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The New Citizenship

A Partnership between Citizens and Government

RECEIVED JAN 25 1993

January 19, 1993

Dear Colleague:

You are cordially invited to join with other civic and education leaders in a press conference and Citizens' Inaugural Luncheon, February 8, 1993, at the National Press Club, Washington, D.C. The day's activities will launch **The New Citizenship**, a campaign to invigorate effective citizenship in America:

Press Conference, 11:15 a.m. - 12:15 p.m.

- To present newly drafted legislation to establish a Citizen Liaison Office in departments of the federal government.
- To introduce leaders for **The New Citizenship** -- authors of *The New Citizenship White Paper* (see attached); leaders of national organizations concerned with civic renewal; and individual sponsors and endorsers.

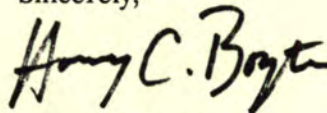
Citizens' Inaugural Luncheon, 12:15 p.m. - 3:15 p.m.

- The Luncheon will feature some of America's most dramatic, if often invisible, success stories of citizen leadership (see attached listing). Invited guests also include David Mathews, former Secretary, HEW; Raul Yzquierre, President, National Council of La Raza; and Congressman John Lewis (D-GA) and Dorothy Cotton, former leaders of the civil rights movement's Citizenship Schools, Freedom Schools, and ACTION. Clinton administration officials are also expected to attend.
- Dramatic presentation by the Peace Child ensemble on the challenges facing the country from the perspective of teenagers, followed by discussion.
- Presentation of **The New Citizenship** -- the concepts it espouses, including strategies for more powerfully embedding citizen education and the practice of citizenship in civic, educational, and service institutions.

The purpose of the day's activities is two-fold: to bring the importance of a new partnership between citizens and government to the attention of both the public and the new administration; and to build the coalition of organizations already endorsing this new concept by inviting you and your counterparts to participate. A one-page Executive Summary of *The New Citizenship White Paper* and a preliminary list of sponsors and endorsers are enclosed.

Please confirm your attendance at the luncheon (or that of your designee) by calling Diane U. Eisenberg at (202) 393-2208.

Sincerely,



Harry C. Boyte
Coordinator
The New Citizenship Project

Steering Committee

Harry C. Boyte, Center for Democracy and Citizenship, Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota
Benjamin R. Barber, Walt Whitman Center, Rutgers University
Dorothy Cotton, former Director, Citizenship Education Program, Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Harold H. Saunders, International Affairs, Kettering Foundation
Suzanne Morse, Pew Partnership for Civic Change
Richard Battistoni, Department of Political Science, Baylor University
Diane U. Eisenberg, Eisenberg Associates; Council for the Advancement of Citizenship
Peg Michels, Project Public Life, Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota

The New Citizenship

A Partnership between Citizens and Government

CITIZENS' INAUGURAL LUNCHEON
National Press Club, Washington, D.C.
February 8, 1993

A SAMPLE LIST OF CITIZENSHIP SUCCESS STORIES

Below are some of the people who will tell their story at the Citizens' Inaugural Luncheon:

- ★ **Gerald Taylor**, National Staff of the Industrial Areas Foundation, the community organizing network that has renewed some of America's poorest communities.
- ★ **Deborah Meier**, the New York educator from whose East Harlem high school almost every student graduates.
- ★ **Carol Shields**, 4-H leader in Minnesota who has helped Extension Services reclaim its original mission as the agent of local community problem-solving.
- ★ **Miaisha Mitchell**, Administrator at Central Medical Center in St. Louis, who has turned her historically black hospital into a center for community life and problem-solving.
- ★ **Benjamin Barber**, who has led the Rutgers University effort to bring strong, active, service and citizenship education back into the curriculum of America's colleges and universities.
- ★ **Pam Hayle**, Therapeutic Activities Director at Augustana Nursing Home in Minneapolis, who has helped residents, once seen as helpless and frail, become active, creative public actors.
- ★ **Tony Massengale**, an architect of Youth Gang Services in Los Angeles, perhaps the nation's most successful approach to teaching former gang members how to become productive citizens.
- ★ **LaWayne Marshall**, a young adult "citizenship coach" who is helping inner city youth learn how to be serious players in politics.

The New Citizenship

A Partnership between Citizens and Government

I. ENDORSEMENTS FOR THE NEW CITIZENSHIP (in formation)

ORGANIZATIONS

American Association of Community Colleges
American Association of School Administrators
American Federation of Teachers
Campus Compact
Campus Outreach Opportunity League
Council for the Advancement of Citizenship, Board of Directors
Council for Public Policy Education
YouthBuild USA

INDIVIDUALS*

Paul Aicher, President, Study Circles Resource Center
Robert Burkhardt, Director, American Honda Education Association
James T. Butler, Director, A.A.R.P. VOTE
Arne Carlson, Governor, State of Minnesota
Pablo Eisenberg, Executive Director, Center for Community Change
Sara Evans, Chair, History Department, University of Minnesota
Nils Hasselmo, President, University of Minnesota
Ellen Porter Honnet, Program Officer, The Johnson Foundation
Bruce Jenkins, Executive Director, Hastings Center
Michael Lerner, Editor, *Tikkun*
Paul Light, Director, Commission on State and Local Public Service
Eric Liu, Editor, *The Next Progressive*
David Mathews, former Secretary, U.S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare
Lorraine Matusak, Coordinator of Leadership Programs, W.K. Kellogg Foundation
Deborah Meier, Principal, Central Park East High School
Ruth Messinger, President, Borough of Manhattan
Samuel Myers, Director, Roy Wilkins Center, University of Minnesota
David O'Brien, Professor, College of the Holy Cross
Parker Palmer, Author
Anita Pampusch, President, College of St. Catherine
Alicia Phillips, Co-director, Next Innovations
Herbert Reynolds, President, Baylor University
Jim Scheibel, Mayor, St. Paul, Minnesota
Mary Strong, President, New Jersey Citizens Committee on Biomedical Ethics
Raul Yziguerre, President, National Council of La Raza

**institutions listed for identification purposes*

II. SPONSORS OF CITIZENS' INAUGURAL DAY ACTIVITIES, February 8, 1993

Augustana Nursing Home
Baylor University
Central Medical Center, St. Louis
College of St. Catherine
Council for Public Policy Education
Lilly Endowment, Inc.
University of Minnesota
Washington University

THE NEW CITIZENSHIP WHITE PAPER

Executive Summary

The New Citizenship proposes a partnership between citizens and government, shifting from the current model of government as provider of services to client-citizens that now dominates. America needs its people engaged in solving our nation's problems. We must pool private effort into public force so that a thousand points of light are concentrated in a great beacon to light our nation's future.

What The New Citizenship Means For Citizens

We foresee a reinvigorated civic infrastructure in which our civic organizations reassert their mission as politically-minded problem-solvers with a public spirit beyond narrow interest groups. We propose that Americans revitalize the public dimensions of our organizations from our religious congregations, neighborhoods, unions, civic and service organizations, schools and colleges, business and professional associations, and political parties.

What The New Citizenship Means For Government

The New Citizenship calls for a revitalized government that is open, accountable, responsive, and led by public servants who see themselves as part of the citizenry, not outside or distant from us. Government cannot resolve most of our complex problems by itself.

The New Citizenship and the Issues: An Agenda for Discussion

As part of The New Citizenship, we suggest, for discussion, policy approaches that reframe issues in terms of citizen-government partnerships and that develop civic capacity:

- **On community service:** we propose strong dimensions of citizenship education and benefits that encourage a range of participants "that look like America."
- **On education:** we propose incentives to "put the public back in education" as serious stakeholders and deliberators and to recreate schools as public spaces.
- **On health:** we propose an accent on preventative medicine, and incentives to reconceive providers, from hospitals and clinics to nursing homes, as public spaces for deliberation on health issues, civic learning, and participatory health policy.
- **On community development:** we propose building on the lessons from recent decades that community renewal must begin from within communities, and that the most effective government aid involves tools of self-help and organization.
- **On reinventing government:** we propose measures to "flatten the hierarchy" of agencies and restructure citizen participation mechanisms to involve citizens seriously.
- **On international affairs:** we propose new measures to strengthen responsible citizen involvement in efforts to build democracy, stem violence, build understanding, lessen conflicts, and create strong civil societies.

A Citizens Inaugural in Washington, D.C. on February 8, 1993, will initiate public discussion of The New Citizenship.

The New Citizenship White Paper was prepared by Harry C. Boyte, Benjamin R. Barber, Dorothy Cotton, Suzanne Morse, and Harold H. Saunders. For copies, please call (202) 393-2208.

Eisenberg Associates

444 NORTH CAPITOL STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001
TEL (202) 393-2208
FAX (202) 393-2215

2/11/93

Dear Ms. Strand,

Enclosed is a copy of the
New Citizenship White Paper,
as you requested. If you would
like to contact Harry Boyle,
one of the authors (and the
Project Director), please call
him at (612) 625-5509.

We hope you find the
material of interest.

Chris Knauf

SERVICES TO EDUCATING INSTITUTIONS

The New Citizenship

A Partnership between Citizens and Government

WHITE PAPER

Where everyman is participator in the government of affairs, not merely at an election one day in the year but every day, he will let the heart be torn out of his body sooner than his power be wrested from him by a Caesar or a Bonaparte.

Thomas Jefferson, 1816

The State is as real as the people who compose it. The duties of citizenship are as definite as the duties of housekeeping. Only as these self-evident facts are fully appreciated will women be able to share in those many and splendid reforms which we can see must come in our life.

Woman Citizen's Library, 1913

Democracy is a process, not a static condition. It is becoming, rather than being. It can be easily lost, but is never finally won.

William H. Hastie, 1940

AUTHORS

Harry C. Boyte, Co-director, Center for Democracy and Citizenship, Humphrey Inst. of Public Affairs, Univ. of Minn.
Benjamin R. Barber, Director, Walt Whitman Center for the Culture and Politics of Democracy, Rutgers University
Dorothy Cotton, former Director, Citizenship Education Program, Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Suzanne W. Morse, Executive Director, Pew Partnership for Civic Change
Harold H. Saunders, Director, International Affairs, Kettering Foundation
The Center for Democracy and Citizenship and the Walt Whitman Center are the two initiating institutions.

The White Paper draws on the work and research of The New Citizenship Working Group, which is dedicated to reinvigorating citizenship education and public spaces in a variety of educational, service, and other settings. The Working Group is co-chaired by **Peg Michels**, Co-director of Project Public Life at the Humphrey Institute, and **Richard Battistoni**, Director of the Center for Civic Education and Community Service at Rutgers, and includes Rebecca Breuer, Katrina Browne, Steven Clift, James Farr, Pam Hayle, Kathryn Hogg, John Kari, Nan Kari, Paul Light, John Lund, Tony Massengale, Miaisha Mitchell, and Carol Shields.

The New Citizenship does not place exclusive emphasis on those with formal legal standing as citizens in this country of immigrants, sometimes temporary. Rather, it views "citizenship" as the capacity developed by real-world public work that creates a stake and standing in society through contribution.

THE NEW CITIZENSHIP WHITE PAPER

President Clinton's proposal for a partnership with the American people warrants a citizen response commensurate with the dignity and substance of the concept of citizenship itself. The New Citizenship is based on this premise. It aims at generating serious national discussion, beginning with this White Paper, on the meaning of citizenship and civic education in our time. It includes a Citizens' Inaugural Day, to be held on February 8, 1993 at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. The Citizens' Inaugural will be organized in association with the Council for the Advancement of Citizenship and other organizations devoted to launching a long-term effort to strengthen citizen education and public problem-solving within America's civic infrastructure -- that network of civic, service, voluntary and educational organizations and institutions through which the public does its work.

THE CURRENT SITUATION

The Clinton administration comes into office after a remarkable political year in which millions of Americans became seriously engaged in the nation's public life. Last July, Bill Clinton spoke to this engagement in an eloquent speech to the National Bar Association:

"America needs to restore the old spirit of partnership, of optimism, of renewed dedication to common efforts. We need an array of devoted, visionary, healing leaders throughout this nation, willing to work in their communities to end the long years of denial and neglect and divisiveness and blame, to give the American people their country back."

Clinton's vision of partnership can advance the nation. Yet the 1992 election generated two powerful currents which, if they clash, will undermine this possibility. First, the campaign promised an administration dedicated to decisive government action. Second, Bill Clinton called for people to take back government.

The first theme, taken by itself, could return us to the myth of a man on a white horse -- the illusion that government can solve our problems for us. If we, as citizens, look to the administration to meet a long list of unmet economic, social, and foreign policy needs that government cannot alone resolve, we will end up disillusioned. The way will be opened for demagogic outsider appeals in the name of the aggrieved people, voices magnified through electronic media that offer little opportunity for deliberation or popular empowerment.

The second theme, proposing that all Americans participate in self-government, promises to energize the vast creativity that lies buried in our country and to address our nation's problems from the bottom up. Instead of looking to Washington for answers -- with an accompanying rush for jobs and insider connections -- it suggests a vigorous partnership. It points toward an alliance between an activist administration of the people and citizens joined in reinvigorated civil institutions. It is in support of this prospect that we have authored this White Paper; we address ourselves to citizens and to the new administration.

America needs its people engaged in solving our nation's social and economic problems. We must pool private effort into public force so that the thousand points of light are concentrated in a great

beacon to light our nation's future. Citizen efforts need to be framed in terms larger than individual volunteering.

This means a partnership between citizens and government. Such a partnership is based on the concept of active citizenship as the foundation of politics, itself broadly conceived as public problem-solving. We call this partnership, The New Citizenship. The New Citizenship will enhance citizen responsibility and political skill, and can help us in working through the divisions that stymie efforts at productive common work in America today. It involves stronger commitment to civic education from our voluntary and educational organizations and a reassertion of their mission as public problem-solvers. It requires a renewal of popular government led by public servants who see themselves as citizens first: representative agents of the people, rather than the purveyors of goods to a population of clients.

The New Citizenship also means an enlarged citizen perspective in which the individual's sphere of concern becomes transnational, even global. As citizens topple dictatorial systems from Russia to South Africa, they also seek to build democratic civic institutions, responsive governments, and market economies. We, as a nation, will not provide the leadership of which we are capable unless we conceive a foreign policy that constructively relates to the challenges of governance, civil society, and deep-rooted ethnic and cultural conflicts which others face. In this foreign policy task, too, we the people must work with the administration in fresh partnership.

President Clinton has offered to renegotiate the relationship between government and citizens. "I accept the responsibility that you have given me to be the leader of this, the greatest country in human history," he told the nation on election eve, elaborating his summer theme. "But I ask you to be Americans again, too. To be interested not just in getting, but in giving, not just in placing blame but now in assuming responsibility, not just in looking out for yourselves, but in looking out for others, too."

Yet political leadership, however articulate, cannot bring forth citizenship. For this promise to be realized will require a public-spirited response from citizens, from our voluntary, service, and educational institutions, and from government itself. This response means a shift from the current pattern of government seen as service-provider to Lincoln's government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

WHAT THE NEW CITIZENSHIP MEANS FOR CITIZENS

The politics of serious democracy is **public work**, the give and take, messy, everyday activity in which diverse groups of citizens set about dealing with the problems of our common existence. Public work is a crucial way in which we *become* citizens: public-spirited, effective contributors to the country. Yet today, most people put themselves outside of politics. They have relegated politics, the public work of problem-solving, to professional politicians. Thus, The New Citizenship reclaims "politics" (from the Greek, *politikos*, meaning "of the citizen") as the public work of citizens.

Throughout American history, the work of public problem-solving occurred in a variety of institutions that extended from the local community to large-scale civic organizations; it has been the way that millions of citizens developed a sense of their stake in the nation and their capacity to act

as citizens. Similarly, during the civil rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s, Citizenship Schools and Freedom Schools were the way that southern African-Americans excluded from public life developed public capacities and voices.

These mediating institutions persist. But they have frequently been recast in a professional-client pattern that separates Americans and our political agents into an "us" and "them" and treats the relationship as simply adversarial and crudely manipulative. "We" relate to "them" by "sending them a message" or "throwing the rascals out." Politics today allows us to be heard and to receive things from government, but we, as citizens, rarely imagine ourselves as producers of politics.

Yet redefined, politics becomes something that we as citizens do to address our problems. And though this process will not be easy or simple, we can revitalize the public dimensions of the organizations in which we are involved, from our religious congregations, neighborhood groups, union locals, the full range of civic and service organizations, schools and colleges, business and professional associations to political parties. We can make government an instrument to which we delegate responsibilities and which we hold accountable for the directions we have set, once we as citizens have discussed and debated how problems are defined and how they might best be addressed.

Through active citizenship, we can address our nation's divisions of race, culture, and gender. Racial conflicts, patterns of discrimination, and controversies over women's public roles and the definition of our families are often dismissed as irksome diversions, on the one hand, or used to divide and fragment us into different camps, on the other. Appeals for goodwill and even the most eloquent political leadership are insufficient. In contrast, reinvigorated public institutions can serve as meeting grounds for citizens to work together in practical fashion on common issues, from crime, to housing, to improved education.

A revitalized citizenship can prepare citizens to work creatively across international boundaries to solve problems that no one government or nation can solve alone. Citizens in our interdependent world are already heavily involved in international relationships in concert with those of other nations. Individually, in small groups, and through large public organizations, citizens work to prevent nuclear war, to relieve hunger, to aid victims of violence, to protect human rights, to stem environmental degradation, to promote commerce, to enlarge human understanding, and now, to share experience in building civil societies and free markets. The issue is not whether citizens will be involved but how citizens can learn to work more effectively and strategically. Just as government officials over the years have learned the arts of diplomacy, citizens can learn how best to affect the course of events. Our shared task with citizens of other nations is to build polities around democratic principles through which all of us learn, while leaving room for each nation to interpret democracy in light of its own distinctive political genius.

Both domestically and internationally, this shift to the New Citizenship involves a government which once again sees itself as "of" the people, not simply acting "for" the people.

WHAT THE NEW CITIZENSHIP MEANS FOR GOVERNMENT

The New Citizenship calls for a revitalized government that is open, accountable, responsive, and led by public servants who see themselves as part of the citizenry, not outside or distant from us.

Government spokespeople at every level, from the President to county clerks, need to acknowledge candidly the need for Clinton's "spirit of partnership," both within our communities and also in our infrastructure of civic organizations that are state-wide, national and international in scope.

Government can build bridges, tame interest rates, issue environmental and health and safety regulations, dispense justice, and provide a social safety net. But political leaders need to acknowledge that government cannot resolve most of our complex problems by itself. Overpromising only leads to cynicism.

Issues such as school reform, community and economic development, racial conflict, public health, crime, homelessness, and protection of the environment all require that citizens act as deliberators and problem-solvers. Schools and businesses, as well as individual citizens, make recycling work. School reform requires that schools reconnect with the life of communities and forge relationships with other institutions and that parents become powerful stakeholders, acting with imagination on the entire range of school issues, not simply their individual interests. Only strong neighborhoods and renewed community institutions like small businesses can reduce crime, through partnership with police departments. Creating a healthy nation is the work of providers and advocacy organizations that open themselves up as public institutions, welcoming public deliberation on how health problems are best defined and how to decide difficult trade-off issues such as treatment priorities, technology purchases, care before death, and prolongation of life.

THE NEW CITIZENSHIP AND THE ISSUES: AN AGENDA FOR DISCUSSION

The New Citizenship can be best illustrated through a sketch of priority arenas for public problem-solving, reconceived as a partnership of citizens within and outside of government agencies. We suggest the following in order to prompt public discussion. Unanimity here is not our goal; we, the authors and endorsers, do not all agree with every clause of these specific proposals. Rather, these are advanced as illustrations of ways to reframe approaches to public problems based on the concept of a citizen-government partnership; and as examples of ways to conceive of policy approaches that develop the public capacities of citizens and our civic institutions' for responsible action. In each case, discussions need to address the appropriate roles of both government and civic institutions.

Community Service

President Clinton, building on the successful precedents like VISTA and ACTION, and the mushrooming community service efforts of recent years, has proposed a program in which students will be able to pay for college education in return for agreement to serve the nation as police officers, teachers, and community workers in a variety of other roles. This idea highlights the importance of service, but service by itself does not generate strong, active citizenship. Service can easily succumb to a singular emphasis on individual good deeds that sentimentalizes service and erodes the citizen role in cooperative public action. Service initiatives also need to avoid a troublesome division based on need -- "a two track citizenship." We propose the following for discussion:

Priority Action: A cabinet-level national service initiative that is undertaken as a major, primary priority of the new administration.

Participants: A national service initiative that is designed to include a panorama of participants "that looks like America," drawn from diverse racial, economic, cultural, and religious groupings.

Benefits: Benefit options that encourage participation by a wide range of young people and others, including living stipends during service and post-service benefits, flexible enough to meet the needs of diverse groups of participants.

Citizenship Education: A national service initiative that integrally involves civic learning, including systematic attention to civic and political skills and concepts, critical thinking, and self-evaluation.

Decentralized Design: A national service initiative that builds upon and expands the wide array of decentralized service program approaches now in place, including youth and conservation corps, community-based groups, K-12 and higher education institutions.

Education

A chorus of voices in recent years has argued that the nation needs a reconceived education system if we are to meet the challenges of the rapidly changing global economic and civic environment. As the National Education Goals Report of 1990 expressed it, "By the year 2000 . . . every adult American will possess the knowledge and skills necessary to compete in a global economy and to exercise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship." Only a transformation of American education will allow new businesses to prosper in an environment where knowledge itself is the central resource. Moreover, we need a renewal of the founding vision of education as aimed at teaching the liberal arts, that is the arts of liberty, understood as the political, broad-minded skills and perspectives of public-spirited citizenship. All of our educational institutions need to be reconceived as continually *constituting* citizenship through the culture, values, skills and concepts they promote and practice. In this spirit, we suggest for discussion:

Putting the Public Back in Schools: Policies that encourage strong parental and community participation in governance about staffing, curriculum, and school programs through site-based management and other measures.

Improved Public Education: Measures and incentives to strengthen public education through service learning that includes strong citizenship education, through rewards for outstanding teaching and higher salaries for teachers, and through smaller schools.

Schools as Public Spaces: Incentives that encourage schools to become locations for community deliberation and action beyond school hours, and that strengthen community-school ties in other ways.

Civic Learning in Post-Secondary Education: Policies that encourage two and four year colleges and universities to take seriously a renewed citizenship education mission.

Health

The 1992 campaign drew important attention to the crisis in accessibility of health care -- the fact

that over 35 million citizens have no health coverage -- and to the skyrocketing costs of health care. For the resolution of our health care crisis, however, health care institutions, health care education, and consumers will have to reconceptualize health care to emphasize the citizen dimension, inside and outside institutions. We propose for discussion the following measures:

Preventative Medicine: A strong emphasis on preventative medicine, including measures to lessen the litigious nature of health interactions today and to develop citizen responsibility and capacity for action on health.

Decentralized Delivery: Measures that support community-based clinics and other delivery approaches emphasizing primary and basic health care.

Public Spaces: Policies that encourage providers such as hospitals, nursing homes, and others to become public spaces for civic learning, for experimentation in development of innovative health policy, and for deliberation about critical health issues.

Professional Training: Professional training innovations that emphasize the skills and concepts of citizenship, broadly construed to include collaborative problem-solving, public deliberation, and strategic planning.

Community Revitalization

The urban disturbances following the acquittal of Los Angeles police officers who beat Rodney King and the acquittal of the youth accused of killing Yankel Rosenbaum, the young Hasidic scholar in Brooklyn, exposed problems that conventional politics cannot remedy. Neither traditional liberalism, with singular emphasis on government action, nor traditional conservatism, with its stress on individual responsibility, provides adequate responses to our crises in communities today. The solutions lie in a politics where citizens take center stage as cooperative problem solvers. The evidence of three decades is that citizens need particular sorts of government aid: tools of self-help that they can use to rebuild communities and create renewed linkages with the political system. Many local governments have already designed innovative and creative models for such government aid on which to build. Thus, we suggest:

Community Self-help: Funding and renewal of programs like Headstart, community policing, community-controlled job training, housing, tenant management, and economic development, grounded in the concept that community renewal must come from within communities.

Public Spaces: Programs to revitalize and create public spaces in communities for deliberation and action, such as community parks, gardens, recreational facilities, schools and libraries.

Public Information: Policies to enable citizens to obtain access to a range of data about governmental and economic policies through computer linkages and other means in local schools, libraries, and other public institutions.

Reinventing Government

Bill Clinton made government reorganization a major theme of his campaign. Such a focus forms an essential complement to a reworked relation between citizens and public agencies: not only must government agencies reconceive their appropriate function, emphasizing the ways in which they can become catalysts for public problem-solving, but also they need themselves to become more accessible and accountable. For government to undergo significant internal restructuring, it will require that public servants -- officials and government workers -- see themselves once again as citizens first, part of the public, not outside the public. We propose for discussion:

Internal Restructuring: Simplification of classification rules and elimination of many middle and upper level supervisory jobs that micromanage those on the front lines of government-public interaction.

Campaign Reform: Measures to control campaign costs, support candidates through public financing, provide free media access for political campaigns.

Citizen-legislators: New methods to insure accurate voter knowledge of policy-makers' actions and other means of increasing officials' accountability; revamping of public hearings and other citizen participation mechanisms to encourage serious public participation.

Strengthening Democracy Abroad

Citizenship is critically important in other countries today, as well. People are attempting to find more effective and more democratic ways of governing and of solving their problems. Dealing with the states that have emerged from the former Soviet Union and the newly emerging democracies in Africa and Latin America requires new ways for the people of the United States to relate to them in that effort. In building that new relationship, we begin with two propositions: first, our country, one of the oldest experiments in government of the people, by the people and for the people, has much to contribute to democratization around the world. Second, we ourselves have much to gain from a global conversation and exchange on themes of democracy. We need a new partnership with peoples of emerging and established democracies, through which all of us can learn.

Conceiving of foreign policy in this way requires rethinking how nations relate. For centuries, leaders have thought about questions of foreign policy and international relations in terms of government-to-government relations. Now, we need to look at a larger range of problems in terms of governance, civil society, and efforts to resolve bitter internal conflicts. We need to recognize that our relationships with other countries also include relationships among citizens and their organizations. We suggest the following:

Building Civil Society: Measures sensitive to local traditions to help develop government-citizen partnership in citizenship education, the political resolution of conflicts, and community and economic development.

Citizen Exchanges: Enhancement of programs for student, scholarly, business, and nonprofit exchanges specifically designed to deepen understanding of how international relationships work in an interdependent, culturally diverse world.

Citizen Self-help: Strengthening of programs aimed at supporting grassroots citizen capacities to deal with problems they face, such as the Peace Corps.

Citizenship Education: Strengthening language and other study programs in U.S. schools, colleges, universities and the media through which young Americans can come to see themselves as citizens of the world and prepare themselves to act internationally.

Such policy arenas illustrate the range of issues and questions involved in The New Citizenship.

ACTION ON THE NEW CITIZENSHIP

To address these questions, we call for a dialogue between the new administration and the American people. In order to undergird and make real this partnership, we propose a widespread discussion of what citizenship means in our age; for efforts to revitalize citizen education in a variety of settings; work to renew the public spirit of our civic institutions over the coming months; and several early initiatives from the Clinton administration to illustrate dedication to such a partnership between government and citizens.

For more information on The New Citizenship, please contact Harry Boyte, Project Coordinator, at the Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs' Center for Democracy and Citizenship.

Please feel free to reproduce this paper and distribute it to others.