

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM

To: Billy Webster
Ann Stock

cc: Common Ground Working Group

From: Melanne Verveer

Date: July 17, 1995

Attached is a description of a new PBS series entitled "The American Promise," which is scheduled to air on October 1, 2 and 3. The themes of the series -- the importance of civic participation and making our democracy real -- echo the principles that the President layed out in his Common Ground speech at Georgetown. The President has indicated that he would like to participate in follow-up events building on the Common Ground theme and continuing the national dialogue he called for in his speech. A White House screening of all or some part of this series is an opportunity to accomplish these goals. Anne Wexler mentioned the prospect of a screening to the President at Georgetown and he indicated that he would like to consider it. The documentary, which will be distributed widely to schools and community centers, could be shown prior to its airing in the East Room to an audience of students, teachers and administrators and be followed by a discussion of the issues it raises.

Please call me at ext. 66266 with any feedback.



The American
Promise

June 27, 1995

Ms. Melanne Verveer
Deputy Assistant to the President and
Deputy Chief of Staff to the First Lady
Office of the First Lady
100 Old Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Melanne:

Here's the material we discussed on the phone about the new PBS series, The American Promise. The American Promise offers a special opportunity for the President and First Lady to support a project embodying the values they hold most dear. Listening to the President's speech from Arkansas over the weekend, it struck me how closely this program mirrors his vision for our Nation.

The American Promise is a three-hour program on civic participation and grassroots democracy comprised of some fifty different story segments from every corner of the United States. Each vignette offers a lesson on the skills and values needed to bring our unique, American brand of democracy to life. The vignettes are collected in separate thematic groups, each twenty minutes in length (making the program readily transferrable to the classroom setting), to illustrate core American values such as freedom, responsibility, opportunity, participation, and deliberation. The program's goal is nothing less than to instruct young citizens to take responsibility for themselves in their democracy.

Through the telling of dozens of inspirational stories, The American Promise builds a narrative power far more compelling than that of any single vignette. The cumulative impact of watching these stories is as moving as it is educational.

The American Promise will make its national broadcast premiere on PBS on October 1, 2 and 3. But that truly will be just the beginning of this program's contribution.

The producers of The American Promise intend for the program to become the standard instructional tool on community-based democracy -- or, as they put it, "citizenship education" -- for high school and junior high school students throughout the United States. There is good reason to believe they will succeed. Farmers Insurance Group, the program's corporate sponsor, has pledged to make the video available to all interested schools and teachers at no cost. The program's executive producer,

Ms. Melanne Verveer
June 27, 1995

Denny Crimmins, has a proven track record. Mr. Crimmins's 1979 PBS program on science, The Search for Solutions, has been viewed by over 300 million students and continues, 15 years after its introduction, to be a classroom staple. In 1993, teachers made 40,500 new requests for the film. The tag line of one promotional advertisement for The American Promise aptly states, "Finally, television you can assign."

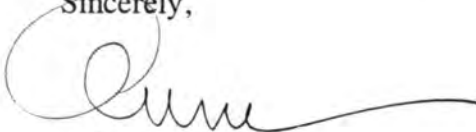
Momentum is building behind The American Promise. Local PBS affiliates were shown a preview of the program at a national PBS meeting recently held in Chicago. The preview received rave reviews, and the broadcast premiere in October now is guaranteed to be national in scope. Indeed, PBS has made The American Promise the inaugural program for its "Democracy Project" election year coverage. Life magazine will run a special feature on The American Promise in the September 11 issue. And the National Council on the Social Studies already has endorsed the program; its 30,000 member teachers will form the core faculty using the program in the classroom. The endorsements of many other national educational and political organizations will soon be announced.

A White House screening built around the students who will be learning from The American Promise and their teachers is the option we discussed. It would be possible to schedule the event concurrently with the opening of school in September. If, however, you decide that an earlier date would be preferable, we can have the necessary video footage completed as early as the first week of August.

I've enclosed a short pamphlet summarizing The American Promise and a longer brochure describing the program, its educational philosophy, and the highly-regarded advisory panel who oversaw the project. As soon as it is completed, we will provide you with a video tape previewing the program.

A White House event would greatly enrich the launch of this valuable project. I look forward to talking to you further about The American Promise and to providing any additional information or assistance that you desire. Best regards,

Sincerely,



Anne Wexler
Chairman

Enclosures

cc: Jeffrey C. Beyer

About the Series

About the Series

The American Promise is a three-hour PBS series that chronicles the fact that grass roots democracy in this country is surprisingly alive and well. In 50 documentary stories, *The American Promise* brings viewers face-to-face with the ordinary citizens, volunteers, and visionaries who are making and remaking America by working the democratic process. In a half dozen recreations of historic moments, the series also celebrates the breadth and complexity of democratic traditions.

In the spirit of de Tocqueville, the series journeys through America looking for the realities not in the capitol building but on side streets, in coffee shops, living rooms, street corners, even vacant lots, where the American people gather and talk, and get to work on remaking their neighborhoods and their worlds.

The American Promise is not a story of politics; it's the story of the people. In three hours, viewers will come face-to-face with 200 fellow citizens who recognize change is in their hands.

Democracy is America's secular faith. It is our belief, a promise we make to each other to work together to build a better future. The promise is inscribed in the Mayflower Compact, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution. But it's more than words on paper; it's the acts that show we abide by the promises we make.

The American Promise series follows nine themes central to the American democratic tradition. The nine themes are the factors that make our democracy work and mark it is uniquely American. They are the tenets of our secular faith; freedom, opportunity, and responsibility. They are the tools we use to make our voices heard; participation, leverage, and information. They are the tough challenges we face together; deliberation, hard choices, common ground.

The first focuses on freedom, opportunity, and responsibility. Freedom - or, "who says we can't?" - examines the delicate balance between license and limits in a conflict about

climbing in Yosemite National Park and in an innovative graffiti program to rehabilitate vandals and neighborhoods in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Opportunity - "if we only..." - explores the never-diminished frontier of choice in the invention and development of the mountain bike and in a lending circle in Chicago. Responsibility - "it's up to us" - is about citizens taking back their public life. This theme is explored in Kotzebue, Alaska, where the Inupiat reversed the town's decline by returning to traditional values, and in San Antonio, Texas, where a neighborhood launched a 20-year campaign to take a place at the decision makers' table.

The second hour explores the tools of the citizenship - participation, information and leverage - in stories ranging from a volunteer ambulance corps in Brooklyn, New York, to the citizen-led redesign and rebuilding of flood-ravaged Pattonsburg, Missouri.

The third hour focuses on the challenges facing our democracy - hard choices, deliberation and common ground. The 18 stories in this hour include the tough political debate over reintroducing wolves into the Montana wilderness, and the fall and rise of the town of Chelsea, Massachusetts where citizens have fought back from civic bankruptcy.

The American Promise was developed under the guidance of a distinguished board of twenty-one advisors, scholars, educators, and activists, drawn from many disciplines and associated with schools and universities around the country and from the published sources on democracy.

The American Promise series is part of a multifaceted program, including:

- Fully sponsored free distribution of videos to schools and community groups with comprehensive teaching and support materials.
- Trade photography book, published by KQED in Fall 1995 and featuring photographers on America's most enduring theme, the grassroots promise of America.
- Compact disc of choral music, issued by Windham Hill and presenting original music from the series as well as traditional American songs and original choral numbers. Choral groups featured include the Northwest Girls Choir of Seattle, Washington; St.

Olaf Choir of Northfield, Minnesota; and the Moses
Hogan Chorale of New Orleans, Louisiana.

There will be a campaign to promote tune-in for *The American Promise*. Sponsor Farmers Insurance Group will devote a major part of its fall advertising budget to tune-in such as: 60-second spots for radio; full-page ads in magazines, such as Life, TV Guide, and U.S. News & World Report; ads in educational and teacher magazines; and newspaper ads in major markets.

In addition, the September issue of the Friendly Exchange magazine, published by Farmers Insurance and circulated to 6 million stakeholders, will devote the entire issue to the series. The issue will include a 12-page reprint from Life magazine which will feature a parallel examination of grass-roots democracy in its mid-September issue.

Starting in early 1996, following the PBS broadcast, *The American Promise* will be distributed free to teachers and to community groups by Farmers Insurance Group and supported by print materials tailored to both groups:

- The 60,000-word teachers guide will show how the series can be used in a variety of classroom settings and with standard history and civics texts.
- Community materials will show how the series can help forward any group's agenda through revitalizing the democratic process.

The American Promise is a production of High Road Productions, Inc. Co-founders and executive producers James C. Crimmins and Carmine Santandrea are veteran creators and producers of corporate, commercial and educational communications. Mr. Crimmins created Business Times on ESPN, the first of the highly successful television business news shows as well as three widely viewed educational video series, American Enterprise, The Search for Solutions, and The Challenge of the Unknown. As a film producer, Mr. Santandrea has won every top award in communications and has also designed and curated several museums.

The series is sponsored by the Farmers Insurance Group of Companies, the fourth largest property casualty insurer in the United States. Farmers Insurance Group of Companies is headquartered in Los Angeles, California.

For more information, contact Angela Easton at (213) 964-8039.

Citizenship Education for the 21st Century

Citizenship Education for the 21st Century

Democracy is everywhere in disrepair. It's inefficient and impractical when it's working and it breaks down all too often. Abroad, the advent of democracy in the Soviet Union, Eastern and Central Europe has brought chaos. The litany of complaints about democracy at home is just as long: voter participation is low and falling. National politics are conducted on the basis of commercials and sound bites. Local city councils are hampered by gridlock and blood feuds. Media attention keeps the emotional cauldrons boiling, adding heat, not light to the problem. Our society of citizen rule — which we claim proudly to be the envy of the world — is ailing.

While many complain about the system, the system, for the most part, works. It's the citizens who aren't working the system. Most of us can explain the balance of powers, the theory of checks and balances, and how a bill becomes a law. But few of us know how to respond to the increase in neighborhood crime or traffic, how to make our opinions felt in city council, how to influence the county zoning board. Or, at a more basic level, we don't know how to take responsibility for ourselves in a democracy, to participate in the discussions that shape our community, to be part of the process.

Our schools prepare us to *understand* citizenship, but not to act as citizens. We simply aren't equipped to take part in public life, even when we're motivated. As one high school teacher Denny Schillings, former head of the National Council for the Social Studies, remarked, "Where do we think citizens come from? You can't enter full blown into public life at 35. You need to practice. Practice should start early — at age 12 or 14."

If we taught driver's education in the same fashion we teach citizenship education, the course would be composed of equal parts physics of combustion, technological and social history of the automobile, and theory of highway design. After a multiple choice

test, graduates would get their license, and hit the highways. But public safety demands that driver's education be a hands-on course. Shouldn't citizenship education also be hands-on? Citizenship — like driving — is not a spectator sport. Democracy doesn't come with easy-to-follow operating instructions. It has to be learned, in the school of hard knocks. There's only one way to learn to operate the system: by operating it.

Just as driving requires good vision, depth perception, and concentration, for instance, democracy requires skills and strategies that can be learned and practiced: **responsibility, freedom** (and limits), **opportunity, information, participation, common ground, deliberation, leverage, and hard choices.**

Freedom

To be American is to enjoy our unique freedoms. "It's a free country," children cry. We are free to re-invent government, to build our businesses, to raise our children, to speak our minds. We are also free to stay home on voting day. We are free to exit the system or to change it.

Freedom is a harsher discipline than we generally acknowledge. We value our freedoms to consume and experience which have created our almost limitless choices about how and where to live and what to eat. (Sushi? Tandoori? Burritos?) But what does freedom mean in social terms? Is it just a chaos of personal liberties? We ignore and challenge the toughness and solidity of structure necessary for freedom to be functional, to forge a common destination, to make progress. We must find the disciplines to exercise our freedom together so that we can create a society that will keep pace with a changing world. Democracy is a clay that must be continually worked.

Responsibility

The unwritten guidelines that govern how we live with each other are just as important as the written laws. In a basketball game, for instance, the referee monitors the written rules while the coach keeps an eye on how each player is measuring up to his or her responsibilities to the team. Each player has to do his or her job to make the offense and the defense solid. Few of these guidelines exist on paper, just in memory, drilled into habit by repeated practice. Unwritten rules hold teams and towns together.

If we fail to do what is expected, the community suffers.

Responsibility is a chance to grow, to empower yourself. You can't be responsible until you have the power to act for others. Being responsible is a gift to oneself. Empowerment is in each individual's hands. While it can be given, it is up to the individual to take responsibility.

Responsibility is a muscle that must be exercised. It grows with use. In a citizen democracy, each one of us is in the driver's seat, and each must be responsible if the democratic system is to work. Each one of us needs to take the first step in holding up our end of our unique democratic bargain.

Opportunity

To be an American is to be an optimist. Whether we in this country arrived yesterday or generations ago, we all believe tomorrow will be better. Our kids will have a better life. Anyone can be president. With hard work, you can achieve anything. Opportunity is fundamental to our idea of American democracy. If we aren't moving ahead, we're sinking. Traditionally, we have embraced risk and uncertainty because we understood that that's where opportunity grows: on the frontier.

Opportunity is messy, and our democracy certainly is that. Risk means failure and failure leaves some litter behind.

Participation

Democracy is a fragile, messy business. There are so many ways it can go wrong. The only way to guarantee that it works is for each of us to get in and work it. Get involved. It doesn't mean that we all have to run for office or campaign for candidates. It means we have to participate in the life of our communities. It may mean joining a choir or a bowling league, the PTA or the friends of the local library. It means making a community ours.

Strong civic engagement is the hallmark of a healthy society and a successful democracy. For our investment of participation, we reap the benefits in a better city, state, and country. Social scientists call this participation "social capital" — the networks, norms and trust built up by involvement that facilitate coordination for mutual

benefit. Democracy doesn't reward spectators. Unless you're involved, you don't get to decide how the game is played. There are a thousand ways to join. Each one improves life for the community. Together they strengthen the foundation not only for democratic government but economic development.

Common Ground

Issues draw people together. We band together with neighbors to fix the street or raise money for playground equipment or close a crack house. Facing common problems creates common ground.

But democracy is more complicated than that. Even the smallest town faces political issues that threaten to divide citizens into fifty splinter groups. If we are to work together to solve our common problems, we must find common ground where we can talk candidly, reveal our honest self-interest, and balance our own needs and those of others. The very existence of public life, of democratic politics, depends on our ability to share the public square, to seek out and value what we hold in common, to make decisions that will serve us all. Crossing the space between my interest and yours is the first step, necessary to any democracy. We may not agree, but we have to find a way to work together.

Today, common ground seems to be falling away under our feet. We are a transactional society, more given to making deals than building community. Public discourse is angry and bitter. We splinter into a thousand hyphenated groups: Asian-American, elder Americans, twentysomethings, the working poor. Each group has strong identity and purpose and vigorous points of view. All that's missing is the common ground of being American, where we can build a future fit for us all.

Deliberation

Without deliberation, democracy can become mob rule. In deliberation, we move beyond self interest and the isolation of the voting booth. When we deliberate together, we create new direction. Deliberation is where we shift focus from private to public, from short-term to long-term, from fast to slow, from talking to listening.

Deliberation implies compromise, once an honored skill, now fallen on hard times.

Settlements are considered suspect, "sell outs" to all those who stand on their "rights". Winning is all that matters. Meeting another party half way is perceived as losing one's backbone or manhood. Statesmanship is forgotten, egos rule, and the courts get all our business. A society of separate, self-absorbed individuals, unwilling to deliberate (there are towns like this) is sterile ground for any form of democracy. The problem with a win/lose mode of public life is that your victory often restricts my freedoms and vice versa. Compromise is the price we pay for liberty.

Information

Government of the people, for the people and by the people can't work unless the people are informed — and their information must be accurate, timely, and useful. Jefferson asked in a letter to James Madison, "...whether peace is best preserved by giving energy to the government or information to the people. This last is the most certain, and the most legitimate engine of government. Educate and inform the whole mass of the people. Enable them to see that it is their interest to preserve peace and order, and they will preserve . . . They are the only sure reliance for the preservation of our liberty." Unfortunately, while the quantity of available information today is staggering, the quality and utility of available information is suspect. And that has grave implications for the way we govern ourselves.

Mass media has created a culture of celebrities. Candidates for election are more concerned about image than policy. Citizen attention is deflected from issues.

Most of us can agree that American citizens aren't being informed and educated as Jefferson hoped. Neither television nor newspapers live up to Jefferson's ideal but the media's deficiencies don't leave citizens off the hook. After all, our American system is one of citizen-activists, not citizen-spectators. We need to be able to investigate, filter and analyze, and evaluate information, not just sit passively and receive it. It is the individual responsibility to **get** the information she or he needs, not wait until it's delivered to his doorstep or her living room.

Leverage

Practical politics is all about leverage. Leverage is what makes things happen in the

marketplace of democracy. Leverage gets you on the agenda. Leverage transforms a group of malcontents into a neighborhood action team. Leverage transforms ideas (and complaints) into action and improvement. Without leverage, the citizen is a lone voice lost in the din.

There are many practical forms of leverage: votes, money, power, influence, information, barter, education, and noise. Vote leverage is a numbers game. You need the numbers on your petition to get your initiative on the ballot. Money is the leverage of parties and political action committees. Power is important leverage, too. Some groups circulate petitions; some groups accomplish their goal with one signature — the mayor's. Influence is another form of leverage. You may not be able to reach the mayor, but perhaps you can reach her husband or her pastor. Kids have no power, but in their enthusiasm and innocence, they can have more influence than their parents when they get involved in politics. Celebrities have influence.

You can barter for leverage, giving your group's support on one issue, getting the other group's support on another. Education or learning is leverage, too. Finally, noise can be effective leverage, certainly in this media culture, but it's only one tool in the leverage chest.

Leverage is the momentum that turns individual concern to action, that captures attention, builds support, and pushes change forward.

Hard Choices

There are no easy choices in a democracy. Every action, every decision, every vote helps someone and hurts someone else. There is no pleasing everyone. With demands always outpacing resources, scarcity further complicates the dilemma. The art of governing well — and we are the government — means coming to grips with the fact that we will often be required to court unpopularity. The benefit of the many may require disappointing a few. To help a few may require the majority to give way. If one is going to become a player in a democracy one must realize that there are ways to understand, tackle, and survive hard choices.

In the litany of hard choices none perhaps is tougher than the prisoner's dilemma. Suppose the authorities suspect you and another prisoner of a crime. If you both keep

quiet, you're both off the hook. If one of you rats, the other will pay the price. If you both rat, you both pay. Obviously, over time, it makes sense to cooperate and keep silent, but only if you trust the other prisoner and know he trusts you. And, this is why tight knit and fiercely protective groups, like the Mafia, often can survive prisoners' dilemmas. The penalty of talking far outweighs the short-term gain. The prisoner's dilemma may be symbolic, but it does point to how it is often impossible to act in your own best interests. And it shows us that what we see as bad decisions may be the result of a prisoner's dilemma trap.

Easy or lazy choices beckon us all; the problem in a democracy is that someone pays the price.

Behind the Scenes

Behind the Scenes

The American Promise is the brainchild of executive producers James (Denny) Crimmins and Carmine Santandrea. Both men are veteran producers and creators of award-winning business, commercial, and educational media.

Mr. Crimmins has produced many educational programs. His most highly regarded works are American Enterprise (1976), The Search for Solutions (1979) and The Challenge of the Unknown (1984). American Enterprise, a series of five one-hour films on American economic history, is still widely used in classrooms. The total audience is estimated at 200 million student viewers. The Challenge of the Unknown, a series of seven 20-minute films on math and problem solving was produced under the aegis of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Its current viewing audience is estimated at 5 million students per month.

The Search for Solutions, a series of seven twenty-minute films on science and problem solving, won 26 awards. When broadcast on PBS, the series received Nielsen ratings of 8 and 9 and earned glowing reviews in the New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, Time, Newsweek, The Christian Science Monitor, and the Los Angeles Times. The hard cover book by Horace Freeland Judson sold 200,000 copies worldwide, with a special low-cost edition for teachers. In classrooms, the series was supported by a 150,000-word teaching guide, 300,000 copies of which were distributed. To date, the series has totaled 300 million student viewings.

Carmine Santandrea is a renowned producer and communications consultant. His first film, for the Protestant pavilion at the New York World's Fair in 1964, won the fair's first prize. Since then, Mr. Santandrea has produced events, exhibits, or films for one of every three Fortune 500 companies. In 1989, Mr. Santandrea won the first-ever Golden Eagle Award from the Visual Communications Congress. He was hailed as "the Benjamin Franklin of modern visual communications." The second award was given to Steven Spielberg.

Board of Advisors

The American Promise

(Advisor Roster)

These distinguished scholars and educators are advisors to The American Promise series. They bring their experience and expertise to the growing challenge the documentary addresses: how to revitalize the American democratic system.

Benjamin Berber, Walt Whitman Chair of Political Science, Rutgers University. Directs Walt Whitman Center for Culture and Politics of Democracy. Authored *Strong Democracy*, *An Aristocracy of Everyone* and *Jihad Versus McWorld*.

Unita Blackwell, organizer of Mississippi's Freedom Democratic Party. Past president of National Conference of Black Mayors. Former mayor of Mayersville, Miss.

Ernest Boyer, president, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of teaching. Senior fellow of the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton University. Former U.S. Commissioner of Education and Chancellor of State University of New York. Recently published *High School* and *Ready to Learn*.

Alan Bullock, former vice chancellor of England's Oxford University, founding master of Oxford's largest college, St. Catherine's. Chairman of British government committees that issued reports on literacy and industrial democracy. Recently wrote *Ernest Bevin, Foreign Secretary*.

James Fishkin, Darrell K. Royal Regents Chair at the University of Texas at Austin where he is chair of the Department of Government. Author of *Democracy and Deliberation* and the forth-coming book, *The Voice of the People*.

Shanto Iyengar, professor of political science and communications studies at the University of California, Los Angeles. Wrote *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues*.

Lawrence Friedman, Marion Rice Kirkwood Professor of Law at Stanford University Law School. Author or editor of more than 15 books, most recently *Crime and Punishment in American History*. Earned Harry Kalven Prize for distinguished research on Law and society from the Law and Society Association.

Kathleen Hall Jamieson, professor and dean at Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania. Has written many books, most recently *Beyond the Double Bind: Women and Leadership* and *Dirty Politics*.

Daniel Kemmis, mayor of Missoula, Mont., former speaker of the Montana House of Representatives, member of board of directors of the Kettering Foundation and the Pew Partnership for Civic Change. Author of *Community and the Politics of Place* and *The Good City and the Good Life*.

Glenn C. Loury, professor of economics at Boston University. Taught economics and public policy at Harvard, Northwestern and the University of Michigan. Advisor to state and federal governmental agencies and private business.

Theodore Lowi, John L. Senior Professor of American Institutions in government department, Cornell University. Has written or edited a dozen books, including *The Personal President - Power Invested, Promise Unfulfilled*, which won the Neustadt Prize.

Jane Marnsbridge, professor of political science at Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research, Northwestern University. Serves on editorial boards of several scholarly journals. Recently published *Beyond Self-Interest*.

Margit E. McGuire, former president, National Council for the Social Studies, chair of teacher education program, professor of education at Seattle University. Received the Anne Ray Ruffey Multicultural Education Award and the Washington Award for Excellence in Teacher Preparation.

Douglas E. Miller, 1994-1995 Teacher of the Year for Fremont High School, Sunnyvale, Calif., and the California Council for the Social Studies. Has taught history and government for 35 years and has served as social studies department chair. Co-author of *The Active Learner*.

Laura Nader, professor of anthropology, University of California Berkeley. Serves on Council of Scholars of the Library of Congress. Earned the Outstanding Achievement Award from the Society for Women Geographers. Recent publication, *Harmony Ideology*.

Douglass North, 1993 Nobel Prize laureate in economics, professor of economics at Washington University in St. Louis, recipient of the John R. Commons Award, consultant for the World Bank.

George Priest, John M. Olin Professor of Law and Economics at Yale Law School. Directs the school's program in civil liability. Co-director of the center for studies in law, economics and public policy.

Robert D. Putnam, Clarence Dillon Professor of International Affairs, director of the Center for International Affairs, Harvard University. Recent book, *Making Democracy Work, Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*.

Denny Schillings, teaches social studies in Homewood-Flossmoor High School, Flossmoor, Ill., immediate past president of the National Council for the Social Studies, author of *The Living Constitution*.

Raymond Schonholtz, president and founder of Partners for Democratic Change in San Francisco, president and founder of the Community Board Program, consultant to Wayne State University.

Lawrence Susskind, professor of urban and environmental planning at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, director of the Public Disputes Program at Harvard Law School.



Stories of Our Democracy in Action



There is no more important task before this nation than building and encouraging citizens.

Democracy is a fragile, clumsy and messy process; it doesn't happen by itself. It is a tough way to run anything, much less a nation. It doesn't come with easy-to-follow instructions or guarantees. But, it does give each and every one of us a chance to be heard, an opportunity to change things and amend what we don't like or suggest what we think should be done. It thrives when any of us participate and soars when we work together.

We hear a great deal about gridlock in our capitals, about a divided and intolerant society, and a nation too quick to blame. That is a far-from-complete or accurate picture of this country.

Because beyond the images on the evening news is an America that is remaking itself daily, changing what has to be changed, finding answers that all of us can use. These are the stories that make *THE AMERICAN PROMISE*, a new PBS documentary series, such compelling viewing.

The series is not just about hope; it deals with how the system works and how we can work it. It looks at what distinguishes our democracy and makes it something in which we can take pride.

The film sequences — from mountain climbing to lobster fishing, from an Eskimo village to revival in tough urban neighborhoods, from volunteers to entrepreneurs, from helpers to those who need help — will make you want to cheer. People in this country are extraordinary. You'll meet more than 200 of them, none of whom set out to be "citizens."

For Farmers this is a new venture, our first step

An invitation to The American Promise

Starting 8p.m. On PBS October 1, 2 and 3

PRESENTED BY KQED

into public television and an appropriate one. We have always believed in the importance of helping communities, and thus agreed to underwrite the series from the start three years ago. Working with a distinguished board of academic, community and educational advisors, the producers have scoured this country to capture who and what makes our democracy work, rediscovering the strength and power of our system. Listening, they found, is as much a part of the process as free speech, responsibilities are as important as rights, social capital is as necessary as economic capital, common ground is more easily found than most think, freedom and limits are always at odds, and choice makes us all who we are and what we can be.

The series will air on PBS the first three nights in October and then be made available along with teaching materials to schools and community groups across the nation.

Democracy is always an unfinished business, subject to change and amendment, and vital because it is so. It takes participation and care to make it work, tolerance and a collective belief in the future to make it thrive.

The title of the series takes us back to the early days of our country when people attending town meetings promised to work together. It was all that bound them. Our founding fathers later signed a promissory note, The Declaration of Independence, pledging their "lives, fortunes and sacred honor." Democracy is very much a promise each of us must keep.

We invite you, your friends and family to watch this remarkable series Oct. 1, 2 and 3. As you read through this guide, and watch *THE AMERICAN PROMISE*, you'll discover that now more than ever, as Americans, it's time to believe again.

It is with pride in our democracy, in the people who are committed to helping their communities, and in a series that we believe can make a difference, for all of us, that Farmers sponsors *THE AMERICAN PROMISE*.

LEO E. DENLEA, JR.
CHAIRMAN AND CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER
FARMERS GROUP, INC.



1 Sunday
8pm October 1
On PBS

"Who Says I Can't?"

In a special school in San Francisco, a young girl stares at the ceiling, nervously eyeing a trapeze. In a few moments, she will climb 40 feet, step onto a platform, grab hold of the bar, swing out into space — and hope someone will catch her.

The young girl on the flying trapeze defines the faith and trust that move us forward and the freedom to fail that lets us all risk something new, symbolizing the conflicts and triumphs explored in Hour One of *The American Promise* on PBS.

After 200 years, casual observers would think we would have mastered the complexities of freedom. Still we struggle with its most basic concepts. The effects of this uncertainty play out day after day across America.

The first hour begins with our shared passion for freedom. "Who says I can't?" is our battle cry, but also our stumbling block.

- Climbers dangle 3,000 feet above the floor of Yosemite Valley. The small bolts drilled into the rock are their only protection, and the subject of a big clash between freedom and limits. The controversy between climbers and conservationists raises the question, Whose mountain is it anyway?

- In urban Philadelphia, graffiti may be a symbol of self-expression for taggers, but it's a symbol of despair for neighbors. The Philadelphia Anti-Graffiti Network turns anger into energy, creating vibrant art from trash-strewn empty lots.

- In Maine, lobsterman Dave Cousens finds his future is clouded. Limits to preserve the lobster stocks need to be imposed, and lobstermen from other states now threaten his livelihood, which may not survive the battle over a common resource.

Freedom is the central drama of our history. In a re-creation, young Thomas Jefferson meets with a small group of fellow legislators three years before the Declaration of Independence to form committees of correspondence. Their goal? To coordinate other colonies to exercise the freedom to question. The Founding Fathers take the first steps toward self-rule — not in battle, but in meetings.

This hour is also about the belief in opportunity. It's an article of faith that any American can find an answer, change a community, create a business, be president.

- In China, 300 million riders have a choice of only one bicycle. In America, entrepreneurs like Gary Fisher take a daredevil hobby and build a new billion-dollar industry.

- At BJ's Beauty Supply in Chicago, five African-American women help themselves live the American dream.

- Pauline Lo Alker of California is the determined founder and CEO of a high-tech company, a first-generation American whose story rivals Henry Ford's.

These "entrepreneurs" are just the latest in a long line of Americans who embrace risk. In a re-creation, French aristocrat Alexis de Tocqueville observes American clipper ships in port, noting the energy and enterprise of their crews ... and their resulting success.

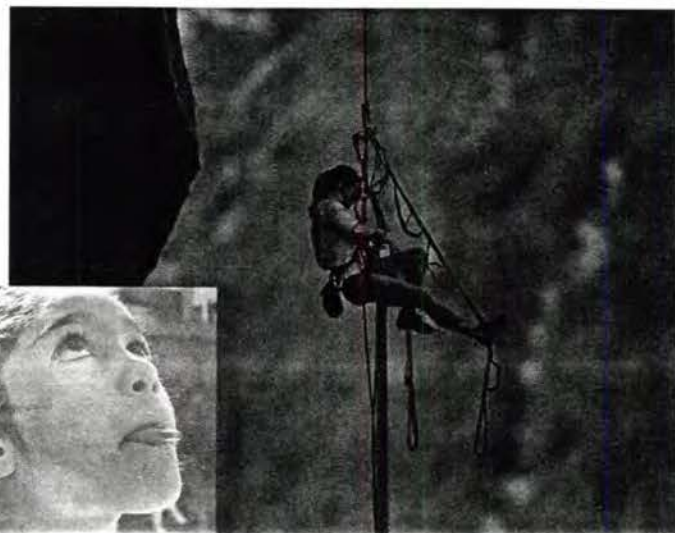
Finally, this hour of *The American Promise* shows how responsibility holds us together. In a democracy, each of us has power if we let ourselves have it. If we fail in our responsibilities, we fail ourselves and the whole community.

- The floods came every year to San Antonio. Sometimes they claimed lives. Something had to be done. Andres Sarabia was angry enough to engage others and change his people and his city.

- Above the Arctic Circle, the Inupiat village of Kotzebue, Alaska, is finding a way out of the despair of alcoholism and suicide by turning back — to traditional responsibilities.

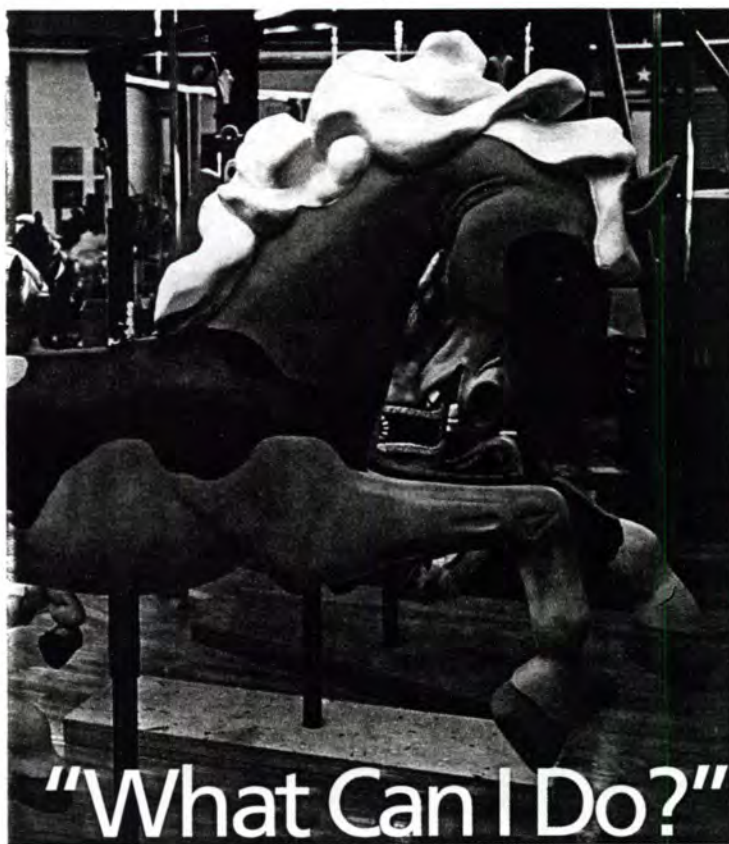
- The small town of Le Chambon, France, saved 5,000 Jews during the darkness of World War II. Two survivors of this "conspiracy of goodness" remind us we all have the responsibility not to look the other way.

Freedom. Responsibility. Opportunity. The first three parts of *The American Promise*.



2 Monday
8pm October 2
On PBS

In the purple dusk of a gentle Montana evening, light streams through the door of Chuck Kaparich's garage in Missoula. Inside, dozens of beautiful



"What Can I Do?"

wooden horses wait. Some for a final sanding, others for a coat of paint or varnish. It's a symbol of what a community can accomplish using the tools of involvement.

Welcome to Hour Two of *The American Promise*.

Democracy is a noisy business. It takes time and practice to make your voice heard. It's easy to stay home, uninvolved. But there are practical tools and strategies that effective citizens use to make their voices heard, to knit communities together, to participate in answers.

- At the annual spring round-up in Nevada, people of all ages come from miles to help. That's the only way the job gets done.
- In Sunnyvale, Calif., neighbors join together to show what can be done in a SNAP, an organization that recognizes neighborhoods' need to help each other in times of trouble.
- In a re-creation of 14th century Florence, we see how fre-



quent lotteries to choose officeholders put everyone on notice; they might be called at any moment to participate.

Democracy depends on information. Government of, for and by the people will perish unless the people have accurate, timely and useful information — and the people can decode what they are told, and discover what they are not. The mass media may focus on politicians' lifestyles, but that doesn't leave citizens off the hook.

- A newspaper in Charlotte, N.C., took criticism of the media to heart and changed not only what it covered, but how it covered it.
- Words can move mountains. In a re-creation, we discover how a simple pamphlet, *Common Sense*, stirred a new nation to freedom.
- A young life lost diminishes the whole community by denying its future. In the Bronx, N.Y., mourning families commission graffiti artists to paint walls honoring their dead children ... memorials to the past and warnings to the living.

The second hour also shows how one citizen's idea becomes a movement through leverage. Leverage makes things happen. It might be ideas, information, collaboration. But the question "What difference can I make?" is only answered when you work close to home and find what you can do.

- Mark Winston Griffith and Errol Louis founded the Central Brooklyn Credit Union funded by the big banks that wouldn't lend in the neighborhood. The reasoning: Griffith and Louis know the turf. Knowledge really is power (or leverage).
- In the 15th century, Venice depended on trade and trade depended on a reputation for fair dealing. To protect that image, the republic made sure foreigners received a fair deal.
- Robert Moody of Galveston, Texas, turned personal tragedy into benefit for his hometown therapy center. A spiral of no hope, no funds and no jobs is now a spiral of success for the whole community, and the country.

Watch Hour Two of *The American Promise* on Oct. 2. Find out how America fashions answers with participation, information and leverage.





Tuesday
October 3
8 p.m.
on PBS



A simple irrigation ditch. Humble in design. Noble in history. Through this slice of New Mexico water has flowed hundreds of miles and hundreds of years, managed for the common good by the farmers along its banks. These images from Hour Three of *The American Promise* remind us of the beauty, resiliency and value of democracy, something we forget too often.

Sometimes it seems gridlock is the national pastime. But what can we expect of a nation of 261 million independent Americans? As we get bigger and more diverse, we also face more complex and unyielding dilemmas. How we work together to meet these tough challenges will determine what kind of nation we'll be in the decades ahead, and *The American Promise* explores three challenges that face us.

The toughest challenge is making hard decisions. Every action favors someone and potentially hurts someone else.

- What do you do with an endangered killer? The cattle ranchers of Wyoming killed off wolves once. Now environmentalists are bringing these predators back to Yellowstone National Park. The controversy rages.
- Chelsea, Mass., is rising from the ashes for the third time this century. Twice before, the town was almost destroyed by fire. This time, the town fell to apathy, incompetence and corruption. How do you rebuild a community?

The third hour brings us to the heart of the democratic process: deliberation. When we sit down and talk together, we create new possibilities.

- After Pattonsburg, Mo., was destroyed in the great floods of 1993, the town is being relocated to higher ground. The citizens deliberate together about the future they want to share.
- A re-creation reaches back to classical Athens to the trial of

Sophocles. When the famous playwright was in his 80s, his son sued to have him declared incompetent. No lawyers, a one-day trial, no witnesses (they're unreliable), no evidence (tampering). One had to convince the jury. The son was eloquent. Sophocles then read from the play he was completing, his hundredth. The outcome was history.

- Too many meetings end in stalemate or shouting matches. But a Madison, Wis., housing cooperative, rewrote *Robert's Rules of Order* to make it easier to reach consensus.

In a nation without a common heritage or culture or religion or identity, what holds us together? The very existence of democracy depends on our ability to find common ground.

- In San Jose, Calif., citizens fight over statues in the city square. Whose ancestors or symbols should be immortalized there?

- Thirty years ago, the government authorized a dam for the American River in California. After decades of funding delays, protests and legal log jams, it can now be built. But should it? A white-water trip brings opponents together.

- In the 18th century, six warring Indian nations forged the great Iroquois Confederacy, united in an unwritten constitution that gave them common identity and purpose.

For three hours, *The American Promise* shows the unpredictable and frustrating, yet always fascinating process of grassroots democracy. Real people facing real dilemmas; each a parable of how democracy works; each designed to broaden your mind and renew your spirit.

Experience *The American Promise*, beginning at 8 p.m. on Oct. 1, 2 and 3 on PBS. And watch a brand new country called America unfold before your eyes.



CHECK ONE: DEMOCRACY IS

- ☐ MESSY
- ☐ FRAGILE
- ☐ INEFFICIENT
- ☐ GRIDLOCKED
- ☐ THE BEST THING GOING
- ☐ ALL OF THE ABOVE

At a time when America has seemingly lost its way,
The American Promise takes you on a journey of discovery,
through an America that really works. From the first turn of a
carousel in Missoula, Montana, hand carved over five years by
hundreds of volunteers . . . to the successful opening of a bank in
Brooklyn, founded by two of the neighborhood's own residents . . . to a
community network in Philadelphia which found a way to magically
transform the meaning of graffiti, *The American Promise* gives you
real-life examples that help you change your world for the better,
showing you how the system works and how to work the system.

It's time to believe again.



WATCH THE AMERICAN PROMISE OCTOBER 1, 2 AND 3 AT 8 P.M. ON PBS.



Made possible by the Farmers Insurance Group of Companies.



very close contact within the last hour with the Hill, is that they're working hard on trying to get an agreement so we can move ahead with \$16 billion worth of rescissions and a very substantial deficit reduction. We remain hopeful that that might occur, and might occur sooner rather than later.

Q What's the holdup now?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, there's, as there often is in a critical piece of legislation, some sticking points at the end of the road that we're trying to unstick. Or get unstuck.

Q Did the President see Gephardt and Daschle -- did the President see them earlier this week on Medicare and is he involved in a big Medicare ceremony on the Hill next week?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, there are a variety of discussions about budget that are underway. There is a commemorative event coming up fairly soon on the 30th anniversary of Medicare and -- of Medicare. And I believe the President is going to see, if I'm not mistaken, Senator Daschle and Congressman Gephardt tomorrow here. So we might talk a little bit further on that some time tomorrow.

Q Has the President spoken to Wellstone and mostly Braun about the rescissions bill?

MR. MCCURRY: I know he spoke to Senator Wellstone. I believe we've had staff-level contact with Senator Moseley-Braun and others in the Senate as well.

Q Mike, has there been a decision yet on whether or not Mrs. Clinton will lead the delegation to Beijing?

MR. MCCURRY: Not the last time I checked which was a day or two ago. I haven't heard of any final decision on that.

Q When does he have to make a decision?

MR. MCCURRY: Prior to the departure. Prior to departure. (Laughter.)

Q No, I mean, you've withheld the decision for quite some time.

MR. MCCURRY: Mary Ellen, when's the conference? In September, right?

MS. GLYNN: Yes.

MR. MCCURRY: September sometime.

Q Mike, now that the President has made the affirmative action speech, does he have any other speeches in mind along this continuing conversation with the American people?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, he's had, as you know, these series of speeches that really tie together his argument about values that are important in our national life. They started with the speech at Gaston Hall on civility, they included the speech in Nashville, they included the speech recently on school prayer. And I would put yesterday's speech on affirmative action in that category. They were all remarks that I think had the President reflecting in a personal way on his own life experience and then, on the larger questions of values in our life as a nation and how they can be informed by the public debate on a variety of issues.

This is all -- to put into some kind of context -- these all address what the President has talked about over and over again,

administration to exactly that point, because yes, there was a critical connection there. And they're going to describe exactly what it was.

Q Mike, does the White House have any reaction on the House's vote last night on Mexico, in terms of cutting off aid? And also, the second part of that question is, is there any way for the White House to use its own authority to sort of overrule Congress on this one?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, we concur with the statement that was put out by the Secretary of the Treasury last night. He indicated that we had a substantial concern and outright opposition to Congressman Sanders' legislation. And the President would note that, remember, we had bipartisan support for this package from the congressional leadership.

And that's important because, I think, to the President, because he had to act on his own authority to address the Mexican economic crisis. And because he did so with the support of the congressional leadership, he is now, I think, somewhat disappointed that there is an effort to second guess and Monday-morning-quarterback that decision.

The important thing is, the President was right. And what we did is now, in our estimation, working and helping put the Mexican economy back on track. But I will defer to Secretary of the Treasury Rubin to comment on it at greater length.

Q Mike, does the President have any view about the plan of Senators Dole and Simon to greet Madame Cheng? Does he think that's appropriate?

MR. MCCURRY: Well, members of Congress can have those types of meetings or do the type of travel they often do when they go to Taiwan. But our view is the one that we've consistently stated; our policy on China is the one that we've stated. And we, ourselves, would have meetings that would be consistent only with our policy of having unofficial relations with Taiwan.

Q Back to the senator's proposal -- does the Senate have to approve it also? And would the President veto it?

MR. MCCURRY: Let's see. I'm not sure where they are on congressional consideration. I'd ask you to call over to the Treasury; they can tell you more.

Q Would the President veto it if it comes --

MR. MCCURRY: Well, if they take away our authority to pursue the economic recovery program that is necessary in Mexico because it's in our economic interests, I think the President would have substantial concern about that and would look at it and weigh the measure accordingly.

Q Later today the House is also going to take up the agriculture appropriations bill that includes changes in food stamps and caps on WIC. Is he going to veto that?

MR. MCCURRY: I haven't checked on that legislation. I don't know enough about it to give the President's views. But I'll check and maybe you could ask tomorrow.

Q Rescissions -- what happened yesterday that fell through, and where is the understanding today?

MR. MCCURRY: The latest I have in talking to our legislative affairs staff and Mr. Panetta's staff, who have been in

which is the anxiety many Americans feel as they look ahead to the 21st century. In an economy in which things are doing better, you're creating more jobs, but people don't quite have that sense of security. There are many aspects of insecurity that exist.

Q But I think you're filibustering here. The question is --

MR. MCCURRY: No, no.

Q -- is there another one in the series and what is it and when is it?

MR. MCCURRY: I want to answer the question, Rita, but I'm going to take an opportunity to lay out some stuff that might be helpful to people. Do you mind if I do that? Okay.

Q We've heard this before.

MR. MCCURRY: Well, hear it again.

So he's going to take -- he's going to take these speeches and then, addressing some of the anxieties that people feel, then come back and link it up to some of the economic anxieties that people feel, which make the discussions underway and coming up soon about budget so important.

You know, if people they were thinking about why is my quality of life not going to be better and why am I worried about that and why do I worry whether my kids are going to have a better life -- it's not only those things that kind of impact the family and impact their sense of what's happening within their communities and what's happening to their own physical security because of crime or because of the erosion of morale values, but it's also -- you know, what's happens is they thing about am I going to have enough money for retirement, am I going to have enough income to put away enough for my kids college education -- those things are linked. And that sense anxiety that people feel is joined around those issues.

So in other words -- to answer your question -- they're going to link these speeches up, maybe tie them together and then link them directly to some of the coming fights over budget. And I suspect over the next couple weeks you'll see the President joining these arguments about values to some of the arguments about economics that are embedded in the fights over budget priorities that we're going to turn to next.

Q Mike, there was a period when the President would express some frustration that he hadn't had a chance to do this kind of thing enough.

MR. MCCURRY: Say again?

Q There was a period back last winter and spring when the President was said to be expressing frustration that he hadn't had the chance to do that kind of thing enough --

MR. MCCURRY: To --

Q To lay out those sorts of themes, make those broad -- how's he felt about what he said and the reaction to it? Has he felt he's kind of got some of this out of his --

MR. MCCURRY: He feels like he's getting down to the heart of the argument that he wants to make about America in the 21st century and about the difference sense that he has of what that future will be like when he looks at what he sees the Republican alternative looking like as we go into budget debates and as we hear

-- begin to hear others emerging in the political debate that will inform part of the campaign next year.

I think he feels real comfortable that he's laying out an argument that is about both values and about the morale life of the country and about the need for growing this economy, joined together to address what he thinks are the central issues that are on the minds of many, many Americans. And that's important for him because he feels very rooted in his own personal life experience as he then addresses what he thinks lies ahead for the country as we think about the 21st century.

Q Should we expect this next speech next week, or this any kind of time frame on it?

MR. MCCURRY: I think there will be a series of speeches that will take up some of the issues that relate to the economic security of Americans. And as I say, they will build on the series of four speeches that really talk about the morale life of the American people.

Q Is he ever going to hold a news conference again?

MR. MCCURRY: Yes. Actually, we were just talking about that the other day. And we're trying to figure out how you work that in the schedule given the other things that we were doing, and we didn't see a lot of time on the calendar but we were thinking about maybe in a week or so.

Q Could you give a sense of what he'll be doing tomorrow or just a general overview --

MR. MCCURRY: I refer to my colleagues at the end.

Q Does the President see a role for George Bush in China and does George Bush see a role for George Bush in China?

MR. MCCURRY: I told many of you that the President, after the unveiling of the portrait, had an opportunity to visit with President Bush, they had a private conversation one on one. I only asked the President what subjects they covered. And since he did say that they talked about China I would need to go back with him and ask him that question. I'm not aware of any effort currently to employ the good services of the former President in any diplomatic fashion.

But to be absolutely sure of that I would like to ask the President.

Q Is the President going to go to this Doug Wilder fundraiser?

MR. MCCURRY: Can I refer that question to Ginny Terzano who looked into that and has got the answer. I didn't have a chance to check on that. I believe he is, but check on that.

Q The Republicans are planning to start advancing legislative proposals in amendments next week and affirmative action programs. How does the White House plan to counter that? And, also, this Gore board plan to add an additional classification, when are you going to come forward with that?

MR. MCCURRY: I think the President feels that he did a very good job countering those arguments yesterday by building -- by attempting to build a very broad argument that would lend support to affirmative action programs as they exist. I think he provided a very effective rebuttal yesterday to the argument that we have to abolish these programs and assume that discrimination is all done with in the United States -- that we have managed to address the

*Michael Medved
showed me movie
out to him?*

THE WASHINGTON POST
WEDNESDAY, JULY 5, 1995

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7-12-95



W. J. B. B.C.

JUDY MANN

A Question of Responsibility

Michael Medved is blunt about the way his book, "Hollywood vs. America," was received by the cultural establishment when it was first published in 1992: "I was called a Nazi and a fundamentalist Christian fanatic. People regularly wrote that I was calling for censorship and that I said there was a conspiracy, neither of which I did."

Indeed, his book was savaged in The Washington Post by Michael Covino, another film critic, who called it "unmitigated slog . . . pumped up with repetitions, filled with stats, studies and myriad quotes, and fleshed out to 386 pages of bilge."

That was just in the lead paragraph. The review went downhill after that, with the reviewer twice calling Medved's points "nutty." You have to have tough skin to weather that kind of appraisal of your work, but Medved is having the last chuckle. With Robert J. Dole, the Senate majority leader and Republican presidential candidate, leaping into the fray, the attack on depravity in the entertainment industry has become a big story and, probably, a credible campaign issue.

Although politicians don't always have their credentials in order when popping off about some real or perceived evil, Medved does. He was a screenwriter for three years before becoming a movie critic and co-host of PBS's "Sneak Preview." He is also the father of three children younger than 8, and no one should underestimate the impact one's own children can have on an adult's view of media violence and coarseness. The Medveds, for example, don't have a TV in their home.

Medved describes himself as a "lifestyle conservative," not a political conservative. He said he believes part of what ails Hollywood is a structure and workplace ethic that is inhospitable to people, particularly women, who want to have careers and family lives—what he calls "a normal life."

"In Hollywood they say a producer would sacrifice his first-born son for a hit movie. Do you want to have a life or marriage? Or do you want to be successful in the business?" The skew toward success, he says, tends to discourage people who put a high priority on family. "There are . . . industries in which the presence of women has had a civilizing influence. That hasn't happened yet in the movie industry."

Several religious organizations are working to improve the quality of movie messages, he says,

pointing to the huge successes in 1994 of the film "The Lion King" and the TV show "Home Improvement," both of which were produced by evangelical Christians. "Being an evangelical Christian in Hollywood is not a common thing. It's like being a rabbi in Tehran. It's not a way to get popular." Medved, who is Jewish, says several Jewish organizations "are trying to organize a core, religious Jewish presence in Hollywood that has never been there before."

"Everyone talks about diversity, but it's in terms of ethnic group or sex. The real need is for people who share some aspects of the lives the bulk of Americans lead. I'm not suggesting bland, Wonderbread uniformity. But we've had a serious drought of uplifting, family-friendly movies, and when they come along, they tend to be phenomenally successful."

Medved argues that the "real power of the mass media is that for most Americans it defines normal," especially with children. "Their window to the outside world is television. You see it with expressions like 'You got that right,' which in a couple of weeks become common national expressions."

People tend to measure their lives against TV images, and most of our lives can seem to come up short when they're compared to the hyperreality of television's make-believe. He thinks this has something to do with the current "sulkeness, the resentment and impatience of the American people." Real life looks boring, "so people begin to feel sorry for themselves."

In the old days of movies and television, the technology was so primitive that people readily understood the difference between fantasy and reality. But today, the technology is superb, and it is harder to distinguish between the two.

In a very real sense, the moviemakers are the magicians of our time. They follow in a long and ancient tradition of priest, magician, physician, shaman—people who were perceived as having extraordinary powers and, therefore, influence. What distinguished the sorcerers of old, however, is that far from denying their influence, they took up the role and gloried in it. Hollywood, however, does not take its responsibility seriously; it insists that it doesn't create social trends, it follows them.

That kind of avoidance would be laughable, if it weren't for the sad degradation it has wrought on the American public.

JUN 08 '95 10:10AM FIRST AMENDMENT CTR.

MelanieTHE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7/17/95Fyl -
BK

Take Religious Liberty Seriously in Public Education

by Charles C. Haynes

The Freedom Forum First Amendment Center at Vanderbilt University

Before we amend the Constitution to secure the religious liberty rights of students, we should try the amendment we have. Properly understood and applied, the Religious Liberty clauses of the First Amendment are all we need to ensure a proper role for religion in the public schools in ways that protect the conscience of every student and parent.

Fairly or unfairly, many of the supporters of a "religious equality amendment" see the public schools as places hostile to religion. This may be because we have gone from a Protestant-dominated school culture to, in more recent decades, virtual silence about religion. Neither approach is consistent with the religious liberty principles of the First Amendment.

When the Supreme Court struck down state-sponsored prayer and devotional Bible reading in the early sixties, we failed as a nation to support the proper, constitutional role of religion in public schools. Instead of finding ways to accommodate religious conscience and to be fair to religious perspectives, textbooks largely ignored the role of religion, and some schools told students that they could not speak about their faith, distribute religious literature, make religious art, or form religious clubs.

We do not need a new constitutional amendment to end these conflicts about religion in schools. Under the First Amendment, we can correct the mistakes of the past and, at long last, make religious liberty a reality in public education. Earlier this year, I helped to draft a statement of principles that nineteen educational and religious groups (including AASA) have now endorsed. One of the key principles addresses the meaning of religious liberty in public schools:

Public schools may not inculcate nor inhibit religion. They must be places where religion and religious conviction are treated with fairness and respect. Public schools uphold the First Amendment when they protect the religious liberty rights of students of all faiths or none. Schools demonstrate fairness when they ensure that the curriculum includes study about religion, where appropriate, as an important part of a complete education.

This statement has been endorsed by everyone from the Christian Coalition to People for the American Way! Other signers include such diverse groups as the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, the National Association of Evangelicals, and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. We contend that a common vision for the common good is possible in public education.

JUN 08 '95 10:11AM FIRST AMENDMENT CTR.

P.3

The challenge before us is to make the principles of the First Amendment work in school policies and programs that give religion an appropriate role while simultaneously protecting liberty of conscience for all -- believers and non-believers alike. It can be done. I have worked in scores of school districts across the nation where people of many faiths, liberal and conservative, have joined together to create a place for religion that is constitutionally permissible and educationally sound.

Schools can begin to take religious liberty seriously by:

1. Working with parents and community leaders to adopt policies that protect the religious liberty rights of students in such areas as student speech, distribution of literature, and formation of clubs, yet keep the school neutral in matters of faith.
2. Inform teachers and administrators of the rights of students including the right to speak from a religious perspective in a class discussion, the right to pray alone or in groups and the right to share one's faith with others as long it is not disruptive and does not infringe upon the rights of others.
3. Prepare teachers to include study about religion in the curriculum, especially in history, literature, art, music and wherever topics about religion naturally arise.

After more than thirty years of bitter, fruitless debate about "school prayer," it is past time for public schools to take religious liberty seriously. The goal is neither a naked public school where all religion is excluded or a sacred public school where religion is imposed. The goal must be a *civil* public school where people of all faiths and none are treated with fairness and respect.



Willow Creek Community Church

June 20, 1995

President Clinton
c/o Kelly Crawford
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington DC 20500-2000

Dear Bill:

I trust that all is well. Enclosed is a very important note from someone who should be invited to the upcoming "Common Ground" event. He is on the "solution-side" of the problems we all spend so much time talking about. I've checked him out, and I think he could be a key player. Now the ball is in your court.

I am still fuzzy on the vision for this upcoming event, and at this point sense no reason for my participation. Do you think otherwise? Those dates are free on my calendar, so if nothing else, maybe you and I could do our monthly meeting around that time.

I know that this is the "home stretch" before your summer vacation. "Weary not in well-doing..." God sees and cares. . . and fairways and beach walks are well within sight.

Your friend,

Bill

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7/17/95

Melanie
Have we involved
Josephson in
any of this? Should
~~get~~
we get him to support
merely help
discuss the
Joe Madison speech?
BC



Advisory Council

DR. WILLIAM BENNETT
Empower America
JACK DUNN
Crossroads of North Carolina
MARIAN WRIGHT EDELMAN
Children's Defense Fund
DR. LLOYD V. HACKLEY
Fayetteville State University
GENEVA JOHNSON
Family Service America
BARBARA JORDAN
LBJ School of Public Affairs
(Univ. of Texas)
MICHAEL JOSEPHSON
Josephson Institute of Ethics
DR. THOMAS LICKONA
State University of New York
(Cortland)
NINA LINK
Children's Television Workshop
SYLVIA PETERS
Edison Project
THOMAS W. SELLECK
Actor/Producer
DR. NORMAN SPRINTHALL
North Carolina State University
RABBI DAVID WOZNICA
Bronfman Center for Jewish Life
(2nd STY)

Member Organizations

American Association
of Community Colleges
American Association
of School Administrators
American Federation
of Teachers
American Red Cross
American Youth Soccer Organization
Association for College
and University Religious Affairs
Boys' Ruth League
Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America
Black Coaches Association
Boys & Girls Clubs of America
Boys Town
Child Welfare League of America
Council of the Great City Schools
Covenant House
Crossroads of North Carolina
Family Service America
Fayetteville State University
4-H
Girls Incorporated
Goodwill Industries of America
The Heartwood Institute
Little League Baseball
Minnesota Center for
Corporate Responsibility
National Association
of Catholic School Teachers
National Association
of Secondary School Principals
National Association
of State Boards of Education
National Association
of Student Councils
National Catholic Educational
Association
National Council of La Raza
National Federation
for Catholic Youth Ministry
National Urban League
Quest International
San Francisco Giants
United Neighborhood Centers
of America
United Way of America
YMCA of the USA
Young Men's & Young Women's
Hebrew Association (NYC)
Youth Volunteer Corps of America

June 14, 1995

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

At the suggestion of Bill Hybels, I am writing to tell you how deeply I was touched by your remarks about character and values at a Washington conference on May 20th. I have not been as moved by such a talk since 1965 when, as a fresh-faced Senate intern, I was privileged to hear Robert Kennedy express his vision of politics and community service.

As the founder of the *Character Counts!* Coalition — a partnership of nearly 60 educational and youth-serving organizations committed to strengthening the moral fiber of the next generation — I hear many speeches and sermons on character and values. Yours was so powerful because you conveyed sincere personal conviction without self-righteousness. Equally important, you did not use the values "issue" as a bludgeon to attack others or as a vehicle to advance a partisan political agenda. Instead, your willingness to reflect candidly and openly about your own challenges in balancing the commands of character and the practices of politics held up a mirror for yourself and the rest of us. It was precisely the right tone.

As was evident in the aftermath of the Oklahoma City tragedy, people are hungering for optimistic messages reminding us of the capacity of character and simple virtues such as moral courage and kindness to overcome even horrendous acts of conscienceless brutality. Please, continue to speak boldly and often about the importance of good character as a solution to escalating violence, irresponsibility and dishonesty.

Of course rhetoric is not enough. Families, schools, youth-serving organizations, and faith communities need to do a better job of teaching and modeling good character by conscious, consistent, concrete, creative, and collaborative efforts. Still, noble rhetoric, especially from the bully pulpit of the presidency, is important. Like many of my contemporaries, I was inspired by John Kennedy's call to public service: "Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you

Character Counts! is a project of the Josephson Institute of Ethics,
a nonprofit, tax-exempt, public-benefit organization.
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and may not be used without permission.

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Suite 1001
Marina del Rey
CA 90292-6610
(310) 306-1868
FAX (310) 827-1864

The President
June 14, 1995
Page 2

can do for your country." Unfortunately, today's young people almost never hear invocations more noble than "Look out for number one," or "You only go around once — go for the gusto!" As a result, far too many grow up without the moral ambition or conscience needed to help them know right from wrong and fortify the will to do what is right. External punishments or rewards will never be enough. We must place a high national priority on instilling in the next generation internal mechanisms of self-control and a belief in virtue.

Last October, in proclaiming National *Character Counts!* Week, you explicitly endorsed the Coalition's premise that the ethical values we call the "Six Pillars of Character" — trustworthiness, respect, responsibility, justice/fairness, caring, and civic virtue/citizenship — are the foundation of a democratic society. You also said that "the character of a nation is only as strong as the character of its individual citizens....Every adult has the responsibility to teach and model the core ethical values and every social institution has the responsibility to promote the development of good character." I hope you will continue to send this message.

One of the most important factors in the success of the Coalition is our ability to de-politicize the issue by stressing collaboration and common values. All our programs are built within the nonpartisan framework of the six consensus values. The involvement of board members Barbara Jordan, Bill Bennett, Marion Wright Edelman and Tom Selleck reinforces our message that the need to repair the hole in the moral ozone transcends political ideology. This strategy has allowed us to leap over the hurdle of "Whose values?" and focus on the much tougher and more important problems of implementation. And despite our initial skepticism about inviting the support of politicians, the vigorous nonpartisan leadership of Senators Pete Domenici and Sam Nunn has helped us bring effective character development programs into communities all over the country. Your voice can add immeasurably to our success.

Whatever you decide to do in the future, thank you for what you have already done.

Very truly yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Michael Josephson". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the typed name and title.

Michael S. Josephson
President, Josephson Institute of Ethics

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

7-16-95
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7/17/95

Melanne

cc: Jm
Dorshkind

I never answered
these letters -

They both came to
the James Madison
Speech and praised it
Now I need a different
letter and they ~~should~~
should be part of the follow
up strategy —

BC

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 2, 1995

Dr. Charles C. Haynes
Visiting Professor Scholar
The Freedom Forum
First Amendment Center
Vanderbilt University
1207 Eighth Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

Dear Charles:

Thanks for your letter concerning the White House meeting, now scheduled for July 6. Your recommendations are very much in the spirit that led me to convene this forum. I believe it will be a vital opportunity to renew shared values and begin building a national framework for civil discourse.

I appreciate your thoughtful comments and your dedication to addressing the challenges of our diverse society. I look forward to working closely with you and Os in the days and weeks ahead.

Sincerely,

THE TRINITY FORUM

NEW LETTER
FROM OS GUINNESS

May 23, 1995

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Mr. President,

It was a real privilege to be with you at the radio address and the character conference last Saturday. I deeply appreciated the invitation and your generosity in including my wife and son. Thank you so much.

I was delighted to hear that the White House will be holding a further conference on Wednesday, June 21. This letter, written with Dr. Charles Haynes of The Freedom Forum, is to share some suggestions for that conference as the White House begins to plan for it.

With the closeness of the election campaign and the imminence of the barrage of Constitutional amendment proposals, the time for effective action is short and the range of possible moves is narrowed. At such a moment any diffuse, generalized, or unfocused conference would achieve little. To have a chance of success, the conference would have to be clear in purpose, limited in focus, serious and substantive in content, and courageous and visionary yet strategic and practical in proposals. To that end, here are several suggestions for your consideration.

First, the purpose of the conference should be to address the deep divisions in American society and articulate a national way forward that is in the interests of all Americans, of whatever party, class, race, gender, and religion. A suggested title: "Living with our deepest differences—Renewing citizenship, civility, and community in an era of controversies and culture wars."

Second, the content of the conference should have five components:

- A survey and assessment of the problems.
- A clear articulation of what it means to find common ground and reforge the common vision for the common good.
- An announcement of a Religious Liberty statute as a wise and effective alternative to the proposals to amend the Constitution. (Note: Religious Liberty is mistakenly thought of as purely of religious significance. In fact, it is the political-social key to brokering differences in a pluralistic society.)

- Sharing excellent materials that help rebuild the common ground, such as The Freedom Forum's "Finding Common Ground: A First Amendment Guide to Religion and Public Education."
- Highlighting successful programs that demonstrate how communities can work together, such as the California Project "Rights, Responsibilities, and Respect," jointly sponsored by The Freedom Forum and the California County Superintendents of Schools.

Third, the audience for the conference should be the 75-100 American "gatekeepers" most involved in and affected by this issue (key leaders in the worlds of politics, religion, education, law, activism, and business).

Fourth, there should be at least four addresses given at the conference:

- A stage-setting speech laying out the historical and global perspectives on the problem.
- A look at the educational dimensions of the problem (If it is not considered presumptuous of us to say so, you might consider Os Guinness for the first topic and Charles Haynes for the second.)
- A look at the political dimensions of the problem. (A clearly bipartisan speaker, such as Bill Bennett, would be ideal here.)
- An articulation of the common ground, along the line of "The American Covenant" proposal sent last fall. (Clearly, this part would be your responsibility and privilege as President.)

Fifth, the conference should be followed by a Press Conference at which you could articulate the notion of an American Covenant and announce the proposed statute. Incidentally, we believe that the key "gatekeepers" from the media should be invited as citizen-participants rather than as "detached press observers."

Doubtless the White House already has its own ideas for this conference. These suggestions are offered only as a contribution to the planning. Our desire is to serve the interests of such a national reconciliation and we stand ready to help you in any way we can. The issues are urgent, the time is short, but there are some things that only you as "President of all Americans" can do.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

Os Guinness

Dr. Os Guinness
The Trinity Forum

Charles Haynes

Dr. Charles C. Haynes
The Freedom Forum
First Amendment Center
at Vanderbilt University

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 2, 1995

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WASHINGTON

June 2, 1995

Dr. Os Guinness
The Trinity Forum
Suite B
5210 Lyngate Court
Burke, Virginia 22015-1631

Dear Os:

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I look forward to working closely with you and Dr. Haynes in the days and weeks ahead, and I hope to see you again soon. Please send my best wishes to your family.

Sincerely,

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FROM OS GUINNESS

THE TRINITY FORUM

May 23, 1995

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The White House
Washington, DC 20510

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With warmest regards,

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The Freedom Forum
First Amendment Center
at Vanderbilt University

THE TRINITY FORUM

FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION SHEET

TO: Bill Galston

ATTENTION:

ORGANIZATION: The White House

FAX NUMBER: 202-456-2878

DATE: May 23, 1995

PAGES: 3

FROM: Os Guinness

REMARKS: Please find attached copy of letter sent to the President today.

To: Julia Bator
From: Bill Galston
Subj: Os Guinness letter

SENDER'S NAME: Debi Siler

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I look forward to working closely with you and Dr. Haynes in the days and weeks ahead, and I hope to see you again soon. Please give my best wishes to your family.

Approved Bill Galston
5/25

The Middling President?

Why Clinton's '96 strategy of co-opting 'family values' is not enough

BY JONATHAN ALTER

IN THE MOVIE "ANNIE HALL," THE ACTOR PLAYING Diane Keaton's brother scares Woody Allen out of his wits by fantasizing about veering across the median strip into oncoming traffic. Yes, the middle can be dangerous, as Bill Clinton is learning. The old Texas populist cliché has it that the only things out there with him are some yellow lines and flattened armadillos. "When he comes to a fork in the road," gibes Jesse Jackson, "he takes the fork." And semantically, middle is a close cousin to middling, which means "mediocre," "ordinary," "moderately so" and "pork from between the ham and the shoulder." The Middling President. Ouch.

But just as Bosnia is the perfect example of the moral and mortal dangers of presidential dither, Clinton's recent performance on complicated cultural issues at home suggests the merits—both political and substantive—of a nuanced, equivocal approach. Last week he went South, first to Tennessee to talk about how to protect kids from media violence, then to Virginia for a thoughtful speech on religion's role in the public schools. The challenge now is to convince cynics accustomed to this president's pirouettes that the new family-values theme is more than just another tactic to persuade Middle America to hold its nose and vote for Clinton in '96.

But the questions the White House's strategy raises are larger than the electoral math. Is it possible to plant a party's flag in "common ground"? Can sensible compromise be a coherent political philosophy? When you have a press and a political class that thrive on sharply drawn conflict, can closely reasoned analysis get a serious hearing? Even as the early promise of the Clinton presidency seems irretrievable, he could yet find his elusive "Third Way" between ultraconservatives and paleo-liberals. The key is to move beyond fine words to real action, independent of Congress.

In narrow political terms, the goal of a common-ground strategy is to disarm opponents by methodically stripping them of their wedge issues. First came crime. Fifteen months before the election, the Clinton campaign is already airing ads touting how many new cops he put on the street and using police officers to endorse his popular ban on assault weapons. On school prayer, he successfully blunted the issue by fashioning a legal argument that encourages uncoerced religious activity, with no constitutional amendment needed. On media violence, the trick was to remind voters that not only Tipper Gore but the president had been trying to help parents protect their children from rancid popular culture long before Bob Dole thought to do it.

That's one of the strange little secrets about Bill Clinton: his ideas haven't really changed very much. He favored a moment of silence in Arkansas schools as governor and endorsed the so-called "V chip" (an electronic device that allows parents to delete

violent content from TV programs) in TV Guide almost as soon as it became an issue in 1993. The July 6 speech he gave at Georgetown University about responsible citizenship was strikingly similar to what he said there in 1991 when he outlined his goals for the presidency. "Then and now he talks about getting beyond 'something for nothing' on the one hand and 'every man for himself' on the other," says Clinton aide Bruce Reed.

While it's not true that Clinton totally dropped these themes when he became president, he clearly subordinated them to the agenda of the liberal Democratic Congress and to playing defense against Whitewater, Paula Jones, Troopergate and all the rest. Now the old "New Covenant" ideas seem to be front and

center once more. The problem is that even if he keeps preaching the same sermon, the bully pulpit will no longer be enough. By definition, words from the center cannot be as stirring as words from the wings. There's no such thing as a thoughtful call to arms.

So that leaves action—not just vetoing budget cuts and defending accomplishments like national service, but domestic leadership that doesn't cost money. The irony is that the quintessential Old Democrat, Jesse Jackson, has the kind of idea that could begin to translate Clinton's New Democrat rhetoric into reality. The president should join Jackson in bringing school superintendents and PTAs from 50 cities to a conference where they would agree to make parents sign a "Parent Pledge," which commits them to meet their child's teacher, sign their report card and turn off the TV during homework time. Skeptics can scoff, but parental involvement is perhaps the single most important factor in whether a child makes it. Even if only a handful more parents—say 10 percent—started participating in their kids' lives, the change could be huge.

Better still, Clinton could summon the CEOs of the 500 largest employers in the nation and extract a pledge from them—to underwrite schools whole or, at a minimum, to set up volunteer tutoring and skills programs in their local communities. According to

some estimates, just \$50,000 per company is enough to cover the costs of sending hundreds of employees and retirees into schools (the only real expense is transportation). With a little leadership, Clinton could be responsible for actually putting extra hands in every at-risk classroom in the country. If he were Lyndon Johnson, he wouldn't let the CEOs leave the East Room until they made the commitment.

Maybe someone has a better idea for matching conservative spending and liberal dreams. So try that one, too. In his Georgetown speech, Bill Clinton said he had to do more to "celebrate" community programs that work. But celebration isn't enough. The president has to design, organize and lead. That's the best way for a middle-of-the-roader to leave a legacy, get re-elected—or both.



WALLY McNAMEE FOR NEWSWEEK
Flattened armadillos: Clinton

The key is to move beyond fine words and turn his sermons into real action

Let's build bridges instead of widening the chasm

By Amitai Etzioni 598SA

Hot-headed feminists, militant blacks, Act-Up gays and "Iron John" white males need a first-rate marriage counselor. In a marriage, the counselor would explain, one makes a basic decision: either to break it up or to fight to recast it. If you choose to stay, you must learn to fight with one hand tied behind your back.

There are clear rules of engagement that allow one to advance one's interests and values without dissolving the union.

Speaking to those who challenge the status quo, the counselor might argue: Leave aside for a moment what is morally right — whether or not reverse discrimination is just, equality of results (as distinct from that of opportunities) is fair, and how many points past oppression buys. Think pragmatically; you are driving the other partner raving mad.

The white male backlash was a major factor in the sea change that swept in the 1995 Congress. One of its first acts was to zero-out public funds for minority and gender-based caucuses. Slashing programs of special interests to these Americans followed.

From California a new initiative is spreading like wildfire; it will prohibit the use of race, sex, color, ethnicity or national origin as criteria for any government allocation.

Next comes a fight over abortion rights and the Presidency. In short, much of what has been achieved over the last decades is being endangered.

There are those, from Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. to Shelby Steele, who argue that America will get out of this corner only if we stop all identity politics and treat one another as individuals rather than as members of one group or another. The American way, they stress, is to treat individuals not according to who they are or where they came from, but according to what they have achieved and where they are headed.

I beg to differ. I join with those who point out that acting as a group provides political backing and psychological hand-holding, especially needed by the disadvantaged members of society.

What is required is a new kind of group politics: advancing what one considers right while keeping one eye on maintaining the community of which we all are members.

To do so one must fight without demonizing the other side, pushing all the emotional buttons one can find, and hitting below the belt. To state that all men are "fascist pigs" or "potential rapists" out to humiliate and exploit women; that all whites are racists, one can tell by their white skin; or that Jews are slave traders may give one a temporary high but does not make for a good, within-community-bound, fight.

It is also certain to mobilize the opposition to the hilt and thus to inhibit, rather than enhance, progress. To hound the president of a college who actively championed minorities for 30 years because of three terrible misspoken words is to tell every white male "Forget it, whatever you do will not buy you the kind of license we accord to our members every day."

To repeatedly argue that The Man cannot understand us because he has never been in our place, is to say: "No sense in trying, you insensitive clod." To argue that whatever white males did for social justice is woefully insufficient at best and was done out of selfish motives to begin with is tantamount

to waving red flags in the face of a herd of charging bulls.

Turning to the white male partners, our marriage counselor will seek to ensure that they will not misconstrue a more civil tone, a less confrontational approach, a willingness to appreciate progress, even to strike some compromises — as signs of weakness, let alone willingness to perpetuate the status quo. Indeed, white males must be dissuaded from using their sense of being wronged and a renewed spirit of community as justifications to stop reexamining the injustices built into our society and participating in finding ways to overcome them.

They should remember that the ugly past leaves many of today's minorities and women hurt and suspicious. They should use an inter-racial and inter-gender cease-fire to resolve differences rather than hide from them.

More open and honest dialogue across the trenches is a fine place to begin building bridges. White males should stop patronizing the other sides by nodding politely in seeming agreement when confronted, while they seethe inside. And minority activists and feminists can find ways to convey their points rather than mainly vent their anger, however justified.

They all may join in the national conversation on diversity and identity just launched by the National Endowment for the Humanities. The NEH calls for a series of meetings rather than a one-time shouting match, and may use facilitators to ensure that the various parties will hear one another rather than reinforce their mutual prejudices.

Even more promising is for all sides to engage in more endeavors in which they share a common goal while continuing their inter-group struggles.

Above all, we cannot wait for the marriage counselor. Each of us is to remember that we are members of multi-layered communities: those of our own particular group and the more encompassing community of communities, the society at large. We all ought to learn how to modify the ties that bind us without severing them, and how one refrains from exploiting the call to maintain a union to oppose those accommodations that are just and overdue.

Amitai Etzioni is president of the American Sociological Association, the author of "The Spirit of Community" (Simon & Schuster, 1994), and a university professor at The George Washington University.

Philadelphia Inquirer June 18, 1995

July 28, 1995

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Don Baer
Alexis Herman
Melanne Verveer
Jeremy Ben-Ami
Steve Silverman

SUBJECT: What's Right with America Campaign

DATE: July 26, 1995

We are seeking your reaction to and approval of a proposal to begin a campaign to highlight "What's Right with America." This campaign is intended to sustain the momentum generated by the Georgetown Common Ground and subsequent speeches which have successfully developed the themes of common ground and citizen responsibility. We have met with and consulted a wide range of your advisors, inside and outside the White House, to develop this plan. This is only one component of our planned follow-up, and we are sending an accompanying memo sketching more broadly other parts of our thinking.

Purpose

The "What's Right with America" campaign will fulfill your desire, as stated at Georgetown, to "find the best and celebrate it, and then, relentlessly promote it as a model to be followed." The Campaign will allow you to demonstrate, as you said in your Inaugural Address and since, that "there isn't a thing wrong with America that can't be fixed by what's right with America" and that "you can find somewhere in America, somebody who has solved every problem you are worried about."

This campaign allows you to use the power of the Presidency to spotlight people throughout the country who are working together in their communities to solve problems. Examples might include the LEAP program in New Haven, the Ten Point Coalition in the Boston area, or NUCOR in South Carolina. Over time, the effort will bring the themes of your speeches to life in the faces and pictures of the people and communities you highlight. This will help the American people and the media better understand your message. Ultimately, bringing together the people you visit over the course of a year will make for a powerful story.

The Plan: Your Activities

At Georgetown, you said that you intend to "do even more than you have done to celebrate the things that work." Our plan, should you approve, is to build into your travel schedule on a regular basis, opportunities to drop by and visit "the things that work" and to meet with the people that make them work. These events would substitute for some of your "OTR" stops at diners or other local spots. We propose to deliberately vary what you do:

- You could meet with individuals, visit programs or places, or even hold roundtables with groups of community residents;
- Some of the visits could be relatively spontaneous, others might be more planned;
- From a press perspective, your stops could occasionally be open to the pool, but they could also be closed to the press without losing their value. Individually, each stop will generate significant local and regional media. Over time, the combined effect of these visits will generate national attention.

Even when you do not travel, we will propose occasional visits to people and places in D.C. or the surrounding area. We can also invite people to the White House to honor them, or set up a regular time when you can highlight What's Right with America..

The Plan: Other Components

The campaign should, however, do more than guide your scheduling. It should, as you said, "relentlessly promote" the things that work as models to be followed. We recommend a national effort, including, but not limited to, some of the following ideas:

- setting up a national Clearinghouse to share information across communities about model programs and ideas. The Clearinghouse would collect examples of What's Right in America and find innovative and effective ways to share that information, including making full use of new Internet capabilities. We are working with Education, the Corporation for National and Community Service, USIA and NEH to examine how we can build on their ongoing work;
- recognizing local efforts beyond those you visit. As you have pointed out, you kept the Points of Light Foundation, and through it we recognize people every year. We are looking into building on that process, if appropriate, to support this effort;
- holding a national conference to bring people together who we recognize as models from around the country to talk with national leaders about the obstacles faced at the local level in replicating these models.

Kicking Off the Campaign

We do not necessarily recommend a formal kick-off for this effort. Instead, we should just start doing what you promised at Georgetown. We are looking at your visit to North Carolina on August 8th as a possible first stop.

Campaign Identity

We do believe this effort needs an identity. A name for the effort -- we recommend "What's Right With America" -- will help give it shape and meaning. If you approve the name, we will work to ensure that background materials and press briefings, for instance, are put on special letterhead or specially labelled each time so that the strength and consistency of our commitment to the "What's Right with America" effort are readily apparent.

Recommendation

We are seeking your approval to begin the "What's Right With America" effort and to start scheduling such visits and stops into your travel in August and September. With your approval, we will also convene a team from the White House and other agencies to flesh this plan out further to meet the challenge you laid out at Georgetown.

_____ Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Let's Discuss

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
ON RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP AND THE
AMERICAN COMMUNITY

Gaston Hall
Georgetown University
Washington, D.C.
July 6, 1995

Thank you very much, my good friend, Father O'Donovan. You just gave the speech in five minutes; there's nothing for me to say.

I thank you for welcoming me back. I thank the members of our administration who are here -- Secretary Riley and Deputy Secretary Kunin, Ambassador Raser, Director of the USIA Joe Duffy, Chairman Sheldon Hackney and Jane Alexander, and Penn Kemble, the Deputy Director of the USIA. And I thank my former classmates, some of whom I see out here. And my friends and people around this country who have done so much to try to strengthen the bonds of American citizenship.

Today I want to have more of a conversation than deliver a formal speech about the great debate now raging in our nation, not so much over what we should do, but over how we should resolve the great questions of our time, here in Washington and in communities all across our country. I want to talk about the obligations of citizenship, the obligations imposed on the President and people in power, and the obligations imposed on all Americans.

Two days ago we celebrated the 219th birthday of our democracy. The Declaration of Independence was also clearly a declaration of citizenship: All men are created equal, endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. Among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

It was also manifestly a declaration of citizenship in a different way -- it was a declaration of interdependence: For the support of this declaration with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence we mutually pledge our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor.

The distinguished American historian, Samuel Eliot Morison, in his History of the American People,

wrote of these words: "These words are more revolutionary than anything written by Robespierre, Marx or Lenin; more explosive than the atom; a continual challenge to ourselves as well as an inspiration to the oppressed of all the world."

What is the challenge to ourselves at the dawn of the 21st century and how shall we meet it? First of all, we must remember that the Declaration of Independence was written as a commitment for all Americans at all times, not just in time of war or great national crisis.

My argument to you is pretty straightforward. I believe we face challenges of truly historic dimensions -- challenges here at home perhaps greater than any we've faced since the beginning of this century we are about to finish and the dawn of the industrial era. But they are not greater challenges in their own way than the ones we faced at our birth, greater challenges than those of slavery and civil war, greater than those of World War I or the Depression or World War II. And they can be solved, though they are profound. What are they?

Most people my age grew up in an America dominated by middle class dreams and middle class values -- the life we wanted to live and the kind of people we wanted to be. Dreams that inspired those who were born into the middle class. Dreams that restrained and directed the lives of those who were much more successful and more powerful. Dreams that animated the strivings of those who were poor because of the condition of their birth or because they came here as immigrants. Middle class dreams that there would be rewards for work and that the future of our children would be better than the lives we enjoyed. Middle class values, strong families and faith, safe streets, secure futures. These things are very much threatened today, threatened by 20 years of stagnant incomes, of harder work by good Americans for the same or lower pay, of increasing inequality of incomes, and increasing insecurity in jobs and retirement and health care.

They are threatened by 30 years of social problems of profound implications -- family break-ups, of a rising tide of violence and drugs, of declining birth rates among successful, married couples, and rising birth rates among young people who are not married. They are threatened by the failure of public institutions to respond; the failure of bureaucracies encrusted in yesterday's prerogatives and not meeting the challenges of today and tomorrow -- the schools, the law enforcement agencies, the governments and their economic and other policies. They are threatened by the sheer pace and scope of change as technology and ideas and money and decisions move across the globe at breathtaking rates, and every great opportunity seems to carry within it the seeds of a great problem.

We have anomalies everywhere. Abroad, the Cold War ends, but we see the rise and the threat of technology-based destruction -- sarin gas exploding in the subway in Japan, the bomb exploding in Oklahoma City. The Soviet Union is no more, and so they worry now in the Baltics about becoming a conduit for drug trafficking, and they worry in Russia about their banks being taken over by organized crime.

And here at home, it all seems so confusing -- the highest growth rates in a decade, the stock market at an all-time high, almost 7 million more jobs, more millionaires and new businesses than ever before, but most people working harder for less, feeling more insecure.

I saw it just the other day, this cartoon, which you probably can't see, but I'll read it to you. There's a politician -- maybe it's supposed to be me -- up here giving a speech at a banquet, one of those interminable banquets we all attend. And here's the waiter serving one of the attendees. The politician says: "The current recovery has created over 7.8 million jobs." The waiter says: "And I've got three of them."

In 1991, as Father O'Donovan said, I came here to Georgetown to talk about these challenges and laid out my philosophy about how we as a people -- not just as a government, but as a people -- ought to meet them. I called it the New Covenant. I will repeat briefly what I said then because I don't believe I can do any better today than I did then in terms of what I honestly believe we ought to be doing.

I think we have to create more opportunity and demand more responsibility. I think we have to give citizens more say and provide them with a more responsive, less bureaucratic government. I think we have to do these things because we are literally a community -- an American family that is going up or down together, whether we like it, or not. If we're going to have middle class dreams and middle class values, we have to do things as private citizens and we have to do things in partnership through our public agencies and through our other associations.

In 1994, when the Republicans won a majority in Congress, they offered a different view which they called their Contract With America. In their view most of our problems were personal and cultural. The government tended to make them worse because it was bureaucratic and wedded to the past and more interested in regulating and choking off the free enterprise system. And, therefore, what we should do is to balance the budget as soon as possible, cut taxes as much as possible, deregulate

business completely if possible, and cut our investments in things like welfare as much as possible.

As you know, I thought there were different things that ought to be done because I believed in partnership. I believed in supporting community initiatives that were working and preventing things before they happened, instead of just punishing bad behavior after it occurred, and trying to empower people to make the most of their own lives. So I believed that there were things we could do here in Washington to help, whether it was family leave, or tougher child support enforcement, or reforming the pension system to save the pensions of over 8 million American workers, or investing more in education, making college more affordable.

What I believe grows largely out of my personal history and a lot of it happened to me a long time before I came to Georgetown and read in books the things that made me convinced that I was basically right. I grew up in a small town in a poor state. When I was born at the end of World War II, my state's per capita income was barely half the national average. I was the first person in my family to go to college. When I was a boy I lived for a while on a farm without an indoor toilet. It makes a good story -- not as good as being born in a log cabin, but it's true.

I had a stepfather without a high school diploma and a grandfather, whom I loved above all people almost, who had a sixth-grade education. I lived in a segregated society, and I lived in a family, as has now been well-documented, with problems of alcohol and later, drug abuse. I learned a lot about what I call the New Covenant, about the importance of responsibility and opportunity.

I lived in a family where everybody worked hard and where kids were expected to study hard. But I also had a lot of opportunity that was given to me by my community. I had good teachers and good schools. And when I needed them, I got scholarships and jobs. I saw what happened to good people who had no opportunity because they happened to be black, or because they happened to be poor and white and isolated in the hills and hollows of the mountains of my state.

I saw what happened in my own family to people who were good people, but didn't behave responsibly. My stepfather was very responsible toward me, but not very responsible toward himself. Anybody who's ever lived in a family with an alcoholic knows that there is nothing you can do for somebody else that they are not prepared to do for themselves. And my brother -- after all of his struggles with drug addiction, which included even serving

some time in jail -- I am sometimes more proud of him than I am of what I've done because he has a family and a son and a life. Not because of the love and support that we all gave him, but because of what he did for himself.

So my whole political philosophy is basically rooted in what I think works. It works for families and communities, and it worked pretty well for our country for a long time.

If you look at recent American history, our country has never been perfect, because none of us are, but we did always seem to be going in the right direction.

I remember when I was a boy in the '50s and '60s. I remember like it was yesterday when I graduated from high school in 1964, and we had about three percent unemployment, about three or four percent real growth, and very modest inflation. And we all just assumed that the American Dream would work out all right if we could ever whip racism. If we could just whip that and make sure all poor people had a chance to work their way into the middle class, we could just almost put this country on automatic. I know that's hard to believe, but that's basically what we thought back then. If we could just somehow lift this awful racial burden off our shoulders and learn how to live together, we could just roll on.

And then in the '60s and the '70s and the '80s, the results got a lot more mixed. Contrary to what a lot of people say now in retrospect, the '60s were not all bad. A lot of good things happened. A lot of people passionately believed that they had a responsibility to help one another achieve the fullest of their God-given potential. And a lot of the important advances in civil rights, and in education, and in fighting poverty really made a difference. But it was also a time when many people began to have such profound cultural clashes that more and more people dropped out and became more self-indulgent.

Contrary to popular retrospect, a lot of good things happened in the '70s. We made a national commitment as a country to defend our environment. This is a safer, cleaner, healthier place because of what we've done for the last 25 years. We decided in a bipartisan way that the workplace ought to be safer; too many people were dying in the workplace. If any of you have ever spent any time in a factory and seen people walking around without all their fingers, you can appreciate that.

But it was also a time when we became profoundly disillusioned because of Watergate and a lot of other things. We began to suspect that we couldn't trust our leaders or our institutions. And it was the beginning of the decline of middle class dreams for middle class people. In the '60s, the riots in the cities showed that more and more poor people began to doubt whether they

would ever be able to work their way into the middle class. In the '70s, people who were in the middle class began to worry about whether they would ever be able to stay or what that meant. It began 20 years ago.

Then in the '80s, it was also a very mixed bag. It was a time when people exalted greed and short-term profit. It was a time when we built -- by bipartisan conspiracy -- the first structural deficit in the history of the United States of America, and exploded our debt while we were reducing our investment in our most profound problems, while we spent the tax cuts and behaved just like the rest of the country, worrying about the short-run. But it was also a time, let's not forget, where all across the country, there was a renewed awareness of the dangers of drugs and drug use began to go down, smoking declined, volunteerism increased. And there was a remarkable explosion of productivity in the industrial sector in America, and the American economy began to go through the changes necessary to be competitive.

In the '90s, everybody knows, I think, that there's been a sort of a sobering increase in personal values of commitment. You see it in the decline in the divorce rate and the increase in healthy habits among many people. You see more commitment expressed in groups and by individuals all across the country. You see it in people reaffirming their commitment to the family in small and large ways -- the remarkable husband and wife minister team that I introduced in the State of the Union, the Reverend Cherrys and their AME Zion Church near here, now one of the two or three biggest churches in America founded on family outreach. The phenomenal success of this promise-keepers organization -- you can fill any football stadium in America. It's an astonishing thing because people want to do the right thing. And they want to get their families and their lives back together. And that's encouraging.

But let us not forget that these profound problems endure. Middle class dreams and middle class values, the things which have shaped our lives and our experience and our expectations, are still very, very much at risk.

I will say again -- we have all these aggregate indices that the economy has done well. Almost 7 million new jobs, the stock market's over 4,500. All the things that you know. But while average income has gone up, median income, the person in the middle, has declined in the last two years. A sense of job security has declined with all the downsizing. More and more people are temporary workers. This is the only advanced country in the world where there's a smaller percentage of people

under 65 in the work force with health insurance today than 10 years ago.

Millions of American people go home at night from their work and sit down to dinner and look at their children and wonder what they have done wrong, what did they ever do to fail. And they're riddled with worries about it. Millions more who are poor have simply given up on ever being able to work their way into a stable lifestyle. And that, doubtless, is fueling some of the disturbing increase in casual drug use among very young people and the rise in violence among young people.

That threatens middle class values. In almost every major city in America the crime rate is down -- hallelujah. In almost every place in America, the rate of random violence among young people is up, even as the overall crime rate drops. Government is struggling to change, and I'm proud of the changes we have made. But no one really believes that government is fully adjusted to the demands of the 21st century and the information age. It clearly must still be less bureaucratic, more empowering, rely more on incentives, and if we still have to reduce spending, we have to find a way to do it while increasing our investment in the things that will determine our ability to live middle class dreams.

Politics has become more and more fractured, just like the rest of our lives -- pluralized. It's exciting in some ways. But as we divide into more and more and more sharply defined organized groups around more and more and more stratified issues, as we communicate more and more with people in extreme rhetoric through mass mailings or sometimes semi-hysterical messages right before election on the telephone, or 30-second ads designed far more to inflame than to inform, as we see politicians actually getting language lessons on how to turn their adversaries into aliens, it is difficult to draw the conclusion that our political system is producing the sort of discussion that will give us the kinds of results we need.

But our citizens, even though their confidence in the future has been clouded and their doubts about their leaders and their institutions are profound, want something better. You could see it in the way they turned out for the town meetings in 1992. You could see it in the overwhelming, I mean literally overwhelming, response that I have received from people of all political parties to the simple act of having a decent, open conversation with the Speaker of the House in Claremont, New Hampshire. People know we need to do better. And deep down inside, our people know this is a very great country capable of meeting our challenges.

So what are the conclusions I draw from this? First of all, don't kid yourself. There are real reasons for ordinary voters to be angry, frustrated, and downright

disoriented. How could our politics not be confusing when people's lives are so confusing and frustrating and seem to be so full of contradictory developments?

Secondly, this is now, as it has ever been, fertile ground for groups that claim a monopoly on middle class values and old-fashioned virtue. And it's easy to blame the government when people don't feel any positive results. It's easy to blame groups of others when people have to have somebody to blame for their own problems when they are working as hard as they can, and they can't keep up.

But there is real reason for hope, my fellow Americans. This is, after all, the most productive country in the world. We do a better job of dealing with racial and ethnic diversity and trying to find some way to bring out the best in all of our people than any other country with this much diversity in the world.

We have an environment that is cleaner and safer and healthier than it used to be. We still have the lead in many important areas that will determine the shape of societies in the 21st century. There is a real willingness among our people to try bold change. And, most important of all, most Americans are still living by middle class values and hanging on to middle class dreams. And everywhere in this country there are examples of people who have taken their future into their own hands, worked with their friends and neighbors, broken through bureaucracy and solved problems. If there is anything I would say to you it is that you can find somewhere in America, somebody who has solved every problem you are worried about.

So there is reason for hope. To me, the real heroes in this country are the people that are out there making things work and the people who show up for work every day, even though they're barely at and maybe even below the poverty line, but they still work full-time, obey the law, pay their taxes and raise their kids the best they can. That's what this country is really all about. And so there is really no cause for the kind of hand-wringing and cynicism that dominates too much of the public debate today.

What do we have to do now? First of all, we've got to have this debate that is looming over Washington. We have to have it. It's a good thing. We are debating things now we thought were settled for decades. We are now back to fundamental issues that were debated like this 50, 60, 70 years ago. There is a group who believe that our problems are primarily personal and cultural. Cultural is basically a word that means, in this context, that there are a whole lot of persons doing the same bad

thing. And if everybody would just sort of straighten up and fly right, why, things would be hunky-dory. And why don't they do it?

Now, I'll give you some examples that stand out, but there are hundreds more that are more modulated. The NRA's position on gun violence, the Brady Bill and the assault weapons ban -- their position is guns don't kill people, people do. Find the people who do wrong, throw them in jail and throw the key away. Punish wrongdoers. Do not infringe upon my right to keep and bear arms, even to keep and bear arsenals or artillery or assault weapons. Do not do that because I have not done anything wrong and I have no intention of doing anything wrong. Why are you making me wait five days to get a handgun? What do you care if I want an AK-47 or an Uzi to go out and engage in some sort of sporting contest to see who's a better shot? I obey the law. I pay my taxes. I don't give you any grief. Why are you on my back? The Constitution says I can do this. Punish wrongdoers. I am sick and tired of my life being inconvenienced for what other people do.

A second example is the one that dominated the headlines in the last couple of days -- what Senator Helms said about AIDS: I'm sick and tired of spending money on research and treatment for a disease that could be ended tomorrow if everybody just straightened up and flew right. I'm tired of it. I've got a budget to balance. We're cutting aid to Africa. We're cutting education. We're cutting Medicare. Why should we spend money on treatment and research for a disease that is a product of people's wrongdoing? Illicit sex and bad drugs, dirty needles -- let's just stop it.

Now, at one level, forgetting about those two examples, this argument is self-evidently right. Go back to what I told you about my family. A lot of you are nodding your heads about yours. There is a sense in which there is nothing the government can do for anybody that will displace the negative impact of personal misconduct. And unless people are willing to work hard and do the best they can and advance themselves and their families, the ability of common action, no matter how well-meaning, won't work.

You look at every social program that's working in every community -- and there are lots of them. I was just in New Haven for the opening of the Special Olympics, and I spent a lot of time with the LEAP Program up there. It's an incredible program where these college students work with inner-city kids helping them rebuild their lives. But if the kids don't want to do it and won't behave, there's nothing these college kids can do to help them. At a certain level, this is self-evidently true.

But what is the problem? These problems are our problems. They're not just single problems. If there's a big crime rate and a whole lot of people getting

killed with guns, that affects all the rest of us because some of us are likely to get shot.

Now, I see the Brady Bill in a totally different way because I see these problems as community problems. And I think a public response is all right. And I think saying to people who have the line I said, look, it is just not out of line for you to be asked to undergo the minor inconvenience of waiting five days to get a handgun, until we can computerize all the records. Because, look here, in the last year and a half, there were 40,000 people who had criminal records or mental health histories who didn't get handguns, and they're not out there shooting people because you went through a minor inconvenience. You don't gripe when you go through a metal detector at an airport anymore, because you are very aware of the connection between this minor inconvenience to you and the fact that that plane might blow up, and you don't want that plane to blow up or be hijacked.

Look at the level of violence in America. It's the same thing. I don't have a problem with saying, look, these assault weapons are primarily designed to kill people. That's their primary purpose. And I'm sorry if you don't have a new one that you can take out in the woods somewhere, to a shooting contest, but you'll get over it. Shoot with something else. It's worth it.

I'm glad you're clapping. I'm glad you agree with me, but remember, the other people are good people who honestly believe what they say. That's the importance of this debate. It's the attitudes. We have to have this debate.

The NRA that I knew as a child, the NRA that I knew as a governor, for years, were the people who did hunter education programs, the people that helped me resolve land boundary disputes when retirees would come to the mountains in the northern part of my state and go into unincorporated areas, and who could and couldn't hunt on whose land. And they actually helped save people's lives and they solved a lot of problems.

I'll give you another example. It might not be popular in this group. I agree with the Supreme Court decision on requiring people who want to be on high school athletic teams to take drug tests -- not because I think all kids are bad, not because I think they all use drugs, but because casual drug use is going up among young people again. It is a privilege to play on the football team. It is a privilege to be in the band. It is a privilege to have access to all these activities. And I say it's like going through the airport metal detector -- you ought to be willing to do that to help get the scourge of drugs out of your school and keep kids off drugs. That's what I

believe, because I see it as a common problem.

So we all have to give up a little and go through a little inconvenience to help solve problems and pull the country together and push it forward. But this is a huge debate.

Look at the AIDS debate. You may think it's a little harder. First of all, the truth is not everybody who has AIDS gets it from sex or drug needles. I've got a picture on my desk at the White House of a little boy named Ricky Ray. He and his family were treated horribly by people who were afraid of AIDS when they first got it through blood transfusions, he and his brother. And he died right after my election. I keep his picture on my table to remember that.

Elizabeth Glaser was a good friend of mine. She and the daughter she lost and her wonderful son that survived her, they didn't get AIDS through misconduct. So that's just wrong. I know a fine woman doctor in Texas who got AIDS because she was treating AIDS patients and she got the tiniest pinprick in her finger -- a million to one, two million to one chance.

But, secondly, and more to the point, the gay people who have AIDS are still our sons, our brothers, our cousins, our citizens. They're Americans, too. They're obeying the law and working hard. They're entitled to be treated like everybody else.

And the drug users -- there's nobody in this country that hates that any more than I do because I've lived with it in my family. But I fail to see why we would want to hasten people's demise because they paid a terrible price for their abuse.

You know, smoking causes lung cancer, but we don't propose to stop treating lung cancer or stop doing research to find a cure. Right? Drunk driving causes a lot of highway deaths, but we don't propose to stop trying to make cars safer. Do we? I don't think so.

So I just disagree with this. Why do we have to make this choice? Why can't we say to people, look, you've got to behave if you want your life to work, but we have common problems and we are going to have some common responses. I don't understand why it's got to be an either/or thing. That's not the way we live our lives. Why should we conduct our public debates in this way?

And the best example of all to me that our problems are both personal and cultural and economic, political and social is the whole condition of the middle class economically. I think it requires public and private decision-making, family values. Most families have them. But most families are working harder for less so they have less time and less money to spend with their

children. Now, that's just a fact. That's not good for family values.

I don't believe exhortation alone can turn it around. It's going to require some common action. I think that what we did with the family leave law supported family values. I think that we can have a welfare reform law that requires parental responsibility, has tough work requirements, but invests in child care and supports family values. I think we can have a tax system that gives breaks to people to help them raise their kids and educate themselves and their children, and that would support family values. I think we can have an education system that empowers people to make the most of their own lives, and that is profoundly supportive of family values. And I do not believe the government can do it alone. I believe there are other things that have to be done by people themselves and also by employers.

One of our major newspapers had an article yesterday on the front page, or the day before, saying in the new world economy the employers call all the shots -- talking about how more and more workers were temporary workers, more and more people felt insecure.

You know, it's all very well to exhort people. But if they're out there really busting it, doing everything they can and falling further behind, and they're not being treated fairly by people who can afford to treat them fairly, then that's something else again, isn't it?

The global economy, automation, the decline of unionization, and the inadequate response of too many employers to these changes have led to a profound weakening of the condition of many American workers. There aren't many companies like NUCOR, a nonunion company, a steel company, where people get a fairly low base hourly wage, but they get a weekly bonus. Nobody's ever been laid off, every employee with a child who's of college age gets about \$2,500 a year as a college allowance. And the pay of the executives is tied to the performance of the company and cannot go up by a higher percentage than the pay of the workers goes up.

Now, by contrast, in the 12 years before I took office -- this is all in the private sector -- the top management of our companies' pay went up by four times their workers' pay and three times what their profits went up percentage-wise. And that trend has largely continued, if anything, accelerated, even though we limited the tax subsidy for it in 1993.

So I would say to you that there are some things that mere exhortation to good conduct will not

solve, that require other responses that are public or that are private but go beyond just saying these are personal or cultural problems.

I also think that if we want to maintain a public response, there must be a relentless effort to change but not to eviscerate the government. We have tried weak government, nonexistent government, in a complex industrial society where powerful interests that are driven only by short-term considerations call all the shots. We tried it decades and decades ago. It didn't work out very well. It didn't even produce a very good economic policy. It had something to do with the onset of the Depression.

On the other hand, we know that an insensitive, overly bureaucratic, yesterday-oriented, special-interest-dominated government can be just as big a nightmare. We've done what we could to change that. The government has 150,000 fewer people working today than it did when I took office. We've gotten rid of thousands of regulations and hundreds of programs. We have a few shining stars like the Small Business Administration, which today has a budget that's 40 percent lower than it was when I took office, that's making twice as many loans, has dramatically increased the loans to women and minorities, has not decreased loans to white males, and hasn't made a loan to a single unqualified person.

We can do these things. I wish I had all day to talk to you about what the Secretary of Education has done in the Education Department to try to make it work better and make common sense, and involve parents, and promote things like greater choice of schools and the building of charter schools and character education in the schools. It's not an either/or thing. You don't have to choose between being personally right and having common goals.

So that's my side of the argument. That's why I think my New Covenant formulation is better to solve the problems of middle class dreams and middle class values than the Republican Contract. But perhaps the most important thing is not whether I'm right or they are, the important thing is how are we going to resolve this and what are citizens going to do. How can we resolve the debate.

I believe -- and you've got to decide whether you believe this -- I believe that a democracy requires a certain amount of common ground. I do not believe you can solve complex questions like this at the grass-roots level or at the national level or anywhere in between if you have too much extremism of rhetoric and excessive partisanship. Times are changing too fast. We need to keep our eyes open. We need to keep our ears open. We need to be flexible. We need to have new solutions based on old values. I just don't think we can get there unless

we can establish some common ground.

And that seems to me to impose certain specific responsibilities on citizens and on political leaders. And if I might, just let me say them. They may be painfully self-evident, but I don't think they're irrelevant. Every citizen in this country's got to say -- "What do I have to do for myself or my family?" -- or nothing else counts. The truth is that nobody can repeal the laws of the global economy, and people that don't have a certain level of education and skills are not going to be employable in good jobs with long-term prospects. And that's just a fact.

The truth is that if every child in this country had both parents contributing to his or her support and nourishment and emotional stability and education and future, we'd have almost no poor kids, instead of having over 20 percent of our children born in poverty. Those things are true.

The second thing is, more of our citizens have got to say -- What should I do in my community? You know, it's not just enough to bemoan the rising crime rate or how kids are behaving or whatever -- that's just not enough. Not when you have example after example after example from this LEAP Program I mentioned, the "I Have a Dream" Program, to the world-famous Habitat for Humanity Program, to all these local initiatives and support corporations that are now going around the country, revolutionizing slum housing and giving poor working people decent places to live -- to the work of the Catholic social missions in Washington, D.C., and other places.

It is not enough to say that. People have to ask themselves -- What should I be doing through my church or my community organizations? People who feel very strongly about one of the most contentious issues in our society, abortion, ought to look at the United Pentecostal Church. They'll adopt any child born, no matter what race, no matter how disabled, no matter what their problems are. There is a positive, constructive outlet for people who are worried about every problem in this country if they will go seek it out. And there is nothing the rest of us can do that will replace that kind of energy.

The third thing I think citizens have to do that is also important, people have to say, what is my job as a citizen who is a voter? I am in control here. I run the store. I get to throw this crowd out on a regular basis. That's a big responsibility. We're the board of directors of America.

Are we making good decisions? Do we approach these decisions in the right frame of mind? Do we have enough information? Do we know what we're doing? I can tell you, the American people are hungry for information. When I announced my balanced budget and we put it on the Internet, one of our people at the White House told me there were a few hours when we were getting 50,000 requests an hour. The American people want to know things.

So I say to every citizen, do you have the information you need? Do you ever have a discussion with somebody that's different from you? Not just people who agree with you but somebody who's different. Do you ever listen to one of those radio programs that has the opposite point of view of yours, even if you have to grind your teeth? And what kind of language do you use when you talk to people who are of different political parties with different views? Is it the language of respect or the language of a suspect? How do you deal with people? This is a huge thing. What do you have to do for yourself and your family? What can you do in your community? What can you do as a citizen?

Thomas Jefferson said he had no fear of the most extreme views in America being expressed with the greatest passion as long as reason had a chance. As long as reason had a chance. Citizens have to give reason a chance.

What do the political leaders have to do? I would argue four things. Number one, we need more conversation and less combat. Number two, when we differ we ought to offer an alternative. Number three, we ought to look relentlessly at the long-term and remind the American people that the problems we have developed over a long period of years. And, number four, we shouldn't just berate the worst in America, we ought to spend more time celebrating the best.

Those are four things that I think I should do, and I think every other leader in this country ought to do. Conversation, not combat, is what I tried to do with the Speaker in New Hampshire, and I want to do more of it with others. I'm willing if they are. I think it would be good for America.

Secondly, differ but present an alternative. That's why I presented a balanced budget. A lot of people said, this is dumb politics. The Republicans won the Congress by just saying no -- no to deficit reduction, and call it a tax increase. Run away from your own health care plan, say they're trying to make the government take over health care. That may be. But that's because this is a confusing time. It's still not the right thing to do. Americans don't want "just say no" politics. If they can get the truth, they'll make the right decision 99 times out of 100. And we have to offer an alternative.

And so do they. We all should. When we differ, we should say what we're for, not just what we're against.

The third thing is important -- looking for the long-term. I was really sad in 1994, I'll be honest with you, on Election Day I was sad. I kind of felt sorry for myself. I thought, gosh, you know, the real problems in this country are these income problems, and look what we've done with the family leave law, we cut taxes for families with incomes under \$28,000 a year by \$1,000 a year, we've done -- and I reeled it all off. And I said, gosh, I feel terrible. And then I realized, how could they possibly feel anything in two years? These income trends are huge, huge trends. Huge, sweeping over two decades. Fast international forces behind them. Trillions of dollars of money moving across international borders to find the lowest labor cost and pressing down. Untold improvements in automation -- so fast that you just can't create enough high-wage jobs to replace the ones that are being depressed in some sectors of the economy. This is a huge deal. How could people have felt that?

Nonetheless, our job is not to get reelected, it's to think about the long-term because the problems are long-term problems.

I want to read you what President Havel said in his Harvard commencement speech about this -- more eloquent than anything I could say. "The main task of the present generation of politicians is not, I think, to ingratiate themselves with the public through the decisions they take or their smiles on television. Their role is something quite different -- to assume their share of responsibility for the long-range prospects of our world, and thus, to set an example for the public in whose sight they work. After all, politics is a matter of serving the community which means that it is morality in practice."

Fourth, maybe the most important thing is we should not just condemn the worst, we ought to find the best and celebrate it, and then relentlessly promote it as a model to be followed. You know, I kept President Bush's Points of Light Foundation when I became President. And we recognize those people every year because I believe in that. I thought that was one of the best things he did. But I tried to institutionalize it in many ways.

That's what AmeriCorps is all about. The national service program gives young people a chance to earn money for college by working in grass-roots community projects all across the country. When I was in New Haven at the LEAP Program, I had AmeriCorps volunteers there. I was in Texas the other day walking the streets of an inner city and a girl with a college degree from another state

was there working with welfare mothers because she was raised by a welfare mother who taught her to go to school, work hard, and get a college degree, and she did.

We have to find a way to systematically see ~~these things that work sweep across this country with high standards and high expectations and breaking through all this bureaucracy that keeps people from achieving.~~ We can do that. And the President ought to do even more than I have done to celebrate the things that work, and I intend to do it and to do more of it. *

Now, I believe, obviously, that my New Covenant approach is better than the Republican Contract approach to deal with the problems of middle class dreams and middle class values. But when I ran for this job I said I wanted to restore the American Dream and to bring the American people together. I have now come to the conclusion, having watched this drama unfold here and all around our country in the last two and a half years, that I cannot do the first unless we can do the latter. We can't restore the American Dream unless we can find some way to bring the American people closer together. Therefore, how we resolve these differences is as important as what specific positions we advocate.

I think we have got to move beyond the division and resentment to common ground. We've got to go beyond cynicism to a sense of possibility. America is an idea. We're not one race. We're not one ethnic group. We're not one religious group. We do share a common piece of ground here. But you read the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution -- this country is an idea. And it is still going now in our 220th year because we all had a sense of possibility. We never thought there was a mountain we couldn't climb, a river we couldn't ford, or a problem we couldn't solve.

What's that great line in the wonderful new movie, Apollo 13? "Failure is not an option." You have to believe in possibility. And if you're cynical, you can't believe in possibility.

We need to respect our differences and hear them, but it means instead of having shrill voices of discord, we need a chorus of harmony. In a chorus of harmony you know there are lots of differences, but you can hear all the voices. And that is important.

And we've got to challenge every American in every sector of our society to do their part. We have to challenge in a positive way and hold accountable people who claim to be not responsible for any consequences of their actions that they did not specifically intend -- whether it's in government, business, labor, entertainment, the media, religion, or community organizations. None of us can say we're not accountable for our actions because we did not intend those

consequences, even if we made some contribution to them.

Two day ago, on July the 4th, the people of Oklahoma City raised their flags and their spirits to full mast for the first time since the awful tragedy of April 19th. Governor Keating and Mayor Norick led a celebration in Oklahoma City, which some of you may have seen on television; a celebration of honor and thanks for thousands of Oklahomans and other Americans who showed up and stood united in the face of that awful hatred and loss for what is best in our country.

You know, Oklahoma City took a lot of the meanness out of America. It gave us a chance for more sober reflection. It gave us a chance to come to the same conclusion that Thomas Jefferson did in his first inaugural. I want to read this to you with only this bit of history -- Thomas Jefferson was elected the first time by the House of Representatives in a bitterly-contested election in the first outbreak of completely excessive partisanship in American history. In that sense it was a time not unlike this time. And this is what he said: "Let us unite with our heart and mind. Let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty and life itself are but dreary things."

We can redeem the promise of America for our children. We can certainly restore the American family for another full century if we commit to each other, as the founders did, our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor. In our hour of the greatest peril and the greatest division when we were fighting over the issue which we still have not fully resolved, Abraham Lincoln said, "We are not enemies but friends. We must not be enemies."

My friends, amidst all our differences, let us find a new, common ground.

Thank you very much.

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HEADLINE: Clinton Calls For Civility AP-Clinton

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BODY:

In a pensive address about national civility, President Clinton Thursday asked Americans to set aside their fears and prejudices and work together "in a chorus of harmony" to solve the country's ills.

"My friends, with all our differences, let us find new common ground," Clinton said at Georgetown University.

At the same time, he argued that his political agenda is better suited than Republican plans to preserve what he called "middle-class values and middle-class dreams."

He indirectly criticized Sen. Jesse Helms for suggesting the government should think about spending less money fighting AIDS. The Republican for North Carolina said the disease is brought on by "deliberate, disgusting, revolting conduct."

Clinton, arguing that politicians and the public must be more tolerant, responded, "Gay people who have AIDS are still our sons, our brothers, our cousins are citizens. They're Americans, too," he said.

"They're obeying the law and working hard," Clinton said. "They're entitled to be treated like everybody else."

But the president, avoiding some of the harsh rhetoric he often unleashes on Republicans, said he wants to meet in public with political foes, like he did last month with House Speaker Newt Gingrich. "Conversation, not combat," he promised. And he urged Americans to be less caustic in their criticism, as well.

When talking to someone with a different view, he told Americans to ask themselves: "Is it the language of respect, or a language of a suspect?"

Instead of harping on the worse in society, "We ought to find the best and celebrate it," Clinton said.

In a lengthy, rambling address to his alma mater, Clinton tried to pull together themes dating back to his 1992 campaign: Americans must take responsibility for themselves and their community; in return, government can and should help improve their lives.

Clinton has made similar points in many speeches this year, but Thursday's was the first address dedicated solely to the topic of civility.

AP Online, July 06, 1995

'We are ... an American family that is going up or down together,' the president said.

But he conceded that these are tough times for nice thoughts: economic insecurity, racial strife, rampant violence and cynical politics make hatred easier than harmony.

'Middle-class dreams and middle-class values ... are still very much at risk,' he said.

But America's problems won't go away unless Americans stick together, he said.

'Instead of having shrill voices of discourse, we need a chorus of harmony,' Clinton said. 'In a chorus of harmony you know there are a lot of difference, but you can hear all the voice.'

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: July 06, 1995

Virtual Ecosystems

By Jennifer S. Whitaker

Even though the Contract With America establishes the primacy of property values over nature, environmentalists should brighten up. If we trash the real world, there will be big bucks in environmental theme parks.

Republican deregulators are now seizing upon a truth that environmentalists have always feared — once values are denominated principally in terms of money, the biosphere doesn't stand a chance against the market. Those who face that fact, however, can get in on the ground floor with a hot new idea.

It's like futures speculation in any commodity. If we were depleting a rare metal, we could expect the price to go sky high. If we go ahead and redefine wetlands to meet the needs of the real estate industry, cost out the need for maintaining species, let logging companies minister to the survival of old growth forests and ask insurance companies to arbitrate health risks, you don't have to be George Soros to see the financial windfall that awaits those with foresight. As habitats and species disappear, we can reinvent them as entertainment. At eco-theme parks, extinct species and habitats will sell. What were once often boring stretch-

es of "nature" can be repackaged to bring out their full recreation potential. Mixed-media presentations featuring high-definition films and wrap-around dioramas with multi-track audio accompaniment will introduce the exhibits. Scientific sound bites, backed by appropriate bars of music, will prime the public to experience biodiversity to the fullest.

Themes will be as varied as the disappearing habitats. Imagine a virtual Everglades summing up in 10 acres the highlights of what was formerly a 4,000-mile swamp. Traveling via cable-conveyed canoe past mech-

special effects recreating the stands of giant spruce and hemlock of the former Tongass National Forest of southeast Alaska, featuring black-tailed deer in flight and towering grizzlies in combat. Then drive right into the Arctic wildlife section, for a panorama of windswept plain with robotic replicas of musk oxen, caribou and wolves.

The possibilities for bio-rides and eco-experiences are endless. Imagine upstream rafting runs with simulated salmon, a Disney recreation of seal family life in a Pacific coastal inlet, a Mohave Desert — all within easy access of major transportation arteries. As the real thing dwindles, the market for bio-replicas can only grow. Unlike the mushy calculations environmentalists used to make about, say, the value of clean water, here the bottom line costs and benefits are clear. Like Disney, Paramount and other entrepreneurs are likely to earn sizable yearly dividends on their investment.

Moreover, most people will get a lot more education out of the bio-world experience than they ever did out of nature in the raw. The very fact that they are paying for it will make them pay attention to what they are getting.

Then, too, with the latest packaging and marketing techniques, the theme parks will present what's important in a way that can't be missed. And, finally, nostalgia always gilds the lily: when people are no longer trying to sit through a biology lesson but instead taking a trip down memory lane, nature will certainly be a lot more fun. □

Put nature where it belongs — in a theme park.

anized coots and wading birds, passengers will be treated at regular intervals to tableaux of, say, a mother egret swooping down to feed her young. Interactive technologies will allow passengers to participate — choosing which fork to take in the stream or adjusting their headset channels for more detail on flora and fauna.

Or picture a jeep ride through one of Alaska's former wildlife preserves, where nature lovers used to travel for weeks to see what we will now be able to experience in a half an hour. Relax amid a triumph of scenic design and

Jennifer Seymour Whitaker is author of "Salvaging the Land of Plenty."

On My Mind

A. M. ROSENTHAL

In Irons to Cuba

When Soviet invasion and a civil war sent Afghans into flight for their lives, Pakistan took in millions of them.

When Saddam Hussein slaughtered the Kurds, the Turks opened their frontiers to hundreds of thousands of refugees, despite the internal risks it created for Turkey.

And when Communism ruled the Soviet Union, for decades the U.S. was lantern and haven for Jews, Pentacostalists and dissidents.

But now America, with so much help to offer, quakes at the thought of refugees — neighbors who prefer the risk of drowning at sea to living longer in the prison made of their country by the only remaining Communist dictator this side of China.

Now, an American Administration says what a fine victory it is to make a secretly negotiated agreement with Fidel Castro to share the job of preventing Cubans from fleeing their country. Americans with small memories and hearts to match nod their plump heads.

Now, U.S. ships will pick up Cubans who manage to escape Castro's police patrols and coast guard, give them quarterdeck "hearings" and return them to Cuba, in irons if needed. There, American officials will tell them to drop around to the office in Havana and apply for a visa under the eyes of Castro police. Nice?

This policy is recognition and anointment of Castro as the warden of the Cuban national jail — in partnership now with the land of the free 90 miles across the water. It also happens to violate the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

They call it victory.

The decision was accompanied by another — a good one allowing Cubans incarcerated on Guantánamo to enter America. But Washington did not need Castro's permission to do it — or to hold out hints of reward if he permitted us to be his co-warden.

Washington's excuse was that otherwise the flow of refugees would continue. True, but has this country absolutely no breathing space left for people strong, brave and desperate enough to launch themselves into the sea to escape Castro?

There is, incidentally, a cheap, trendy anti-immigrant passion being stirred up in this country. Among its promoters, the most impudent is a small clutch of British writers and editors. As soon as they stroll off the Concorde and collect their green cards, they demand that American doors be closed — except for those of compatible origin and color.

If we want to stop the flow of Cuban refugees, the only decent and effective way is to squeeze Fidel Castro to make his plantation somewhat less filthy to live in. Such as: tightening the embargo by boycotting foreign companies doing business with Cuba. If we have not courage to so use our economic power, Cubans will continue to flee the prison whose bars we have reinforced.

The decision to return escaping Cubans is one more broken Clintonian human rights promise. Attorney General Janet Reno had said we would never do such a foul thing. When will they grasp that broken promises destroy domestic and foreign confidence in a President, and soil his name into history? Ever?

The Administration got a contemptuous zero from Castro for breaking its promises — not even the release of some political prisoners, not the grant of a single civil liberty.

The world will understand that the U.S. cared about refugees from Communism when it was in the interests of the struggle against Soviet Communism. Now that the struggle has been successful, an American President turns his back on those who try to escape from what remains of the very evil empire, China and Cuba.

Sometimes, when I am being particularly insensitive or obtuse, my wife hands me an article or book she thinks may be corrective.

Cannot somebody, maybe his wife or daughter if they care, give the President a certain fat blue book, with markers between pages 365 and 375? They deal with the torture, murder, degradation and suppression of all liberties in Cuba. The book is the latest human rights report turned out not by sentimentalists or romantics but by cool, skilled professionals of his own Department of State.

The President will read. Then he will understand what kind of place it is that he forbids human beings to escape without permission of their tormentor, and how degrading of America to do this thing. Won't he? □

Abroad at Home

ANTHONY LEWIS

Words Matter

BOSTON

When the courts held that American Nazis had a constitutional right to march through the streets of Skokie, Illinois, freedom of speech was the more secure for all of us. But it did not follow that we should be indifferent to the hateful message of the Nazis. To the contrary.

The First Amendment gives us responsibility along with freedom: the responsibility to answer propagators of hate. As Justice Brandeis put it, arguing against the suppression of bad speech, "The fitting remedy for evil counsels is good ones."

The Oklahoma City bombing has made us think again about hateful speech and how to deal with it. The country has learned a good deal about the paranoid ravings of "militia" groups and such radio spokesmen as Mark Koernke of Michigan. ("Death to the new world order!") G. Gordon Liddy has defended as perfectly reasonable his radio advice on how to kill Federal agents if they come at you. ("Shoot twice to the body, center of mass.")

Few other societies, even the most democratic, would permit such murderous talk. We do, and we should not change, but we ought to worry about it.

The more interesting question is the responsibility not of the crazies but of major leaders of opinion for the consequences of their angry words. Newt Gingrich and Rush Limbaugh bristled at the suggestion that their rhetoric had something to do with Oklahoma City, and of course it did not in any direct sense. But what about the climate that their words helped to create?

Over many years now right-wing politicians have demonized their opponents as un-American, treasonous, peculiar. The tactic was invented by Richard Nixon and Joseph McCarthy. An example of its recent use was Mr. Gingrich's statement just before the election last fall that Democrats are "the enemy of normal Americans."

Anyone who thinks such words have had no effect is ignorant of political history. Even more significant lately has been the demonization of the Federal Government. The drumbeat of right-wing rhetoric in the last few years has been Washington as the enemy, the inhuman monster. Has that no connection with the rise of groups that claim Federal agents are about to descend on them in black helicopters? (A new member of the House, Helen Chenoweth of Idaho, has actually parroted those lunatic claims.)

Or think about the anti-abortion fanatics. They preach that every abortion is murder. Yet when some enthusiast for that view actually executes a doctor as a murderer, the preachers disavow responsibility.

Abortion is not some trivial issue. Attacks on clinics and doctors are a dangerous phenomenon in this country — and in no other. The Christian Coalition and other extreme opponents of abortion have such a stranglehold on the Republican Party that Senator Bob Dole feels he has to please them by keeping the nomination of Dr. Henry Foster as Surgeon General off the floor of the Senate.

Pat Robertson, leader of the Christian Coalition, is very likely the country's most effective demagogue. He tells his followers that a satanic conspiracy started centuries ago by Eu-

America cannot be indifferent to hateful speech.

ropean bankers (with Jewish names) was behind Lincoln's assassination and is now trying to crush Americans under a "new world order." Do those words have no consequences?

Rush Limbaugh thinks it is cute to refer to people with whose views he disagrees as "feminazis." In a climate of calculated hate for The Other, how can we expect to have the civil discourse that is the mechanism of Madisonian democracy?

In France, Jean-Marie Le Pen is a figure of the extreme right: the political opponent of conservatives. In the United States today, many who call themselves conservatives are indistinguishable from Le Pen.

The underlying premise of so much right-wing rhetoric here, as of Le Pen in France, is that America has been undermined, subverted, ruined. And people believe it. When Richard L. Berke of The New York Times talked to voters last fall, many said things were terrible here; some said they couldn't stand it and were going to emigrate. What country were they talking about?

We cherish freedom of speech. But we can defend that freedom and still hold accountable leaders who play on fear and hatred. Words matter. □

-- 6/5/95 to President and you from Marianne Williamson, offering to the President her suggestions and assistance for the conference on citizenship, which she understands is being planned. She suggests use of the Internet, which is being accessed more and more, for the President to let people know what he needs them to do. Money isn't needed, so much as high creativity and new thinking about political power. The technology of the information revolution must be used to communicate 1) the ideas of Bill Clinton, and 2) the good that's already happening throughout America. Millions of Americans would love to help repair this country if they knew what they could do to make a difference.

✓
C-C See
NRN; POTUS should respond

Send me cc ASAP
+ send cc to Melanne ✓
+ Maggie

per HRC

2
June 5, 1995

Dear President and Mrs. Clinton,

Greetings to both of you.

I read in the paper the other day, President Clinton, that you're planning a Conference on citizenship, or something of that sort. As someone who has had extensive experience over the last eight years in charitable founding, organizing, directing and fundraising, I'm writing with what I hope might be some helpful thoughts.

In my work, I have had firsthand experience of how much *giving service* puts light back in people eyes, as opposed to their just *being served*. Someone at some point is going to have to just come out and say to the American people, that if we are serious about restoring the good life to America, all of us are going to have to think as seriously about what our *contribution* is to this country, as we now spend thinking about our rights. As you have made clear, we must take seriously our response-ability to the current trend in the direction of social decline. Contribution brings happiness, because, in things of the spirit, we only get to keep what we give away. Contribution to society is always contribution to ourselves, therefore. I think the line "Virtue is its own reward," means that virtue gives an experience of joy that lack of virtue deprives us of. If we really want to feel good, we must give to the country, not just think about what we can get from it. That, to me, is what true citizenship is about. "Think not what your country can do for you...etc." is a very relevant injunction today. The word politics comes from the ancient Greek "of the citizen" and not "of the government". No point re-inventing the government if we're not willing, on some level, to re-invent ourselves.

The press has been giving a lot of attention recently to the couple who gave away all their money and founded Habitat for Humanity.

I'm not suggesting that we exhort Americans to give away all our money—although a shift in consciousness away from *money as bottom line*, to *doing -what's -right -for -the -children as bottom line*, is a shift in consciousness without which the nation cannot heal. This shift, by the way, won't decrease our earning power; it will increase it. People aren't so much unhappy when we don't have money, as we're unproductive when we're unhappy. American business figured this out, which is a big part of why we're winners again. Why should politics lag behind here?

It's not a fringe notion, that we need to help each other; what could be a more conservative, traditional value? All this talk of family values is fine --- but isn't the nation a family?

Bill Bennett and others would have us think that the Republicans have a corner on concern for the moral repair of America. This is potentially dangerous for Democrats. The horrible irony, of course, is that the Republicans don't walk their own talk. On the other hand, it seems to me, Democrats need to learn how to ~~to~~ talk their walk.

The subject of the "new citizen" seems to me like a marvelous opportunity to one-up the Republicans in three important ways:

1) The Conference can be used to articulate an important philosophical framework for Democratic domestic goals. If you truly feel that the National Service program is your greatest achievement as President so far, than can't you enjoin all Americans to join the consciousness of National Service, the state of mind whereby every person realizes how important it is that we all do what we can to try to improve things?

Part of the value of this also, I believe, is that it helps to counter the obscene yet somewhat successful stigmatization of the Democratic Party as a group of people who think big government programs are the answer to all our problems. Those bastards. Give 'em hell, Mr. President.

2) The Conference can be used to launch an Internet web in response to the need and desire for greater citizen involvement, that makes Alvin Toffler look all but agrarian. The important point here is that renewed citizenship involves a higher level of thinking, but also a higher level of community participation. "The President has said that he believes the computer revolution should be used to connect us to each other. This is one of the ways that the Administration will programatically back up the President's convictions." I wish everyone working for the Clinton administration could memorize that last sentence to the point where they would say it in their sleep. The country needs to be *reminded* of the President's good ideas. We need to be shown, literally and consistently, how the administration backs up your ideas with action.

3) Through both of the above, the Conference can genuinely inspire.

As someone who founded charities on both coasts, which then spread to different cities also, I can tell you that I received at least as many thanks from volunteers as from people receiving services. *People are desperate for something to be part of. If we define our national problems as opportunistic infections that prey upon a compromised societal immune system, then our biggest problem, actually, is citizen anemia.*

For the most part, America already has enough charities. The overlap of organizations which basically do the same work and strive for the same fundraising dollars, is almost obscene. What is necessary is more networking among them, so they *know* what each other is doing, which could be accomplished on Internet by some young computer nerds in a very short time. It would take little money, I'm

telling you.

By the time your re-election campaign is in full gear, tremendous numbers of people will be accessing the Internet. I know that the White House is already on E-mail, but the whole government web scene could be so fabulously high-tech, so compelling and even entertaining, that one of the things people did on a regular basis while cruising the web would be to check in on all the wonderful things that President Clinton is asking you to do for America today --- what community service projects exist in your town, what they need, who to call, etc. As I have said to you before, there is a powerful energy which you still do not take full advantage of: the surge of interest which occurs within a person, any person, when they are asked by the President to do something. This is primal stuff here, Mr. President, having very little to do with you personally. I heard you say on television once that it had been your dream to help Arkansas join the rest of the country in productivity and abundance. That made sense, for Arkansas. But the psychology of the nation as a whole is quite different: we don't need your help as much as we need your inspiration to help ourselves. If you strongly asserted yourself in this way, saying to the country, "This is what I need you to do" as much as you now say "This is what I will do for you" or "This is what I have done for you," something will come alive. If all people have to do is turn on their computers to follow-up, or call an 800-number for further directions, you're going to have a whole new wave of power behind you.

When I asked Maggie why the Republicans are so ahead of Democrats in the area of computerization, her first answer was money. But the most revolutionary aspect of the web is how much it *doesn't* cost. Money isn't needed for this, so much as some high creativity and new thinking about political power.

I read an article about how Michael Ovitz had wanted to make commercials helping you sell the Health Care plan, but that his offers had fallen through the cracks. I don't know if the story is true or not, but if he would be available to help with this --- YES to that kind of energy. Michael Ovitz-type creativity + high-tech computer utilization, would help create a new theatricality, in a positive sense, for the Democrats. Whether we like it or not, the medium has become the message. This will be absolutely essential in the '96 election, as political theatricality has become more and more important. The Republicans have become very good at production values, and we must not let them outdo us.

I don't know who you expect to be the Republican nominee, but if there's any chance of Gingrich playing a serious role of any kind in the Presidential campaign, he'll use the information revolution to the max. If he were to start having serious conversations with someone like Arnold Swarzenegger on how to make some kind of magic happen on-line for the Republicans, it will be bad for Democrats or anyone else who can't match it. Although the Republicans represent regressive politics for the most part, their methods have become, at least in appearance, more modern than ours. I also remind you that technology is developing so fast, that by the time of the election, people's TV screens, computer monitors, etc. will be much bigger and more complex than they are now. Whatever political party is ready for that onslaught, will be way ahead come election time.

That's just the hardware. Now for the software. I feel that it needs to have two main elements:

- 1)The ideas of Bill Clinton, and
- 2)The good that's already happening throughout America.

1) Bill Clinton's ideas——

Someone needs **merely** to comb the President's speeches. As I've written to you before, **you're** not a President without a vision, but merely a President **with** an administration that fails to articulate your vision nearly enough, much less brag about you. I realize things are getting better, but **please** don't let your foot up on this pedal. You still need to be publicly **hailed** more by your own team. Anyone who works for you who doubts you, is like poison. You need more public support, you deserve more **public** support.

2) All the good that's already happening throughout America.

I feel our greatest **natural** resource is still the basic decency and generosity of the **American** people. It's very true that there are many enthusiastic insane **people** in this country today, but still, that's not our biggest problem. **The real** problem is that we lack passion for our virtue. We must be more enthusiastic about basic goodness. As Edmund Burke once said, "The only thing necessary for evil to triumph is for enough good people to do nothing." Inspire us to **DO** something.

An example: a few months ago there were a lot of articles in the paper about how the **public** schools in America don't even come up to minimum safety **standards**, yet the minimum cost to fix them is more than the Dept. of Education even *has* (and if Gingrich has his way. . .) Well, for instance, if **people** in Denver knew that P.S. 65 needed the asbestos taken off the **ceiling**, let's say, then I honestly believe that there are companies which **do** that work in Denver, who would volunteer all kinds of assistance (**including** the technicians on weekends, etc.) if they knew about the **problem**, and there was a structure for accomplishing the **goal**.

Cities would **practically** compete for being the fastest to repair themselves. Schools **would** be involved, as well as businesses and

other individuals. The whole thing could become a fabulous web of citizen involvement, competitive in a good way, and also fun. It would be, itself, a restoration of community.

This is not just theory. I have seen it work miracles, in L.A., N.Y.C. and elsewhere. Americans are basically good people, and as you-know-who once said, "There's nothing wrong with America that can't be fixed by what's right with America."

So the Conference could unveil the Internet web domain that lets people everywhere in America know what's going on in the efforts to repair our society, efforts in which they can participate on a daily basis, from Billings to Milwaukee to Ft. Worth to Alaska. I heard an ad on radio for something called the SeniorCorps, which uses an 800-number to recruit Seniors for meaningful volunteer work. President and Mrs. Clinton, nothing government can give to people can substitute for the satisfaction that only a meaningful life can give, and nothing gives true meaning like ^{serving} ~~being asked to serve~~ others. These organizations and projects already exist; as I said at Camp David, if you will just set up a context, an umbrella, so that people can see how much good work is happening in America every day that is making a difference, it would 1) speed up the national healing process because of the power of group focus, and 2) give a lot of credit to you.

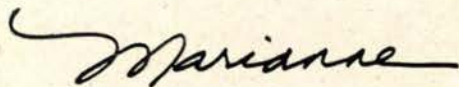
National Service is a state of mind. If Gingrich is successful with his wrecking ball aimed at AmeriCorp, fine, we can just pass him up. He takes away your 20,000 --- we'll answer by recruiting 20 million. I believe there is a stunning political resource which no one is yet tapping: all the millions of Americans who would love to help repair this country if they knew what they could do to make a difference. I believe that if you tell them, and ask them in a specific way, they'll respond. The Conference, I hope, is an opportunity to tap into this. The momentum of the time is with you.

Can the Conference be hooked up to Internet? Can you invite all

the computer magazines and technologies people to join with you in creating the ServeAmerica computer web? I know that there are people out there in that world who would love to serve you. If your Citizenry Conference is "old school," it won't have the punch it could have, it won't seem modern enough. But if it's totally computer-informed, then wow.

All my best. I watch with great interest and constant prayers for both of you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Marianne". The signature is written in dark ink on a light-colored, slightly textured paper. The letters are fluid and connected, with a long, sweeping underline that extends to the right.

To: Melanne Verveer and Hillary Clinton

From: Lucy Hackney

Re: Misc.

June 28, 1995

Rose was so thrilled to have Hillary at her reading yesterday. And, of course, spending the night at the White House was beyond all expectations. It is a wonderful Vineyard book full of evocative sounds and sights of our beloved island.

On another note:

Sheldon has been talking about the splendid conference you all are doing around "civic renewal, civic reengagement, etc." I was talking with Martha Chowning today about CDF's conference in Charlotte next February. We are regrouping and doing it very differently this year. I had called Martha Chowning to get some help for us in putting together more interactive conversations at the CDF conference about family and community values and reengagement in both. As we were talking, we both thought that having some folks at the conference you all are having, that are thinking about these issues from a children's focus would be wonderful. Rae Grad, the former director of the National Commission to Prevent Infant Mortality is one of those who has been doing a lot of thinking along these lines. She is now working in California at a community level, mostly in the educational arena but with a very holistic approach toward reengagement at the civic and family level. She has also put together an interesting group that has had a series of conversations with folks at the NEA, NEH, and the President's Commission on the Arts and Humanities of how to think about children within a broad context that includes the arts and humanities. Of course, Marian would be wonderful, not only because of her own interest, but because the CDF conference in February may be another vehicle to take some of the ideas that come out of your conference to the CDF conference as we work to structure interactive panels and conversations on these issues that have a child, family, and community focus. If she cannot attend, Alan Heaps, her chief of staff would be a wonderful substitute.

On another note, I hear that there are plans afoot to set up a big task force on adolescent pregnancy that will be very visible. I am sure that you all are debating internally about the pros and cons of doing this right now. I hope so because I think the cons may outweigh the pros given the political climate, the array of actors with very different approaches that will want to get involved and control the agenda, etc. Whether setting it up is for political purposes and/or for substantive purposes, it could be a handful.

How is that for unsolicited advice?

P.S. I have not discussed any of this with Marian. These are my thoughts.

WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 1, 1995

REMARKS OF THE FIRST LADY
GREATER DETROIT CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
MACKINAC ISLAND, MI

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you.

Thank you very much, Congressman Dingell for your introduction, for your leadership and service and for your friendship.

I'm delighted to be here with all of you, and particularly pleased to have this occasion and to share it with Mayor Archer, and Ed McNamara, and Beth McDermott and all who have already been acknowledged.

And I also want to say a special word thanks to Dan Musser and the Grand Hotel staff. It is such a pleasure to be here again, and I am very grateful for the high standards that you (Applause.) (inaudible.).

I must confess, though, that it is a little awkward that this occasion occurs on this evening. Many of you may know that I grew up in the Chicago area. (Laughter.) I know. I am a rabid Chicago sports fan. (Laughter.) I mean, I just want to lay it all out there. (Laughter.) And I think it a little bit of cruel and unusual punishment for any of us hockey fans to be at a dinner, (Laughter.) listening to anyone give a speech. (Laughter.) I knew there'd be applause somewhere about that. So I hope that for those of you who are suffering through this and wondering what's happening on the ice, that somebody is taping it for you.

I really appreciate what you are doing here with this conference and the tradition that it represents. I think it is an exciting time for our country, and particularly for this region of our country and especially for Detroit and southeastern Michigan.

You have faced a lot of obstacles in the last decade. You have overcome many of them, and it is now time, as you well know, because of the subject matter of this conference, to be engaged in a broad and important discussion about the size and scope and role of government about the social responsibility and commitment of business, but more fundamentally, about what kind of country we are and what it means to be an American on the cusp of the twenty-first century.

We all know that there are unprecedented opportunities unfolding throughout our country and around the world. We are all grateful for the end of the Cold War and the replacement of totalitarianism with democracy after democracy, in places we really didn't expect to see that flower.

We see people all over the globe seeking to emulate our country, our democracy, our economy, and yet it is clear that despite the model and beacon we are to so much of the rest of the world, that we have many questions here at home, about who we are, where we're going, what kind of futures we're building for ourselves and our children.

We also have seen very vividly in the last weeks forces at work here and abroad undermining those values, the values that we hold dear; values of civility and community, of sacrifice and service, of peace. We see antipathy too often replacing empathy. Shouting replacing listening.

And now, as we saw to our collective horror, home-grown terrorism exploding in America's heartland. I don't need to tell leaders of this business community that too many Americans feel their lives are out of sync. American families have always been the anchor of our economy and the backbone of our country.

Yet as families try to cope in today's world, they are confronted by pressures, and burdens, and uncertainties that really didn't even exist in many respects a few years ago. From the fears that come with the necessary downsizing to be competitive, to the reality of stagnant wages, more and more Americans are stressed out.

There is a sense that nothing is really permanent in our society anymore, not families, not neighborhoods, not jobs, not even our values. And so instead of the working class or the middle class, we have now in our country what is being referred to as the anxious class. And I'm talking about hard-working, responsible men and women, who because of shifting employment trends have been forced to change jobs, maybe to take on an additional job. Many people who drive too far to work and get home too late. People who worry about whether they can afford to take care of their aging parents while sending their children to college. People who are struggling to keep their businesses and their dreams alive.

One of the great challenges we face, today, is how to address the stress and anxiety that is weakening the American family, how to undue the forces that erode institutions that strengthen and preserve families.

We have unfortunately engaged in what I would call a false debate for too long about what is afflicting our families and what we

need to do to try to help. That false debate has posited on the one hand the idea, that all that is wrong with the American family is the changing economy, the global economic pressures, the kinds of stresses that are too frequently played out in the work-place, and that is we only could get our economic house in order, everything else would work out. On the other hand, we have those who say it is not the economy stupid, it is family values, and what we need to do is reinforce the values that we espouse and that many of us feel we grew up with. And if we can just get back to those values, then everything will work out. I do not believe it is an either/or choice. It is both/and. And if we do not begin to reorganize that, we will continue to breed cynicism. We will continue to see people giving up, and failing to take advantage of the opportunities that are offered. We do not have a person to waste in America.

The best social program is a job. The best social policy is a robust economy. But one does not live by jobs and the economy alone. There is also a spiritual dimension to life. There is a sense of connection to life.

And what we should be about the business of trying to do in all of our individual capacities, is both to make sure people have the opportunity to make a decent wage, to have incomes that will support themselves, and at the same time to try and reinforce values that support and strengthen families. That is what we have tried to in the last couple of years. It is a very big task. It is not a task that can be accomplished by any particular sector of our society acting alone. It is not a partisan task. It is an American challenge.

And it is important that we recognize that particularly when it comes to our children, children are the product of the values of both their families and of their society. We cannot draw a line between the two and expect to nurture our children in the ways that all of us would like to see occur.

If one asks, as I have for a number of years, business leaders across our country, I don't think the answers I heard elsewhere are any different from what you would tell me, about what you need to compete in the new global economy. You need an educated, healthy, productive, work force.

Earlier today I gave a commencement address at Brooklyn College. It is one of our great public colleges. It has been a gateway for Americans of all backgrounds to make a living for themselves, to rise to positions of power and influence. It has really been the door of opportunity through which men and women and minorities and immigrants and refugees walked.

And I said there and I would say again to this audience, part of the way we have secured the American dream for generations of

Americans, is to make sure that education was readily available to all who were willing to except the responsibility that comes with the offering of the opportunity.

I do find it worrisome, if one focuses on the both and that if you believe as I do, that now more than ever we need an educated work-force, an educated work force that understands and can cooperate with the new concepts that many of you in this room are implementing in your businesses.

That this very point in time, when so many American workers are finally understanding their responsibility to improve their own education and training skills, that we are threatened with the possibility of reversing a historic commitment American have made to providing educational opportunity at all levels of the life-cycle.

I'm very concerned that any retreat in investing in education, is not just going to affect our educational institutions, but it will have the ripple effect that will begin to further undermine the opportunities available for many people in the new economy, and thereby increasing the anxiety of so many Americans who now already feel left out and forgotten.

This retreat on investing in our people has to be recognized as the challenge that I think it is, to making sure that we provide the grounding that people need in order to provide the best incomes and lives for their own families.

What you have done in Detroit and southeastern Michigan, by taking up the challenge of the empowerment zone, is an example of you recognition, that we need new ways of dealing with training our people, educating our people and employing our people. It's a very exciting opportunity that you've seized. You would not have received that grant if you had not had the vision to recognize what it could mean. But I hope. (Applause.)

But I hope as you begin to implement that vision, you recognize how much more is at stake, not only throughout your state, but throughout our country, as we attempt to provide a different approach to economic opportunity.

At the same time, we do have to recognize, that there is a values issue, that people have struggled with, that I have tried over the years, to try to bring to some marriage with the economy, as my husband has tried repeatedly to talk about.

And I think it's important that we recognize the need for reinforcing the kind of ideals and values that many of us took for granted in growing up. But again, in order to reinvigorate the quality of our life. We have to treat one another as valued human beings, worthy of respect. (Applause.)

One of the trends that I find very troubling is the increasing inequality that exists, not only between income groups that has been exacerbated over the last several years, but the attitudes that go along with that income inequality. In Michigan, as in the rest of the country, 30 percent of our young people eventually complete a four-year college education. We do not pay enough attention, nor give enough respect to the 70 percent who don't. (Applause.) We send a message to them that somehow that are not worthy, they are not up to the task of competing and winning in the global economy. We send a message to the children of people who themselves have not had the education or the opportunity to be as productive as they need to be today, that probably they too will not make it. We do a lot of things that sends a message through our media particularly, that all really counts in America is how much money you have, how many toys you own before you die, and, that consumerism and materialism is really the way we will judge ourselves and one another. A political scientist has called the climate in which we are struggling to create these new ways of thinking, "Turbo-charged capitalism." And by that, he means that we too often have pushed forward on the economic front with very little regard to what we have done to the families of people who work, to the dreams of people who work, to the connections among people that build teams and communities and societies. So as we think through, and as you go forward in this conference dealing with all of the problems and challenges confronting business in Detroit and business throughout America, let's begin to think in a both/and way. Let's begin to say to ourselves, "What is it that will build a strong company, and a strong economy for the long run?" "How do I make sure I always have a market, with consumers able to buy my services or products, and not through my policies and practices, undermine the kind of ability that people must have to be able to have control over their lives, to be able to make the decisions that are best for them and their families and to make better livings, which in turn has an economic impact?"

Now, this is not a question that is only for business. It is not a question that is only for government. Nor one that can be left to individuals or families alone. That is another one of those false dichotomies that we are suffering with. We take a look at a certain institution in our society, and we refuse to recognize how interrelated we all are.

That's another one of the challenges I think we have to meet. Because ultimately, what we need are partnerships, building teams, building communities. We have to "reinvent," to use the President's term, the way American society operates today, and I think that it is an exciting time to be taking on the challenges you are. And it is not only important to us in this country, it is vitally important both to the rest of the world, and to our continued leadership role.

Some of you know that I had a wonderful opportunity, a few weeks ago, to travel to South Asia with my daughter. And in those five countries, which we visited, we saw people struggling to build democracies and sustain them, and to create market economies, where just a few years ago, they were in the thrall of controlled state economies, often without any real clear sense of what it meant to be productive in the global economy.

But I must say, it is very humbling, to shake the hands and look into the eyes of men and women who have paid the ultimate price for their belief in democracy. Leaders who have lost mothers and fathers, and brothers and sons to political assassination, who themselves have been exiled and tortured and imprisoned. And to know that they have been willing through incredible circumstances, unknown in our country to us, to continue to persevere because they believe, maybe more than some of us do today, in the promise that this country has always stood for.

And I must say, when I returned home, I was troubled and a little bewildered to find as I had seen before, so many people in our country who are not committed to democracy and a better future in the same way that I saw abroad. Who are, in simple terms, in a bad mood all the time about America. Who don't really have any sense of the possibility and the promise and the blessings that we have here. And I thought to myself, in part, that is because we have been categorizing and simplifying, and in many respects, undermining our capacity to believe, our capacity to believe in ourselves and in our country. (Applause.)

So as we go forward, as we go forward in the public debates of the next months, I hope that we will do so, not as Republicans, or Democrats, or Independents, but as Americans.

And I hope we will look at every proposal, every idea that is made, and look at it critically by asking ourselves, "Will this increase our security, our confidence, our belief in ourselves? Will this truly extend opportunity and truly require responsibility from our fellow citizens? Is this an investment that will pay off if we stay the course and make sure it is implemented correctly?"

If we ask those kinds of questions, and if we begin to respect one another, particularly those who feel left out from all of the wonderful changes that have occurred that people in this room have figured out how to take advantage of.

And if we keep our eye on the most important issue, and that is our children, what we owe them, what we will provide for them, then I think that this debate about the role of government, the responsibility of business, the values of family, all of that will be good for our country. Because out of it, will come some new resolve that this country, indeed, is able to provide for its

citizens the kind of society that all of us will feel proud of being part of, as we do move into the twenty-first century.

Thank you all very much. (Applause.)

MODERATOR: Thank you very much, Mrs. Clinton. That was, absolutely...I don't know how anybody in the room could not sign up immediately.

As I mentioned, we're going to take some questions. And I'd like to read the questions, and then have you respond. We've received...I think the stack of questions was probably about an inch thick. So thank you all for your active participation in this case, but we had to narrow them down to just a few.

First question, what advice would you give to a woman, in the earlier phases of her career, who is trying to balance a commitment to her profession, with her role as wife and mother, or can you really have it all, and if you can, do you really want it? (Laughter.)

MRS. CLINTON: That's not only a good question, it's a question that at least every woman, and probably the majority of men, in this room have asked in some form or another.

Well, the first advice that I would give to anyone is the advice I give myself, and my friends and I give each other. And that is, you have to listen to your own heart. And you have to make the choices that are right for you. And you cannot permit yourself to be pressured in one direction or another, but to stick to what you believe is best for your life. That is what I think the glorious opportunity of being a woman in the late twentieth century of America gives us. (Applause.)

You know, I have to say with all respect to people who say this to me, occasionally when someone says, "You're a role model," I get a little bit nervous, because my life is different from every other woman's life. I have different experiences. I have different expectations.

And what I have always tried to struggle for, on behalf of myself and women, is the opportunity to have a life that, rather than using the balancing metaphor, which bothers me a little, because I always feel, when I picture it, that something is going to drop, and I don't like that, I prefer a metaphor that Mary Catherine Bateson has used, called, "composing a life," in which you draw from your many different experiences and opportunities. And we each use different notes in order to compose what it is we want our life to be.

Now, Beth and I were talking earlier, because the other, wonderful thing about being a woman in this time in history, is

that we have, thanks to public health and health care advances, as women, gained about thirty years of life since the beginning of this century. Those are thirty wonderful years that can be used in different ways. And the composition of one's life can take, sort of, different movements, if you will.

For some women, it works best for them to have their families early, to attempt either to be a full-time mother and homemaker, or a part-time mother and a part-time worker, and then, at the age of forty or so, when your children are gone, to realize that you may have additional opportunities.

For other women, whom I know, they've spent their twenties and their thirties working very hard in a career, and late came to the idea and the possibility of a family. And for other women, they make the choice not to have families.

Each of those choices deserves respect. And I think that if we can reconsider what women have to offer to the workplace at different stages of their lives, then, I believe, it would be very helpful for employers to be more attentive and receptive to older women who want to enter the work-force in their forties and even fifties, (Applause.) because there are many women who bring a lifetime of experience that would be very beneficial, but I know, and you know, that there is a sense, in which, if you haven't gotten on the track early, then the train has left the station. I think that is a very short-sighted view of human potential.

So my hope is that each woman will make the decisions that are right for her, and that society and particularly, the business world will begin to recognize that each of those choices deserves respect, and that we should look at each individual and try to determine how that individual can make a contribution.

(inaudible) had huge impact on some major decisions that I've made over the last five years, so I couldn't agree with you more.

Next question, what do you find most, and also least satisfying in your position in the last two plus years?

How long do you have? (Laughter.) Let me count the ways. Well, it has been such a remarkable and very positive experience both for me personally and for our family. There is so much about this opportunity that I never even could have understood prior to my husband being elected and actually moving into the White House. There's no way, I don't care how experienced someone might think he or she is to realize the full impact.

And probably the most satisfying parts of it are the feelings that you do have a chance to make a contribution, that you have the opportunity to try as best as you know how to work with

people and at least state clearly what you believe, and try to help shape the direction of our country.

There are smaller pleasures that I get a great deal of joy out of. I love meeting people. I love listening to the stories that people tell about their own struggles and their own hopes. I love traveling around the country. I'm going tomorrow to the Upper Peninsula, a place that I haven't spent time in. I'm very excited about that.

It's also kind of nice to have your husband work, as it were, above the store. (Laughter.) He's actually home for dinner a lot more than he was in our previous life together, so there are many things about the circumstances and the opportunities that are just wonderful.

I don't think it would be any surprise to anyone if I were to say that among the things one is not prepared for, certainly, is the loss of privacy, the feeling that what made you a person, however that developed over time, is in danger of being taken away from you because you are so insulated from what you enjoy in your life, the give-and-take with people, walking down a street. I say this, and my women friends just look askance, walking up and down a supermarket aisle. I mean, there are lots of things that I took for granted in my previous life that I very much miss.

I'm also very upset, personally, and I think, as a citizen, about the quality of political coverage and political debate, particularly, in the last few years. (Applause.)

Congressman Dingell said that, you know, there is much about these times, in which we live, that are very, very difficult. It is, I do not believe, healthy for a democracy to breed so much cynicism, to permit so much of the vitriolic attacks that are part of our political scene now.

I, personally have, after being both astonished and amazed, and bewildered and outraged about the things that were said and the kind of climate that was created about my husband and me, I, sort of, moved through that. I can't say that it doesn't still bother me, but I, kind of, figured out that that's part of what's going on right now. It's done for commercial reasons. It's done for political reasons. But I just have to say, and I would say it if I were not one of the people who is an often used target, it is very, very dangerous for democracy, to constantly be engaging in the kinds of attacks of public officials that lead citizens to believe everybody who serves is some kind of a knave or a crook. They act in bad faith. (Applause.) They don't care about people. (Applause.)

So I hope that we will, in some way, come to grips with this, and speak out against it, ignore it, work through it, get beyond it.

And you know, my feeling, personally, is that it will be good for the country if we get back on having a debate about whose idea about the economy or education is better. That's what I think we ought to be talking about. (Applause.)

MODERATOR: I think we'll do two more questions, if that's okay. This one's interesting. What is the one question that no one has ever asked you, but you are anxious to answer? (Laughter.) If that's too awful, we'll move on to the next question. (Laughter.)

MRS. CLINTON: Oh, I don't know, probably what is my favorite hairstyle? (Applause.) People talk all the time about it, but they never ask me. (Laughter.) My answer is, the one I'm currently wearing, whatever that one is. (Applause.)

MODERATOR: Okay, last question, if you could start over again, in your efforts to reform health care, what would you do differently? (Laughter.) And would you propose the same solution again? (Laughter.)

MRS. CLINTON: I have to say that, knowing what I know now, I certainly would take a different attitude about it, perhaps, starting with saying to my husband, "Are you crazy?" (Laughter.) But, I think that, actually, it would have been difficult not to have tried to pursue health care reform, because, as we now all know from watching the difficult decisions that are attempting to be made about the budget, it is not possible to deal with the federal budget without dealing with health care reform, in a responsible manner, over the long-run.

Now, it is, I suppose, one could argue, do-able, if enough votes are behind it, to dramatically cut Medicare and to dramatically cut Medicaid, but everyone person in this room should be extremely worried about doing that in the absence of some more systematic health care reform, because it will not take long, before, with those kinds of cuts, services that we have taken for granted, will not be available. But more to the point, the hard fought efforts of many of the businesses in this room to control costs will be under severe pressure because there will be massive cost-shifting to make some efforts to keep up with the existing financial imperatives of the underlying health-care system.

So I think my husband was absolutely right to take on the two big issues at the same time when he first got to Washington, with his budget plan which has had a very positive effect on the economy, which has reduced spending, which has done a lot for businesses generally and for government responsibility particularly, and to recognize that even though that was an important part of what he wanted to get done, something had to happen with health care.

Now the problem that...the many problems that we faced were tied

up both with the effort to deal with the budget, because that itself was so huge and contentious that it was very difficult given the attention paid to the budget in '93 and to the needs for some kind of responsible approach to health care to do both of them at the same time, and I think that was one thing that we had not fully understood perhaps as much as we should have.

I certainly appreciate greatly the extraordinary help many of the businesses in this room gave us during that effort, with advice and support and positive and criticism, but it was difficult, because once the budget was passed, then we immediately had to move in, because of the imperative the legislative calendar, to the NAFTA debate. One remembers how contentious and difficult that was.

So all of '93 was dominated legislatively by the budget and by NAFTA, so by the time we got to 1994 there was a lot of pent-up concern, a lot of anxiety about what all this health care proposal would mean, and there was a very well-organized campaign against the kind of plan that the President chose to present. And so it meant that it was very difficult to be able to get the debate on an even keel so that good decisions would be made.

The other thing that I just totally missed, and I have to say that based on my own experience in the past on boards of large corporations and as an attorney, I always believed that in a negotiating process your first offer was your first offer. The plan we put forward was turned into an ultimatum, and we never got a chance in the legislative process to figure out how to move toward, because it was quickly characterized as, you know, the end of the world, and much advertising was done about it, and the sky was falling and all of that. And so part of it was that the dynamics of it were never what I thought they would be within the context of a legislative debate.

Having said that, I think we made a lot of progress in raising a lot of important issues, and I think that those issues are being, to some extent, worked out in the marketplace, by the millions and millions of individual decisions that are made. I still believe that there will come a time when the country itself will have to address, in a comprehensive way, how it wishes to structure the financing of health care. Because in the face of the increasing demands on Medicare and Medicaid, coupled with the political desire to cut the cost, or at least, the rate of growth of Medicaid and Medicare, we will see many unintended consequences.

We also know that there are fewer people with employer-paid or employer-provided insurance today than there were last year, and the number is continuing to decrease. So we will have an increasing number of uninsured. We will have more demands on government programs, less able to be responsive. I do not

believe that there are many, if any, states that will be able to pick up the difference. We will see a very great pressure on the academic health centers of our country, which really are the centers of excellence out of which much research and development flows. So if you list the problems that we are still confronting, I think it is important to try to figure out responsibly how even now, and maybe particularly now, in the context of the budget debate, to have some kind of health care reform that will better stabilize the public/private financing system, and protect those parts of our health care system that are really the crown jewels of what we all have come to expect as the American health care system.

So there are many things that I would have done differently. It's been a learning experience, that's what my mother used to say to me when I'd come home from the playground after somebody had pushed me down or knocked me over. She'd say, "Just consider it a learning experience," and I do. I think that it was a good learning experience for the entire country, and now, what we've got to figure out how to do is be responsible in addressing these problems in whatever way we reach a consensus about, so that we can continue to have and enjoy the kind of quality health care that we have taken for granted for many, many years. (Applause.)

MODERATOR: At this time, it is my privilege... We have a tradition at the Greater Detroit Chamber of Commerce, and particularly, in this venue, that for special guests, and clearly, you are one of the most special guests we've ever had the privilege to join us at this conference. We'd like to present you, Mrs. Clinton, with a student apple as a memento of your time with us today, and we hope you continue to enjoy your visit, and thank you so very much for being such a wonderful part of...(Applause.)

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you. (Applause.)

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 29, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR: LEON PANETTA
ERSKINE BOWLES
HAROLD ICKES

FROM: RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP WORKING GROUP

SUBJECT: JULY 6 SPEECH AND SUSTAINED EFFORT

RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP & AMERICAN COMMUNITY

The purpose of this speech is for the President to set forth his vision of responsible citizenship and community in America. This speech would reinvigorate the notion that "there is nothing wrong with America that cannot be fixed by what is right with America."

This speech will initiate a sustained effort, or "campaign," that will make responsible citizenship and American community central themes of the remainder of the first term.

THE CHALLENGE TO RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP

As the President expressed in our June 19 meeting, there are three key elements to his vision of responsible citizenship.

1. Citizens will be challenged to assume greater responsibility for themselves, their neighbors, and their communities;
2. Major sectors of influence in America will be challenged to exercise responsible citizenship in their fields; and
3. All Americans will be challenged to engage in more civil discourse where we can discuss our differences with mutual respect and understanding without demonizing one another.

THE CAMPAIGN

The campaign would have two primary elements which could be laid out in the speech and backgrounded by staff:

1. The President challenges leaders of various sectors of influence (e.g., media, sports, entertainment, business, religion, non-profit, education) to implement the principles of responsible citizenship. This may involve meetings at the White House, speeches, or other Presidential visits. It may also involve bringing sector leaders to the White House after a period of time to report on their successes.
2. The President can use the opportunities on trips or at events to spotlight "what is right with America:" examples of individuals, groups, and institutions which have implemented the principles of responsible citizenship.

OTHER LIST

July 6 Common Ground: A Call For Responsibility

LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
Bellah	Robert	CA	Education	DOE/JFleishman	Prof. of Soc. at U. Cal., Author of Habits of the Heart, "top sociologist in America"	Invite (P)
Berresford	Susan	NY	Non-Profit/Foundation	JFleishman/L. Lader/Americorps	Incoming president of Ford Foundation	Invite
Carter	Stephen	CT	Education	OPL/L. Lader	Professor at Yale Law, Author of Culture of Disbelief	Invite
Coleman	Gregory	NY	Media	VP	Publisher of Reader's Digest	?
Coles	Robert	MA	Education	L. Lader/JFleishman/Jim Freedman/Americorps	Harvard Professor and Psychiatrist; Pulitzer-Prize Winner for Six-Volume Series, "Children of Crisis"- leading writer/Psychiatrist for children	Invite (P)
Etzioni	Amitai	DC	Education	L.Lader/JFleishman	Communitarian Network at George Washington Univ.	Invite (P)
Gardner	John	CA	Non-Profit	OPL/JFleishman	frmr. Pres. of Carnegie Corp.+ Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching; affl'd w/ National Civic League, still active- main concern is restoration of community	Invite (P)
Guinness	Os	VA	Non-Profit	OPL/DOE/L. Lader	Trinity Forum; scholar	Invite (P)
Haynes	Charles	TN	Non-Profit	L.Lader/Os Guinness/J. Fleishman	Freedom Forum, First Amendment Center; expert on resolving conflict between religions and schools; wrote letter to Pres. with Os Guinness	Invite (P)
Johnson	Haynes	DC	Media	OPL	PBS Commentator; Author, Divided We Fall (94), Sleepwalking Through History	1281
Joseph	Jim	DC	Non-Profit/Foundations	Americorps	Chair of the Board of Directors of Corporation for National Service, as well as Pres. of Council on Foundations, DC based center for 1,300 grant making organizations.	Invite
Keating	Kathy	OK	Community Activist	L. Lader	Wife of Governor Keating; provided "heart and spirit" of the Oklahoma Relief effort and worked tirelessly with churches and volunteer groups	Invite
Lerner	Michael	NY	Media/Religion	FLOTUS	Editor of Tikkun Magazine	Invite (P)

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Boulder
Fitzger

?

July 6 Common Ground: A Call For Responsibility

LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
Massie	Bob	MA	Community Activist	OPL	HIV infected hemophiliac; political novice who ran for MASS lieutenant governor in '94, gained great acclaim as an inspirational speaker who ran against voter cynicism and with a message of hope; currently at Harvard Div. School	Invite (P)
McPherson	Alan Jim	IA	Education	JFreedman	Af. Am. Professor in Iowa City Writer's workshop; Pulitzer-Prize and MacArthur award winner; genius in discussing social conditions as they are.	Invite
Putnam	Robert	MA	Education	L. Lader/JFlieshman/Jim Freedman	Harvard Prof. of Gov. and Politics; fmr Dean of Kennedy School; author of "Bowling Alone" and cutting edge research on community.	Invite (P)
Quigley	Charles	CA	Education	JMoffet	Exec. Dir. of Center for Civic Education, was at Character Conference, POTUS invited him to this.	Invite (P)
Shipler	David	MD	Media	JFreedman	Head of NYT Moscow Bureau, Pulitzer Prize for Arab and Jew; now writing a book on race in America	Invite (P)
Steele	Shelby	CA	Education	OPL	African Amer. conservative author of The Content of Our Character; Prof. at Calif. State U./San Jose	Invite (P)
Stone	Forrest		Media	L. Lader/Don Baer	Managing Ed. Weekly Reader; which is launching a Citizenship Handbook + value based forum for encouraging devlpmt of citizenship	Invite (P)
Terkel	Studs	IL	Media	OPL	Author, writes about working class Americans, esp. immigrant experience and pursuit of American Dream; most recent book on black/white relations	Invite (P)
Walzer	Michael	NJ	Education		Princeton's Institute of Advanced Study; Author, of What it Means to Be American, Pluralism: Justice and Equality	Alternate

July 6 Common Ground: A Call For Responsibility

LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
West	Cornel	MA	Education	OPL	Prof. at Princeton, writes on race relations and religion- recently co-authored book with Michael Lerner on Black-Jewish relations	Invite (P)
Yankelovich	Daniel	NY	Non-Profit	DOE/JFleishman	Public Agenda Foundation, Democrat, Author of "New Rules" about how Society is Changing	Invite (P)
Yoder	Ed	VA	Media	P.Lader	Syndicated Columnist	
Count:	25					25

Susan Love
Assoc Prof
Clinical
Surgery UCCA

Erskine
Silverman -

Community Activists

as 6/21

July 6 Common Ground: A Call For Responsibility

LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	CA LIST REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
Amos	Kent	DC	Community Activist	DOE	Af.-Am- Parent, adopted over 75 kids; participated in VP's family conference last year.	Alternate
Baltz	Pam	CA	Education	DOE	Fmr. Disney Teacher of the Year, disabled conservative Christian who supports Clinton education goals	Alternate
Campollo	Anthony	PA	Religion	OPL/L. Lader	Evangelical, Association for the Promotion of Education-co-author of Cry for Renewal with Jim Wallis	Alternate
Chang	Hedy	CA	Non-Profit/Foundation	DPC	Co-founder California Tomorrow, non-profit org. committed to making racial and ethnic diversity work in CA.	Invite
DiPaola	Frank	CA	Community Activist	OPL	LAPD Officer involved with community civility projects for young LA Gang members; Favorably profiled on 60 Minutes	Invite
Edelman	Marian	DC	Non-Profit	FLOTUS	Head of Children's Defense Fund	Invite (P)
Evans	Nancy	IA	Non-Profit/Foundation	VP	President of Junior League, which does extensive community-based programs	Invite (P)
Hayes	Patricia	TX	Religion	Veronica Biggins	Catholic Nun, President of St. Edwards University in Austin, fmr Chair of Chamber of Commerce, spearheaded university reaching to the community and to children of migrant workers.	Invite
✓ Henry	Jim	FL	Religion	DOE	President, Southern Baptist Convention	Invite (P)
Hernandez	Wilma	NY	Community Activist	DPC	Participant and Leader in South Bronx High School Outward Bound Program, age 17. described as articulate and has demonstrated leadership	Alternate
Holeman	Evelyn	NY	Education	DOE	Superintendent of school in union free school district in Long Island. Formerly with Super. at Salisbury, MD; dealt with religion and school issues	Invite
Horne	Rex	AK	Religion	L. Lader	Pastor	Invite

* AME
* Black Churches

July 6 Common Ground: A Call For Responsibility

LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
Hughes	Earl	KY	Education	DOE	Won state teacher of the year; conservative who serves as a bridgebuilder for people that are dealing with home schooling and militia groups; Sec. Riley knows him	Invite (P)
Hybels	Bill	IL	Religion	OPL	Leading evangelical	Invite (P)
Jean	Carmelita	IN	Community Activist	OPL	Dir., Awareness Washington County, builds pride and leadership in the community through hands-on leadership training and volunteer program.	Invite
Khazei	Alan	MA	Community Activist	Americorps	Started City Year in Boston	Invite
Kielsmeier	Jim	VA	Community Activist	Americorps	Executive Director; National Youth Leadership Council- discusses ways to use service as a teaching method to strengthen communities	Alternate
King	Bernice	GA	Religion	DOE	Heads fast-growing church in Atlanta, daughter of M.L. King	Invite
Kinsley	Carol	MA	Community Activist	Americorps	Exec. Director of Community Service Learning Center, can discuss ways to develop service links btwn schools and private sector and local gov.	Alternate
Kreamer	Janice	MO	Community Activist	DPC	President, Greater Kansas City Community Foundation; developed and implemented a school-linked/school based empowerment initiative.	Invite
Martinez	Carmen	NY	Community Activist	DPC	Dir., Co-founder- Rebels with a Cause, S.Bronx org. that focus on 9-13- helps provide guidance and mentoring- 19 yrs. old; described as articulate and has demonstrated leadership	Alternate
McMullen	Melinda	CA	Community Activist	OPL	President of "Food from the Hood" Training Project. Group is based in South Central LA, local students have community garden and market the produce; money goes to scholarships and mentor/SAT program. Subj. of Newsweek Article	Invite

July 6 Common Ground: A Call For Responsibility

LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
Meier	Deborah	NY	Education	DPC	Founder and Principal of Central East High School in Harlem. Annenberg Fellow, written books and leader in education reform movement; speaks to the issue of schools and education in character development.	Invite
Murray	Cecil	CA	Religion	DOE	First AME Church; one of the most respected and powerful ministers in LA	Invite
Negrete	Rudy	CA	Community Activist	Bill Miliken	Founded "NFL Chill" after reading about the work of Blinky Rodriguez (also on list). Grew up amid gang culture, almost died after being shot in a random robbery	Alternate
Ortiz	Nina	IL	Education	DOE	Principal of elementary school that was able to close 3 drug houses located across the street; school is currently working on a program to have houses rehab.	Invite
Parr	John	CO	Non-Profit	OPL	President, Alliance for National Renewal- national initiative involving 125 national and local organizations working to address serious issues of revitalizing communities in America. Emphasis on shared vision-	Invite
Previte	Mary	NJ	Community Activist	LLader	Honored for "outstanding education program in the nation for juvenile corrections." Spent three years growing up in a Japanese concentration camp as a child. Author of Hungry Ghosts.	Invite
Rakolta	Terry	MI	Community Activist	PLader	Fndr., Citizens Against Violence in TV located in Detroit Suburb	Invite (P)
Rivers	Eugene	MA	Religion	L. Lader	Pastor, known for work with gangs, adjunct prof at Harv. Div. Protege of Tony Campolo	Alternate

July 6 Common Ground: A Call For Responsibility

LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
Rodriguez	Blinky	CA	Community Activist	L. Lader	Exec. Dir. Cities in Schools; remarkable results working with gang members; especially those responsible for the murder of his son.	Invite (P)
Samaan	John	MA	Community Activist	LLader	Former dir. of largest homeless shelter in LA. Shelter in Boston is only one with Christian focus. Rec'd '94 Boston "Empowerment for Homeless People" Award	Alternate
Sartorius	Tim	OK	Non-Profit/Foundation	VP	Red Cross Director Oklahoma City	Invite
Schweikert	Mary	PA	Community Activist	Americorps/VP	President of Nat'l Asoc. of Foster Grandparent Directors.	Invite
Sepulveda	Juan	TX	Non-Profit	VP	The Common Enterprise	Invite (P)
Sherman	Mort	NY	Education	DOE	Superintendent at school; initiated 40-member group of citizens dealing with religion in the school	Invite
Smith	Jane	GA	Community Activist	Bill Milliken/Veronica Biggins	Director, The Atlanta Project, city-wide community-based at U. of Kansas	Alternate
Stoneman	Dorothy		Community Activist	Americorps	Created Youthbuild Program, recieved 38 million dollar HUD Grant	Alternate
Thorton	Lynn	GA	Community Activist	Americorps	Exec. Dir. of Georgia Commision on Nat'l Serv. can discuss ways in which Americorps forges partnerships with private sector and local gov.	Alternate
Tomkins	Gary	OK	Non-Profit/Foundation	VP	President Jaycees	Invite (P)
Waddles	Mother	MI	Community Activist	OPL	Founder and Director of Mother Waddle Perpetual Mission; which has recieved over 100 Humanitarian Awards and feeds over 3000 people a month.	
Waheed	Katib	MO	Community Activist	DPC	Founder and Director of Walbridge Caring Communities in St. Louis; well-known and respected community leader and activist	Invite

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 21, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Bill Galston
Frank Greer
Alexis Herman
George Stephanopoulos
Melanne Verveer
Linda Lader
Steve Silverman
Jeremy Ben-Ami
Steve Neuwirth

SUBJECT: Campaign to Rebuild the American Community

Based on the meeting with you June 19 and with extensive input from others in the White House working group, we are setting forth our understanding of your objectives, together with recommendations for accomplishing those goals. One of the key conclusions from the meeting was that this should be more than a one-day event and would represent a sustained campaign that will continue through the remainder of your Presidency.

- I. **Purpose:** For you to spearhead the rebuilding of the American community by challenging, leading and encouraging Americans in all sectors of society to exercise responsibility and to work together for the common good.

This campaign will allow you to articulate your vision for the nation and exercise moral leadership in mobilizing responsible people to work together to solve our country's problems.

- II. **The Message:** "The tragedy of Oklahoma City united this nation against the forces of hatred, violence and division. And it reminded us again of what is best about the American community—caring and compassion ... concern for one another ... neighbor helping neighbor ... understanding and tolerance and love—A true resurgence of community. That's the American Spirit. That's what keeps the American dream alive for our children.

"Now is the time to put aside partisan politics and unite this country in a campaign to rebuild the American Community and restore the American Dream. The message is clear—Let us unite to condemn hatred, intolerance and violence. Let us rebuild a sense of community with understanding, tolerance and respect, caring and compassion and love for one another, neighbor helping neighbor. We can restore a sense of civility and civil order. We can become a national family again."

This does not require legislation. It requires a volunteer mobilization on a massive scale. That is the challenge and that is the campaign.

As you expressed it June 19, there are three key components of this rebuilding:

- A. **Citizens will be challenged to assume greater responsibility for themselves, their neighbors and their communities.** Success stories will be brought to the attention of the public so that their efforts might be amplified, multiplied, and replicated across the land.
- B. **Major sectors of influence in America will be challenged to exercise responsible citizenship in their respective fields.** Subsequent events will focus on specific sectors.
- C. **All Americans will be challenged to engage in more civil discourse,** where we can discuss our differences with mutual respect and understanding, without demonizing one another.

III. Outline of the Campaign:

- A. On July 6 you and the Vice President will host a **White House Conference** to kick off a major campaign to rebuild the sense of community, civic responsibility and civil discourse across America.
 - 1. During this conference, you will be **issuing the challenge, demonstrating leadership, and mobilizing citizens to join with you.** (Since you already know what you think and where you believe the nation needs to go, it is essential that the format not cast you in a pondering, learning mode.)
 - 2. **You begin the Conference with a major address** at the White House or an off-campus site highlighting a community success story. Your remarks will:
 - a. Outline your vision as to the key American values that bind us together as a nation, on which common ground can be found.
 - b. Call individuals and influential sectors of society to responsible action (neighbors helping neighbors, solving problems, lending a hand).
 - c. Continue your effort to encourage a more civil civic discourse.
 - d. Emphasize that this is a continuation of your leadership (State of the Union, Memphis, Character Conference) and that of your Administration (Hackney, Riley, Duffey, National Service, Public Liaison) on the issue.
 - e. Uplift and inspire. ("There's nothing wrong with America that can't be cured by what's right with America.")
 - f. Give the Press and the public a road map to the sustained effort that is to come.

3. **Responsible community activists, who already are doing the kinds of things you are advocating, will attend at your invitation so that you can call upon them to tell their compelling stories to the country and thus inspire others to get involved in similar productive efforts.** Particular emphasis will be on those who have reconciled—or at least set aside—their differences to work together for common goals.

(For example, individuals who have addressed problems of gang violence in L.A. could share their successes; case studies of schools which have successfully resolved religion-based conflicts could be featured; it would be important to include accounts of what happened in Oklahoma after the bombing. Clearly Americorps, which provides a large pool of committed citizens working together in their communities to make a difference, should be featured prominently. Community-based initiatives illustrating your call for a national campaign against teen pregnancy could be singled out.)

4. You would issue a general ongoing invitation for citizens across the nation to share with you their local success stories—and their advice. Feedback would be sought for ways to lower barriers to replication and effect systemic change. Efforts would be made to *spread the word on what is working* across the country, to overcome the problem of local successes remaining all too local and unknown.
5. Your concluding remarks would call citizens across political, professional, economic and other dividing lines to **work together—with each other and with you**—for the good of the nation.
6. A video of the conference will be produced and sent across the country with your remarks to leaders in all sectors of influence.

B. Subsequent Events will focus on responsibilities of various sectors of society. Invitation lists will be compiled carefully to ensure that each sector is properly represented and that appropriate balance is achieved.

1. The Conference on "Family and the Media" which has been called by the Vice President for July 9-10 is a natural and immediate follow-up.
2. An event focusing on Entertainment could be scheduled in August; an event in the Business sector could be held in October. (For all sectors, it may be important to include not only CEOs and known leaders, but workers and activists at all levels.)
3. The annual Religious Leaders Breakfast (September 6) would be lengthened to provide opportunities to hear from those who are exercising civic responsibility and putting their faith into action.

4. The Council of Foundations will meet in Washington September 27-29. This will be an opportunity to follow up with the community foundations sector (September 28).
5. Additional meetings would be scheduled at the White House or elsewhere to focus on other key sectors of society.
6. A later event would focus on the theme of restoring civility in our public and community life. At this point, with the predicate of Presidential leadership having been laid, it would be appropriate to discuss in greater depth how we live with our differences without demonizing our opponents, and invitations would be extended to reasonable individuals who represent more widely divergent points of view.

C. Results:

The most critical phase of the campaign will begin in six to nine months, when you need to demonstrate that the campaign has achieved results. It will be important to show specific ways people will have acted in response to your challenge.

1. Presidential visits to the various sectors will demonstrate that you are holding them accountable. Visits to community projects begun after your challenge is issued will allow you to draw attention to measurable results.
2. A clearinghouse of information on community efforts could be created, with on-line access for people around the country to share such information.
3. Written Reports from these events, together with relevant Presidential speeches and Proclamations, need to be widely disseminated. An extensive, innovative media plan is being developed.
4. Beginning on July 4, 1996, you could make an annual report to the American people on the progress being made in "Rebuilding the American Community."

IV. Immediate next steps:

If you agree with the concept and strategy laid out in this memorandum, it is essential that we proceed without delay to invite to the July 6 meeting participants representing local success stories. We are requesting your approval to take that step immediately. (The current invitation list focuses on community activists and will be provided to you shortly.)

_____yes

_____no

A decision is needed on the name of the Conference. Please check your preference below:

- ☐ **Rebuilding** the American Community: The Challenge of Responsible Citizenship
- ☐ **Renewing** Community in America: The Challenge of Responsible Citizenship
- ☐ **Building** the American Community: The Challenge of Responsible Citizenship

June 8, 1995

Final draft memo. Please return with comments by 6:30 pm today.
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS
ALEXIS HERMAN
STEVE SILVERMAN

SUBJECT: NATIONAL MEETING ON JULY 6
"Common Ground: A Call to Responsibility"
(tentative title)

BACKGROUND

Since our Saturday meeting with you, we have progressed on the planning of the conference format, substance, and participant list, to most accurately reflect your views.

1. Objectives

A number of conference objectives have been discussed:

1. Elicit two tangible conference results (no matter what direction the discussion takes).
 - I. Follow up on your possible Statement on Religion in Schools.
 - II. Application of one solution on a broader basis.
2. Rebuild communities through responsible individual and group citizenship.
3. Develop regular mechanism for recognizing methods and people who reduce the level of vitriol in discussing differences. Debate Without Demonization. (monthly REGO event Model.)
4. Identify solutions which centers of influence and individuals can undertake to stop the fraying of families and communities.
5. Allow you to be seen as genuinely reflecting America's mainstream (which is not being represented at present).
6. Encourage individuals and centers of influence to do more if they're not doing enough, and do less if they're doing too much (Bill Hybels).

2. Title

The tentative title is:

1. "Common Ground: A Call to Responsibility."

Other Options we have discussed include:

2. "Rebuilding Community Through Citizenship"
3. "Civil Discourse and Civic Responsibility: Mending the Fabric of Community"

3. Format

We are moving to a three panel format which will include 6-10 panelists at each session with 160 observers present.

Session I will set forth the issues dividing Americans today and will set the framework for how we can address the breakdown in civil discourse and civic responsibility. You will demonstrate your understanding of the subject and highlight your long-standing commitment to bringing people together.

Session II will present and discuss (Sector by Sector) creative solutions to the problems (outlined in Session I) faced by the individual, family, and community.

The Working Lunch will enable observers to discuss with different panelists (who will be seated at each table) a number of ways to apply these solutions more broadly.

Session III will include a discussion of the solutions raised during lunch and will culminate in your Call to Action and summary.

4. Participant List

Alexis Herman and Linda Lader, in consultation with the Vice President's office, the First Lady's Office, and Secretary Riley, have prepared a list of possible participants and an explanatory memorandum. Attached, you will find the list and memo. After you have annotated the list, we will prepare a final invite list and begin the invitation process. Each participant will be asked to prepare two short (1 page) memoranda laying out: 1) What it is which binds Americans together. 2) What they, or their communities, have done to solve their common problems and how this can be transferred to other communities.

CC: Leon Panetta
Harold Ickes
Erskine Bowles
Kitty Higgins

July 6 Common Ground: A Call For Responsibility

LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
Argue	Don	IL	Religion	OPL/L. Lader	President of National Assoc. of Evangelicals	Invite
Bakke	Ray	IL	Religion	L. Lader	International Urban Associates, expert on Urban Churches, brother of Dennis Bakke	Alternate
Bernadin	Cardinal	IL	Religion	OPL/FLOTUS/DOE	Bishop of Chicago; one of the best thinkers on topic; signed Cry For Renewal statement	Invite X
Browning	Edmond	NY	Religion	OPL/FLOTUS	Presiding Bishop of Episcopal Church	Alternate ?
Campbell	Joan	NY	Religion	OPL/DOE*	General Secretary of National Council of Churches of Christ, strong supporter of the President, org. represents over 40 million members	Alternate
Campollo	Anthony	PA	Religion	OPL/L. Lader	Evangelical, Association for the Promotion of Education-co-author of Cry for Renewal with Jim Wallis	Alternate
Colson	Charles	FL	Religion	DOE/L. Lader	Winner of Templeton Prize for 20 years work in Prison Ministries, widely respected in Rel.R. ; author, columnist, commentator	Invite 
Dunn	James	DC	Religion	OPL	Executive Director, Baptist Joint Committee	Alternate
Flores	Archbishop	TX	Religion	OPL	San Antonio Archbishop	Alternate
Fuller	Charles	VA	Religion	Rex Horne	Pastor	Alternate
Graham	Billy	NC	Religion	OPL	Head of world-wide ministries	Invite 
Graham	Franklyn	NC	Religion	P.Lader	Billy Graham's son; Pres., Samaritan's Purse	Invite
Haines	Ronald	DC	Religion	L. Lader	Bishop, National Cathedral, known as reconciler	Alternate
Hammond	Ray	MA	Religion	FLOTUS/J. Wallis	Co-Founder of Ten Point Organization; Pastor	Alternate
Hayes	Patricia	TX	Religion	Veronica Biggins	Catholic Nun, President of St. Edwards University in Austin, fmr Chair of Chamber of Commerce, spearheaded university reaching to the community and to children of migrant workers.	Invite

Labon?

Cardinal Pilla & Roach

July 6 Common Ground: A Call For Responsibility

LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
Henry	Jim	FL	Religion	DOE	President, Southern Baptist Convention	Alternate
Hill	E.V.	CA	Religion	Billy Graham	Af. Am. Pastor, known for work with gangs and others in Black Community of LA, serves on Billy Graham Evang. Assoc. Board.	Alternate
Hodges	Clarence	MD	Religion	OPL	VP for N.A. 7th Day Adventist World Headquarters	Alternate
Horne	Rex	AK	Religion	L. Lader	Pastor	Invite
Hybels	Bill	IL	Religion	OPL	Leading evangelical	Invite
Keeler	Archbishop	MD	Religion	DOE	Archbishop of Baltimore	Alternate
King	Bernice	GA	Religion	DOE	Heads fast-growing church in Atlanta, daughter of M.L. King	Invite
Lacayo	Carmela	CA	Religion	OPL	President of Asociacion Nacional Pro Personas Mayores	Invite
Lucado	Max	TX	Religion	Bill Hybels	Pastor, Oak Hills Church of Christ; author	Alternate
Lyons	Henry	FL	Religion	OPL/DOE	President of National Baptist Convention	Alternate
Mahoney	Roger	CA	Religion	DOE*	Catholic Bishop of LA; opposed Prop. 187	Invite
McCartney	Bill	CO	Religion	L. Lader	Founder of Promise Keepers, huge national movement encouraging reconciliation and male responsibility among families and races. Retired football coach.	Invite
McDonald	Gordon	MA	Religion	OPL	Author and Pastor	Alternate
McFarland	Steve	DC	Religion	DOE	Dir. Center for Law & Religious Freedom Legal Society	Alternate
Meadows	Marshall	MS	Religion	DOE*	Methodist Bishop of Mississippi	Invite
Nelville	Billy		Religion	DOE	Retired President of Nat'l Assoc. of Evangelicals	Alternate
Michaelson	Wesley	NY	Religion	FLOTUS/J. Wallis	General Secretary of Reformed Church in America	Alternate

July 6 Common Ground: A Call For Responsibility

LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
Mouw	Richard	CA	Religion	L. Lader/B. Mybels	President of Fuller Seminary; author of Uncommon Decency: Christian Civility in an Uncivil World	Alternate
Murray	Cecil	CA	Religion	DOE	First AME Church; one of the most respected and powerful ministers in LA	Invite
Oakes	Dallin	UT	Religion	DOE	Church of Latter Day Saints, one of 12 Apostles	Invite
Ogilvie	Lloyd	DC	Religion	OPL	Senate Chaplain	Alternate
Peck	Scott	CT	Religion	P.Lader	Author of The Road Less Travelled	Alternate
Perkins	John	CA	Religion	L.Lader	Af. Am. pastor; wrote book with frmr KKK member Tommy Tarrants on black/white reconciliation	Invite
Perkins	Spencer	MS	Religion	L. Lader	Co-author and co-pastor of interracial reconciliation ministry in Jackson, Miss.- with Chris Rice (alternate for John Perkins)	Alternate
Prager	Dennis	CA	Religion	Os Guinness	Conservative Rabbi; hosts TV show	Alternate
Rawlings	Chuck	NY	Religion	Americorps	Reverend, Dir. Urban Secretariat of National Council of Churches, can discuss contribution of full time inter-faith volunteers	Alternate
Ricard	Bishop	MD	Religion	FLOTUS	Heads up Cath. Bishop's Cmtee on Social Development	Alternate
Rice	Chris	MS	Religion	L. Lader	Co-Author and Co-Pastor of inter-racial reconciliation ministry in Jackson, Miss; with Spencer Perkins (alternate for T.Tarrants)	Alternate
Rivers	Eugene	MA	Religion	L. Lader	Pastor, known for work with gangs, adjunct prof at Harv. Div. Protege of Tony Campolo	Alternate
Sapperstein	David	DC	Religion	OPL	Dir, Religious Action Committee	Alternate
Schindler	Alexander		Religion	DOM	American Hebrew Congregation (check on new person)	
Schnier	Arthur	NY	Religion	A. Mikva	Orthodox Rabbi	Invite

Walter
Compotto

Mike

July 6 Common Ground: A Call For Responsibility

LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
Sider	Ron	PA	Religion	FLOTUS/J. Wallis	Evangelicals for Social Action	Alternate
Stiff	Charles	MA	Religion	OPL	Founder of New Equality	Invite
Stowell	Joe	IL	Religion	Bill Hybels	Pres., Moody Bible Institute	Alternate
Tarrants	Tommy	MS	Religion	L.Leder	fmr. KKK member, has co-authored book with John Perkins on Reconciliation btwn Blacks and Whites	Alternate
Tillman	Bill	TX	Religion	Rex Horne	Ethics Professor; Southwest Baptist Theological Seminary	Alternate
Tipton	Paul	DC	Religion	OPL	President, Assoc. of Jesuit Colleges and Universities	Alternate
Weisel	Eli	NY	Religion	DOE	Author of Night, Holocaust Survivor, Peace Prize Winner	Invite
Wimbush	Bishop		Religion	Americorps	Congress of National Black Churches, Americorps Grante. community policing groups, conflict resolution, creation of safe havens	Invite
Youngblood	Johnny Ray	NY	Religion	DPC	Founder and Pastor of St. Paul's Episcopal Church. Wrote "Upon This Rock." Focus Community Revitalization through Housing.	Invite

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LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
Abrams	Staci	MS	Community Activist	Veronica Biggins	Recent Spelman Graduate; dedication to youth issues across the country	Alternate
Amos	Kent	DC	Community Activist	DOE	Af.-Am- Parent, adopted over 75 kids; participated in VP's family conference last year.	Alternate
Bostic	Doug	IL	Community Activist	DOE	Fmr Pres. of Nobel Neighbors, community org. that assisted Alfred Nobel Elem. School (80% Hispanic) drive drug dealers out of area; Doug is a white Viet Nam vet, blue collar worker who worked with the school principal and neighborhood on the effort.	Invite
Carillo	Brandon	CA	Community Activist	DPC	Student/participated in National resolving conflict program. Founder of young ambassador program. Speaker at Resolving Conflict Creatively National Meeting.; 17 years old	Invite
Choo	Martha	CA	Community Activist	OPL	Asian Pacific American Dispute Resolution Center.	Alternate
Cortez	Ernie	TX	Community Activist	DOE	Hispanic-American Organizer, Texas Industrial Areas Foundation.	Invite
de LaCresta	Alfredo		Community Activist	Americorps	Americorps member who can discuss importance of diversity in national service corps	Alternate
Denny	Reginald	CA	Community Activist	L. Lader	Truck Driver injured in LA Riots, has appeared with Mother of his attacker on TV-	Alternate
DiPaola	Frank	CA	Community Activist	OPL	LAPD Officer involved with community civility projects for young LA Gang members; Favorably profiled on 60 Minutes	Invite
Fogarty	Maggie		Community Activist	Americorps	Project Director, Catholic Network of Volunteer Services. Can discuss helping non-profits to improve service delivery.	Alternate
Harris	Sophia	AL	Community Activist	JFreedman	Executive Dir. of Focal Inc.; pioneered day care program across Arkansas	Invite

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LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
Hernandez	Wilma	NY	Community Activist	DPC	Participant and Leader in South Bronx High School Outward Bound Program, age 17. described as articulate and has demonstrated leadership	Alternate
Higgenbotham, Jr	A.	PA	Community Activist	DOE	Works extensively with Conflict Resolution	Alternate
Huerta	Dolores	CA	Community Activist	OPL	United Farm Workers	Alternate
Huntley	William	IL	Community Activist	VP	General Secretary Rotary International	Alternate
Jackson	Jesse	DC	Community Activist	OPL	Reverend, dir. Nat'l Rainbow Col't, Host CNN "Both Sides"	
Jean	Carmelita	IN	Community Activist	OPL	Dir., Awareness Washington County, builds pride and leadership in the community through hands-on leadership training and volunteer program.	Invite
Keating	Kathy	OK	Community Activist	L. Lader	Wife of Governor Keating; provided "heart and spirit" of the Oklahoma Relief effort and worked tirelessly with churches and volunteer groups	Invite
Kielameir	Jim		Community Activist	Americorps	Executive Director; National Youth Leadership Council- discusses ways to use service as a teaching method to strengthen communities	
Kinsley	Carol		Community Activist	Americorps	Exec. Director of Community Service Learning Center, can discuss ways to develop service links btwn schools and private sector and local gov.	
Kreamer	Janice	MO	Community Activist	DPC	President, Greater Kansas City Community Foundation; developed and implemented a school-linked/school based empowerment initiative.	Invite
Lukas	Mark	IL	Community Activist	VP	Executive Administrator of Lions Club	Alternate
Markiller	Wilma		Community Activist	JFreedman	First female chief of Cherokee Nation, focuses on econ. development; creating jobs, improving health care for Native Americans	Invite

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LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
Martinez	Carmen	NY	Community Activist	DPC	Dir., Co-founder- Rebels with a Cause, S.Bronx org. that focus on 9-13- helps provide guidance and mentoring- 19 yrs. old; described as articulate and has demonstrated leadership	Invite
Massie	Bob	MA	Community Activist	OPL	HIV infected hemophiliac; political novice who ran for MASS lieutenant governor in '94, gained great acclaim as an inspirational speaker who ran against voter cynicism and with a message of hope; currently at Harvard Div. School	Alternate
McMullen	Melinda	CA	Community Activist	OPL	President of "Food from the Hood" Training Project. Group is based in South Central LA, local students have community garden and market the produce; money goes to scholarships and mentor/SAT program. Subj. of Newsweek Article	Invite
Negrete	Rudy	CA	Community Activist	Bill Miliken	Founded "MFL Chill" after reading about the work of Blinky Rodriguez (also on list). Grew up amid gang culture, almost died after being shot in a random robbery	Invite
Powell	Colin	VA	Community Activist	DOE*/William Winter	Fmr. Head Joint Chiefs of Staff	Invite
Previte	Mary	NJ	Community Activist	LLader	Honored for "outstanding education program in the nation for juvenile corrections." Spent three years growing up in a Japanese concentration camp as a child. Author of Hungry Ghosts.	Invite
Rakolta	Terry	MI	Community Activist	PLader	Fndr., Citizens Against Violence in TV located in Detroit Suburb	Invite
Rodriquez	Blinky	CA	Community Activist	L. Lader	Exec. Dir. Cities in Schools; remarkable results working with gang members; especially those responsible for the murder of his son.	Invite

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LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
Sameen	John	MA	Community Activist	LLader	Former dir. of largest homeless shelter in LA. Shelter in Boston is only one with Christian focus. Rec'd '94 Boston "Empowerment for Homeless People" Award	Invite
Schweikert	Mary		Community Activist	Americorps/VP	President of Nat'l Asoc. of Foster Grandparent Directors.	Invite
Shaffer	A. G. Terry	IN	Community Activist	VP	International Secretary of Kiwanis International	Alternate
Smith	Jane	GA	Community Activist	Bill Milliken/Veronica Biggins	Director, The Atlanta Project, city-wide community-based at U. of Kansas	Alternate
Stoneman	Dorothy		Community Activist	Americorps	Created Youthbuild Program, recieved 38 million dollar HUD Grant	Alternate
Sullivan	Laura		Community Activist	Americorps	Ex-Americorps mem., spoke at President's WH Launch of Americorps, can discuss creating opportunities for women to learn about starting their own business	Alternate
Thorton	Lynn	GA	Community Activist	Americorps	Exec. Dir. of Georgia Comission on Nat'l Serv. can discuss ways in which Americorps forges partnerships with private sector and local gov.	Alternate
Waheed	Katib	MO	Community Activist	DPC	Founder and Director of Walbridge Caring Communities in St. Louis; well-known and respected community leader and activist	Invite
Wahrhaftig	Paul	PA	Community Activist	OPL	Dir. of Conflict Resolution Center International	Alternate
Wash	Sam	MN	Community Activist	OPL	Director of The Phoenix Group; Minneapolis self-help group for local poor (drug-addicted, homeless) creating local jobs for the community and re-introducing people into the mainstream. As profiled in May Newsweek, high marks for innovation and success by JWH/8.	Invite
Whitfield	Katherine		Community Activist	DOE/VP	President National PTA	

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LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
Young	Andrew	GA	Community Activist	OPL/DOE	Fmr. Ambassador	Invite
Count:	43				43	

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LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
Allen	Robert	NY	Business	DOE	CEO of AT&T	Alternate
Allwin	Jim	NY	Business	L.Lader	Head of Real Estate/Asset Management of Morgan Stanley; Vice-Chairman of Cities in Schools, Inc.- nation's largest non-profit drop-out prevention program.	Invite
Apple	Suzanne		Business	Americorps	Director of Corporate Affairs of Home Depot; can discuss that co's great programs which won the 1995 Presidential Service Award	Alternate
Bakke	Dennis	VA	Business	PLader	CEO, AES Corp.; Tex. philanthropist; Fndr., Drucker Inst., non-profit mgmt	Alternate
Belatti	Frank	GA	Business	Millard Fuller	Pres. America's Favorite Chicken (Popeye's, Church's) Co. Building 200 Habitat for Humanity Houses	Alternate
Blanchard	Ken	CA	Business	PLader	Mgmt. consultant; author, The One-Minute Manager & Everyone Can Be a Coach w/Don Shula	Alternate
Boyan	Bill	CT	Business	DOE	CEO John Hancock Insurance	Invite
Brock	Reg	NY	Business	OPL	CEO, Time Inc.Pres. Advertising Agency Council.	Invite
Buford	Bob	TX	Business	P.Lader/Bill Hybels		Alternate
Bunnet	David	CA	Business	OPL	Computer Magazine Entrepreneur, started computer job-skills program for homeless, working class and down-and-outs in run-down neighborhood of SF with \$100,000 of own money; program called "Computers and You"	Invite
Burke	Jim		Business	OPL	Ch. Partnership for Drug-Free America; Fmr. Ch. Johnson and Johnson	Invite
Case	Steve	VA	Business	L.Lader	Founder and President of America On-Line	Invite
Chambers	Ray	NJ	Business	P.Lader/Bill Hybels	Co-founder of WESRAY; inner-city philanthropist	Invite

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LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
Chapman	Erie		Business	Americorps	CEO US Health Corp. affl w/ City Year, Republican; can discuss public/private sector partnerships	Alternate
Chenault	Kenneth	NY	Business	PLader	V. Chm, AmEx Corp.	Alternate
Clendenin	John	GA	Business	DOE*	CEO Bell South	Invite
DePree	Max	MI	Business	PLader	Chm., Herman Miller Co.; author, mgmt. values books	Alternate
DeVos	Dick	MI	Business	Bill Hybels	Pres., Amway	Invite
Fish	Larry	RJ	Business	Americorps	CEO Citizens Bank, Chair of Rhode Island Commission on nat'l Service. Advocates private sector influence on the running of programs	Alternate
Flow	Don	NC	Business	Bill Hybels	Owner, Car Dealership	Alternate
Forstmann	Nicholas	NY	Business	PLader	Co-Fndr., Forstmann-Little; philanthropist	Alternate
Green	Ernest	DC	Business	DOE	Managing Director, Lehman Bros.	Alternate
Kogod	Robert	VA	Business	PLader	Pres., Charles Smith Real Estate; Chm. Ctr. for Study of Ethics	Alternate
Litow	Stan		Business	Americorps	IBM Corporate Support Service, IBM is developing link btwn schools and themselves to bring technology to the classroom.	Alternate
Lynch	Peter	MA	Business	PLader	Star Investment Manager; visionary for 21st century communications	Alternate
McCaw	Craig	WA	Business	Susan Ness	Just Sold McCaw Communications	Invite
McDonald	Alonzo	MI	Business	OPL/PLader	Fmr. CEO Bendix & Managing Ptrnr, McKinsey & Co.; Carter Wh Dep. Chief of Staff; Chm. Trinity Forum	Alternate
Pepper	John	OH	Business	OPL	Procter and Gamble CEO	Alternate
Poland	Jane		Business	Americorps	GE Fund; can discuss corporate support for service programs in local areas	Alternate
Reinemund	Steven	TX	Business	PLader	Pres., Frito-Lay; active in religious circles	Alternate

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LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
Roche	Gerald	NY	Business	PLader	Managing Partner, Heidrick & Struggles Exec. Search	Alternate
Sant	Roger		Business	PLader	Chm/Co-Fndr, AES Corp.	Alternate
Spoelhof	John	MI	Business	Bill Hybels	Pres., Prince Corp.- Auto Parts, Manufacturing	Alternate
Walton	Rob	AR	Business	PLader	CEO, Wal-Mart	Alternate
Wehrle	Bob	NY	Business	Susan Hess	Sr. VP Procter and Gamble, resp. for TV Advertising	Invite
Count:	35				34	

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LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
Angelou	Maya	NC	Education	OPL/FLOTUS	Professor, Poet, read at inauguration.	Alternate
Argresto	John	NM	Education	PLader	Pres., St. John's College-Santa Fe; Bennet's Deputy at NEH	Alternate
Baltz	Pam	CA	Education	DOE	Fmr. Disney Teacher of the Year, disabled conservative Christian who supports Clinton education goals	Invite
Bass	Jack	MS	Education	William Winter	Author/Prof/Southern Scholar at U Miss- aug. by fmr. Gov. Winter bc. of Conversations they have had w/th Pres. on this Subject	Alternate
Bautista	David	CA	Education	OPL	Professor/Director, U CAL-LA	Alternate
Bellah	Robert	CA	Education	DOE/JFleishman	Prof. of Soc. at U. Cal., Author of Habits of the Heart, "top sociologist in America"	Alternate
Bennet	William	MD	Education	DOE	Fmr. Educ. Sec.; Author, Book of Virtues	Invite
Berger	Peter	MA	Education	PLader	Dir., Inst. for Study of Econ. Culture, Boston U., Scholar	Invite
Berreth	Dianne		Education	Os Guinness	Association for Supervision of Curriculum Development; Jewish	Alternate
Bottoms	Robert	IN	Education	PLader	Pres., DePauw U; Scholar on ethics & civility	Invite
Branch	Taylor	MD	Education	PLader	Author; historian	Alternate
Carter	Stephen	CT	Education	OPL/L. Lader	Professor at Yale Law, Author of Culture of Disbelief	Invite
Casper	Gerhard	CA	Education	PLader	Pres., Stanford U.	Alternate
Cole	Johnetta	GA	Education	OPL	President, Spelman College; attended economic conference	Alternate
Coles	Robert	MA	Education	L. Lader/JFleishman/Jim Freedman/Americorps	Harvard Professor and Psychiatrist; Pulitzer-Prize Winner for Six-Volume Series, "Children of Crisis"- leading writer/Psychiatrist for children	Invite
Flaherty	Amelia	DC	Education	L. Lader/JFleishman	Chairman, National Network at George Washington Univ.	Invite

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LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
George	Robert	NJ	Education	L. Lader	Princeton, Const. Law. Prof. Author of "Making Men Moral: Civil Liberties and Public Morality"; Conservative Catholic	Alternate
Gilligan	Carol	MA	Education	DPC	Professor at Harvard Graduate School of Medicine-focus on moral development of women	Invite
Green	Maxine	NY	Education	DPC	Professor Emeritus-Philosophy, education, and role of schools in dev. of young people	Alternate
Gregorian	Vartan	RI	Education	DOE	President of Brown U.	Invite
Griffith	John	AR	Education	Rex Horne	President of Lyon College in Batesville	Alternate
Halberstam	David	NY	Education	Jim Freedman	Author, The Next Century, The Reckoning	Alternate
Holeman	Evelyn	NY	Education	DOE	Superintendent of school in union free school district in Long Island. Formerly with Super. at Salisbury, MD; dealt with religion and school issues	
Hughes	Earl	KY	Education	DOE	Won state teacher of the year; conservative who serves as a bridgebuilder for people that are dealing with home schooling and militia groups; Sec. Riley knows him	
Hunter	Jim Davidson	VA	Education	L. Lader	Author, Culture Wars, Before The Shooting Begins	Invite
Jordan	Barbara	TX	Education	PLader	U. of Texas Prof; Fmr Cong.	Alternate
Keohane	Nannerl	NC	Education	PLader/JFleishman	Pres., Duke U.	Alternate
Leutze	James	NC	Education	PLader/JFleishman	Pres., UNC-Willmington; PBS Host	Alternate
Likona	Tom	NY	Education	DOE	State Univ. of NY, "character education" leader	Alternate
Malloy	Monk	IN	Education	DOE/PLader	Pres. of Notre Dame U.	Invite
McCullough	David	MA	Education	PLader	Historian; author of Truman	Invite

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LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
McPherson	Jim	IA	Education	JFreedman	Af. Am. Professor in Iowa City Writer's workshop; Pulitzer-Prize and MacArthur award winner; genius in discussing social conditions as they are.	Invite
Meier	Deborah	NY	Education	DPC	Founder and Principal of Central East High School in Harlem. Annenberg Fellow, written books and leader in education reform movement; speaks to the issue of schools and education in character development.	Invite
Neuborne	Burt	NY	Education	DOE	Professor of Civil Liberties at NYU	Alternate
Nicholi	Armand	MA	Education	PLader	Harvard Medical School Psychiatrist	Alternate
O'Donovan	Leo	DC	Education	PLader	Pres., Georgetown U.	Alternate
Ogletree	Charles	MA	Education	DOE	Harvard Law Professor	Alternate
Ortiz	Nina	IL	Education	DOE	Principal of elementary school that was able to close 3 drug houses located across the street; school is currently working on a program to have houses rehab.	Invite
Pelikan	Jaroslav	CT	Education	FLOTUS	Pres. American Academy of Arts and Sciences	Alternate
Putnam	Robert	MA	Education	L. Lader/JFleishman/Jim Freedman	Harvard Prof. of Gov. and Politics; fmr Dean of Kennedy School; author of "Bowling Alone" and cutting edge research on community.	Invite
Redlich	Norman	NY	Education	White House Council	Fmr. Dean of NYU Law; Fmr. Co-Chair of Lawter's Cmtee for Civil Rights Under Law, mem. board of Am. Jewish Cong.	Alternate
Reynolds	Ann	NY	Education	PLader	Pres., City U. of NY	Alternate
Rodin	Judith	PA	Education	DOE/JFleishman	President of U. Penn.	Alternate
Rudenshtein	Neil	MA	Education	PLader	Pres., Harvard U.	Alternate
Shaw	John	IL	Education	Jim Gutterman	Fmr. Dir., Nat'l Assoc. of School Boards; influential; nationally minded with civic vision	Alternate

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Sherman	Mort	NY	Education	DOE	Superintendent at school; initiated 40-member group of citizens dealing with religion in the school	
Sittser	Jerry	WA	Education	Bill Hybels	College Professor	Alternate
Smith	Charles	KS	Education	VP	Parenting, education and Curriculum	Invite
Steele	Shelby	CA	Education	OPL	African Amer. conservative author of The Character of Our Content; Prof. at Calif. State U./San Jose	Alternate
Terkel	Studs	IL	Education	OPL	Author, writes about working class Americans, esp. immigrant experience and pursuit of American Dream; most recent book on black/white relations	Invite
Walsh	Patrick	VA	Education	DOE	Teacher at T.H. Bell High School in Alexandria; writes eloquently in the Post about his students	Alternate
Walzer	Michael	NJ	Education		Princeton's Institute of Advanced Study; Author, of What It Means to Be American, Pluralism: Justice and Equality	Alternate
West	Cornel	NJ	Education	OPL	Prof. at Princeton, writes on race relations and religion- recently co-authored book with Michael Lerner on Black-Jewish relations	Alternate
Wilson	William Julius	IL	Education	OPL	U. Chicago Sociologist; Author; profile in B. Moyers A World of Ideas	Alternate
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Count:	54					54

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LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
Barneba	Frank	CT	Non-Profit/Foundation	OPL	Founder and President of Paul and Lisa, organization that works with sexually abused kids	Alternate
Beckman	David	MD	Non-Profit	OPL	President of Bread for the World	Alternate
Bergholtz	David		Non-Profit	OPL	The Gund Foundation	Alternate
Berresford	Susan	NY	Non-Profit/Foundation	JFleishman/L. Lader/Americorps	Incoming president of Ford Foundation	Invite
Blackwell	Angela	NY	Non-Profit	OPL	VP at Rockefeller Foundation	Invite
Bollman	Nick	CA	Non-Profit/Foundation	Americorps	Program Officer in Irvine Foundation, creates forums for foundations to support nat'l service	Alternate
Carter	Judy Langford	IL	Non-Profit	VP	Family Resource Coalition	Invite
Chang	Hedy	CA	Non-Profit/Foundation	DPC	Co-founder California Tomorrow, non-profit org. comitted to making racial and ethnic diversity work in CA.	Invite
Cooper	Mario	NY	Non-Profit	OPL	Chair of AIDS Action Council	Alternate
Cruz	Miriam	DC	Non-Profit	OPL	President of Equity Research	
Eberly	Don	PA	Non-Profit	L. Lader/Os Guinness	Founder of National Fatherhood initiative; Dir., Commonwealth Foundation; Author of Restoring the Good Society	Invite
Edelman	Marian	DC	Non-Profit	FLOTUS	Head of Children's Defense Fund	Invite
Evans	Nancy	IA	Non-Profit/Foundation	VP	President of Junior League, which does extensive community-based programs	Invite
Evers-Williams	Myrlie	MD	Non-Profit/Civic	FLOTUS	Chairwoman NAACP	Invite
Fleishman	Joel	NC	Non-Profit/Foundation	L. Lader	President, Atlantic Philanthropic, formerly Duke U. VP	Alternate
Fuller	Millard	GA	Non-Profit	PLader	Fnдр., Habitat for Humanity	Invite

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LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
Gardner	John		Non-Profit	OPL/JFleishman	frmr. Pres. of Carnegie Corp.+ Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching; affl'd w/ National Civic League, still active- main concern is restoration of community	Invite
Goldmark	Peter	NY	Non-Profit/Foundation	JFleishman	President of Rockefeller Foundation	Alternate
Guinness	Os	VA	Non-Profit	OPL/DOE/L. Lader	Trinity Forum; scholar	Invite
Hamburg	David	NY	Non-Profit/Foundation	FLOTUS	Foundation has initiative on creating a civil society	Alternate
Haynes	Charles	TN	Non-Profit	L.Lader/Os Guinness/J. Fleishman	Freedom Forum, First Amendment Center; expert on resolving conflict between religions and schools; wrote letter to Pres. with Os Guinness	Invite
Herwitz	Sol		Non-Profit	OPL	President of Committee for Economic Development	Alternate
Joseph	Jim	VA	Non-Profit/Foundations	Americorps	Chair of the Board of Directors of Corporation for National Service, as well as Pres. of Council on Foundations, DC based center for 1,300 grant making organizations.	Alternate
Josephson	Michael	CA	Non-Profit	OPL	Pres. & Fndr the Josephson Center; develops education training programs for communities. Training focuses on character develop. and ethics. Recently trained IRS on ethics.	Invite
Novak	Michael	DC	Non-Profit	OPL	American Enterprise Institute	Invite
O'Connell	Brian		Non-Profit	OPL	Former Pres. of Independent Sector	Alternate
Orosz	Joel		Non-Profit/Foundation	Americorps	Program Co-ordinator of Kellogg Foundation, can discuss role of philanthropy and volunteerism in community problem solving.	Alternate

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LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
Parr	John	CO	Non-Profit	OPL	President, Alliance for National Renewal- national initiative involving 125 national and local organizations working to address serious issues of revitalizing communities in America. Emphasis on shared vision-	Invite
Price	Hugh	NY	Non-Profit	DOE	President of National Urban League	Alternate
Rimel	Rebecca	PA	Non-Profit	JFleishman/W.Winter	Pew Initiative for Social Change	Alternate
Rodgers	Bob		Non-Profit/Foundations	Americorps	President Kaufman Foundation; can discuss the role of business and philanthropic community in problem solving	Alternate
Sartorius	Tim	OK	Non-Profit/Foundation	VP	Red Cross Director Oklahoma City	Invite
Scelsa	Joeseeph	NY	Non-Profit/Foundation	OPL	Director, Italian American Institute	Alternate
Sepulveda	Juan	TX	Non-Profit	VP	The Common Enterprise	
Skloot	Edward	NY	Non-Profit/Foundation	DPC	Surdna Foundation-effective citizenry program/advancement of democratic society	
Tomkins	Gary	OK	Non-Profit/Foundation	VP	President Jay Cee	Invite
Yankelovich	Daniel		Non-Profit	DOE/JFleishman	Public Agenda Foundation, Democrat, Author of "New Rules" about how Society is Changing	Invite
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						37

Count:

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LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
Aaron	Henry	GA	Sports	P.Lader	Atlanta Braves Exec.; all-time Home Run Leader	Alternate
Albright	Tenley	MA	Sports	P.Lader	Fmr.Olympic Women's figure-skating champ./Physician/Fmr. WH fellow	Alternate
Dumars	Joe	MI	Sports	OPL	Detroit Pistons, J. Walter Kennedy Award winner, for community service; works and raises money for Second Harvest (which brings food to inner-city) and Joe Dumas Celebrity Tennis Tournament which raises money for Detroit's children	
Foreman	George	TX	Sports	P.Lader	Heavy-Weight Champion; Minister	Alternate
Hill	Calvin		Sports	P.Lader	Fmr. Football "Great"; Grant's Dad	Alternate
Joyner	Florence	CA	Sports	VP	Co-Chair, Pres. Cncl. on Physical Fitness	Alternate
Moon	Warren	TX	Sports	VP	Football Player/Founder of Crescent Moon-provides scholarships for Houston H.S. students	Invite
Shula	Don	FL	Sports	L. Lader	Coach, Miami Dolphins; co-author current best-seller, Everyone's A Coach, with Ken Blanchard	Invite
Staubach	Roger		Sports	P.Lader	Pres. Staubach Co. fmr. Pro-Football Q-back.	Invite
White	Reggie	TN	Sports	Dennis Bakke	Green-Bay Packers football player, ordained minister, community activist	Invite
Williams	Reggie	OH	Sports	Jim Freedman	Fmr. Cincinnati Bengals pro-football player	Alternate

Count:

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LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
Alter	Jonathan	NY	Media	L. Lader/Don Baer/Americorps	Newsweek Snr. Ed.; author'd May 29 special on "What Works"- grass-roots solutions	
Ayers	Brandt	AL	Media	P.Lader	Publisher, Anniston, AL."Star"	Alternate
Barnes	Fred		Media	P.Lader	New Republic; Conservative Columnist	Alternate
Black	Cathi	VA	Media	Susan Ness	Head of Newspaper Assoc. form. USA Today	Alternate
Bourke	Dale	DC	Media/Religion	Bill Hybels	Religious News Service	Alternate
Chen	Milton	CA	Media	VP	8# TV Reporter; Author of "Smart Parent's Guide to Kid's TV."	Alternate
Coleman	Gregory	NY	Media	VP	Publisher of Reader's Digest	Alternate
Covey	Stephen	UT	Media	OPL	Author, 7 Habits of Highly Effective People	Invite
Cronkite	Walter	MA	Media	OPL	Anchor of CBS news for twenty years, was known when he retired as "the most trusted man in America."	Alternate
Dionne	E.J.	DC	Media	Americorps/Os Guinness	Washington Post, has written on civility/civic virtue	
Ellerbee	Linda	NY	Media	VP	Television Producer	Invite
Graham	Don	DC	Media	P.Lader	Publisher, Washington Post	Alternate
Haimen	Robert	FL	Media	P.Lader	Pres. Poynter Inst. for Media Studies, St. Pete. FLA.; fmr. exec. ed. St. Pete Times and Congr. Quart.	Alternate
Jennings	Peter	NY	Media	Bill Hybels/P.Lader	ABC Newsanchor	Invite
Johnson	Haynes	DC	Media	OPL	PBS Commentator; Author, Divided We Fall (94), Sleepwalking Through History	Alternate
Jones	Glen		Media	Susan Ness	Jones Inter-cable Network produces Newt Mind-extension University	Invite
Kuralt	Charles		Media	P.Lader	CBS commentator	Alternate
Lerner	Michael	NY	Media/Religion	FLOTUS	Editor of Tikkun Magazine	Invite

July 6 Common Ground: A Call for Responsibility

LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
Merit	Davis "Buzz"	KS	Media	L. Lader/JFleishman	Editor, Wichita Journal; pioneer in using newspaper in fostering community improvement; has finished up-coming book on the subject	Alternate
Moyers	Bill	NY	Media	FLOTUS	Moderator and commentator; works include World of The Mind and The Power of Myth. LBJ Press Secretary	Invite
Phillips	Kevin	MD	Media	P.Lader/OPL	Conservative Commentator and Author, Politics of Rich and Poor; Bolling Point and Arrogant Capital	Invite
Pleschette-Murphy	Annie	NY	Media	VP	Editor of Parent Magazine	Invite
Rehm	Diane	DC	Media	Tom, Cynthia Schneider	NPR Radio Host	Alternate
Sawyer	Diane	NY	Media	P.Lader	ABC Prime Time Live; fmr. Nixon Speechwriter	Alternate
Shipler	David	MD	Media	JFreedman	Head of NYT Moscow Bureau, Pulitzer Prize for Arab and Jew; now writing a book on race in America	Alternate
Stone	Forrest		Media	L. Lader/Don Baer	Managing Ed. Weekly Reader; which is launching a Citizenship Handbook + value based forum for encouraging devlpmt of citizenship	Invite
Terr	Jim	NM	Media	POTUS	Musician who wrote op-ed, "Take a Day Off from Finger Pointing"	Alternate
Vittorini	Carlo	NY	Media	VP	Publisher of Parade Magazine (might not be the right day-to-day person)	
Wallis	Jim	DC	Media/Religion	FLOTUS	Sojourner; Co-Author "Cry For Renewal"	Invite
Wattenberg	Ben		Media	P.Lader	Commentator; Author; Values Matter Most; AEI	Alternate
Wills	Gary	IL	Media	DOE	Pultizer-Prize Winning Historian of Lincoln at Gettysberg, Prof. at Northwestern	Invite
Yoder	Ed	VA	Media	P.Lader	Syndicated Columnist	Alternate

July 6 Common Ground: A Call For Responsibility

LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
Zetterstein	Rolf	TN	Media	Bill Hybels	Heads Multi-Media for Thomas Nelson; fmr Focus on the Family (James Dobson) Staff.	Alternate

Count:	33					33
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July 6 Common Ground: A Call For Responsibility

LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
Alda	Alan	NY	Entertainment	PLader	Actor	Alternate
Capshaw	Kate	CA	Entertainment	DOE	Children's Action Network	Invite
Carpenter	Mary Chapin	MD	Entertainment	PLader	Popular vocalist/songwriter	Alternate
Chapman	Steven Curtis		Entertainment	Bill Hybels	Singer	Invite
Denme	Jonathan	PA	Entertainment	OPL	Film Director; Philadelphia	Alternate
Frank	Rich		Entertainment	Susan Ness	President of Academy of Television Arts and Sciences	Alternate
Grant	Amy		Entertainment	Bill Hybels	Christian Singer (Country Pop and Gospel)	Invite
Green	Michael	CA	Entertainment	DOE	President, Nat'l Acad. Recording Arts/Sciences	Invite
Hammer	M.C.	CA	Entertainment	OPL	Rapper, involved with Educat'l CD-Rom; on President's Educational Advisory Board.	Invite
Jakes	John	SC	Entertainment	PLader	Author, North & South, etc.	Alternate
Lear	Norman	CA	Entertainment	OPL/P. Lader	Sit-Com Producer	Alternate
Lee	Spike	NY	Entertainment	PLader	Filmmaker	Alternate
Lucas	George	CA	Entertainment	Susan Ness	Director of Star Wars, Student of Joseph Campbell	Invite
Marsailes	Wynton	NY	Entertainment	OPL	Jazz Musician and Director of Lincoln Center's Jazz for Kids Program, young and very talented, he makes a point of visiting schools and offering a message of the value of persistence and hard work in life and music	Invite
Moonves	Leslie	CA	Entertainment	L.Lader	New Pres., CBS Entertainment; values oriented person	Invite
Olmos	Edward	CA	Entertainment	OPL	Actor, Humanitarian and Community Leader, Pres. of Olmos Productions	Invite
Reiner	Rob	CA	Entertainment	SSilverman	Hollywood Producer/ Director/Actor; Speaking out against violence in movies	Alternate
Sayles	John	NJ	Entertainment	OPL	Independent Film-maker; City of Hope; Matewan	Alternate
Selleck	Tom	CA	Entertainment	DOE	Actor, Republican, Character Education Movement	Invite

*Three Women
Hollywood*

JOAN R. CHALLINOR
3117 HAWTHORNE STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20008
TELEPHONE 202/965-9447
FAX 202/965-6115

June 12, 1995

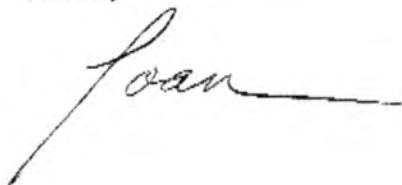
Dear Melanne:

It seems as though the problem-plagued NGO Forum associated with the UN Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing will finally take place under conditions dictated by the NGO Forum. The June 1994 Schlesinger Library conference, "Women, Information, and the Future" was specifically designed to lead up to the this Beijing conference. At that time, the 230 women from 46 countries attending the conference issued a statement on the subject of women, information and the future. I would like very much to present this statement to Madeline Albright, Marjorie Margolies Mezvinsky, and Hillary, if she leads the United States delegation, and have this statement be part of the official U.S. presentation at Beijing. Arvonne Fraser, the past chairperson of the U.S. delegation, had been planning to do just that.

It is impossible to over-emphasize the importance of information to the world's women. I have often stated that the businessmen of the world are riding along the "information superhighway" in their BMWs while the women are walking barefoot on a dirt road which runs beneath the superhighway. I am also sending you a one-page summary of a speech I gave opening the conference.

I am sorry to miss you at the dinner for People for the American Way, but my nephew, Peter Ridder, who lives in Washington, D.C. will be getting married on Saturday and the family dinner is on Thursday of the same week. There is no way I can get out of this important occasion, but encouraged by Bobbie Greene, I sent a contribution.

Best,



STATEMENT ON INFORMATION POLICY
BY JOAN R. CHALLINOR

THE SCHLESINGER LIBRARY'S INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
"WOMEN, INFORMATION, AND THE FUTURE"
June 17-20, 1994

I have been asked to make a statement about "Women, Information, and the Future," the subject of this conference. Women's Rights are often thought of as distinct from Human Rights -- nothing could be farther from the truth. Human Rights and Women's Rights are indivisible and they are both dependent upon information.

Women need information which is clear and widely disseminated in order to take their rightful place in the affairs of the world. United Nations information policy should be made with the full participation of women; they should be consulted at every stage of information-gathering with respect to what, how, and in what form it is to be collected, and how it is to be shared. All information gathered by the United Nations and its 184-member countries should include complete data on women: their history, health, economic status, legal rights, right to information, right to education, right to the fruits of their labor, and right to control their own bodies and their own lives. During this conference we will celebrate women, their lives, their hopes, their strengths, and their continuing commitment to their families and their work -- work which I characterize as "the work of life."

Women's information networks should be encouraged to foster reciprocity and cooperation and to ease communication across geographic and national boundaries. Networks promote the ability to think creatively and to work collaboratively. In the world of tomorrow, communication will be the means by which women will take their rightful place in the world. Close cooperation between women's networks and women's movements will be necessary if we are to prepare for the 21st century, already called "the information century."

Half the talent of the world lies with women; improving the world without utilizing this largely untapped resource is now an impossibility. To reach sustainable human development on this planet will take the efforts of all humankind, women and men alike. When collecting information, the United Nations, its member countries, and other organizations should give priority to that information which is most useful to women and should disseminate it in a form that can be easily accessed by women in every geographic and demographic setting: rural, urban, suburban, regional and national.

If we are to grasp humanity's full potential, women must become equal partners, not just in access to information, but in all facets of world affairs. Time is running out -- policies must be put into place which take into account women as well as men. The necessity of stating this fact indicates the mistakes of the past, mistakes that must not follow us into the future or there will be no future for the world as we know it. What we will be discussing here at the Schlesinger Library during this conference is nothing less than the future of all humanity, and women's part in it as they go about "the work of life."

Joan R. Challinor, Ph.D., 3117 Hawthorne Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008 (202) 965-9447



THE ARTHUR AND ELIZABETH SCHLESINGER LIBRARY
ON THE HISTORY OF WOMEN, RADCLIFFE COLLEGE

INFORMATION STATEMENT BY "WOMEN, INFORMATION, AND THE FUTURE"
JUNE 20, 1994

WE, the 218 participants from 46 countries and six continents, gathering at the Schlesinger Library International Conference "Women, Information, and the Future" convened at Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA, June 17-20, 1994, respectfully offer the following statement for consideration at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, People's Republic of China.

RECOGNIZING THAT THE ADVANCEMENT OF WOMEN in their struggle for equal human rights and for sustainable human development depends on access to information essential to their own political, social, economic and physical well-being, and to their families' health and social and economic betterment;

NOTING THAT TECHNOLOGY can facilitate the creation of information systems that enable women to build and maintain networks, and that collection of information for, about and by women also should proceed in communities which do not have access to modern technology;

CONSIDERING THAT WITHOUT DOCUMENTS women have no history, and without history women will be accorded little respect in the present or in the future, therefore collections of archives, family papers, oral histories, and artifacts should be preserved to document and to honor the contributions of women, and information about women should include statistics, directories of women's organizations, and bibliographies of research on women;

RECALLING WITH SATISFACTION that since the 1985 United Nations Third World Conference on Women in Nairobi, Kenya, many nations have set up systems to collect and disseminate information on women;

WE ENCOURAGE the participants in the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing to urge their governments

- 1) to make women's access to information and to the means of dissemination a priority of public policy;
- 2) to expand their collection, dissemination, and preservation of data and documents on women;
- 3) to take advantage of new technologies and assure women's equitable access to them;
- 4) to utilize the skills of women in creating and maintaining networks.

WE URGE ALL GOVERNMENTS to expand people's knowledge of the past and understanding of the present, and to develop policies that will empower women to achieve equal human rights in the future as the world moves toward sustainable human development.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON
June 9, 1995

A MEMORANDUM FOR THE WORKING GROUP

FROM: GAYNOR McCOWN / JEREMY BEN-AMI / MICKEY LEVITAN

SUBJECT: FOLLOW-UP PLAN FOR THE MEETING ON "REBUILDING COMMUNITY THROUGH CITIZENSHIP"

As we proceed with the planning for our July 6 meeting, we need to keep in mind our plan for post-conference activities based on the President's call to action. The purpose of this memorandum is to provide some suggestions of concrete steps we can take following the meeting. We have also included a tentative timetable.

(1) *Formal Proclamation / Statement:* To set the stage for moving forward and putting the ideas discussed into practice, the President will issue a formal proclamation - "Call to Responsibility" - that challenges leaders to move forward. In doing so, the President would also reiterate the Administration's commitments to these efforts.

(2) *Conference Report:* By documenting and writing a report on the conference, we will have an opportunity to disseminate the proceedings broadly; not only to individuals who participate but those we would have liked to invite as well as a wide range of Americans interested in the issue of citizenship.

(3) *Ongoing Accountability:* To assess progress and sustain momentum, we would have regular meetings - every three months or so - at the White House. The purpose of these meetings would be to provide an opportunity for different sector leaders to report back on steps being taken to meet the challenges set forth. These meetings would reiterate the President's determination to be a leader on the issue of citizenship and responsibility.

(4) *Day of Dialogue:* This would be a day (or possibly a week) when all sectors agree to engage in a national discussion about the rebuilding communities through citizenship. Some examples include: businesses having meeting with workers and management; schools and educational institutions having teach-ins; and elected officials holding town meetings.

(5) *Town Meetings:* Hosting town meetings in different parts of the country would offer the President an opportunity to hear from local community members what they are doing in response to his call to action. The issues discussed would be non-political and focused on the theme of community, civility and citizenship and the President's role would be as leader and listener -- not respondent. This would also help to ensure that this is not seen as an "inside the beltway initiative."

TENTATIVE TIMETABLE:

July 10 --- proclamation is issued

July 31 --- report completed and submitted to the POTUS for review

August 10 --- report sent to meeting participants and other interested parties

September / October --- first follow-up meeting here at the White House

October / November --- national day of dialogue and / or first town hall meeting

Common Ground: A Call To Responsibility

1. Presidential Briefing Materials

Table of Contents

Binder 1

- A. Schedule of Events
- B. Overview of Conference
 - 1. Background
 - 2. Purpose of Conference
- C. Participant List
 - 1. Speakers and Panelists (in alphabetical order)
 - 2. Other Participants (in alphabetical order)
- D. Biographical Profiles of Participants
 - 1. Speakers and Panelists (in alphabetical order)
 - 2. Other Participants (in alphabetical order)
- E. Submissions by Participants
 - 1. Speakers and Panelists (in alphabetical order)
 - 2. Other Participants (in alphabetical order)
- F. Script by Session, Including Discussion Questions for Each Session
- G. President's Talking Points
- H. List of Background Readings in Binder 2

Binder 2

- A. List of Background Readings in Binder 2
- B. Background Readings

2. Participants' Briefing Book

Table of Contents

- A. Schedule of Events
- B. Participant List
 - 1. Speakers and Panelists (in alphabetical order)
 - 2. Other Participants (in alphabetical order)
- C. Biographical Profiles of Participants
 - 1. Speakers and Panelists (in alphabetical order)
 - 2. Other Participants (in alphabetical order)
- D. Submissions by Participants
 - 1. Speakers and Panelists (in alphabetical order)
 - 2. Other Participants (in alphabetical order)
- F. Background Readings
- G. Address List of Participants

3. Public Information

- A. Conference Announcement
- B. Fact Sheets

4. Press Material

- A. Fact Sheets
- B. Background Information
- C. Recap of Presidential Statements

5. Internal Materials

- A. Questions and Answers

WORKPLAN FOR CONTENT AND MATERIALS

As of 6/09/95

[illegible]

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 8, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS ^{CS}
ALEXIS HERMAN
STEVE SILVERMAN

SUBJECT: NATIONAL MEETING ON JULY 6
"Common Ground: A Call to Responsibility"
(tentative title)

BACKGROUND

Since our Saturday meeting with you, we have progressed in the planning of the conference format, substance, and participant list, to most accurately reflect your views.

1. **OBJECTIVES**

A number of possible conference objectives have been discussed:

1. Elicit two tangible conference results (no matter where discussion ends up).
 - I. Follow up on your possible Statement on Religion in Schools.
 - II. Application of one solution on a broader basis.
2. Challenge leaders in different centers of influence to act more responsibly and hold them accountable (Bill Hybels).
3. Rebuild the sense of American community through responsible individual and group citizenship.
4. Develop regular mechanisms for recognizing methods and people who reduce the level of vitriol in discussing differences. Debate Without Demonization. (monthly REGO event Model.)
5. Identify solutions which centers of influence and individuals can undertake to stop the fraying of families and communities. Amplify and multiply their impact.
6. Allow you to be seen as genuinely reflecting America's mainstream (which is not being represented at present).
7. Encourage individuals and centers of influence to do more if they're not doing enough, and do less if they're doing too much.

2. TITLE

The tentative title is:

1. "Common Ground: A Call to Responsibility"

Other Options we have discussed include:

2. "Rebuilding Community Through Citizenship"
3. "Civil Discourse and Civic Responsibility:
Mending the Fabric of Community"

3. FORMAT

We are moving to a three panel format which will include 6-10 panelists at each session with up to 160 observers present.

Members reflectors
Session I will set forth the issues dividing Americans today and will set the framework for how we can address the breakdown in civil discourse and civic responsibility. You will demonstrate your understanding of the subject and highlight your long-standing commitment to bringing people together.

worker
Session II will present and discuss (Sector by Sector) creative solutions to the problems (outlined in Session I) faced by the individual, family, and community. *activists*

The Working Lunch will enable observers to discuss with different panelists (who will be seated at each table) a number of ways to apply these solutions more broadly.

gatekeepers
Session III will include a discussion of the solutions raised during lunch and will culminate in your Call to Action and summary.

4. PARTICIPANT LIST

Alexis Herman and Linda Lader, in consultation with the Vice President's office, the First Lady's Office, and Secretary Riley, have prepared a list of possible participants and an explanatory memorandum. Attached, you will find the list and memo. It would be helpful if you would annotate the list, designating invitees ("I"), who you would like to be invited immediately, and alternates ("A"), who will be invited as space allows. We will then prepare a final invite list and begin the invitation process. Each participant will be asked to prepare two short (1 page) memoranda laying out: 1) What it is which binds Americans together.

- 2) What they, or their communities, have done to solve their common problems and how this can be transferred to other communities.

CC: Leon Panetta
Harold Ickes
Erskine Bowles
Kitty Higgins

06/08/95

TO: William Webster
Deputy Assistant to the President and
Director of Scheduling and Advance

FROM: Alexis Herman, George Stephanopoulos, Steve Silverman

REQUEST: That President host White House Conference on Common Ground
(tentative title)

PURPOSE: To improve civil discourse and civic responsibility and identify
community solutions with broader applications

BACKGROUND:

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION: President's previous involvement on these issues, including 1995 State
of the Union address and his May, 1995 address to the Conference on
Character Building in which President articulated his long-standing
views in these areas.

DATE and TIME: 07/06/95 8:00 am - 4:00 pm

DURATION: Eight Hours

LOCATION: White House East Wing

PARTICIPANTS: Numerous leaders from the academic, entertainment, religious,
community service, and corporate sectors

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: President will host three panel discussions and a working lunch

REMARKS REQUIRED: Yes

MEDIA COVERAGE: Yes

PROPOSED ATTENDANCE:

☒	President
☒	Vice President
☒	1st Lady
☒	2nd Lady

RECOMMENDED BY: Alexis Herman, Secretary Riley, Steve Silverman, George
Stephanopoulos

CONTACT: Steve Silverman
CC: Ann Stock



THE WHITE HOUSE
OFFICE OF CABINET AFFAIRS
Room 160, Old Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20500
Tel. 202-456-2572
Fax. 202-456-6704

FAX COVER SHEET

DATE: 6/8/95TO: Melanne Vervoer

PHONE: _____

FAX: Ca-6244FROM: OCANO. OF PAGES: 2

PRIORITY: Y N

MESSAGE:

476

June 8, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR CORE GROUP ON "COMMON GROUND" CONFERENCE

FROM: STEVE SILVERMAN

SUBJECT: Team Leaders & Calendar for Common Ground Conference

1. Finalize Team Divisions and Leaders

Below is a revised draft of Issues, Teams, and Lead Staff Members responsible for each issue. Please remember that each Lead should devise a strategy with a detailed Action Plan and a Calendar including key dates and work products by the next meeting -- Friday, June 9 at 5:00 pm in OEGB Room 476.

1. Participant List
Linda Lader, Flo McAfee
(Team: Gaynor McCown, Melanne Verveer, Skila Harris)
2. Format/Script
Mickey Levitan
(Team: George Stephanopoulos, Steve Neuwirth, Linda Lader, Melanne Verveer, Frank Holleman, Alexis Herman, Flo McAfee, Gaynor McCown)
3. Paper
Jeremy Ben-Ami, Mickey Levitan, Steve Neuwirth, Frank Holleman
4. June 21 Announcement
Steve Neuwirth, Frank Holleman
5. Logistics
Sarah Farnsworth
6. Communications/Pre-Conference Roll-Out
Mark Gearan, Julia Moffett, Peg Lewis, Lori McHugh
7. Follow-Up/Results
Frank Holleman, Melanne Verveer, Alexis Herman

2. Future Meetings

Proposed schedule for full team meetings is twice-a-week (Monday, Friday at 5:00 pm). We will try to schedule as many meetings as possible in OEGB Room 100 (OCA will call around re: meeting room). In addition, please notify me about the scheduling of weekly individual team meetings so that I can coordinate with Team Leads and attend these smaller sessions as needed.