian O'Connell**

*Professor*  
University College of Citizenship and  
Public Service, Filene Center  
Tufts University  
Medford, MA

**George Penick**

*President*

Foundation for the Mid South  
Jackson, MS

**Robert Perez**

*Manager, Business Incentive Unit*

City of Los Angeles Community  
Development Department  
Los Angeles, CA

**\*\* Carol Prendergast**

*Chair*

Common Cause/NY  
New York, NY

**Joannie Ransom**

*Executive Director*

Girl Scouts – Greater Los Angeles  
Santa Monica, CA

**Barclay T. Resler**

*Vice-President, Federal Government  
Relations*

Coca-Cola North America  
Washington, DC

**Gloria G. Rodriguez**

*Founder, President, & CEO*

AVANCE Family Support and  
Education Programs  
San Antonio, TX

**Gaynell Schandel**

*Manager, Office of Grants and  
Special Projects*

City of Minneapolis  
Minneapolis, MN

**†\*\* Bruce Sievers**

*Executive Director*

Walter and Elise Haas Fund  
San Francisco, CA

**Frederick D. Smith**

*President*

Operation HOPE, Inc.  
Los Angeles, CA

**James Allen Smith**

*Senior Advisor*

J. Paul Getty Trust  
Larchmont, NY

**~ Edson W. Spencer**

*Retired CEO*

Honeywell  
Minneapolis, MN

**Stephen P. Steinberg**

*Executive Director*

Penn National Commission on  
Society, Culture and Community  
University of Pennsylvania  
Philadelphia, PA

**Mark Strama**

*Vice President, Public Elections*  
Election.com  
Houston, TX

**Keith A. Strother**

*Director, Community Enterprises  
Division*

City of Birmingham  
Birmingham, AL

**† Ronald F. Thiemann**

*Professor of Theology and Religion  
and Society*

Harvard University  
Cambridge, MA

**John C. Topping, Jr.**

*President*

Climate Institute  
Washington, DC

**Jaime E. Uzeta**

*Director of Strategic Partnerships  
and Public Affairs*

MTV: Music Television  
New York, NY

**\* Harris Wofford**

*Former U.S. Senator (Pennsylvania)*

*Former CEO*

Corporation for National Service  
Washington, DC

**• Daniel Yankelovich**

*Chairman*

Viewpoint Learning  
La Jolla, CA

**Participation Via Teleconference:****Diane L. Bell**

*President and CEO*  
Empower Baltimore Management  
Corporation  
Baltimore, MD

**William A. Galston**

*Professor*  
School of Public Affairs  
*Director*  
Institute for Philosophy and Public  
Policy  
University of Maryland  
College Park, MD

**Kim W. Havey**

*Director*  
Office of the Minneapolis  
Empowerment Zone  
Minneapolis, MN

**Richard D. Lamm**

*Director*  
Center for Public Policy and  
Contemporary Issues  
University of Denver  
Denver, CO

**Edward Skloot**

*Executive Director*  
Surdna Foundation, Inc.  
New York, NY

**Observers:****Joseph Derdzinski**

*Director*  
USAF Academy Assembly  
USAF Academy, CO

**Rum Ekhtiar**

*Senior Account Manager*  
Pro-Media Communications  
Los Angeles, CA

**Neal Flieger**

*General Manager*  
Edelman Public Relations Worldwide  
Washington, DC

**Erik Joerss**

*Executive Director*  
Enlightened Markets  
New York, NY

**Carol S. Larson**

*Vice President and Director of  
Programs*  
The David and Lucile Packard  
Foundation  
Los Altos, CA

**Michelle Sicola**

*Senior Account Supervisor*  
Edelman Public Relations Worldwide  
Washington, DC

**Robyn Stein**

*Managing Director*  
Pro-Media Communications  
New York, NY

*Legend:*

- ♣ Co-Directors
- \* Discussion Leader
- \*\* Rapporteur
- Moderator
- † Panelist
- ~ Discussion Leader, Teleconference
- ≈ Rapporteur, Teleconference

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

### ***UNITING AMERICA: TOWARD COMMON PURPOSE***

a public policy project of

### **THE AMERICAN ASSEMBLY**

#### **Introduction**

Americans are coping with economic uncertainty and security challenges unlike any we have faced in decades. Our country stands united, but some of that unity is built on shock, fear, and anger—the very elements that so easily divided us in the past. The underlying issues that have previously compromised our social fabric, such as racism and economic disparity, have not vanished and will likely be exacerbated by the new stresses we face. Because of the unity we feel, however temporary, now may be the time to reconsider the forces that have created inequalities, apathy, and alienation. At a point when patriotism is so richly elevated, we need to ask how we can sustain the spirit of community, both now and when the intensity of our current crisis has diminished. More than ever, it is essential that we reinforce and redefine our shared values, prevent further divisions among us, and build on our common ground—precisely what our *Uniting America* series seeks to accomplish.

**The American Assembly**, a nonpartisan forum founded by Dwight D. Eisenhower and affiliated with Columbia University, is convening a series of six consensus-building Assemblies entitled ***Uniting America***, where key policy makers, academicians, national leaders, and community experts, among others, gather to discuss crucial issues facing America today. Sixty to seventy participants meet in small discussion groups for four days to produce an immediate and broadly disseminated consensus statement that specifies concrete policy recommendations, and commitments to action by key players. The Assemblies in this series also serve as a model of creative public dialogue through which to define common purpose in American public life. Several crosscutting themes run through all of the Assemblies: education, media, leadership, technology, and values.

#### ***Uniting America* Goals**

- To help reverse the splintering of our society into closed and alienated communities
- To catalyze a national dialogue on the most critical and divisive issues facing our country today
- To identify and develop effective forms of collaboration among the public, private, and nonprofit sectors
- To develop a replicable model of deliberation around these pressing and sensitive public issues

## ***Uniting America Topics***

### **Economic growth, opportunity, and equality**

*June 10–13, 1999, Atlanta, GA*

### **Religion in American public life**

*March 23–26, 2000, Arden House, Harriman, NY*

### **Strengthening American families**

*September 21–24, 2000, Kansas City, MO*

### **Racial equality**

*April 19–22, 2001, Arden House, Harriman, NY*

### **Enhancing collaboration between the three sectors**

*November 29–December 2, 2001, Los Angeles, CA*

### **Final Assembly of Leadership Advisory Group**

*March 1–2, 2002, Arden House, Harriman, NY*

## ***Uniting America Co-chairs***

### **David R. Gergen**

*The Newshour with Jim Lehrer*; Professor, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University; Trustee, The American Assembly

### **Karen Elliott House**

President, International, Dow Jones & Company, Inc., *WSJ* Trustee, The American Assembly

### **Donald McHenry**

Distinguished Professor of Diplomacy, Georgetown University; Trustee, The American Assembly

### **Paul O'Neill**

(On leave for government service as Secretary of Treasury); former Chairman, ALCOA

*Uniting America* is one of The American Assembly's most ambitious and important projects. Our unique deliberation model is ideally suited to identifying consensus on the most divisive issues of our day. The Assemblies also begin the process by which this consensus is translated into a set of concrete policy alternatives for consideration and action by leaders in all sectors of American society.

**THE AMERICAN ASSEMBLY**  
*Uniting America: Toward Common Purpose*  
**LEADERSHIP ADVISORY GROUP**

**Co-Chairs**

<b>David R. Gergen</b>	JFK School of Government, Harvard; <i>The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer</i>
<b>Karen Elliott House</b>	President, International, Dow Jones & Company, Inc., <i>WSJ</i>
<b>Donald F. McHenry</b>	President IRC Group; School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University; Former U.S. Ambassador to the UN
<b>Paul H. O'Neill</b>	(On leave for government service as Secretary of Treasury), former Chairman, ALCOA

**Members**

<b>Paul A. Allaire</b>	Chairman, Xerox Corporation
<b>Jonathan Alter</b>	Senior Editor and columnist, <i>Newsweek</i> Magazine
<b>Derek Bok</b>	Former President, Harvard University
<b>David L. Boren</b>	President, University of Oklahoma; former Governor, U.S. Senator (OK)
<b>Michael J. Boskin</b>	Tully M. Friedman Professor of Economics, Stanford University; Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution
<b>Bill Bradley</b>	Former United States Senator (NJ)
<b>Joan Brown Campbell</b>	Director of Religion, Chautauqua Institution; former General Secretary, National Council of Churches of Christ
<b>Henry G. Cisneros</b>	Chairman and CEO, American CityVista
<b>John F. Cooke</b>	President, Declaration of Independence, Inc.;; Chief Executive Officer, ACT III
<b>Lee Cullum</b>	Columnist, <i>Dallas Morning News</i>
<b>Mario Cuomo</b>	Former Governor of New York
<b>Douglas N. Daft</b>	Chairman and CEO, The Coca-Cola Company
<b>Thomas R. Donahue</b>	Senior Fellow, Work in America Institute; Former Interim President, AFL-CIO
<b>Peggy Dulany</b>	Chair, The Synergos Institute

<b>Don Eberly</b>	(On leave for government service as Deputy Director and Deputy Assistant to the President/Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives); former Chair and CEO, National Fatherhood Initiative; Director, Civil Society Project
<b>Marian Wright Edelman</b>	Founder and President, The Children’s Defense Fund
<b>Jeffrey A. Eisenach</b>	President and Co-founder, Progress and Freedom Foundation
<b>Marsha Johnson Evans</b>	National Executive Director, Girl Scouts of the USA; Rear Admiral, U.S. Navy (Retired)
<b>Dianne Feinstein</b>	U.S. Senator (CA)
<b>Jim Florio</b>	Former Governor of New Jersey
<b>Robert M. Franklin</b>	President, Interdenominational Theological Center
<b>David P. Gardner</b>	President Emeritus, University of California and University of Utah
<b>John W. Gardner</b>	Consulting Professor, School of Education, Stanford University
<b>William George</b>	Chairman, Medtronic, Inc.
<b>Peter C. Goldmark, Jr.</b>	CEO, International Herald Tribune
<b>Michael Goodwin</b>	President, Office and Professional Employees International Union
<b>William H. Gray III</b>	President and CEO, United Negro College Fund, Inc.
<b>David E. Hayes-Bautista</b>	Director of UCLA Center for the Study of Latino Health & Culture, Professor, School of Medicine, UCLA
<b>Bryan J. Hehir</b>	Chair of the Executive Committee and Professor of the Practice in Religion & Society, Harvard Divinity School, Harvard University
<b>Antonia Hernandez</b>	President and General Counsel, MALDEF
<b>Irvine O. Hockaday, Jr.</b>	President and CEO, Hallmark Cards, Inc.
<b>Alice S. Huang</b>	Senior Counselor for External Relations, California Institute of Technology
<b>Charlayne Hunter-Gault</b>	National Correspondent, <i>The Newshour with Jim Lehrer</i>
<b>Frank Keating</b>	Governor of Oklahoma
<b>Robert D. Kennedy</b>	Retired Chairman, Union Carbide Corporation

**James T. Laney** President Emeritus, Emory University;  
Former U.S. Ambassador to South Korea

**Sara Lawrence Lightfoot** Professor of Education,  
Harvard University

**Bruce Llewellyn** Chairman and CEO,  
Philadelphia Coca-Cola Bottling Co.

**Richard G. Lugar** United States Senator (IN)

**Lynn Martin** Former U.S. Secretary of Labor;  
Advisor, Deloitte & Touche LLP;  
Professor, Kellogg School of Management,  
Northwestern University

**Vilma S. Martinez** Partner, Munger, Tolles & Olson LLP;  
Former President and General Counsel,  
MALDEF

**David Mathews** President and CEO,  
Charles F. Kettering Foundation

**Elizabeth McCormack** Vice Chairman of the Board, John D. and  
Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation

**William J. McDonough** President,  
Federal Reserve Bank of New York

**Dana G. Mead** Former Chairman and CEO, Tenneco Inc.

**Yolanda T. Moses** President, American Association for  
Higher Education; Board Member,  
The Ford Foundation

**Diana Natalicio** President, University of Texas at El Paso

**Harry Pachon** President,  
The Tomas Rivera Policy Institute

**Deval L. Patrick** Executive Vice President and General  
Counsel, The Coca-Cola Company, Inc.

**Robert D. Putnam** Professor of Political Science,  
Harvard University

**Ralph Reed** Former Executive Director, Christian  
Coalition; Chairman of the Georgia  
Republican Party

**Robert B. Reich** Professor, The Heller School, Brandeis  
University; former Secretary of Labor

**William D. Ruckelshaus** Former director, FBI; Chairman of the  
Board, Browning Ferris Industries, Inc.

**George Rupp** President, Columbia University

**Henry B. Schacht** Chairman and CEO,  
Lucent Technologies Inc.

**Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.** Professor, Department of History,  
City University of New York

<b>Adele Simmons</b>	Vice Chair, Chicago Metropolis 2020
<b>Alan K. Simpson</b>	Director, Institute of Politics, Harvard University; Former U.S. Senator (WY)
<b>Edward Skloot</b>	Executive Director, Surdna Foundation, Inc.
<b>Edson W. Spencer</b>	Former CEO, Honeywell Inc.; former Chair, Ford Foundation
<b>Chang-Lin Tien</b>	Chairman, The Asia Foundation; former Chancellor, University of California at Berkeley
<b>Vin Weber</b>	Former U.S. Congressman (MN); Partner, Clark & Weinstock
<b>Frank A. Weil</b>	Chairman, Abacus & Associates, Inc.
<b>John C. Whitehead</b>	Chairman, Lower Manhattan Redevelopment Corporation; former Deputy Secretary of State; former Chair, AEA Investors Inc.
<b>William Julius Wilson</b>	John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University
<b>Michael Woo</b>	Former Director of Los Angeles Programs, LISC
<b>Daniel Yankelovich</b>	Chairman, Viewpoint Learning; Chairman, Public Agenda Foundation
<b>Alice Young</b>	Chair, Asia Pacific Practice (U.S.), Kaye, Scholer, Fierman, Hays & Handler

**Advisory Committee for the Fifth Assembly of the  
*Uniting America Series***

***Uniting America: Collaborating to Make Democracy Work***

**Chair:**

***John W. Gardner***

*Consulting Professor, School of  
Education, Stanford University*

**Co-Directors:**

***Claire L. Gaudiani***

*Senior Research Scholar, Yale Law  
School; President, New London  
Development Corporation*

***William George***

*Chairman  
Medtronic, Inc.*

***James A. Joseph***

*Professor of the Practice of  
Public Policy, Duke University  
Former U.S. Ambassador to  
South Africa  
Former President and CEO,  
Council on Foundations*

**Members:**

***Morton Bahr***

*President  
Communication Workers of  
America*

***Douglas J. Bennet***

*President  
Wesleyan University*

***Robert P. Biller***

*Former Dean and Professor Emeritus  
School of Policy, Planning and  
Development  
University of Southern California  
COO, Skirball Cultural Center*

***David Bollier***

*Independent Journalist*

***Richard Cavanagh***

*President and CEO  
The Conference Board, Inc.*

***Jeanette Chavez***

*Managing Editor  
Denver Post*

***Henry G. Cisneros***

*President  
American CityVista*

***John F. Cooke***

*President  
Declaration of Independence, Inc.*

***Geoffrey Cowan***

*Dean  
Annenberg School of  
Communication, University of  
Southern California*

***Jean Bethke Elshtain***

*Laura Spelman Rockefeller  
Professor of Social and Political  
Ethics  
Divinity School, University of  
Chicago*

***Barbara D. Finberg***

*Vice President  
MEM Associates*

***Joel Fleishman***

*President  
Atlantic Philanthropic Company*

**Howard I. Friedman**

Chairman of the Board of  
Trustees  
Skirball Cultural Center  
Partner, Loeb and Loeb (retired)

**William A. Galston**

Director, Institute for Philosophy  
and Public Policy  
Professor, School of Public Affairs  
University of Maryland

**David R. Gergen**

Professor of Public Service  
Kennedy School of Government  
Harvard University

**Allen Grossman**

Professor of Management Practice  
Harvard Business School

**Stephen B. Heintz**

President  
Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Inc.

**Antonia Hernandez**

President and General Counsel  
MALDEF

**Rabbi Uri Herscher**

President  
Skirball Cultural Center

**Peter Karoff**

President  
The Philanthropic Initiative, Inc.

**Charles Kolb**

President  
Committee for Economic  
Development

**Richard Lamm**

Executive Director  
Center for Policy and  
Contemporary Issues  
University of Denver  
Former Governor of Colorado

**Carol Larson**

Vice President  
The David and Lucile Packard  
Foundation

**Christine Letts**

Lecturer in Public Policy  
Hauser Center for Nonprofit  
Organizations

**Ellen McCulloch-Lovell**

Director, Veterans History Project  
Library of Congress,  
American Folklife Center  
Former Deputy Assistant to the  
President and Advisor to the  
First Lady

**Sara E. Melendez**

President and CEO  
Independent Sector

**Suzanne Morse**

Director  
Pew Partnership for Civic Change

**Yolanda T. Moses**

President  
American Association of Higher  
Education

**Jane Pisano**

President and Director  
Natural History Museum,  
Los Angeles

**Robert D. Putnam**

Professor  
Kennedy School of Government  
Harvard University

**Lee Ramer**

Former Chief of Protocol  
Office of the Mayor of Los Angeles  
Skirball Board Member

**Rey Ramsey**

Chief Executive Officer  
One Economy Corporation

**Steven Rattner**

Managing Principal  
Quadrangle Group LLC

**Dorothy S. Ridings**

President and CEO  
Council on Foundations

**Michael Rubinger**

President and CEO  
Local Initiative Support  
Corporation (LISC)

**Lester Milton Salamon**

Director  
Institute for Policy Studies  
Johns Hopkins University

**Michael J. Sandel**

Professor of Government  
Harvard University

**Rocco Siciliano**

Chairman, The Eisenhower World  
Affairs Institute  
CEO, American Health Properties  
(retired)

**Bruce Sievers**

Executive Director  
Walter and Elise Haas Fund

**Adele Simmons**

Vice Chair  
Chicago Metropolis 2020

**Ed Skloot**

Executive Director  
Surdna Foundation

**Stephen P. Steinberg**

Executive Director  
Penn National Commission on  
Society, Culture and Community,  
University of Pennsylvania

**Clyde C. Tuggle**

Vice President, Office of the  
Chairman  
The Coca Cola Company

**Harris Wofford**

Former CEO  
Corporation for National Service  
Former U.S. Senator (Pennsylvania)

**Daniel Yankelovich**

Chairman, Viewpoint Learning  
Chairman, Public Agenda  
Foundation

## **ABOUT THE AMERICAN ASSEMBLY**

The American Assembly was established by Dwight D. Eisenhower at Columbia University in 1950. It holds nonpartisan meetings and publishes authoritative books to illuminate issues of United States policy.

An affiliate of Columbia, The Assembly is a national, educational institution incorporated in the State of New York.

The Assembly seeks to provide information, stimulate discussion, and evoke independent conclusions on matters of vital public interest.

### **American Assembly Sessions**

At least two national programs are initiated each year. Authorities are retained to write background papers presenting essential data and defining the main issues of each subject.

A group of men and women representing a broad range of experience, competence, and American leadership meet for several days to discuss the Assembly topic and consider alternatives for national policy.

All Assemblies follow the same procedure. The background papers are sent to participants in advance of the Assembly. The Assembly meets in small groups for four lengthy periods. All groups use the same agenda. At the close of these informal sessions participants adopt in plenary session a final report of findings and recommendations.

Regional, state, and local Assemblies are held following the national session at Arden House. Assemblies have also been held in England, Switzerland, Malaysia, Canada, the Caribbean, South America, Central America, the Philippines, China and Taiwan. Over one hundred sixty institutions have cosponsored one or more Assemblies.

### **Arden House**

The home of The American Assembly and the scene of the national sessions is Arden House, which was given to Columbia University in 1950 by W. Averell Harriman. E. Roland Harriman joined his brother in contributing toward adaptation of the property for conference purposes. The buildings and surrounding land, known as the Harriman Campus of Columbia University, are fifty miles north of New York City.

Arden House is a distinguished conference center. It is self-supporting and operates throughout the year for use by organizations with educational objectives. The American Assembly is a tenant of this Columbia University facility only during Assembly sessions.

# *The American Assembly*

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

## *Trustees*

ARTHUR G. ALTSCHUL	New York
CHARLES BENTON	Illinois
BRADLEY CURREY, JR.	Georgia
DOUGLAS N. DAFT	Georgia
MEYER FELDBERG, <i>ex officio</i>	New York
DAVID R. GERGEN	Massachusetts
BILL GREEN	New York
KAREN ELLIOTT HOUSE	New York
B.R. INMAN	Texas
WHITNEY MACMILLAN	Minnesota
JOHN F. MCGILlicuddy	New York
DONALD F. MCHENRY	District of Columbia
DAVID H. MORTIMER	New York
RAYMOND D. NASHER	Texas
GEORGE E. RUPP, <i>ex officio</i>	New York
DANIEL A. SHARP, <i>ex officio</i>	Connecticut
STEPHEN STAMAS, <i>Chairman</i>	New York
PAUL A. VOLCKER	New York
FRANK A. WEIL	New York
CLIFTON R. WHARTON, JR.	New York
ALICE YOUNG	New York

## *Staff*

DANIEL A. SHARP, <i>President and CEO</i>
DAVID H. MORTIMER, <i>Chief Operating Officer</i>
ROCHELLE S. POLLOCK, <i>Associate Director</i>
NATHAN GEBERT, <i>Executive Project Coordinator, Uniting America Series</i>
KRISTIN SULLIVAN, <i>Executive Project Coordinator, Uniting America Series</i>
LAURIE V. O'CONNOR, <i>Exec. Asst. to the President &amp; CEO; Program Coordinator</i>
TERRY K. ROETHLEIN, <i>Program Coordinator</i>
LAUREN TRINKER, <i>Financial Coordinator</i>
MEI YIP, <i>Programs Assistant</i>
TONIANN WRIGHT, <i>American Assembly Intern</i>

## *Trustees Emeriti*

WILLIAM BLOCK	Pennsylvania
CLIFFORD M. HARDIN	Missouri
SOL M. LINOWITZ	District of Columbia
KATHLEEN H. MORTIMER	New York
ELEANOR BERNERT SHELDON	New York
CLARENCE C. WALTON	Pennsylvania

***The American Assembly***

*475 Riverside Drive, Suite 456 • New York, NY 10115*

*Telephone (212) 870-3500 Fax (212) 870-3555*

*[www.americanassembly.org](http://www.americanassembly.org)*