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Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
First Lady
The White House
Washington, DC 20500-2000

Dear Hillary:

I know how familiar you are with America's grantmaking foundations and the broad range of worthwhile work they support. The most significant tax incentive for giving to foundations is scheduled to lapse at the end of June next year, and with the Council on Foundations, I am working hard to induce Congress to make it permanent. We urgently need your help.

The tax provision permits donors to deduct the full value of gifts of publicly traded stock to grantmaking foundations -- as they can for gifts to all other classes of charities.

While this provision has been extended twice since its original sunset date, making it permanent now is particularly important in view of the plethora of anti-foundation articles which "New Right" think tanks have been cranking out for some time and which are gradually filtering into the mainstream media. In pressing earlier this year for the current extension, we found a long, highly distorted front-page Wall Street Journal article significantly troublesome. We have always had broad bipartisan support for the foundation incentive in the past, but with the think tankers working away steadily -- and following their customary practice of faxing copies of their articles to members of Congress -- the Republican support may well erode with time, and next year may well be our last chance to make the incentive permanent.

I would like very much to talk to you about this. Because the Administration's Budget and tax plans for next year are moving forward rapidly, it would be best to do so as soon as is convenient for you. I promise not to take more than fifteen minutes of your time.

I will, of course, be exceedingly grateful for anything you can do on this score.

With very warmest wishes.

Sincerely,

Tom
Thomas A. Troyer

*Shirley, this
may be an
issue for me
philanthropy
conf'ce*

Via Telecopy



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 5, 1995

MEMORANDUM TO LEON PANETTA

From: Jeremy Ben-Ami
Steve Silverman

Subject: President's Campaign for Responsible Citizenship

Throughout the development of what has turned into the July 6 speech, the President in particular has spoken repeatedly about the need for a campaign or "sustained effort" to make his call for Responsible Citizenship a recognized theme of his Presidency. The President has given several speeches both during the campaign and since the election that have struck these themes, but they have been isolated efforts that ultimately have failed to have the lasting impact we may have desired.

The July 6th speech, therefore, we all agree, has to be the beginning of an ongoing effort with a dedicated commitment to follow through. This memo lays out some of the steps that could be part of that effort in the short and longer term. We need to decide how much of this to announce in the speech, and how much we should just do.

Short Term

1. Presidential Speech Obviously, the President's speech is the first chapter of the campaign. The speech will lay out his vision and his challenge and will give people inside and outside the administration a text to work from when talking about Responsible Citizenship.
2. Presidential "Challenge" The speech will be reduced to a one-page Challenge to Responsible Citizenship and circulated widely to national and community leaders who are actively working to implement the President's vision. This document (produced as a "proclamation" or in some other appropriate form) can serve as a recognizable organizing tool at the local level to guide discussions, for instance, in classrooms or in congregations.
3. Opinion Leaders/Editorial Writers Following the speech, there should be a concerted effort to background key writers, columnists, and opinion leaders on the President's speech and on the effort to make Responsible Citizenship a central theme of the remainder of the term. The Communications Office is developing a list of people to be contacted and briefed in the days following the speech.

4. Regular Inclusion of Themes in Speeches The themes developed in the July 6 speech will be carried through in other speeches – in the near term in the Religious Liberty and Affirmative Action speeches and on an ongoing basis thereafter.

Longer Term

1. Sector by Sector Challenges By the end of the year, the President would commit to a series of events at which he would challenge each of the "sectors of influence" to take up his Challenge. There are a variety of ways in which these events could be structured. Some could be speeches, others could be in small meetings here at the White House. Currently scheduled events or event ideas include:

Business -- There is a speech to the Business Council scheduled for October 13, which might work as a place to talk about corporate responsibility.

Religious -- The annual Religious Leaders Breakfast on September 6 provides a logical place to take the message to this sector.

Nonprofits -- Conference on Non-profits in Cleveland in October?

Foundations Council on Foundations meets on September 27–29 in Washington.

Media -- The Vice President's Family Reunion on July 9 and 10 focusses on Family and the Media. Even though the President is not planning to attend, it provides a logical place for the President's themes to be carried through.

Entertainment -- There is no clear event on the calendar for challenging the entertainment sector, but the President could host a meeting at the White House of executives of television networks or major studios to discuss steps they could take to promote more responsible programming.

Sports -- The President could invite recognized leaders in community service from different sports to the White House to recognize their work.

Education -- There are numerous opportunities to meet with and speak to leaders in the education/academic sector over the next few months. This should be one of the easier events to schedule.

2. Spotlighting Examples -- We have proposed that the President make a regular practice of visiting programs and greeting individuals who represent "What is Right with America" at as many stops as possible in his upcoming travel. Presidential site visits or even handshakes on the tarmac with people who are putting the principles of Responsible Citizenship into practice on the local level will help give definition and ongoing meaning to this effort.

Recognizable Name -- It is our strong recommendation that we come up with a readily identifiable name for this effort. Each time the President meets someone or visits someplace, it will be easier to tie this to the larger effort if it has a name. Examples of previous comparable efforts would include "Faces of Hope" or "Points of Light." The only suggestion I have heard so far is "What's Right with America." I don't know if that works, but we should get together with Frank Greer and our communications people to brainstorm how to give this effort an identity.

Regular Commitment -- It would certainly help explain this to the press and give it ongoing meaning if we could say that the President had committed to doing such things "x" times per month, or that at every stop he would meet with someone from the community who is meeting his challenge. We should decide whether there is interest in making this sort of commitment publically -- or whether we would prefer to just do it.

3. White House Conference Of course, this whole idea started with a White House Conference, where we would bring together the leaders of the various sectors and practitioners from the local level to discuss how the breakthroughs being made at the local level could be translated to national action. We could still plan to have such a conference, only later in the fall, after the President has visited the various sectors and begun to make this a clear ongoing theme of his speeches and schedule. A late November/early December timeframe might make sense given people's tendency to focus on values, family and community around the holiday season.

4. Video We could commission a short video that (a) incorporates parts of the speech on the 30th, (b) highlights some successful local models, and (c) explains the Challenge in more detail. The video could be useful at the local level to leaders and communities trying to act on the President's challenge.

5. Involving other leaders The President could write to other leaders such as Governors, Mayors, religious leaders, educators, heads of non-profits to ask them to pick up on his challenge. We could send the "Challenge" document, or even the video with this letter and ask each of them to hold conferences, give speeches or visit models of Responsible Citizenship in their communities.

6. National Clearinghouse The President could ask someone (NEH, Education, other) to establish a National Clearinghouse on efforts to meet his challenge. He could ask people to send in examples of successful models, and information on the Clearinghouse could be made available through an 800 number and on the Internet.

7. Reporting Back Finally, the President could commit to regularly reporting to the American people on this effort. He could promise an annual speech around July 4 on the State of the American Community; ask for some form of written reports from relevant agency heads, Department heads on their progress with this effort; and/or promise to provide regular updates from the White House on how the effort is going.

Demonstrating Commitment and Results

Ultimately, this effort will only succeed if the public and the press perceive that the White House actually followed through on a discernable plan of action. We need to tell people we are going to do this, we need to do it, and then we need to tell them we did it. All of the suggestions listed above will be helpful in this effort, but most important we need (1) commitment from the highest levels of the administration to this effort and (2) an identity for it.

My recommendation is to treat the above recommendations as a proposed plan for the campaign, and to forward them through the Chief of Staff to the President for signoff so that we can proceed to put this effort in motion. I also think we need an immediate meeting with the creative team – including Frank Greer, other consultants if possible, and the Communications office – to develop the effort's identity.

cc: Erskine Bowles
Harold Ickes
Kitty Higgins
Carol Rasco
Melanne Verveer
Don Baer

Community *diff. body* *democracy* *hope for* *GU family* *1991* *Purpose*
Adrian *all* *Respect* *where*
NEW COVENANT SPEECH

I grew up in a small town in a poor state. I learned, very early on, that opportunities were limited unless we each took responsibility for ourselves and moved to expand them. The kids who grew up in Ft. Smith, Arkansas lived the ideas that are at the core of my New Covenant approach to governing.

We all knew that unless we helped ourselves, nobody was going to do it for us. We worked hard, we helped support our families, we studied hard. But we all also knew that government was our indispensable link to moving up. We needed its scholarships, we needed its good schools, we needed its good teachers, we needed its help.

That was the partnership -- efforts at self help and a government to provide the schooling to help us to help ourselves.

At night, I'd go home to a family that was afflicted by a problem, my step father's alcoholism. We loved each other as a family, but we were in the grip of a disease that made our home life one that was too often tormented and rent with conflict. I loved my step-father, but I also learned the limits of love. No matter how much we loved him, we couldn't give him the discipline he needed, the treatment he required, and the strength he had to summon from within himself to cure himself and live a real life.

So my childhood presented me with the successes and the failures of all that we now debate.

I saw failure when friends of mine, bright, able, hardworking friends of mine, couldn't reach the limit of their potential because the schools weren't that good and there was no job training and there was no day care and there was no help from the outside.

I saw failure when my step father, surrounded by all the love and help in the world, couldn't lick his problem because he didn't summon the internal self-discipline to take his life in hand and change it.

And I saw success when there was a combination, a partnership, a marriage of love and support on the one hand and self help and discipline on the other. When those two were combined, when they worked together, when they were both there, a little boy from Hope, growing up in Ft. Smith, could one day be the President of the United States.

So that is how I came to my philosophy. How I came to believe that a combination was needed. A new covenant.

All of us went through similar generational experiences. We saw our parents or grandparents, during World War II and in the

fifties and sixties, sacrifice for us. We saw them do without so that we could lead better lives. On a personal level, we heard of the vacations they never took, of the joy they postponed, of the living they left un-lived. In public policy, the New Deal, the Fair Deal and the Great Society mirrored that spirit of sacrifice.

As a nation, we did without, we won a war, we bore high taxes, we sacrificed to help our children, to build our future.

Then we saw many of our contemporaries turn inward. We moved away from compassion, caring, investment for the future. We moved to the era of narcissism, of self-involvement. Many turned inward to drugs, self-indulgence, self-gratification. Many embraced the eighties ethic of making money, moving up. Looking out for number one became the slogan and cynicism became the ethic. On a public level, we spent the money tax cuts gave us and cared little about the deficit we racked up. The government ran a deficit, businesses became fat and wasteful, consumer debt skyrocketed. America turned inward and we lived for ourselves with no real thought about tomorrow.

But now, we are living a new ethic -- the ethic of commitment. We are divorcing less, smoking less, drinking less, using drugs less, working out more, dieting more, paying more attention to what we eat and drink. There is less promiscuity and more use of condoms. We realize that actions have consequences. Doing what we want as long as it doesn't hurt anybody is being replaced as our ethic by doing what is best for ourselves and our society.

On a public level, we've learned that when we sweep problems under the rug, they don't go away. They fester, they get infected, they grow and they become crises.

We know as a nation that when we cut money for housing, we case more homelessness. That if we slash welfare, without adding child care, we'll have more latch key kids. That if we don't improve schools, we'll have more unemployment.

But we have also learned that our grandparents and parents didn't have it quite right either. We've learned that a good heart isn't enough. That discipline and standards and expectations and requirements are essential parts of helping anybody. We've all had individual examples, like my own step father, which brought home the reality that giving away help and money and love, doesn't solve the problem.

Funding schools won't help unless we require high standards. Welfare won't work unless we require work. Health care won't cure unless people care about their own bodies and health.

It is in this new ethic that the new covenant takes its

roots.

The new covenant differs from the Great Society in this -- it requires self-help, standards, discipline. It uses government as a catalyst to help people to help themselves, not as a replacement for self help. It offers a hand up not a handout. It recognizes that government is itself a problem, a bloated, over funded, wasteful, slow moving problem. It holds as a core belief that spending must be cut, but investments in people must be increased. It believes that regulations must be reduced, but real protection of the environment strengthened.

The new covenant differs from Republican budget cutters in this -- all spending is not created equal. Spending on education, spending on job training, spending on our future is not the equal of spending on consumption and pork and government subsidies. All cuts are not created equal. Cuts which cut health care services are to be avoided, cuts which reduce health care costs are to be embraced. Cuts which throw poor children out on the street because their mothers didn't marry are wrong. Cuts which make people on welfare take jobs are right.

The new covenant does something we never do in our politics -- it learns from our past mistakes. The past mistake of generosity without demands for responsibility and the past mistake of ignoring our responsibilities to build our future have defined our failings as a nation. We are determined, through the new covenant to avoid them.

And it learns from our successes. The success of teachers in schools throughout America who enforce high standards and give vast amounts of energy, love and dedication. The success of parents who discipline their children and then provide the love to make it all work. The success of Americans throughout our land who seek common ground, who seek to move us ahead.

These are the successes of the New Covenant.

(now go into common ground piece)

SPEECH TEXT OUTLINE
GEORGETOWN SPEECH

I. Opening: July 4th.

A. This week, we celebrated once again the birth of our democracy. It was a time to recall that our country was born in the promise of liberty for all. We have labored more than 200 years to make that promise a reality. Today, as throughout our history, our work is far from done. But we are the freest and most fortunate nation on earth.

B. Struggle not confined to our borders. Throughout century, Americans have sacrificed to defeat tyranny and give people everywhere the freedom to chart their own course. Now the Cold War is over. We see new hope for peace in the face of ancient conflicts all around world.

C. But not at peace with ourselves. Forces that divide stronger; things that ought to unite us weaker. All too often, those who have gained great wealth and power seek to separate themselves. Those who feel cut off from society resort to violence. We think of ourselves as separate groups, not fellow Americans. And, all too often, politics dominated by rhetoric that divides and demonizes -- when we need more healing and a quest for a new common ground.

D. Must remember that the Declaration of Independence -- which set us on the course to liberty -- was really a Declaration of

Interdependence. Last lines: "For the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

E. Today, we need a new Declaration of Interdependence for a new a new common ground of civility, mutual respect and responsible citizenship to meet the profound changes of a new century.

F. Let us remember the age-old meaning of the Fourth of July. Freedom is not free. Liberty is an accomplishment, not an inheritance. In our democracy, only "We the people," have the power and the responsibility to set our nation right. Work of citizenship requires us to take responsibility: As individuals, as families, but also in the sectors of American life of which we are part. And we must commit ourselves to doing all of this in civility.

II. Georgetown: New Covenant

A. Fitting to come here. Spelled out that new declaration of interdependence here in 1991. In post-Cold War era, we face new economic problems, new social problems and a new need to define America's role in the world.

B. New Covenant: Our burden is to give Americans a new choice, rooted in old values, a new choice that offers opportunity,

demands responsibility, gives our citizens more say in a more responsive government -- and that does all of this because we recognize that we are a community, that we have much more that unites us than divides us, that we are all in this together and, now -- more than at any time in our history -- we are going up or down together.

C. We have worked hard to bring all of this bear in Washington and across America. But we know we still have much work to do.

III. Time of change that leads to frustration

A. 100 years from now, we will see this as most profound time of change since industrial revolution came to America. New global economy. Technology. Movement of people, ideas, capital. Great opportunity.

B. But these very forces also carry seeds to make these contentious times too. People are divided, frustrated, angry in face of changes for real reasons we cannot wish away.

C. Personal background statement about middle class values and economics: When I was born, my state's per capita income was half that of the national average. I learned early on that our opportunities would be limited unless we each took responsibility for ourselves. Unless we helped ourselves, nobody was going to do it for us. That meant hard work and support from our family.

But we also learned that, if we could ever get past the great obstacle of our racial problems, we could pull together, and we could all move ahead. If we did not go up together, we would surely all fall together. I learned that from my grandfather, who owned a store in Hope, where his customers were about 50/50 black and white, and where they all helped one another in tough times. And we also learned that we would never live up to our God-given potential, as individuals or as a community, without a government that was our indispensable partner. Schools. Teachers. Moving up in the world.

D. Cannot go back to the way things were. Must find way to reapply old values in face of new challenges.

E. But it is real that we are coming apart in serious ways. Forces that bound us together for nearly 50 years have changed: Cold War, middle class dreams, middle class values.

1. Cold War. Premise: Organized our world view against a common enemy. Limited our disagreements. Respected authority of leaders. Shaped our citizenship. Change: Communism gone. Not as sure of our role in the world and how that role imposes commitment on us as citizens.

2. Middle Class Dreams. Premise: If you work hard and play by the rules, you and your children can do better. Change: Families

working harder, but getting nowhere. Last 15 years, wages of most stuck or fallen. Economy overall doing well. But not necessarily lifting all boats. Cartoon: Nearly 7 million new jobs. Waiter says: I have three of them.

3. Middle Class Values. Premise: Work. Family. Community. Sense of common good and private good were the same. Not always true for all: Blacks and many others kept out of many gains of the mainstream for too long. But, overall we shared the same sense of personal responsibility and discipline needed to get ahead. End of World War II, divorce rate same among races. Etc. Change: Values violated. Breakdown of families. Violence. Teen pregnancy. Stresses on time we all have to help children learn right from wrong. First happened among poor. Now increasingly problems among all. Irony: We are coming back together in terms of values, but it is a race to the bottom, not race to our better selves.

IV. Objective reality

A. Perfectly rational, then, to see why people feel disoriented.

B. Most Americans are coping, as hard as it is. These are real American heroes.

C. But these reasons also show why we see rise of extremist voices that give easy comfort and easy answers on all sides of debates, left and right, liberal and conservative.

D. Their comfort and answers will not truly help us cope with and come to terms with change together.

V. What do we do about it?

A. Some say only about personal responsibility. Call all problems cultural.

B. Some say all problems can be handled through private action or charity. They level criticisms, but don't underscore positive examples.

C. Both are necessary. Neither is sufficient. Not enough to talk about people just doing more themselves, not when they face the pressures they now face. Not enough to just criticize private sector for not doing enough, when challenges are so great.

D. I say: We have to view the responsibilities of citizenship and the roles we must all play as not either/or, but as more and beyond these limited roles. Problems more serious and complex than ever. Assumptions of past don't work. Need to hear each other. Not just consumers of politics, but active citizens.

VI. Must view responsibilities of citizenship on four crucial levels, all of which we need at this point in history. I challenge all to take on these responsibilities.

A. Personal responsibility: Self evidently true that people must do more to make their own lives stronger. (Cultural problems: Code word for a lot of people misbehaving instead of just one.) Opportunity for all not enough; if values are weak, we will waste the money we spend on one another, and our strength will be sapped.

But if we rely only on individual responsibility, we are saying we support only survival of the fittest. That is not good enough in America.

B. Private group responsibility: Must do more. Business. Foundations. Entertainment industry. Media. Education institutions. Religious groups.

But, if every church in America had a missionary outreach to help every child in trouble, to help fight drug abuse, to build homes for the homeless, we would still have a long way to go to solve all our problems: violence, health care, stagnant incomes, inequality, defining our role in the world.

And if all we do is think of ourselves as groups separate and apart from one another, based on race, or income, or background or any one of a hundred other ways to divide us, we will not have the will to act together to overcome our problems. We will sink further and further into separate groups, afraid of one another,

confused by one another, apart from one another. [Upper West Side of New York, richest Zip Code in America, private security assessment story. That can happen in education. In health care. That is the way to lose our common ground.]

C. One part of our responsibility as citizens: Government and private sector partnership. To meet demands of crime and violence (but by moving resources to communities where they can count), of education and training (but demanding higher standards by students, parents, teachers and school officials), of health care, research, national defense. Balanced budget, so we can direct resources to the investments that will make our people stronger and cut spending on old, outmoded ways that make us weaker.

Americorps to help Americans find ways to work with each other, to take responsibility for country and, by doing so, to take responsibility for themselves. But citizenship runs deeper.

D. **National conversation toward a new common ground:** Responsible citizenship means making right decisions about how to use that government and our common effort to meet new demands. Must be able to talk with one another civilly to do that.

1. Leaders in particular must lead this effort.

a. Spirit of Claremont, N.H., with Speaker of the House. People

are still applauding this wherever I go. Even in partisan atmosphere in Washington, we have reached beyond left and right, beyond one party or the other, to find common ground: Unfunded mandates; Congress abiding by laws applied to all others; toughest child support enforcement; need for balanced budget.

b. Have deep problems that demand our undivided attention. Demand our efforts to understand and not to demonize one another as we seek real solutions. Affirmative action. Out-of-wedlock pregnancy. Welfare reform. Helping all Americans make the most of their own lives. These are real issues for real people. Americans are crying desperately for us to do what we can to solve these problems and make progress, not just to posture, to call names and to make enemies of one another.

c. Not enough for leaders just to condemn what we can all agree is wrong. We must show what works, build up sense that we have it in us to meet these challenges.

2. Role of all Americans.

a. Must change their presumptions, so we can achieve civility and reach that common ground we need. Means returning to some fundamental principles about how we deal with one another and how approach our jobs as citizens. Old-fashioned values. Applied in new times. In everything Americans do, I ask them to:

*When you hear someone's point of view put in a negative light, ask: What's the other side of that argument.

*Before you accept stereotypes about people you don't know, think about how they are more like you than different from you, and try to understand why they act the way they do.

*Words do matter. But judge people at least as much by what their actions really are as compared to what they say they will do.

*When considering how we solve our problems, don't ask what's in it for me. Ask what's in it for all of us.

*When you hear the government criticized, think seriously about how your government should act to meet the challenge at hand, not just to criticize what it has or hasn't done.

VII. I will lead this national conversation and highlight the best of America, real American heroes.

A. To face challenges, large and small, need to honor, encourage and celebrate the best of the American spirit. Must highlight the real American heroes for all to see and be inspired by. Those who are working to get ahead, despite the stresses. Those who are leading the way to make America work, across lines that would

divide us.

B. Need to speak out and to all centers of influence in our society. Business. Education. Entertainment. Religious leaders. They must all take up more responsibility for the shared course of our nation, so that what they do is based not just on their own best private interests, but on what will help steer America to a stronger, more secure future.

C. That is why I will speak to the Vice President's Family Conference. Religious Leaders Breakfast in September. The Business Council in October. And why, when I travel around the country, I will meet with and cast a shining light on people in towns and cities across America who are making our spirit stronger, who are helping us find that common ground and reach our greatest potential in real ways.

D. Goal of all this must not be just to talk, but to guide toward action that can change America for the better. All must join, in real and concrete ways, to take up the spirit of shared purpose and shared faith that must unite all Americans. That is how we will achieve a new common ground for a new century.

VIII. Conclusion:

Two days ago, as our nation celebrated its birth, the people of Oklahoma City raised their flags and their spirits to full-mast

for the first time since the tragic events of April 19. Governor Keating led a celebration of recognition, honor and thanks for the thousands of Americans, who in the face of tragedy, truly brought out what was best about America.

Oklahoma City not only united our nation in horror against the forces of hatred and violence. It also showed us how great and good we can really be.

We must demand of ourselves now the same commitment to one another that we saw in Oklahoma City. Not just in the face of chaos and catastrophe. But in our everyday lives. I want the American people to know that there is so much more good about our country than there is bad. Many, many Americans are doing everything they can to make us an even greater country, now and for our children. We have so much to be thankful for. We must never forget that.

To remember it, we must pledge to each other yet again, at the dawn of another new century, our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor. That has been the challenge of our great country at every moment of profound change, in every time when we faced the deepest tests of all. In the struggle for civil rights. In the Cold War. In the fight against fascism of World War II.

And, in the hour when our common ground was most in peril. Eighty

five years after our Founders wrote that Declaration, our country was coming apart at the seams over the issue of slavery. Conflict lay ahead. And at that moment, Abraham Lincoln, who saved our Republic and redeemed the promise of our freedom, had the wisdom to say this, in his first Inaugural Address: "We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies."

I say to you today, my friends: Let us find a new common ground. Let us stand up for the future of our children and the American Dream. Though we may disagree, let us take up our greatest responsibility to one another, as citizens and as a nation: Let us not be enemies, but friends.

PARTIPANTS: RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP SPEECH: JULY 7, 1995

STATE	FIRST NAME	LAST NAME	COMPANY
DC	Ken	Markowitz	
	John	Marks	Search for Common Ground
	Susan	Marks	Search for Common Ground
	Kimberly	Marteau	USIA
	Franz	Mazter	
	Gerald	McEntee	Board of Directors- National Service
	Robert	McGee	
	Vince	Meldrum	Youth Service America
	Sara	Melendez	Independent Sector
	Hassan	Minor, Jr.	Howard University
	Kenneth	Mireles	Hispanic Caucus Institute
	Forest	Montgomery	National Association of Evangelicals
	Colleen	Montoya	Hispanic Caucus Institute
	Natasha	Mullins	
	Dan	Nadash	
	Leo	O'Donovan	Georgetown University
	Tabitha	Orlando	
	Mitchell	Palmer	
	Scott	Pastrick	DNC
	Ada	Pena	LULAC
	Catherine	Pinkerton	NETWORK
	Molly	Raiser	Chief of Protocal - State Department
	Michael	Ralsky	
	Tracey	Rich	
	Malcolm	Richardson	President's Committeee on Arts and Humanities
	Richard	Riley	DOE
	Art	Roberts	
	Ginger	Romero	Hispanic Caucus Institute
	Mark	Rosenman	The Union Institute

PARTIPANTS: RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP SPEECH: JULY 7, 1995

STATE	FIRST NAME	LAST NAME	COMPANY
DC	Gerry	Salemme	
	David	Saperstein	Religious Action Center
	H. Bernard	Schroeder	
	Eli	Segal	Americorps
	Layla	Sein	The American Muslim Council Report
	David	Seldin	Communitarian Network
	Neal	Shenoy	
	Claudette	Shwiry	Arab American Institute
	Jennifer	Snyder	
	Alejandra Santiago	Solis Solis	
	Patrick Terry David	Straub Straub Straub	USX Corporation
	Kevin	Sullivan	Office of Secretary Richard Riley
	Bennie	Thayer	National Association of the Self Employed
	Lelie	Thornton	Department of Education
	Craig	Tilley	
	Paul	Tipton	Association of Jesuit Colleges and Universities
	Christina	Tovar	
	Rosie	Valadez	Hispanic Caucus Institute
	Helen	Veit	
	Gaylin	Vogel	
	John	Walters	The New Citizenship Project
	Bonnie	Weinstein	Attorney-at-Law
	James	Wendorf	Reading Is Fundamental
	Leon	West	The Congress of National Black Charities, Inc.
	Anne	Wexler	
	Carol	Williams	Peace Links

PARTIPANTS: RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP SPEECH: JULY 7, 1995

STATE	FIRST NAME	LAST NAME	COMPANY
DC	Carolyn Than	Young Young	DC Service Corps The Congress of National Black Charities, Inc.
	Timothy	Zayac	
IN	Les	LenKowsky	Board of Directors- National Service
MA	Ray	Hammond	Ten-Point Coalition
	John Lynn	Samaan Samaan	Boston Rescue Mission Boston Rescue Mission
	Samuel	Wood	10 Point Coalition
MD	Loleta	Bailey	Liberty Magazines
	Rhonda	Dorsey	MD Commission-National Service
	Bowyer	Freeman	Bread for the World
	Janet	Salmons	Magic ME
	Marilyn	Smith	Maryland's Governor Commission on Service
	Sid	Swartz	Washington Institute for Jewish Leadership & Values
NY	Janet	Dutrey	Resolving Conflict Creatively Program National Center
	Richard	Green	The Crown Heights Youth Collective
	Michael	Lerner	Tikkun Magazine
	Wesley	Michaelson	Reformed Church in America
	Orlando	Rivera	South Bronx High School
	Joeseeph	Scelsa	The John D. Calandra Italian Amer. Instit.
	Mort Robert Debrah	Sherman Sherman Sherman	South Orangetown Central School District The Surdne Foundation
	Paola	Vita	Rebels With A Cause
PA	Don	Eberly	National Fatherhood Initiative
TX	Margarita	Valdez	
VA	Eileen	Bakke	Mustard Seed Foundation
	Ron	Brandt	Association for Supervision & Curriculum Develp.

PARTIPANTS: RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP SPEECH: JULY 7, 1995

STATE	FIRST NAME	LAST NAME	COMPANY
VA	Mimi	Carter	Thomas Jefferson Middle School
	John	Castelli	
	Peter	Edman	The Trinity Forum
	Janie	Gilmore	Educational Media Development
	Darrell	Green	Washington Redskins
	Os	Guinness	The Trinity Forum
	Natalie	Holmes	American Association of School Administration
	John	Lauber	The Trinity Forum
	T. David	Legg	The Trinity Forum
VT	Matthew	Kireker	
	Charles	Kireker	Twin Birches
	Bennett	Kireker	
	Marie	Kireker	Vermont School Board
Count:	189		

7/3/95 9:30 p.m.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
A NEW COMMON GROUND
GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY
JULY 6, 1995

41-9 July

I have asked you here today to discuss a matter of deep importance to America. You, who have done so much to build community across this land, understand our national need to find a new common ground.

It is fitting for us to talk here at Georgetown. As a student, I learned about finding common cause here. When I arrived in 1964, I already had some understanding of this -- from my schools, my church, my home. I grew up in the South at a time when so many of us struggled to live together against a past that drove us apart.

But, I learned so much more during my time here, as our country confronted new obstacles to our age-old striving to give meaning to "E Pluribus Unum." We saw it in the clash of cultures and generations. And we saw it in the rage and fear and violence that erupted in the streets of this city after Dr. King was slain.

Fortunately, we also learned something here more uplifting and, I believe, enduring about the American spirit. Sitting where you now sit, I heard the words of a professor named Carol Quigley. He taught that America was the greatest country in history because our people have always believed in two great ideas: first, that the future can be better than the present. And second, that each of us has a personal, moral responsibility to make it so.

I ran for President to apply that lesson to our effort to meet the challenges of a new century. I returned to Georgetown in 1991 to call on Americans to forge a New Covenant based on opportunity and responsibility to overcome the obstacles of our own times.

When I ran for President, we had too many Americans who saw the global economy as a dog-eat-dog world. Too many Americans believed they could lose everything in the next minute. That they were out there all alone -- without the help of a government that cared and without the ties of community or, too often, even family to help. They had stopped believing that the future could be better than the present. Or that they could take personal responsibility to change that course for the better.

For the past two-and-a-half years, we have worked hard to change that, to provide more opportunity and demand more responsibility from everyone. We have strengthened our economy, expanded educational opportunities so hardworking people can compete and win in the global economy, increased trade, and created jobs that will keep our citizens and our families strong. We have fought against violence and the tools of violence that threaten the safety and security of our people. In all this, we have worked to keep the American Dream alive for our children and grandchildren as we enter a new century.

In my administration, we have helped our schools teach better

citizenship, responsibility and values. We have created Americorps, our national service initiative, to give new meaning to the old American principles of community and country. And I have spoken out, on many occasions, to say that we are all in this together and we shall rise or fall together.

But, for all we have done, it is not enough. The great irony of our age is that the forces of opportunity lifting us up also contain within them the power to tear us apart. The new global economy which holds out so much promise in ideas, technology and jobs, also places tremendous pressures on our families, our communities, our values. Pushed too far, mobility can become dislocation. Industriousness can become overload. Those pressures can lead to frustrations, and those frustrations can lead us to turn against one another in blame, rather than toward one another in common purpose. Most Americans do their dead-level best to cope with those frustrations in their daily lives. But we have seen, in the shadow of Oklahoma City, how some people who live at the margins of our society express their frustrations through violent acts that strike at us all.

Some people, in and out of politics, want to look around for someone to blame -- whether it is the government, or the entertainment industry, or global corporations. Some who are rich say it is the poor. Some who are poor say it is the rich.

*Social
Control*

7 The truth is, we all must share the responsibility. As President, I have spoken out often on the need for greater responsibility in all sectors of our society. I am proud that many in my administration, including Tipper Gore, the Vice President's wife, have led the way to bring more responsibility and stronger values to many parts of our lives.

They have shown this is a time not for pointing fingers but for joining hands. We have watched old walls of tyranny and hatred torn down abroad. This is no time to build new walls at home. The real question now is not, who is to blame, but, what are we going to do about it? And that is why I want to talk with you today.

With your help, I want us to put aside partisan politics and unite this country in a massive effort to promote civility, stop violence and rebuild the American community.

We learned more in Oklahoma City than just the force of hatred and violence and division. We saw the best of the American spirit . . . concern for one another . . . neighbor helping neighbor . . . understanding and caring and tolerance. That's the American spirit. That's what keeps the American Dream alive for our children.

It should not take chaos or catastrophe to bring out our character. We must revive the search for virtue and the common

good in our everyday lives. The message is clear: Here, at the edge of the 21st century, let us unite to condemn hatred, intolerance and violence. Let us rebuild a new common ground of respect, civility and civil order. That is what makes America strong. That is the best of America.

I believe we can do this, because I know we have done it before. Many of you were fortunate enough to have the experience I had of growing up in places where people did come together to help one another. My grandparents and my parents taught me about equality, justice and the worth of every individual. It did not always come easily for all of them, but many of the people I grew up around believed we could work in unity -- and because we believed it, we helped to move one another forward.

But we must not believe those who would have us think we can simply wish our way back to the way things were. Life is not that easy, and the forces the world places on us are not that simple. Our challenge is to reapply our basic values in the context of different times. We must do everything we can to transform our thoughts, our words and our actions, so that we promote civility, community and common purpose, not rancor, division and hate.

We should begin with the way we think about one another. In many ways, we have become a nation of "others." White, black. Men, women. Liberal, conservative. We have all come to categorize the

other person, to count them out of our group and into another group that we suspect of not sharing our values, our concerns, our virtues. Some of this came out of the best of impulses: People of like backgrounds or interests have, in recent decades, found a new freedom to express their shared heritage and strengths. And much good has come out of this, for all of us. But we must make sure that our diversity remains a strength for all of us, and not a force for divisiveness.

If you see yourself as other, you are less likely to feel you have a stake in building a common future of harmony and prosperity. We must not forget the sternest lessons of our century: The danger that can arise when people think of each other as categories of difference.

We must begin by letting go of the presumptions we make about people whom we do not know -- whom we regard as too different. Let me put this in personal terms. All of us have been guilty of false presumptions. Think about the presumptions that apparently led to the Oklahoma City tragedy. Many of those who died were hardworking government employees, who have been routinely and derisively referred to as "bureaucrats." When Hillary and I visited the loved ones of those workers who had been killed, I realized that they gave their lives performing the most vital services to people -- sending out pension checks, ensuring public safety, taking care of our children. And I vowed right then and

there never to use the term "bureaucrat" again derisively. That is the kind of presumption I am talking about.

We all must take personal responsibility to suspend our presumptions about people who are different than we are, to stop treating each other like enemies. We are all Americans. That is the best presumption to start with. *Respect*

Beyond our thoughts, we must take responsibility for our words. Words have consequences. Words and discussion and debate are the very currency of our democracy. Democracy does not mean we all agree with one another, or share a single set of ideas. If it did, we would never change in this country and never make progress. But democracy does mean we have pledged not to permit our disagreements to destroy our community. It means we have promised to respect one another even when -- especially when -- our ideas are different.

That is what the Speaker of the House and I reaffirmed in New Hampshire last month. Everywhere I have gone since that discussion, people have told me how impressed they were with the civility of that moment. They told me how good it was to see us meaningfully debate our differences, without the angry words and name-calling so much a part of political debate in our country.

I challenge all of our political leaders to tone down the

rhetoric and to remember that hate is not a family value. Beyond left and right, there is a frontier of civility that we must defend. And we must be vigilant in the face of the people who would breach that frontier, whether they speak from the left or the right, through microphones or newspapers or in front of television or movie cameras.

When voices advocate racism or sexism or dehumanization of individuals of any kind, it does not matter that they are our allies on other issues or that they attack others with whom we disagree. We must reject their attacks outright. We must do that if they are the voices of the left [Farrakhan, with quotes to come] or of the right [NRA, with quotes to come]. If we do not, how will we have the moral authority to teach our children they are wrong when they use the worst kind of racial epithet in a high school yearbook as a sick joke, which is what happened in one high school recently?

When our words become weapons in angry hands, we lose our capacity for cooperation and compromise. When speech is a club, clubs become knives and guns, and violence replaces speech as the broker of our differences. We cannot afford that in our democracy.

Finally, beyond our thoughts and words, we must take the actions to renew our sense of community. As President, I have worked to

rebuild community across our country. Americorps. Community development banks. Empowerment zones: All reflect our larger commitment to help people make the most of their lives and to give them the tools to work together.

But my actions as President must go beyond all of that, because what it takes to rebuild community and civility is about much more than government action. I believe my responsibility is to show that there are real, concrete ways for us to work towards a stronger American community. And I want to convince our people that there is far more that is right and good about what we are doing as Americans -- and what we still can do -- than what is wrong about America and divides us. As I said when I was inaugurated as your President: There is nothing wrong with America that cannot be fixed by what is right with America.

That is why I will devote time in the weeks and months to come to celebrate and focus on the best of America -- what is working to help pull us together. When I travel across this country, I meet many people like you. In every town, community and state I visit, I meet remarkable people who are doing their part and urging others to do more. The community leader bridging racial divisions through a sports league. The principal who makes her school into a place for youth to play and study in the evening. The entertainer setting up a foundation to reach at-risk children. This is what works in America. These are the real American

heroes. And I want America to know about them and be inspired by them.

We must challenge everyone to do more. And that is especially true of leaders from sectors of influence in our lives. Business. Entertainment. Media. Sports. Education. I will meet with leaders from these and other sectors of American society and challenge them to join me in our efforts to renew the American community.

I will ask business leaders to build on examples of corporate responsibility -- providing on-site day care to make our people good workers and good parents and investing profits back into the training of the most important asset any business has: its workers. I will not demonize entertainment leaders. That is too easy. The hard part is to find ways with them to use our media and entertainment outlets to strengthen families, reinforce values and provide positive role models. I will remind those in sports and entertainment of the responsibility that comes with fame and rewards.

I want to meet with American citizens across this nation who are working everyday to build bridges and promote healing. People who understand that citizenship means more than paying your taxes and mowing your lawn. It means behaving with decency, restraint and deep caring for one another as fellow Americans in a diverse but unified nation.

We must do all this in the face of real and profound challenges. We know that. But our challenges are no greater than those we have faced -- and overcome -- together throughout our history. Think of all the times we have come through. We did it a generation ago during civil rights era. We did it in winning the Cold War. We did it in the great fight against fascism in World War II. We did it in Oklahoma City.

We must never forget, we have faced up to our challenges before. Abraham Lincoln, who saved our Republic in its hour of greatest need and redeemed the promise of our freedom, said something very important in his first inaugural. The country was coming apart at the seams over the issue of slavery. We were headed into our deepest conflict. But he had the understanding to say: "We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies."

I say to you today, my friends: Let us find a new common ground. Let us stand up for the future of our children. And though we may disagree, let us take up our greatest responsibility to one another: Let us not be enemies, but friends.

Thank you and God bless you.

**FAX TRANSMITTAL SHEET**DATE: July 3, 1991# OF PAGES: 7
(including this page)FAX # 456-6244
PHONE # _____TO: Melanne VerkerFROM: Bill GubstenCOMMENTS: FYI and use as you see fitPlease bring me a copy of the speech tonightMy address is 3814 Jenifer St, NW**IF THERE IS A PROBLEM WITH THIS TRANSMISSION
PLEASE CONTACT:**

BENJAMIN BARBER

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07-01-95 18:30

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**WHAT CITIZENSHIP ASKS OF US:
For the President via Bill Galson and Don Baer**

**From: Benjamin R. Barber
July 3, 1995**

**Telephone: 413-298-3410
Fax: 413-298-4364**

*NOT proof read
or edited!*

[What follows are three sets of remarks, written in speech format but intended as ideas for a speech rather than that speech itself; I have found it easier in the short time available to write as if I were composing a speech rather than in abstractions about what one might include in such a speech.

I have not incorporated into these remarks, but do discuss briefly at the end, the barest outlines of what a "campaign for renewed citizenship" might look like. Clearly, such themes need to be integrated into the speech itself.

May I finally suggest that if you can get hold of a copy of my speech in Prague (a copy should be available at the USIA), there are themes there that might well be relevant to this speech -- ditto the essay on CIVIL SOCIETY in the February/March 1995 THE NEW DEMOCRAT]

I. Themes and ideas for the speech:

We ask much of our democracy: that it preserve our freedoms, that it achieve our common goals, that it administer the common good, that it govern in our name and for our ends; and also that it leave us alone! But democracy does not run on automatic pilot; it is fueled by our active engagement. It gives much but in return it asks much of us -- above all, it asks us to be citizens.

We are a diversified country -- pluralistic from the very beginning. We celebrate our many differences and so we should, but these differences can also become fault lines along which we divide and separate from one another. We cherish our liberties and so we should, but these liberties can become sanctuaries of selfishness and an excuse for isolation. We revel in free speech, and so we must, but free speech can also incite and anger and divide and polarize. Our differences call out for common ground; our liberties demand the counterweight of responsibility; our free speech requires civility.

In a diversified and free society then there is a special need for the glue that holds democracy together: the glue of common citizenship.

** 2 hours*

BENJAMIN BARNER

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There are three vital dimensions of citizenship:

1. What we say and do as individuals who wish to speak and act as citizens;
2. What we say and do as members of institutions and groups that have collective civic responsibilities;
3. How we speak when we speak as citizens, as against how we may speak as self-interested individuals or members of corporate collectivities that are not part of civil society.

1. Citizens are made not born: de Tocqueville spoke of an arduous apprenticeship of liberty. To be a citizen means much more than just voting or paying taxes or writing a letter to a politician. When Jefferson spoke of government for, by and of the people it was citizens he was thinking of. Citizens are people... plus: people plus a concern for others; people plus an understanding of how we affect one another's lives; people plus an acknowledgment of our membership in a hundred different communities large and small, from our families and neighborhoods right up to the global community of humankind.

The individual citizen takes responsibility for the community not out of altruism or charity but because she knows she is part of the community and without her active engagement and responsibility, it cannot flourish or be free. Responsibility is how we earn our freedom -- because liberty isn't free. It is perhaps the hardest thing on earth to win, and too often it is the easiest to lose.

In a nation of citizens who take responsibility for themselves, their neighbors and the extended communities of state and nation to which they belong, there is no need for heroes. Democracy is government without heroes. We may feel sorry for the country that has no heroes, but we ought truly to pity the country that needs heroes. In a democracy, ordinary women and men do the work of governance, with the help of accountable representatives. Your elected officials have a grave responsibility to you; but you have a still graver responsibility to yourselves and your neighbors.

Responsibility may sometimes seem a tired old civic idea. But the currency of responsibility is power. To take responsibility is to grasp the means to make a difference, to be empowered to do things without waiting for others to do them for you. A responsible citizenry is an empowered citizenry. A powerful citizenry needn't scapegoat leaders or blame others for their failures for it can take power into its own hands and make the crucial difference.

BENJAMIN BARBER

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There is a lot of understandable anger and cynicism abroad in our land today. But much of it is the result of a sense of powerlessness on the part of Americans who have lost a grasp on their own agency, their own citizenship. As we take on some responsibility, we sense our own democracy power -- and the clouds of cynicism and resentment recede. This government belongs to us; it is ours. As we take responsibility for it, it becomes responsible.

I do not mean to call on the American people to take the responsibility from my shoulders: we, your elected officials, have heavy constitutional duties to carry out your will. But electing us is the beginning not the end of your responsibility as citizens. We govern as your agents and your delegates, but we cannot remove from your shoulders the ultimate responsibility for the welfare of our nation. America is not a bunch of me's; it is a "we" to which we all belong.

2. America is the common community of its citizens; and it is the sovereign nations represented by those of us you have privileged by voting us into office. But between you as individual citizens and your government -- between you and me -- there is a vital domain of community organizations and civil associations and foundations and schools and churches and business corporations that are also citizens of our civil society. On their shoulders too fall the responsibilities of citizenship.

By themselves individual citizens cannot address all of our common problems. By itself, your government cannot solve the myriad challenges that confront our communities throughout our nation. Much of what has gone right with America, and some portion of what has gone wrong, is also the responsibility of our common associations and civic organizations and business enterprises. And each of us belong not just to a family or neighborhood, but have a place of worship and a place of work; a circle of friends and a circle of fellow workers and business associates. Our civic responsibility does not stop at the end of our nose or at the front door of our homes. For where there is power there is responsibility and where there is responsibility there is citizenship. This is a lesson every young member of Americorps has learned during the period they have served America's communities.

It is time for our foundations and corporations and unions and companies to think about their membership in the wider society. Not just what they can get but what they can give to America. They profit from our great land of freedom and owe a debt of responsibility to the liberty they enjoy. We are not a country disposed to censorship; is there no way Hollywood and Madison Avenue and the corporations that

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control them can be brought to understand that the education of future generations of Americans is in their hands as much as it is in the hands of our educators? When will our popular music artists and those who package and sell them begin to understand that they also shape and mould the tastes which, in the name of the free market, they pretend only to serve? When will the companies that move their plants abroad and downsize their labor forces and covert fulltime workers with pensions to part workers at minimum wage recognize that they have a responsibility to full employment and good health and a society capable of paying for the goods they produce and not just to the short-term bottom line?

These are not demands for altruism or sacrifice. They simply recognize that liberty carries with it responsibility -- for groups and individuals alike. They ask our common associations and business corporations to acknowledge that they are part of a free society and benefit from its freedoms and have a responsibility to sustain those freedoms through responsible behavior. Henry Ford figured out that higher pay for his workers created greater demand for his cars, a healthier society and a more productive workforce -- all of which helped Ford prosper in the long run. Citizenship is the long-term perspective of liberty. It teaches the Hollywood studio that short term profits and the exploitation of violence and sexuality will not in the long term nurture an America for which it will want to or be able to make films. It teaches business that an America that does not share in its productivity and profits will not in the long run be either a market from which it can profit or a society that will support it.

3. Finally, if citizenship is the glue that hold democracy together, talk is the binder that holds citizens together. But talk, like citizenship itself, is an art. Civic talk is not any old talk, but talk that listens as well as it articulates; talk that seeks out some one else's position even as it asserts one's own; talk that respects even when the other side seems morally repugnant; talk that is civil even when it uncovers fundamental differences.

America certainly is not short on talk today. But much of the talk is aggression by other means, assault by words, communication as intolerance. Radio hosts on both sides of the political divide demonize their adversaries and encourage callers to dismiss opponents as fools and idiots and, what is worst of all, traitors. Too often we talk neither to persuade nor to learn but to overpower and intimidate.

Talk is democracy's most precious commodity: it has been badly debased. Every night you can tune into television

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shows where three Washington experts spend a half hour talking about a current event -- all three talking at the same time, shouting one another, waiting for the chance for the last word, the loudest word, the angriest word. This isn't the kind of talk that nurtures democracy or gives us a common currency of symbols to bridge our many policy differences and plural values. Those who support the rights of women to choose when to give birth are not murderers; those who believe abortion is morally noxious are not fanatics. Those who believe in the possibility of government to make a contribution to the public good are not communists or socialists or traitors to America; those who believe there is too much government are not fascists or anarchists or traitors to America. The argument over the proper size and duties of the Federal Government is as old as the Founders. When we make that argument a basis for productive discourse and use it to discover new ways of doing business, it serves us well. When we use it to demonize our opponents and expose the "bad faith" of our adversaries, we permit it to destroy us and the possibility of living together in the face of our many differences.

We need to restore talk to its proper function as the mediator of our democracy; the carrier of our mutual respect and tolerance; the key to our civility. Civility is the essence not just of civilization but of democracy. It is the water in which democratic citizens swim without drowning. It allows us to mediate our differences and find common ground in spite of our divisions.

If we can restore to our national life a sense of our responsibilities as individual citizens, a recognition of the obligations of communities and civic associations and business corporations to the public good as well as their own ends, and a belief in the necessity of civility -- talk as bridge rather than talk as sword -- perhaps we will once again be in a position to tap our democracy's greatest asset: we the people of the United States of America.

II. A "Campaign for Renewed Citizenship"

I think it makes good sense to see the Thursday speech not simply as an important attempt to address the issues, but also as the beginning of a "campaign" aimed at engaging Americans as individuals and in their communities in reviving their sense of civic responsibility. For this to be meaningful, there need to be specific tasks, responsibilities and commitments that individuals, groups and corporations can take on.

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They do not have to all be invented from the top down -- many can be chosen by those wishing to respond to the call for engagement. One might say in the speech something like:

"You do not have to be a Peace Corps or an Americacorps member to make the commitment to citizenship. There is room in your everyday life for citizenship, which is a state of mind as well as a set of responsibilities."

But there does need to be a common device: perhaps a "Covenant of Citizenship" in which Americans pledge NOT TO THEIR GOVERNMENT BUT TO ONE ANOTHER to take responsibility in their neighborhoods, their schools or places of worship, their workplace, for some of the problems that afflict America. It is important that such a commitment be seen NOT as a SURROGATE for government, but as a partnership with government, a sharing of responsibility, not the government saying "now that YOU are responsible citizens our job is done!"

During the war organizations and companies contributed to the democratic war effort (even as in many cases they profitted from war production). How can we call on business today to make a peace-time commitment that mirrors the responsibility they took for liberty during the war? Is there a "corporate covenant"? What might be asked of them? Ditto for the media -- which at least in some localities has committed to things like "Family news broadcasts" -- but more generally has taken little civic responsibility for its educational and informational responsibilities.

Obviously, the Thursday speech can only point to a campaign -- which will then have to be worked out. But as long as it makes clear that the speech is a beginning point, not an end in itself, and that you plan to ask America to join in a civic partnership of individuals and groups, the details can come later.

On talk, it would be valuable to think of a kind of "pledge to civility" that media companies, communications and entertainment corporations and other might take -- which self-restrained them in specified ways.

There are finally many groups and associations already out there doing important civic work that might become symbolic leaders of such a campaign since they already have taken on the responsibilities of citizenship.

BRB


A Few Paras on the Campaign for the July 6 Speech

[Don, I needed to do the italics for my benefit, to get rolling into the part about the actual campaign. You can disregard!!]

I have spoken before of the need for American citizens and leaders to accept responsibility for helping to rebuild the American Dream. . . . I have challenged Americans of all walks of life and all levels of society to ~~live up to~~ take responsibility for helping to solve problems rather than pointing the finger of blame. . . .

I believe this is the key to our success in the third American century. We all have a responsibility to help renew the American community. That's why I call on the American people today to work with me to meet the Challenge of Responsible Citizenship.

Let me tell you what I will do. I will meet with leaders from every sector of American society and ask them to take up this Challenge -- to join me in this campaign to renew the American community. My message will be simple: To business leaders, I will say, let's build on the many fine examples of corporate responsibility -- where businesses provide on-site day care for their workers or invest profits back in the communities of their workers. You can make a profit and help strengthen your communities at the same time.

To the entertainment industry, I will not demonize and point fingers, but will challenge them as members of the American community to find ways to strengthen families, reinforce values, and provide positive role models. I will remind them that the power to make the images that shape our community brings with it the responsibility to help shape it in positive ways as well.

I will highlight the ballplayers who spend hours with their community youth and challenge sports professionals not to run from their obligation to be role models. I don't buy the line that a hero to millions of young Americans does not have to be a role model. There's a responsibility that comes with the fame and rewards -- and I plan to challenge our young superstars to live up to it.

Even more important, I promise to take time on each of my travels around this country to highlight What is Right in America. You know, you could watch the evening news and listen to talk radio or read the tabloids and you would think there isn't a thing right with this wonderful country.

Well that just isn't so. In every town, in every community, in every state that I visit, I meet the most remarkable people. The community leader bridging racial and ethnic divisions through a sports league. The principal making her school a community center so youth have a place to play and study and don't have to take to the streets. The entertainer setting up a foundation to reach out to at-risk youth. These are our heroes and we don't hear enough about them.

So I pledge to you -- and my friends in the press corps may tire of this -- that we will meet, visit, and highlight people in every community I travel to who are fulfilling the Challenge of Responsible Citizenship.

There isn't a thing wrong with America that can't be fixed by what is right with America -- if we'll all just take up this challenge and work together.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 3, 1995

MEMORANDUM TO STEVEN SILVERMAN

From: Jeremy Ben-Ami 
Subject: President's Campaign for Responsible Citizenship

Throughout the development of what has turned into the July 6 speech, we have spoken repeatedly about the need for a campaign or "sustained effort" to make the President's call for Responsible Citizenship a recognized theme of his Presidency. The President has given several speeches both during the campaign and since the election that have struck these themes, but they have been isolated efforts that ultimately have failed to have the lasting impact we may have desired.

The July 6th speech, therefore, we all agree, has to be the beginning of an ongoing effort with a dedicated commitment to follow through. This memo lays out some of the steps that need to be part of that effort in the short and longer term.

Short Term

1. Presidential Speech Obviously, the President's speech is the first chapter of the campaign. The speech will lay out his vision and his challenge and will give people inside and outside the administration a text to work from when talking about Responsible Citizenship.
2. Presidential "Challenge" The speech will be reduced to a one-page Challenge to Responsible Citizenship and circulated widely to national and community leaders who are actively working to implement the President's vision. This document (produced as a "proclamation" or in some other appropriate form) can serve as a recognizable organizing tool at the local level to guide discussions, for instance, in classrooms or in congregations.
3. Opinion Leaders/Editorial Writers Following the speech, there should be a concerted effort to background key writers, columnists, and opinion leaders on the President's speech and on the effort to make Responsible Citizenship a central theme of the remainder of the term. The Communications Office is developing a list of people to be contacted and briefed in the days following the speech.

4. Regular Inclusion of Themes in Speeches The themes developed in the July 6 speech will be carried through in other speeches – in the near term in the Religious Liberty and Affirmative Action speeches and on an ongoing basis thereafter.

Longer Term

1. Sector by Sector Challenges By the end of the year, the President would commit to a series of events at which he would challenge each of the "sectors of influence" to take up his Challenge. There are a variety of ways in which these events could be structured. Some could be speeches, others could be in small meetings here at the White House. Currently scheduled events or event ideas include:

Business -- There is a speech to the Business Council scheduled for October 13, which might work as a place to talk about corporate responsibility.

Religious -- The annual Religious Leaders Breakfast on September 6 provides a logical place to take the message to this sector.

Non-Profits -- Conference on Non-profits in Cleveland in October?

Media -- The Vice President's Family Reunion on July 9 and 10 focusses on Family and the Media. Even though the President is not planning to attend, it provides a logical place for the President's themes to be carried through.

Sports -- The President could invite recognized leaders in community service from different sports to the White House to recognize their work.

Education -- There are numerous opportunities to meet with and speak to leaders in the education/academic sector over the next few months. This should be one of the easier events to schedule.

Foundations -- The Council on Foundations meets on September 27-29 in Washington.

2. Spotlighting Examples -- We have proposed that the President make a regular practice of visiting programs and greeting individuals who represent "What is Right with America" at as many stops as possible in his upcoming travel. Presidential site visits or even handshakes on the tarmac with people who are putting the principles of Responsible Citizenship into practice on the local level will help give definition and ongoing meaning to this effort.

Recognizable Name -- It is my strong recommendation that we come up with a readily identifiable name for this effort. Each time the President meets someone or visits someplace, it will be easier to tie this to the larger effort if it has a name. Examples of previous comparable efforts would include "Faces of Hope" or "Points of

Light." The only suggestion I have heard so far is "What's Right with America." I don't know if that works, but we should get together with Frank Greer and our communications people to brainstorm how to give this effort an identity.

Regular Commitment --- It would certainly help explain this to the press and give it ongoing meaning if we could say that the President had committed to doing such things "x" times per month, or that at every stop he would meet with someone from the community who is meeting his challenge. We should get a decision whether there is interest in making this sort of commitment publically – or whether we would prefer to just do it.

3. White House Conference Of course, this whole idea started with a White House Conference, where we would bring together the leaders of the various sectors and practitioners from the local level to discuss how the breakthroughs being made at the local level could be translated to national action. We could still plan to have such a conference, only later in the fall, after the President has visited the various sectors and begun to make this a clear ongoing theme of his speeches and schedule. A late November/early December timeframe might make sense given people's tendency to focus on values, family and community around the holiday season.
4. Video We could commission a short video that (a) incorporates parts of the speech on the 30th, (b) highlights some successful local models, and (c) explains the Challenge in more detail. The video could be useful at the local level to leaders and communities trying to act on the President's challenge.
5. Involving other leaders The President could write to other leaders such as Governors, Mayors, religious leaders, educators, heads of non-profits to ask them to pick up on his challenge. We could send the "Challenge" document, or even the video with this letter and ask each of them to hold conferences, give speeches or visit models of Responsible Citizenship in their communities.
6. National Clearinghouse The President could ask someone (NEH, Education, other) to establish a National Clearinghouse on efforts to meet his challenge. He could ask people to send in examples of successful models, and information on the Clearinghouse could be made available through an 800 number and on the Internet.
7. Reporting Back Finally, the President could commit to regularly reporting to the American people on this effort. He could promise an annual speech around July 4 on the State of the American Community; ask for some form of written reports from relevant agency heads, Department heads on their progress with this effort; and/or promise to provide regular updates from the White House on how the effort is going.

Demonstrating Commitment and Results

Ultimately, this effort will only succeed if the public and the press perceive that the White House actually followed through on a discernable plan of action. We need to tell people we are going to do this, we need to do it, and then we need to tell them we did it. All of the suggestions listed above will be helpful in this effort, but most important we need (1) commitment from the highest levels of the administration to this effort and (2) an identity for it.

My recommendation is to treat the above recommendations as a proposed plan for the campaign, and to forward them through the Chief of Staff to the President for signoff so that we can proceed to put this effort in motion. I also think we need an immediate meeting with the creative team – including Frank Greer, other consultants if possible, and the Communications office – to develop the effort's identity.

accepts as of 11am
7/3/95

RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP AND AMERICAN COMMUNITY SPEECH: JULY 7, 1995
SORTED BY STATE

STATE	LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	COMPANY
CA	Brown	Amos	Third Baptist Church
	Blinn	William	The Caucus
DC	Ladner	Joyce	Howard University
	Marks	Susan	Search for Common Ground
	Gay	Gail	Entrepreneurial Development Institute
	Rosenman	Mark	The Union Institute
	Jones	Thomas	Washington Area Habitat for Humanity
	Benero	Joseph	Assoc. of Junior Leagues
	Early	James	Smithsonian Institution
	Beggiani	Seely	Our Lady of Lebanon Maronite Seminary
	Wendorf	James	Reading Is Fundamental
	Brooks	Robert	The Episcopal Church
	Sein	Layla	The American Muslim Council Report
	O'Donovan	Leo	Georgetown University
	Dionne	E.J.	The Washington Post
	Benero	Christine	Assoc. of Junior Leagues Intl.
	Marks	John	Search for Common Ground
	Etzioni	Amitai	George Washington University
	Dunn	James	Baptist Joint Committee
MA	Hammond	Ray	Ten-Point Coalition
	Samaan	Lynn	Boston Rescue Mission
	Samaan	John	Boston Rescue Mission
MD	Salmons	Janet	Magic ME
NC	Hackley	Lloyd	Character Counts Coalition
NY	Lerner	Michael	Tikkun Magazine
	Scelsa	Joseph	The John D. Calandra Italian Amer. Instit.
	Green	Richard	The Crown Heights Youth Collective
PA	Eberly	Don	National Fatherhood Initiative
VA	Lauber	John	The Trinity Forum
	Castelli	John	
	Carter	Mimi	Thomas Jefferson Middle School
	Legg	T. David	The Trinity Forum
	Edman	Peter	The Trinity Forum

Count: 33

Regrets

RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP AND AMERICAN COMMUNITY SPEECH: JULY 7, 1995
SORTED BY STATE

STATE	LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	COMPANY
CA	Carillo	Brandon	
	Josephson	Michael	Josephson Institute of Ethics
	Quigley	Charles	Center for Civic Education
DC	Bennett	William	Empower America
	Graves	Ruth	Reading is Fundamental
	Ifil	Gwen	NBC-WRC
	Ivory	Elenora	Presbyterian Church (USA)
	James	Frederick	AME Church
	Lemmons	H. Michael	The Congress of National Black Churches
	Novak	Michael	American Enterprise Institute
	Rosapepe	James	Rosapepe & Spanos
FL	Henry	Jim	Southern Baptist Convention
GA	Fuller	Millard	Habitat for Humanity
IL	Foster	Badi	Transport America
MA	Daniel	Missy	Harvard Divinity School
	Putnam	Robert	Department of Government; Harvard University
MD	Branch	Taylor	
	de la Cresta	Alfredo	Magic Me Program
	Harvey	Bart	The Enterprise Foundation
	Hodges	Clarence	Seventh-day Adventist World Headquarters
	Sauer	Richard	National 4-H Council
	Shipler	David	
MN	Aune	Ben	InterHealth
MO	Curley, Jr.	John "Jack"	Catholic Health Association
NC	Shaw	Talbert	Shaw University
NJ	Chambers	Ray	Amelior Foundation
NY	Browning	Edmond	The Episcopal Church Center
	Cronkite	Walter	CBS, Inc.
	Osgood	Charles	CBS Sunday Morning

RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP AND AMERICAN COMMUNITY SPEECH: JULY 7, 1995
 SORTED BY STATE

STATE	LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	COMPANY
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NY	Pennybacker	Albert	Ecumenical Development Initiative
	Schnier	Arthur	
	Tabankin	Marjorie	
PA	Rimel	Rebecca	Pew Charitable Trusts
TN	Haynes	Charles	The Freedom Forum First Amendent Center
VA	Case	Steve	America Online
	Hodder	Kenneth	The Salvation Army
	Karson	Stanley	Center for Corporate Public Involvement
	Law	Thomas	Saint Paul's College
=====	=====	=====	=====

Count: 38

PARTIPANTS: RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP SPEECH: JULY 7, 1995

STATE	FIRST NAME	LAST NAME	COMPANY
CA	William	Blinn	The Caucus for Producers, Writers & Directors
	Amos	Brown	Third Baptist Church
DC	Bill	Albers	
	Jane	Alexander	National Endowment for the Arts
	Michael	Andrews	Solomon Brothers
	Beryl Lewis	Anthony Anthony	Metropolitan Wesley AME Zion
	Akiva	Armon	
	John	Avlon	
	Laura	Barrientos	Hispanic Caucus Institute
	Seely	Beggiani	Our Lady of Lebanon Maronite Seminary
	Daniel	Bell	Communitarian Network
	Rebecca	Bell	
	Christine	Benero	Assoc. of Junior Leagues Intl.
	Joseph	Benero	Assoc. of Junior Leagues
	Keith	Bernard	
	Steven	Berrent	
	Sidney	Blumenthal	The New Yorker
	Noel	Boxer	National Endowment for the Arts
	Robert	Brooks	The Episcopal Church
	Johanna	Calabria	Hispanic Caucus Institute
	Pamela	Callaway	Resolution Trust Corporation
	Martha	Chowning	
	Karen	Christensen	National Endowment for the Arts
	Dylyce	Clark	Learning Center Development
	Michael	Clem	Superivor Photography for Goergetown
	Justin	Cohn	
	Jerry	Connors	
	Judith	Conover	League of Women Voters of the U.S.
	Greg	Cortes	The American Foundation

Jim Dorskind

Please coordinate the reply.

PARTIPANTS: RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP SPEECH: JULY 7, 1995

STATE	FIRST NAME	LAST NAME	COMPANY
DC	Alyssa	Cotler	
	Bruce	Cox	AT&T
	Alexander	Crary	National Endowment for the Arts
	Dionne	Davies	
	Joseph	Day	Educational Media
	Rodham	Delk III	
	E.J.	Dionne	The Washington Post
	Michelle	Dobles	Hispanic Caucus Institute
	James	Doyle	
	Lisa	Duffy	
	Joe	Duffy	United States Information Agency
	James	Dunn	Baptist Joint Committee
	James	Early	Smithsonian Institution
	Steve	Eichenhower	Public Strategies Washington
	Jake	Erhard	
	Amitai	Etzioni	George Washington University
	Michael	Evans	Youth Service America
	Karine	Faden	
	Jerry	Fleming	
	Arthur	Fleming	
	Frank	Frasier	
	Amanda	Garzon	Hispanic Caucus Institute
	Gail	Gay	Entrepreneurial Development Institute
	Bill	George	Georgetown University Government Relations
	Matthew	Gernstein	
	Richard	Goodstein	
	Frank	Greer	Frank Greer & Associates
	Sheldon	Hackney	National Endowment for the Humanities
	Sherry	Hayes	Protestant Health Alliance
	Robert	Healy	ARCO

PARTIPANTS: RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP SPEECH: JULY 7, 1995

STATE	FIRST NAME	LAST NAME	COMPANY
DC	Theresa	Heinz	Board of Directors- National Service
	Sam	Heitner	Greer and Associates
	Chris	Hekimain	Armenian National Committee of America
	Glen	Hicks	
	Frank	Holleman	Department of Education
	Kathryn	Hutchins	
	Sandy	Ionno	Student Pugwash
	Jason	Isaacson	American Jewish Committee
	Gloria	Johnson	Americorps
	Judy	Johnston	
	Thomas Donnell	Jones Jones	Washington Area Habitat for Humanity Learning Center Development
	Jim	Joseph	Board of Directors
	Don	Karmelite	
	Patrick	Kelkar	
	Peter	Kelly	Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly
	Penn	Kemble	USIA
	Elizabeth	Kim	
	Jake	Kuitwaard	Realtors
	Marijana	Kujundzic	
	Madeleine	Kunin	
	Ben Joyce	Ladner Ladner	American University Howard University
	Casimira	Lenard	Polish American Congress
	Matthew	Lentz	
	Mark	Levin	National Conf. On Soviet Jewry
	Daniel	Lipner	
	Meredith	Lloyd	
	Stephanie	Maddern	National Endowment for the Arts
	Charles	Manatt	

PARTIPANTS: RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP SPEECH: JULY 7, 1995

STATE	FIRST NAME	LAST NAME	COMPANY
DC	Ken	Markowitz	
	John	Marks	Search for Common Ground
	Susan	Marks	Search for Common Ground
	Kimberly	Marteau	USIA
	Franz	Mazter	
	Gerald	McEntee	Board of Directors- National Service
	Robert	McGee	
	Vince	Meldrum	Youth Service America
	Sara	Melendez	Independent Sector
	Hassan	Minor, Jr.	Howard University
	Kenneth	Mireles	Hispanic Caucus Institute
	Forest	Montgomery	National Association of Evangelicals
	Colleen	Montoya	Hispanic Caucus Institute
	Natasha	Mullins	
	Dan	Nadash	
	Leo	O'Donovan	Georgetown University
	Tabitha	Orlando	
	Mitchell	Palmer	
	Scott	Pastrick	DNC
	Ada	Pena	LULAC
	Catherine	Pinkerton	NETWORK
	Molly	Raiser	Chief of Protocal - State Department
	Michael	Ralsky	
	Tracey	Rich	
	Malcolm	Richardson	President's Committeee on Arts and Humanities
	Richard	Riley	DOE
	Art	Roberts	
	Ginger	Romero	Hispanic Caucus Institute
	Mark	Rosenman	The Union Institute

PARTIPANTS: RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP SPEECH: JULY 7, 1995

STATE	FIRST NAME	LAST NAME	COMPANY
DC	Gerry	Salemme	
	David	Saperstein	Religious Action Center
	H. Bernard	Schroeder	
	Eli	Segal	Americorps
	Layla	Sein	The American Muslim Council Report
	David	Seldin	Communitarian Network
	Neal	Shenoy	
	Claudette	Shwiry	Arab American Institute
	Jennifer	Snyder	
	Alejandra Santiago	Solis Solis	
	Patrick Terry David	Straub Straub Straub	USX Corporation
	Kevin	Sullivan	Office of Secretary Richard Riley
	Bennie	Thayer	National Association of the Self Employed
	Lelie	Thornton	Department of Education
	Craig	Tilley	
	Paul	Tipton	Association of Jesuit Colleges and Universities
	Christina	Tovar	
	Rosie	Valadez	Hispanic Caucus Institute
	Helen	Veit	
	Gaylin	Vogel	
	John	Walters	The New Citizenship Project
	Bonnie	Weinstein	Attorney-at-Law
	James	Wendorf	Reading Is Fundamental
	Leon	West	The Congress of National Black Charities, Inc.
	Anne	Wexler	
	Carol	Williams	Peace Links

PARTIPANTS: RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP SPEECH: JULY 7, 1995

STATE	FIRST NAME	LAST NAME	COMPANY
DC	Carolyn Than	Young Young	DC Service Corps The Congress of National Black Charities, Inc.
	Timothy	Zayac	
IN	Les	LenKowsky	Board of Directors- National Service
MA	Ray	Hammond	Ten-Point Coalition
	John Lynn	Samaan Samaan	Boston Rescue Mission Boston Rescue Mission
	Samuel	Wood	10 Point Coalition
MD	Loleta	Bailey	Liberty Magazines
	Rhonda	Dorsey	MD Commission-National Service
	Bowyer	Freeman	Bread for the World
	Janet	Salmons	Magic ME
	Marilyn	Smith	Maryland's Governor Commission on Service
	Sid	Swartz	Washington Institute for Jewish Leadership & Values
NY	Janet	Dutrey	Resolving Conflict Creatively Program National Center
	Richard	Green	The Crown Heights Youth Collective
	Michael	Lerner	Tikkun Magazine
	Wesley	Michaelson	Reformed Church in America
	Orlando	Rivera	South Bronx High School
	Joeseeph	Scelsa	The John D. Calandra Italian Amer. Instit.
	Mort Robert Debrah	Sherman Sherman Sherman	South Orangetown Central School District The Surdne Foundation
	Paola	Vita	Rebels With A Cause
PA	Don	Eberly	National Fatherhood Initiative
TX	Margarita	Valdez	
VA	Eileen	Bakke	Mustard Seed Foundation
	Ron	Brandt	Association for Supervision & Curriculum Develp.

PARTIPANTS: RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP SPEECH: JULY 7, 1995

STATE	FIRST NAME	LAST NAME	COMPANY
VA	Mimi	Carter	Thomas Jefferson Middle School
	John	Castelli	
	Peter	Edman	The Trinity Forum
	Janie	Gilmore	Educational Media Development
	Darrell	Green	Washington Redskins
	Os	Guinness	The Trinity Forum
	Natalie	Holmes	American Association of School Administration
	John	Lauber	The Trinity Forum
	T. David	Legg	The Trinity Forum
VT	Matthew	Kireker	
	Charles	Kireker	Twin Birches
	Bennett	Kireker	
	Marie	Kireker	Vermont School Board
Count:	==== 189	=====	=====

THE FUTURE OF CIVIL SOCIETY

By Benjamin Barber

Walt Whitman Professor of Political Science, Rutgers University

I am grateful to Penn Kemble and Joseph Duffey and to the USIA for asking me to join you this afternoon. For they know at home I am somewhat of a mischief maker, someone unlikely to talk in 'have a nice day' cliches about democracy. I think they encouraged me to come as they know that more than anything else democracy is about making mischief, asking questions, confronting power, challenging dogmas -- even when they are the dogmas of democracy. They appreciate that even after two hundred years the Americans are not necessarily closer to realizing democracy fully than nations of only twenty years or two years experience of democracy. Issues of race and class still trouble America, too. Penn Kemble yesterday asked people in the audience to raise a hand if ethnic strife was a major problem in your country. I raised my hand.

It is in the nature of democracy that it is a process, not an end, to an ongoing experiment -- not a set of fixed doctrines.

Its ideals, unless we repossess them generation to generation, become little different than any other ideology. The open society means a society without cloture. A society open to challenge and criticism. When a nation announces the work of democracy is finished, it's usually democracy that is finished in that nation. In the skeptical spirit of democracy I would like to this afternoon ask some hard questions that I think we as educators need to face. Questions whose answers affect all democrats nonetheless the young democrats. Let me pose and then address four related questions.

First: Is democracy exportable? Is it a formal commodity to be delivered by post or FedEx or fax by those who possess it to those who do not?

Second: Is democracy a function just of political institution and written constitutions and bills of rights? Can liberty be won by writing or borrowing a document or designing a parliament.

Third: Is democracy synonymous with markets? Does the defeat of communism and the triumph of capitalism guarantee the establishment of democracy?

And fourth: Does democracy depend on powerful leadership, heroic politicians and the statesmen on Churchills, DeGaulles, Roosevelts and Havel?

Now the short version of my talk today is no, no, no, no, and no. (applause) You wish...

The belief that democracy can be exported, to take the first myth, that it is no more than a form of government, the second: that it issues directly out of capitalism, the third: that it is dependent on the heroic leadership and the fourth myth: that it represents four of the most seductive and dangerous myths of would-be democrats today. And I want to say something about each of them. About the first one, it is really we Americans and Western Europeans, and not those of you in Eastern Europe and Russia, Africa and Asia and other transitional societies, who need most of all to remember that democracy is never a gift from one people to another, but the hard-won fruit of costly local struggle. It is something to be taken, not something to be given, as many of you have shown us again, and as America once two hundred years ago showed the world.

Moreover, while there are universal ideals that undergird the struggle everywhere, democracy's forms are as various as the struggles through which it is won. In the years before the American revolution, puritan Massachusetts, progressive Pennsylvania and the slave South, all had different political systems. And our regional institutions today are marked by these differences. Democracy grows up indigenously and in country after country it looks different, feels different. The Swiss celebrate communal rights, not individual rights -- gemeindefreiheit, not abstract personhood. Great Britain has no separation of powers, while we Americans think the separation of powers is indispensable. Ethiopia's new constitution tries to address tribalism. Poland is a deeply Catholic nation and cannot

efface Catholicism as it develops its own new political institutions. Ireland has no separation of church and state, Germany is federalist, France centralist. These differences among the established democracies suggest that there is a great room for similar differences in new democracies.

And new democracies need to find their own appropriate institutions and would do well, I believe, to look to their own histories and cultures for sources of inspiration. Does the Russian Mir, the Russian village community, hold out some promise? Romanian fraternal organisations? Even the old Workers Council of the Soviet Union, the Soviet, may yet have some promise, but not dominated by Bolshevism and Communism. To reject Communism need not mean throwing away alternative economic strategies like employee stock ownership plans or cooperatives. In the ancient world, people used to say, "Distrust the Greeks, especially when they come bearing gifts." New democrats might do well to distrust old democrats, especially when they come bearing the gift of advice. And I include my own advice, as a fit subject for suspicion. The only way the unique American experiment in democracy can be imitated or borrowed is to make sure each nation sees its own forms of democracy as equally unique, as equally experimental in their own right. This becomes even clearer when we look at the question of political institutions, the political manifestations of democracy.

Which moves me to the second point, for the belief in the exportability of democracy rests largely on the myth that democracy is no more than certain formal political institutions, which can be handed around from country to country like so many used cars. A few new parts, a little adjustment to climatic conditions, and you can drive them anywhere. But democracy is not an automotive blueprint. It cannot be imposed top-down, it grows bottom up. Constitutions do not create democracy. Democracy creates constitutions. Bills of rights do not create rights. They codify rights already defined, fought for and won. America had a hundred and fifty years of experience with local civic cultures and civil liberty before it codified that experience into a constitution and a bill of rights. Great Britain still hasn't gotten around to writing down the principles of constitutional liberty by which it has been living for many centuries. What is a bill of rights but a piece of paper? "Parchament parapets," James Madison said, from which no defense of real liberty, Madison thought, could be waged. Without citizens there can be no liberty, and without civic culture and education, there can be no citizens -- which is why your work as educators, as NGO organizers, as community people, is so vital. Democracy, said John Dewey, is not a form of government, it is a way of life, a set of ingrained attitudes, a culture of independent thinking, as well as cooperation, of conflict as well as consensus. The old Soviet Union actually had an extraordinary bill of rights. I was amazed as a graduate student to read it. It was a better bill of rights than the American bill of rights.

But of course it was worthless, it was a piece of paper. And without citizens it had no meaning.

Russia today and other members of the former Soviet Union have many of the formal institutions of democracy, but the struggle in those nations, as you know so well, is to give these institutions a foundation in civil society, in civil religion, in habits of the heart that foster tolerance and reciprocity. And that takes time. Patience is democracy's greatest virtue, and always in short supply. You are expected, those of you in new and transitional democratic nations, to do in six months or six years what we have not yet finished doing in sixty or six hundred in the established democracies. And yours of course is no easy task because there are rivals for your attention in the new and the old democracies. The real educator of the young in America, in Europe, in Africa in Asia alike is neither school nor church nor synogogue, nor mosque nor family but television and film. Can an hour of civics once or twice a week in school rival MTV? Can an election campaign draw as much attention as a prime time soap opera? Can we teach peace while film celebrates violence? What are a handful of NGOs, or even 25,000 non-governmental organizations, compared to McDonalds or Microsoft? Or the Walt Disney company? Mr. Cooke reminded us last night that for better or worse the film is the great tutor of our times. Unhappily, usually it's for worse. And I noticed most of his chosen films were twenty, thirty or forty years old. It's hard to find films like that in recent years. The lessons of Oliver Stone, Kevin Costner and Arnold Schwarzeneger are not civics lessons. Nor can they be. Their aim is simple: profit and return on investment. They are not selling democracies; they are selling movie tickets.

And there is a difference.

Which brings me to the third and, I think, most difficult myth. No, democracy is not synonymous with the free market place. The freedom to buy a Coke or a video of the Lion King is not yet the freedom to determine how we will live together, and under what kind of regime. Coke and McDonalds and MTV, we don't want to forget, are also in Singapore, and in China, and the Middle East, and in the places where there is no democracy, as well as in Russia

and the Czech Republic and Germany and America. I want to suggest that I can't defend this thesis this afternoon, but I am willing to do so. Historically it is not capitalism that produces democracy. It is democracy that produces capitalism. Capitalism needs democracy, that's true, but it does not necessarily know how to create or sustain democracy.

The myth of the market is then, I think, our most insidious myth, because so many believe it. Because the handcuffs of the market feel so comfortable. Because the influence of the market is so invisible. So many are willing to believe that the replacement of communism and its command economy with capitalism and its market economy is all there is to securing democracy. But I fear there is a disastrous confusion between the moderate and mostly well-founded claim that flexibly regulated markets remain the most efficient instruments of economic productivity and wealth accumulation. And on the other hand, the zany overblown claim that naked wholly unregulated markets are the sole means by which we can produce and distribute everything we care about, from durable goods to spiritual values, from capital development to social justice, from profitability to sustainable environment, from private wealth to the essential commonweal.

This claim has moved some to insist that diverse and obviously public functions such as education, culture, full employment, social welfare and ecological survival should be handed over to the private sector for arbitration and disposal. But markets are not simply designed to do the things that democratic polities are designed to do. Markets give us private rather than public modes of discourse allowing us as consumers to speak via our currencies - the currencies of consumption that we have - to producers of material goods, but preventing us from speaking as citizens to one another about the social consequences of our private market choices. Markets advance individualistic rather than social goals permitting us to say one by one: I want a pair of Nikes or I need a new VCR or buy yens, sell dollars. But not allowing us to say in a common voice that our inner city community needs new athletic facilities, or there's too much violence on television and in the movies, or that we should rein in the World Bank.

Markets preclude "we thinking" or "we action" of any kind of all, trusting in the power of aggregated individual choices to somehow secure the common good. Consumers speak the language of "me". Citizens invent the common language of "we". Markets are also contractual rather than communitarian, which means they stroke our solitary egos, but leave unsatisfied our yearning for community. They offer us durable goods and fleeting dreams, but not a common identity or a collective membership. Which opens the way to more savage and undemocratic forms of community like tribalism.

How as citizens then are we to deal with the inadvertant abuses, not just of national markets, but of global markets? Is there a transnational "we" to be drawn from all the greedy consumer "mes"? Markets give us the goods, but not the lives we want, prosperity for some, but despair for many, and dignity for none, not even the wealthy. Fortune's top five hundred multinational corporations have far more weight, not just than our twenty five thousand NGOs, but than two hundred or so sovereign nations of the world, and increasingly those corporations, and not sovereign nations, make the decisions that affect our common human destiny. These corporations need democratic civic parties to stay in business, but don't know how to provide them.

That is the paradox of the market. It cannot survive in the world it inevitably tends to create, unless it is countered and regulated by civic and democratic forces which it inevitably tends to undermine. The disastrous consequences that follow from patterning political forms on macro economic theory are visible in countries from Russia to Latin America and Africa where, to quote O'Donnell, the great Latin political scientist, "as the private sphere flourishes, the public sphere crumbles." And O'Donnell concludes simply and definitively that privatization is not democratization. So not only, then, do we need to go beyond our market's democracy, our markets, too, need democracy if they're going to survive. They will not by themselves produce it. They're as likely to corrode as to sustain full employment, environmental safety, public health, social safety, education, cultural diversity and real competition. Not out of evil malevolence but simply out of indifference and because they're attending to other matters. Capitalism needs these things but cannot produce them.

And here of course there is a danger, particularly I think in ex-communist societies. For along with the seduction of the market and privatization in those societies, the fear of communist, fascist, and the totalitarian government tends to breed a fear of all state intervention and a fear of democratic government as well. I noticed how reluctant people are in Eastern Europe and the lands of the old Soviet Union to speak of community or solidarity or citizenship. I understand that civic education may remind them of government indoctrination, a new kind of propaganda. And yet

understand that civic education may remind them of government indoctrination, a new kind of propaganda. And yet to think that all these things can be left to the market, to do what democratic governments are supposed to do, is a terrible kind of myth.

What then can we do if democracy is not to be borrowed or fashioned from a few political reforms or secured by privatization? Does it take heroes to bring us liberty? Here I come to the final point I'd like to make, the final myth. I think, and I believe many of you share the conviction, that the quality of democracy depends not on the quality of leadership, but on the quality of citizenship. Fascism and communist regimes, dictatorships to be sure, need great leaders to survive.

They are nothing more than their leaders. That's all they've got. Democracy needs effective citizens, ordinary women and men, doing extraordinary things on a regular and continuing basis. In his play Galileo Brechtol has a wonderful scene in which one character says to another: Pity the country that has no heroes. And the other replies: No, pity the country that needs heroes. Democracy is a form of government which needs no heroes, and successful democracy is a country that needs no heroes. Back in the 1890, Eugene Debs, the popularist leader in America, was at a particularly grim meeting of followers and, having been defeated in the elections, their economic program stood no chance in the larger society. And one of his followers got up and said,

"Mr. Debs, you have to lead us and get us out of this darkness that we are in." And Eugene Debs replied, "I will not. I cannot. And even if I could, I would not. For if I could lead you out of this darkness, then I could lead you back in again." In too many new democracies, I see the spectre of men and women led out of the darkness of communism by heroes and then, dissappointed, being led back into the darkness of nationalism by some of the same heroes. We need societies immune to that kind of heroism, the societies in which the citizens are their own leaders and conduct their own business unheroically every day.

The work of democracy is, in other words, our work, the mundane difficult unending tasks of civic education. The work of nongovernmental organisations trying to create a transnational a transcorporate civil society. And I would start maybe by renaming nongovernmental organisations. What a terrible term. No good thing can come from entities defined in the negative. Surely they are more than 'nongovernmental', they are public. They are also noncommercial, noncorporate, yet still voluntary. They are non-private in the sense of privatistic without being coercive or statist. And they are non-statist without giving up a common concern for justice and the public good. They are our great strength, I believe. They are not nongovernmental, they are procivic. Let's call them 'civic organizations' or 'civil associations', that stand somewhere between overbloated governments and overbloated private corporations, defining a vital domain where liberty can breed.

This domain belongs to us. It's our domain. Civic space is our space. But for the most part it exists exclusively in our imagination nowadays. In reality there are malls, shopping arcades, movie houses and bureaucracies, but little real civic space like the one we created here in the last couple of days. I'm not sure what kind of future civil society has, as the title of this session is "The Future of Civil Society". I am pessimistic in ways you've seen, partly because the myths I've talked about are so widely shared, so powerful, so insidious. I do know that without a robust civil society there will be no citizens, only consumers of goods or subjects of oppressive states. And without citizens there can be no democracy. The good news is that we do have a choice. The educators, the community organizers, the NGO people in this room, and people like you everywhere can make the difference. But the work is hard, and the obstacles are multiplying. The myths are still spreading. About two hundred, two hundred and fifty years ago, well before the French Revolution, Jean Jacques Rousseau said, "Liberty is a food easy to eat and hard to digest." If we are not careful, in New York and in Washington, no less than in Prague, Moscow, and London and Paris, as well as in Ethiopia and Singapore, we are likely to produce in the coming centuries not free societies, but only permanent civic indigestion. Thank you for your indulgence.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
"FAMILY REUNION IV: THE FAMILY AND THE MEDIA"
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE
JUNE 10, 1995

Middle Class Dreams and Middle Class Values: Last week at Georgetown, I spoke about hopes that united Americans for nearly half a century and that we know are under attack. Middle class dreams that we could create better lives for our children than we have for ourselves. Middle class values that we could give to our children the best part of ourselves. Not only to provide prosperity, but to teach our children right from wrong and make our country stronger.

New Covenant. My philosophy for meeting these challenges is the same as it was when I ran for President. I call it the New Covenant--the idea that we have to create more opportunity, but we have to demand more responsibility.

Challenges from the Media to Our Values. This conference on family and the media is about the challenges from the media to teaching our children and making sure they are prepared to move ahead in the global economy. Parents working harder for less. Less time for families. Mounting stresses. National conversations like this are key to solving these problems.

Too Much Violence and Inappropriate Conduct in Media. We are all rightfully worried about the role of the media in legitimizing violence and undermining middle-class values. The average child has seen 8,000 murders and 100,000 violent acts on TV before finishing grade school. Study after study tells us that this violence desensitizes children, makes them more aggressive, undermines the very values we want them to learn.

The Media Must Take Responsibility--and Nobody Has Said So More Than My Administration. Proud of my Administration's role in challenging media to do better. Long before it was fashionable, Tipper Gore was demanding that record companies act more responsibly. The Vice President has worked for years to make new technology a help, not an obstacle, for parents. In my State of the Union Address, I said to entertainment industry: "We applaud your creativity and your world-wide success, and we support your freedom of expression. But you do have a responsibility to assess the impact of your work and to understand the damage that comes from the incessant, repetitive, mindless violence and irresponsible conduct that permeates our media all the time."

Necessary But Not Sufficient to Criticize. Must Get On "Solution Side." I agree with those who criticize violence in movies today. But I believe leaders must do more than condemn. A friend of mine says we have to put more people on the solution side of these problems.

Four Responsibilities for Leaders. As I said at Georgetown, I believe leaders have four responsibilities. First, to engage in conversation, not combat. Second, when we disagree, to offer alternatives. Third, to focus on the long-term. And fourth, not just to attack what is bad, but to celebrate what is good.

WE CANNOT CONDEMN VIOLENCE, SEXUALITY, AND COARSENESS IN THE MEDIA, AND THEN TURN AROUND AND CUT THE BEST ALTERNATIVE WE HAVE TO THOSE THINGS: PUBLIC TELEVISION.

- **Public TV is often the only alternative for education on TV.** Public stations average six hours of educational TV each day. Networks average as little as a half-hour per week.
- **Public TV is universal.** Forty percent of homes don't have access to cable and channels like the Learning Channel or A&E. This is particularly a problem for the poor and rural areas. 98% of families have access to public TV. If it is cut, the greatest damage will be to the rural and poor who have no alternatives and whose stations need help most. While only 14% of public TV's overall budget comes from federal dollars, many rural stations get more than half their support from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.
- **Public TV is democratic--small "d".** Sixty percent of public TV viewers live in families with incomes below \$40,000.
- **Public TV is a great investment.** It costs \$1.09 per American per year. For every public dollar they receive, public TV and radio stations raise \$5 or \$6.

Violence on TV Is a Problem We Must Solve Together. I have always said that there are certain problems we can only solve by working together. Violence on TV is one of those problems. And public television is a common solution: a small cost to our budget, a great benefit for our children. **If we cut public television, we are cutting a crucial lifeline to our middle-class dreams and our middle-class values.**

But There Are Individual Responsibilities, Too. We all have to ask ourselves, what am I doing to give my family and my children the right values? Parents have a responsibility to turn the TV off when the children have homework to do or when what is on offends their values. Television may be a "third parent," but it should never be a first parent or a second parent.

[Optional: V-Chip. Applaud the Vice President's Support. (See Simon memo.) We can help parents by putting new technology on their side. I support putting the so-called "v-chip" in our televisions, so parents can block shows that they know are wrong for their children. And industry should rate television shows so parents can know more about what their children are seeing.]

[Optional: Guns and Violence. Not enough simply to condemn fictional violence. Must carry forward efforts to diminish violence on our streets, in our schools. Support for assault weapons ban, Brady Bill, Safe and Drug-Free Schools. Some politicians want to ban movies and television that portray violence. I want to ban the guns that make violence all too real in our lives.]

Building A House together. Minimizing violence and coarseness on television and taking personal responsibility for what our children watch are both parts of our effort to repair our common culture. We must build America's house for the future together. If our leaders just turn up the volume and point the finger, they may score points on the nightly news, but we will not build our house. If we all recognize our responsibilities, we can keep American values a safe and strong house for generations to come.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 7, 1995

Dear Friend:

I am pleased to enclose a copy of my address on the responsibility of citizenship. I know that you, too, care deeply about this issue, and I welcome your reflections, comments, and ideas.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

David S. Broder

Meeting on the Common

What good is Independence Day without hot dogs and hot air, barbecues and oratory? I can't supply the eats, but I would offer some holiday thoughts, inspired by an intercontinental exchange between Prague and the American groves of academe.

Vaclav Havel, the president of the Czech Republic, was Harvard's commencement speaker, delivering a passionate and eloquent address on the responsibility of politicians and journalists to embody and inculcate the civic virtues that make democracy possible. Both politics and journalism, he said, must aim at "serving the community," which means "morality in practice."

At the same time, in Havel's home city of Prague, Benjamin Barber, the Walt Whitman professor of political science at Rutgers, was offering a related set of thoughts. Barber's com-

ments are as applicable to our own country as to the representatives of the former Communist lands who were in his audience at a conference sponsored by the Center for Civic Education, the American Federation of Teachers, the Department of Education and the U.S. Information Agency.

In words that Havel would certainly applaud, Barber reminded his listeners that "democracy is a process, not an end; an ongoing experiment, not a set of fixed doctrines. Its ideals, unless we repossess them generation to generation, become little different than any other ideology. The open society means a society without closure, a society open to challenge and criticism."

And then a sentence that I wish could be written on every classroom

blackboard and intoned at the start of each day's session of Congress: "When a nation announces the work of democracy is finished, it's usually democracy that is finished in that nation."

We live in a time when a great many politicians are addicted to rewriting the Constitution. No fewer than four constitutional amendments may be voted on in Congress this year. Most of them don't stand scrutiny. But even if they did, Barber reminds us that constitutional protections are only what James Madison called "parchment parapets," from which threats to freedom and democracy can be repelled only if a strong-willed, principled citizenry stands ready at the gates.

"Constitutions do not create democracy," Barber says. "Democracies

create constitutions. . . . America had 150 years of experience with local civic cultures and civil liberty before it codified the experience into the Constitution and Bill of Rights." Those documents will endure only as long as their principles are clearly etched on our minds and enshrined in our hearts. That is why this great national holiday really is the occasion for the kind of patriotic oratory that reminds us of our individual responsibility—Havel's favorite word—to safeguard democracy through active citizenship.

We also live in a time when, as noted here recently, the majority leader of the House of Representatives, Dick Armey of Texas, and many, many other politicians argue that "the market is rational and the government is dumb." The exaggerat-

ed faith in the market is, Barber says, "our most insidious myth, because so many believe it and because the handcuffs of the market feel so comfortable."

He decries the "disastrous confusion between the moderate and mostly well-founded claim that flexibly regulated markets remain the most efficient instruments of economic productivity and wealth accumulation . . . and the zany, overblown claim that naked, wholly unregulated markets are the sole means by which we can produce and distribute everything we care about, from durable goods to spiritual values, from capital development to social justice, from profitability to a sustainable environment, from private wealth to the essential commonweal."

The point is that we are citizens as

well as consumers. Individual choice works wonderfully well in guiding our private consumption. But it is only as we join together to sort out the means for meeting our common goals that we can sustain our democracy.

That is why the traditional American Fourth of July involves meeting on the common—whether it is Golden Gate Park in San Francisco, Grant Park in Chicago or the Mall in Washington, where I will be. It is a time to remind ourselves of the blessings—and responsibilities—we share as citizens of this land.

As Havel said at Harvard, "The main task of the coming era is . . . a radical renewal of our sense of responsibility."

There is no better time for pondering that challenge—and acting on it—than Independence Day.

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7/7/95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 21, 1995

95 JUN 21 P1:55

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

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

et al — we need an
update of this
now —
Bx

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

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

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 Principapal of Central East High School in Harlem. Annenburg 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 Rodriquez (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

July 6 Common Ground: A Call For Responsibility

LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
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 peers.	Alternate
Wu	Philip	FL	Community Activist	Americorps	National Service	Invite
Count:	44					44

as of 6/21

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/th 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	
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)

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

White House Conference CHOICE OF FOCUS

The articulation of purpose and focus for the White House conference is absolutely critical.

The present tide of events (political and cultural) mean that an unfocused, broadly "goodwill event" will achieve nothing. For the conference to succeed, it must have the following components:

1. A clear purpose.
2. A definite focus (more below).
3. A substantive, well-designed, and well-run program of speeches.
4. An audience with both stature and diversity made up of the nation's "gatekeepers" on the topic chosen. Note: some national gatekeepers will be in any audience, some will depend on the topic chosen.
5. The speeches (overall) must have certain components:
 - A stage-setting articulation of the problem in its historical and global context.
 - A statement of the solution set out in the context of the first principles of the American experiment.
 - An introduction of successful case studies on pilot experiments.
 - The announcement by the President of a presidential initiative that will be a log-jam breaking solution to the problem in question.
6. A representative group of the press and media, with special depth in the area of the topic chosen.
7. A well-planned and clearly presented follow-up.

If there is agreement that a broad vague, all-inclusive topic will not work—as I would argue strongly—then there are two principal topics to choose from:

1. **Call to Responsibility** (topics surrounding the rejuvenation of families, neighborhoods, communities, and so on).
2. **Finding common ground—National reconciliation in a time of controversies and culture wars** (topics surrounding controversies on religion and politics, education, and so on.) Note: It is a widespread fallacy that religious liberty is only for the religious. The First Amendment religious liberty clauses are the nation's key to living with our deepest differences.

I would argue strongly for the second for the following reasons:

- It is more *specific* and *focused*.
- There are more *practical* and *immediate* solutions, with real stories of genuine hope to be shared.
- The constructive answers are in real *contrast to the Republicans* and the religious right (The Speaker often calls for an "age of responsibility").

- The issue is more *natural to the President* than the others.
- A presidential initiative on this issue would be *feasible, lively, and could make a real difference* (along the lines of the Charles Haynes/Buzz Thomas suggestion).
- The issue has *international* as well as domestic resonance, in a day of exploding tribalism.
- The issue is in the *best interests of the nation* as well as the President.
- A well-articulated answer *on* this issue would *isolate the religious right* and stake out *middle ground appealing to a broad group of Americans*, including moderates, liberals, minorities, and the thoughtful (by giving constructive rather than reactionary grounds for opposing Religious right proposals to amend the Constitution).

Os Guinness
8 June 1995

**COMMON GROUND CONFERENCE
INVITATION LIST BREAKDOWN**
(as of 6/19/95 @ 2:00 pm)

CATEGORIES	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>% of TOTAL</u>
o Religion	22	17%
Evangelicals (8)		
Catholics (4)		
Protestants (3)		
Baptist (3)		
Jewish (3)		
Other (Latter Day Saints) (1)		
o Community Activists	19	15%
o Business	11	8%
o Non-Profits	20	16%
o Education	21	16%
o Media	13	10%
o Entertainment	14	11%
o Sports	6	5%
*Two not in categories		
TOTAL INVITES	128	

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
Bernadin	Joseph	IL	Religion	OPL/FLOTUS/DOE*	Bishop of Chicago; one of the best thinkers on topic; signed Cry For Renewal statement	Invite
Graham	Billy	NC	Religion	OPL	Head of world-wide ministries	Invite
Graham	Franklin	NC	Religion	P.Lader	Billy Graham's son; Pres., Samaritan's Purse	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)
Horne	Rex	AK	Religion	L. Lader	Pastor	Invite
Hybels	Bill	IL	Religion	OPL	Leading evangelical	Invite (P)
Keeler	Archbishop	MD	Religion	DOE	Archbishop of Baltimore	Invite
King	Bernice	GA	Religion	DOE	Heads fast-growing church in Atlanta, daughter of M.L. King	Invite
Lucado	Max	TX	Religion	Bill Hybels	Pastor, Oak Hills Church of Christ; author	Invite (P)
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 (P)
Meadors, Jr.	Marshall	MS	Religion	DOE*	Methodist Bishop of Mississippi	Invite
Mouw	Richard	CA	Religion	L. Lader/B.Hybels	President of Fuller Seminary; author of Uncommon Decency: Christian Civility in an Uncivil World	Invite (P)
Murray	Cecil	CA	Religion	DOE	First AME Church; one of the most respected and powerful ministers in LA	Invite

Cherry
Alacritus in Blue Ch. Pot

July 6 Common Ground: A Call For Responsibility

LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
Oakes	Dallin	UT	Religion	DOE	Church of Latter Day Saints, one of 12 Apostles	Invite
Sapperstein	David	DC	Religion	OPL	Dir, Religious Action Committee	Invite
Schindler	Alexander	NY	Religion	DOE	American Hebrew Congregation (check on new person)	Invite
Schnier	Arthur	NY	Religion	A. Mikva	Orthodox Rabbi	Invite
Schuller	Robert	CA	Religion	OPL	Televangelist	Invite (P)
Stith	Charles	MA	Religion	OPL	Founder of New Equality	Invite (P)
=====	=====	=====	=====	=====	=====	=====

Count:

22

22

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July 6 Common Ground: A Call For Responsibility

LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
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
DiPaola	Frank	CA	Community Activist	OPL	LAPD Officer involved with community civility projects for young LA Gang members; Favorably profiled on 60 Minutes	Invite
Jackson	Jesse	DC	Community Activist	OPL	Reverend, dir. Nat'l Rainbow Col't, Host CNN "Both Sides"	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
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
Khazei	Alan	MA	Community Activist	Americorps	Started City Year in Boston	Invite
Kreamer	Janice	MO	Community Activist	DPC	President, Greater Kansas City Community Foundation; developed and implemented a school-linked/school based empowerment initiative.	Invite
Mankiller	Wilma	OK	Community Activist	JFreedman	First female chief of Cherokee Nation, focuses on econ. development; creating jobs, improving health care for Native Americans	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	Invite (P)

July 6 Common Ground: A Call For Responsibility

LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
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
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 (P)
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)
Schweikert	Mary	PA	Community Activist	Americorps/VP	President of Nat'l Asoc. of Foster Grandparent Directors.	Invite
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
Whitfield	Katherine		Community Activist/Education	DOE/VP	President National PTA	Invite (P)
Woo	Philip	FL	Community Activist	Americorps	National Service	Invite
Young	Andrew	GA	Community Activist	OPL/DOE	Fmr. Ambassador	Invite
=====	=====	=====	=====	=====	=====	=====
Count:	19					19

July 6 Common Ground: A Call For Responsibility

LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
Allwin	Jim	NY	Business	L.Lader	Head of Real Estate/Asset Management of Morgan Stanly; Vice-Chairman of Cities in Schools, Inc.- nation's largest non-profit drop-out prevention program.	Invite
Brock	Reg	NY	Business	OPL	CEO, Time Inc.Pres. Advertising Agency Council.	Invite
Brofman	Edgar	NY	Business			Invite
Brown	Steven	MA	Business	DOE	CEO John Hancock Financial	Invite
Bunnel	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
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 (P)
Clendenin	John	GA	Business	DOE*	CEO Bell South	Invite
DePree	Max	MI	Business	PLader	Chm., Herman Miller Co.; author, mgmt. values books	Invite (P)
DeVos	Dick	MI	Business	Bill Hybels	Pres., Amway	Invite
McCaw	Craig	WA	Business	Susan Ness	Just Sold McCaw Communications	Invite
Pepper	John	OH	Business	OPL	Procter and Gamble CEO	Invite
=====	=====	=====	=====	=====	=====	=====
Count:	12					11

July 6 Common Ground: A Call For Responsibility

LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
Berresford	Susan	NY	Non-Profit/Foundation	JFleishman/L. Lader/Americorps	Incoming president of Ford Foundation	Invite
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
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 (P)
Evans	Nancy	IA	Non-Profit/Foundation	VP	President of Junior League, which does extensive community-based programs	Invite (P)
Evers-Williams	Myrlie	MD	Non-Profit/Civic	FLOTUS	Chairwoman NAACP	Invite
Fuller	Millard	GA	Non-Profit	PLader	Fndr., Habitat for Humanity	Invite
Gardner	John	CA	Non-Profit	OPL/JFleishman	frmr. Pres. of Carnegie Corp.+ Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching; affl'd w/th 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)
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.	Invite
Josephson	Michael	CA	Non-Profit	OPL	Pres. & Fndr the Josephson Institute for Ethics; develops education training programs for communities. Training focuses on character develop. and ethics. Recently trained IRS on ethics.	Invite

July 6 Common Ground: A Call For Responsibility

LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
Melmed	Mathew	VA	Non-Profit/Foundation	Legislative Affairs	New Executive Director of Zero to Three; group which nationally emphasises children's development in the first three years of life.	Invite
Novak	Michael	DC	Non-Profit	OPL	American Enterprise Institute	Invite (P)
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
Sartorius	Tim	OK	Non-Profit/Foundation	VP	Red Cross Director Oklahoma City	Invite
Sepulveda	Juan	TX	Non-Profit	VP	The Common Enterprise	Invite (P)
Skloot	Edward	NY	Non-Profit/Foundation	DPC	Surdna Foundation-effective citizenry program/advancement of democratic society	Invite
Tomkins	Gary	OK	Non-Profit/Foundation	VP	President Jay Cee	Invite (P)
Yankelovich	Daniel	NY	Non-Profit	DOE/JFleishman	Public Agenda Foundation, Democrat, Author of "New Rules" about how Society is Changing	Invite (P)
Count:	20					20

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)
Bennett	William	DC	Education	DOE	Fmr. Educ. Sec.; Author, Book of Virtues	Invite (P)
Berger	Peter	MA	Education	PLader	Dir., Inst. for Study of Econ. Culture, Boston U., Scholar	Invite
Carter	Stephen	CT	Education	OPL/L. Lader	Professor at Yale Law, Author of Culture of Disbelief	Invite
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)
George	Robert	NJ	Education	L. Lader	Princeton. Const. Law. Prof. Author of "Making Men Moral: Civil Liberties and Public Morality"; Conservative Catholic	Invite (P)
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
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)
Hunter	Jim Davidson	VA	Education	L. Lader	Author, Culture Wars, Before The Shooting Begins	Invite (P)
Malloy	Edward	IN	Education	DOE/PLader	Pres. of Notre Dame U.	Invite
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

July 6 Common Ground: A Call For Responsibility

LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
Meier	Deborah	NY	Education	DPC	Founder and Principapal of Central East High School in Harlem. Annenburg Fellow, written books and leader in education reform movement; speaks to the issue of schools and education in character development.	Invite
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
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)
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.	Invite
Sherman	Mort	NY	Education	DOE	Superintendent at school; initiated 40-member group of citizens dealing with religion in the school	Invite
Steele	Shelby	CA	Education	OPL	African Amer. conservative author of The Content of Our Character; Prof. at Calif. State U./San Jose	Invite (P)
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 (P)
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)

Count:

21

21

July 6 Common Ground: A Call For Responsibility

LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
Blumenthal	Sidney	DC	Media	FLOTUS	Has written on Cultural/Political Change	Invite (P)
Covey	Stephen	UT	Media	OPL	Author, 7 Habits of Highly Effective People	Invite
Dionne	E.J.	DC	Media	Americorps/Os Guinness	Washington Post, has written on civlty/civic virtue	Invite (P)
Ellerbe	Linda	NY	Media	VP	Television Producer	Invite
Jennings	Peter	NY	Media	Bill Hybels/P.Lader	ABC Newsanchor	Invite
Jones	Glen		Media	Susan Ness	Jones Inter-cable Network produces Newt Mind-extension University	Invite
Lerner	Michael	NY	Media/Religion	FLOTUS	Editor of Tikkun Magazine	Invite (P)
Moyers	Bill	NY	Media	FLOTUS	Moderator and commentator; works include World of The Mind and The Power of Myth. LBJ Press Secretary	Invite (P)
Peck	Scott	CT	Media/Religion	P.Lader	Author of The Road Less Travelled	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)
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)
Wallis	Jim	DC	Media/Religion	FLOTUS	Sojourner; Co-Author "Cry For Renewal"	Invite (P)
Wattenberg	Ben		Media	P.Lader	Commentator; Author; Values Matter Most; AEI	Invite (P)
Count:	13					13

July 6 Common Ground: A Call For Responsibility

LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
Capshaw	Kate	CA	Entertainment	DOE	Children's Action Network	Invite
Grant	Amy	TN	Entertainment	Bill Hybels	Christian Singer (Country Pop and Gospel)	Invite (P)
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 (P)
Lear	Norman	CA	Entertainment	OPL/P. Lader	Sit-Com Producer	Invite (P)
Lee	Spike	NY	Entertainment	PLader	Filmmaker	Invite (P)
Lucas	George	CA	Entertainment	Susan Ness	Director of Star Wars, Student of Joseph Campell	Invite (P)
Marsailes	Wynton	NM	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 (P)
Olmos	Edward	CA	Entertainment	OPL	Actor, Humanitarian and Community Leader, Pres. of Olmos Productions	Invite (P)
Reiner	Rob	CA	Entertainment	SSilverman	Hollywood Producer/ Director/Actor; Speaking out against violence in movies	Invite (P)
Selleck	Tom	CA	Entertainment	DOE	Actor, Republican, Character Eduction Movement	Invite (P)
Semel	Terry	CA	Entertainment	FLOTUS	CO-Chief Warner Bros.	Invite
Washington	Denzel	CA	Entertainment	OPL	Academy-Award-winning Actor, nat'l spokesman for Boys and Girls Clubs of America	Invite (P)
Count:	14			14		14

July 6 Common Ground: A Call For Responsibility

LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	STATE	SECTOR	REFERENCE	BACKGROUND	CATEGORY
Aaron	Henry	GA	Sports	P.Lader	Atlanta Braves Exec.; all-time Home Run Leader	Invite
Johnson	Magic	CA	Sports			Invite
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 (P)
Staubach	Roger	TX	Sports	P.Lader	Pres. Staubach Co. fmr. Pro-Football Q-back.	Invite
Stern	David	NY	Sports	OPL	Commissioner NBA; NBA does a lot of civic activities	Invite
White	Reggie	CA	Sports	Dennis Bakke	Green-Bay Packers football player, ordained minister, community activist	Invite (P)
Count:	1	7				6