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January 14, 1998

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to thank you for your invitation to the White House last Wednesday. It was a great honor and pleasure to meet you and have a chance to engage in a wide-ranging discussion on some of the most pressing issues of our day. I left the meeting somewhat daunted by the magnitude of the challenges that confront you during the remainder of your term, but also thoroughly impressed with your determination to overcome them.

You asked us to communicate to you any further thoughts that we had related to our conversation. I would like to elaborate on one issue in particular, as I know it is close to your own heart.

I believe, as I think you do too, that it will be tremendously important in your upcoming speech to provide a satisfactory answer to globalization's critics. This is essential both to reunite the Democrats on this divisive issue and to lay out a vision that informs future policy. The right approach, it seems to me, is to make it clear that your strategy combines the pursuit of an open trade regime with an ambitious set of domestic initiatives in the areas of education, training, and social safety nets. The social compact you are proposing to the American people is a simple and attractive one: we will fully partake of the economic opportunities created by global markets; but we will also do our best to ensure that the benefits of trade are not spread unevenly.

Globalization engenders a certain degree of social trauma because it quickens the pace of change experienced by individuals and families in their work place, marketplace, and community. The attendant sense of loss of control underlies the anxieties that attach to international trade. Educational opportunities and social insurance equalize the playing field for the less fortunate among us, and can help restore a sense of control over one's destiny. To critics of "big government," you can respond that that the government's role in this is not an intrusive one, but an enabling one.

During the last couple of weeks alone, you have come forward with excellent programs in the areas of Medicare, child care, and training. These reforms are worthy in their own right of course, but they also constitute the type of complementary measures needed as the domestic leg of a globalization strategy. What I think has been missing in your public statements on these programs has been the critical linkage with the trade side. (Similarly, I believe fast track got

nowhere because it was perceived as lacking a strong domestic component in terms of compensation and adjustment assistance.) This separation between the two legs of your strategy denies you of a powerful argument to counter globalization's critics. You now have an important opportunity to articulate the interconnectedness of your foreign and domestic initiatives.

You understand the complementary nature of trade and domestic programs very well, but I do not think the public at large does. Neither do many people in Congress. You would gain much by making this explicit and by demonstrating that you are actually getting on with this agenda. This will allow you to confront frontally and decisively the protectionists in Congress and elsewhere.

The recent events in Asia have increased the salience of these issues and the importance of making a credible case to the American public on behalf of open economic borders. Recovery in Asia will require that countries in the region export their way out of trouble. This will increase the U.S trade deficit. The problem is likely to be aggravated by the process of currency unification in Europe, which I expect will contribute further to the reduction in global demand. A serious political backlash against a growing external trade imbalance would risk not only an outbreak of protectionism here but a slide into depression worldwide. Guarding against this doomsday scenario is yet another reason for making a forthright case for trade backed up by solid domestic programs.

I am told by your aides that you have read my book *Has Globalization Gone Too Far?* and enjoyed it. Let me close by saying how gratified I am that you may have found the book of some value.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'D Rodrik', with a horizontal line extending to the right.

Dani Rodrik

Radcliffe College

RADCLIFFE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS



RADCLIFFE INSTITUTES FOR ADVANCED STUDY

RADCLIFFE PUBLIC POLICY INSTITUTE

January 12, 1998

President William Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President,

I would like to thank you for the wonderful dinner you and Mrs. Clinton hosted on January 7th. The conversation was thoughtful, at moments far-reaching and consistently stimulating. Hopefully the interdisciplinary discourse was helpful to you and the Vice President as you think about the state of the nation from past, present and future perspectives. And, the delicious dinner complimented the intellectual smorgasbord.

I would like to respond to your request to send you additional ideas as a next step. During our dinner discussion, three principal themes struck me as having greatest significance:

1. The importance of creating a Human Face for the Global Economy

As I reported, we learned from our focus groups around the nation that there is deep and persistent anxiety about the future. The "walking on jello" experience cuts across race, class, gender, age and political persuasions. Americans, even those doing well under the present economic prosperity, are concerned about their own future and the future of their children and grandchildren.

The good news is that there is much common ground, if not solid ground, in this "jello" experience. The challenge, however, is that most people fail to see political leadership addressing the causes of their anxiety or formulating solutions that may bring about more lasting security and confidence.

Mr. President, we need a coherent, clearly-presented analysis of the challenges confronting us as we approach the next century, placed in the context of our history since the Industrial Revolution. The average American needs clarity on the benefits that result from global connections, both as a nation and in terms of how typical families gain from these often invisible, macro-level transformations. There needs to be an honest discussion about the fact that while a substantial expansion of global markets and capital has occurred, there has been a lag in creating social institutions to sustain such development. The institutions that most deeply affect our lives - the family, the workplace, schools, local and federal government, religious and civic associations - do not seem to provide the safety necessary to sustain us in these times. Each of the institutions that compose the foundation for our national common ground seem under attack and increasingly fragile.

In short, we need a vision - a story that we all can believe in - that provides for a win-win solution: that we can find common secure ground close to home AND still benefit from global markets and connecting to our global neighbors. (e.g. Why should John and Mary living in Atlanta feel a sense of bonding with Jose and Maria in Mexico City or Jean and Marianne in Quebec?)

2. Building Work-Family-Community Connection

As others have suggested, every society needs shared values and shared institutions if there is to be social cohesion. Continuing from the section above, we have failed since the Industrial Revolution to configure the institutions of work, family and community in ways that sustain us, knit us together, and meet the turbulence of changes locally and globally. In particular, women have felt the costs of these changes in the dramatic rise in labor force participation, the continuing gender inequity in pay and care-giving responsibilities, and the resistance of work, educational and civic institutions to re-organize to enhance family well-being. Mr. President, as I pointed out at the dinner, you and Mrs. Clinton have helped the nation correct this failure through your landmark FMLA legislation, your extension of the Peace Corps Service, your recent child care, Medicare expansion and education proposals. These are being applauded by people of all generations and I congratulate you!

Yet these are just the first strands of the fabric that must be woven.

I would like to offer a specific proposal in the spirit of creating a viable institutional quilt for our nation's future: **A Presidential Commission on Work-Family-Community Alliance for the 21st Century.** The Commission's overall mission would be to aid our nation in formulating work, family and civic life in ways that enhance social cohesion and recognize the economic, workplace, and demographic changes that are occurring. The Commission would bring together outstanding representatives from business, labor, government and civic society for a specific period (one year perhaps) with the objectives of educating the public, spotlighting best practices and producing policy initiatives for the public and private domains. The conceptual basis of the Commission would be that we need to structure work, family and community institutions to mutually support each other rather than undermine the quality of life Americans seek.

The response to the idea for such a Commission I think would be very positive, gathering much support from women's organizations, religious and civic groups, health and educational leaders as well as forging bipartisan efforts. I would welcome the opportunity to discuss this proposal with you and your staff.

3. Overcoming Inequity

One of the most powerful exchanges during our dinner concerned racial inequity. I agree with Sam Beer that you and Vice President Gore, as white Southern males, may have a unique role to play in keeping "our eyes on the prize" of racial harmony. I also agree with Randall Kennedy that this is exceedingly difficult to do and that the Town Meeting approach, while good, is not sufficient. Our society contains people with many different customs, traditions and outlooks. More than ever we need to remain clear that the only way democracy will survive is if we can each hold dear to us the respect for human rights. I think the costs of widening inequity need to be made crystal clear. Americans measure what they value. If we value human rights, equal access, and equal opportunity, then we must measure what the costs are - for the individual, for the community, for the nation - if they do not exist.

I very much appreciate the opportunity to share my "after dinner" thoughts and ideas with you. I hope we can continue the exchange.

A final thought. Each Sabbath a designated portion or "parshah" of the Old Testament is read in temples around the globe. In the next weeks leading up to your State of the Union Address, the readings will move from the end of Genesis and the death of Joseph to the beginning of Exodus and the birth of Moses. The sages tell us that this marks the passage

from death of the patriarchs (and matriarchs) to the birth of a new leader. It also marks the coming to fruition of the people, the nation of Israel, who reach freedom and redemption in the Exodus story. May the Exodus story inspire you at this important moment and provide a sense of blessing.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Paula", enclosed within a large, loopy oval shape.

Paula M. Rayman, Ph.D.
Director

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Dear Sidney,

I found the discussion last Wednesday utterly absorbing. It's very satisfying to realize that that sort of conversation goes on in the White House, and I felt greatly honored to have been included.

I wrote up a couple of paragraphs, trying to weave together some of my own preoccupations with some of the things the President was saying on Wednesday. I'd be grateful if you could take a look and decide whether what I wrote would be worth putting before him.

With good wishes,

Dick

January 10, 1998

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Dear Mister President,

Thank you very much indeed for including me in the group gathered at your table last Wednesday evening. You suggested that we might wish to send you some brief written formulations of our views. What follows summarizes my sense of the upshot of Wednesday's discussion of globalization:

Constitutional democracy is incompatible with great socio-economic inequality. Whenever the poor become poorer as the rich grow richer, democracy is in danger. At the beginning of this century, it became clear that it was up to governments to prevent industrialization from immiserating the least advantaged. The Progressives, and their successors later in the century, responded to this challenge. The laws they passed, together with the hard-won success of the labor unions in establishing collective bargaining, saved America from the tragedy of Marxist or Fascist revolution.

The globalization of the economy is for us what the industrialization of the economy was for the Americans of 1900. It is essential to the future of our democracy that globalization be made to work for the benefit of all Americans--that its benefits flow not merely to stockholders and managers, but to wage-earners as well. This will require as thorough-going a rethinking of the relation between the government and the economy as did industrialization. It will also require an unprecedented integration of foreign with domestic policy. We must design international agreements and institutions which insure that the globalized economy does not merely increase productive efficiency, but also promotes the equality of human beings.

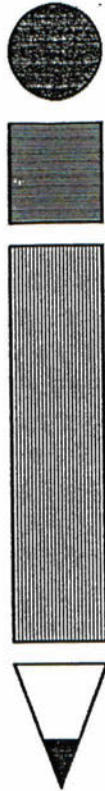
With every good wish for the success of your initiatives in the course of the next three years,

Sincerely,



Richard Rorty

January 11, 1998



From the TelePort of: patricia williams

Date: Tuesday, January 13, 1998

Number of Pages: 2

To: Sidney Blumenthal, 202-456-2640

Fax Number: 1-202-456-1213

Memo: Dear Mr. Blumenthal, It was a pleasure to meet you at last Wednesday evening's dinner. As promised, I have tried to put some thoughts together for yours and the President's consideration. Please find herewith (i.e., trailing out of the fax machine) a letter whose pages should number ten. Again, many thanks for allowing me to be part of that conversation. Sincerely, Patricia J. Williams, Columbia Law School, 212-854-5877

Columbia Law School
435 West 116th Street
New York, New York 10027

Professor Patricia J. Williams
212-854-5877

January 12, 1998

The President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President,

I want to thank you, as well as Mrs. Clinton and the Vice President, for greatly honoring me with the invitation to dinner last Wednesday. In addition to being honored, however, I found myself more nervous than I've been in quite a while, and perhaps less precise than I would have liked. In any event, I have tried in this letter to put together my thoughts about the images, the metaphors, the "word ships" that seem to me to be shaping at least part of popular American consciousness.

To begin, two quick stories to frame the rest of what I want to say:

There was, as you recall, a front page article in The Wall Street Journal a few weeks ago, about a workfare program in Columbia South Carolina, called Bright Futures.¹ Described as a "bold program to launch people straight from welfare into demanding careers--as prison guards," it is sponsored jointly by the Department of Corrections and the Department of Social Services to address a 30% growth in South Carolina's inmate population since 1990. Presented glowingly as a path by which two single mothers (pictured though not described

¹ Tony Horowitz, "Maximum Security? To Be Free of the Dole, Two Women Follow A Long Path to Prison," The Wall Street Journal, Dec. 11, 1997, p. 1, col. 1

as black), went “from being public charges to public servants, from figures of scorn to figures of authority, from rearing children to restraining convicts,” the program apparently teaches them how to kill a man when necessary, how to navigate the cells with violent sex offenders, how to endure having excrement thrown in their faces, and how to ignore friends and relatives, since, according to Sargent Elwood Sessions, “a lot of these women come from the same neighborhoods, sometimes the same families.”

While The Wall Street Journal entitled all this a “Freedom Trip to Prison,” the women’s delight with the promise of independence was inextricably tempered by their professed anxiety about the dangers of the job, their apprehension about the risks of rape, the chronic sleeplessness that beset some of them and finally, a chilling resignation that The Wall Street Journal redescribed as “mastery” of their fears. “I’m sure at some stage I’ll get hurt,” said one woman in the program. “I’ve talked to several officers who’ve been stabbed. They’ve come back to work. It’s not the end of the world, so why whine about it?”²

Yet since getting stabbed so frequently precipitates precisely the end of world, the name of this program, “Bright Futures,” nevertheless sounded to me like an extremely cruel joke.

Second story: In his book, Amazing Grace, Jonathan Kozol describes a young teenager in the Bronx named after Malcolm X, who with his best friend, nicknamed Tragedy, wear their hair in a style called “25 Years to Life” Malcolm’s sister asks him, “Like in prison...? This is how you want to wear your hair?”

“You don’t have to be in jail to be in prison,” he replies.³

I cite these two stories because I think they typify the new Chaucerian tales that Americans are telling themselves as a matter of faith--the fingershaking, just-get-over-it, for-your-own-good morality tale on the one hand, the grim pageantry of despair on the other. Yet, as you point out, there certainly have been materially tougher times in our history; our nation has sustained itself

² Id., at p. A16, col. 5

³ Jonathan Kozol, Amazing Grace, Harper Collins, 1995p. 37

through recessions, depressions and world wars with a unique kind of optimism, grounded upon a pastiche of transporting tropes: American self-image has long been informed by the Puritan fathers' notion of the city on a hill, the New Jerusalem, the place in the wilderness where milk, honey, and other resources would supposedly flow. American independence has been represented the opposite of the feudal manor--or perhaps its reclamation for the conceptual (if not actual) masses. Similarly, the idealism engraved on the Statue of Liberty promised rest and redemption to the tired, the hungry, the poor; it made a pact with the serfs of the world that they would be clothed with dignity equal to that of the lords of the manor. Until recently we have always believed ourselves to be a nation of owners of our fates, rational individuals, tucked into fragrant tree-lined dreamscapes, chickens in every pot, Chevrolets in every garage, hope in every heart.

These days the image of that community has been challenged in the popular, Hollywood- and media-driven imagination--no longer the City on the Hill, but Olympus as gated community. No longer available to those who merely seek her, but accessible only to richly-endowed tithe-payers who willingly submit to the ritual prostrations of metal detectors, strip searches, and IQ tests. And however many say they ascribe to that notion of gatedness, the vast majority, I do believe, both feel and are deeply disenfranchised by it.

I'm sure some will hear this as hyperbolic, but I venture to offer that one of the principal reasons for this disenfranchisement has been resistance to the civil rights movement. To put it bluntly, the body politic has literally cut off its nose to spite its face. However much progress has been made in the area of race relations (and I do not deny that that progress has been great, even miraculous), one of the great undermeasured failures has been the widespread abandon of any area where courts have granted equal access to blacks. Indeed, the most consistent kind of resistance to racial integration has been white abandon of almost all forms of public accomodation. When blacks fled the sharecropping system in the south and moved to northern cities, whites fled cities, leading to an erosion of tax and industrial bases that has diminished the quality of life for all.

When blacks integrated public schools, large numbers of whites abandoned the public school system, even where, as in certain working class communities like South Boston or parts of Orange County, this meant dropping out of school altogether.⁴ When the face of welfare was depicted as black, white voters threw poor blacks--and even more of themselves--out into the cold.

Civic community with family as its model, civic virtue with domestic tranquility as its wellspring--these images have given way to market notions of politics as shopping spree. The political sphere is arranged like an automat these days. Put your tax dollars in slot A and get result A. There is less and less allowance for elected representatives to invest it in programs for the greater good, the geographically distant or the long-term future. Get what you pay for, don't pay for anyone else. While part of this is attributable to straightforward ideological libertarianism, another part of the attraction of such a model, it seems to me, is that it permits and even justifies the writing off of some in society--particularly blacks and new brown immigrants--as poor choice makers and therefore undeserving.

I must say upfront that I have some problems with libertarianism generally, even though I do respect it as a point of view--particularly within limited realms, such as commercial laws governing the transfer of things rather than the negotiation of human affairs. But where it gets us into trouble, I think, is where it becomes a supposedly neutral instrument for racial animus--in which economic choice becomes the only explanation for others' misfortune, in which material constraint is recharacterized as mere excuse, in which lack of education is shrugged off as market risk, in which the right to "free" association justifies the perpetuation of associational taboo.

A citizen is a member of a political entity. A "member," in its most literal sense, is part of a coherent body. Citizens--as citizens--do not shop, at least in the metaphorical wordships that have sustained the American experiment until recently. So if the civic realm has been overtaken by purely self-interested

⁴ I think William Finnegan's recent series of pieces in The New Yorker have been really exceptional for their ability to capture the degree to which white flight and self-segregation has injured a generation of white poor and working class kids.

risktakers whose primary end is accumulation, this is a fundamental shift away from citizenship as a matter of allegiance, entitlement, privilege and right.

If indeed this represents a trade-in of a constitutional notion of public compact that sanctified corporal integrity and inalienability of rights for a notion of commercial contract in which rights must be "earned" and government interests are as alienable as a pair of new sneakers, it is not surprising that a literal kind of alienation--which I think is rooted in a fear of the fungible self--has gripped so many in this nation. Furthermore, the insecurity of this new civic status is exacerbated by the explosive growth of technologies that overturn our understanding of ourselves every few years. People are so besieged with rapid flux that they form attachments to their area codes as markers in the turbulent landscape of identity. All this before we even get to the practical insecurities of life without healthcare, without retirement funds, without shelter, without guarantees.

The concept of the individual has always been the enlightenment's wild card: king or queen, rook or bishop, pawn or knight, all were within our grasp, our gamebag of opportunity. The icon of individualism, put to its most productive ends, promised a freedom, a chance, an entitlement--a public commitment to equality on the one hand, and a private ethic of "to each his own." on the other. The deep malaise that afflicts our political identity has literally reversed the ingredients of that dream, so that the perceived public ethic has become a noncommittal one of "on your own," while the space where private life once held a flourishing imagistic court has become a field of imposed uniformity fed largely by an incessant and ruthlessly unimaginative media barrage of such blinding rapidity that children fall out in seizures. It is the odd sensation of 1984 crossed with the Handmaid's Tale: we are caught between our isolation and our indistinguishability, the secret of our own originality and our instant replaceability.

I listen to call-in radio from time to time and one of the things I find very interesting and surprising just now is the amount of sympathy I hear not, surely, for Theodore Kaczynski as murderer, but for his manifesto--it comes across as a

kind of neo-Luddite panic about being overtaken by mysteriously inhuman forces of "progress." It is the expression, I suppose, of a psychic state in which we are controlled, but have no control. Where we are "known" by computers so well that we are outfoxed and predicted all the time. Where we are robbed of the conceit that there is an original thought in our brains, or a secret, a surprise, a miracle in our genetic structure. The futures that some young people (including not a few of my quite privileged law students) imagine for themselves are filigreed with fearful descriptions of numbingly mechanistic rat-races, of routines that they fear will be both discomforting and foreign, punctuated by the devastatingly unexpected. And a biologist friend of mine complains that humans evolved with the capacity to withstand calamities "like maybe a forest fire every forty years," but not the sheer repetitive stress about survival that something simple like trying to keep a job so regularly dumps upon us. (Although, his particular version of evolution is probably also informed by his own worries about tenure!)

The preconditions to one's sense of a personally-controllable fate proceed from the assumption of collective security. Crime and immigration are the focus of much of that national angst, but I think there is also a general angst about securing the boundaries of ourselves. We captains of our own fate have been overtaken by barons of industry, who in turn have given in to the new masters of the universe. And this is a move from images of self-control to images of centralized power held by non-nongovernmental, largely unaccountable new-age feudal lords.

As the prospect (if not reality) of comfortable middle-range bourgeois fortune grows less certain with this depiction, a new, highly-specialized metaphoric order seems to be emerging, organized a little like a corporate beehive: The queen bees are on top, all brain and genetic endowment, but with soft, impractical bodies. Below, are the worker bees, who enjoy buff bodies but no brains.

Zoological accuracy notwithstanding, this much of the image is limited

enough, but then, again, it's overlaid with race. The brains are white, the bodies are black. Everyone wants to be a brain. No one wants to be a black body--at least in this Manichean sense--even blacks, so much of whose political energy has tended therefore to be both body-centered and escapist. The very question of racial and interracial identity begins with: Am I only and always this body? Similarly, working class and middle class whites fight to place themselves in this dualism, and they twist back and forth--from envying and fetishizing black physique (particularly in the realms of crime and sports) to proving that they themselves are Really-and-Truly great and deserving white brains. (Their presumptive positioning on the great bell curve of life, as proffered by Charles Murray, has been particularly handy in this regard.).

Whole industries have cropped up to cater to these self-dividing anxieties. The designated Brains spend lots of money trying to figure out how to reproduce themselves. Under the illusion that they have no bodies, they seem convinced that reproduction is best done with drugs and dishes and needles and incubators. The designated Bodies on the other hand spend a lot of time repenting and apologizing for the simply astounding rate at which they are presumed to be *spreading*. And with such ease! And from each and every orifice! Lots of money is spent devising potions to make them stop.

The Brains subsist on air kisses, black coffee and toast points. Scientists with PhD's work hard at packing a six course meal into a pill with no calories. Meanwhile, the always-insatiable Bodies devour oxen and babies and boulders, indiscriminately consuming all the resources of the earth. Technicians labor to wire their jaws shut.

The Brains work so hard for everything they have that they are tense, depressed and on the verge of nervous breakdowns. The Bodies never ever suffer depression or mental illness because they are built for industry, although being brainless they have a propensity toward idleness that must be patrolled in order to smack those hands back from straying into the devil's workshops.

For leisure, the Brains need lots of toys from Sharper Image. Assuming all the chores are done, the Bodies are best engaged in games, games and more

sport until they tire themselves out and lie their restless carcasses down for a nice safe nap.

And as for education....you only need glimpse what has happened in New York to understand the degree to which the Brains have gone bonkers about maintaining their perfect, exceptional status. Reading tutors, at \$100 an hour, for perfectly normal 6-year-olds whose precocity is not alone sufficient to fashion them into the geniuses their parents are determined they shall be. Primary schools with archeologists, astronomers, composers-in-residence, Yugoslavian chess coaches, psychological counseling, instruction in all the romance languages, and government-certified weather stations. Let me hasten to state (as seems uncomfortably necessary in these beleaguered times) that I am not advocating anything like "black cultural" disdain for "white education"; we should all be so lucky as to have an astronomer on call for one's child's every starry-eyed gaze. But education for the Brains does seem to have taken on the excessively overfed fussiness--these are only human children after all--of some of those little Upper East Side pets--those dogs, with their painted nails and hand-stitched designer coats, those cats too fat to move from a diet of goose liver and truffle pate.

Meanwhile only a few blocks away, the little children-Bodies are fighting for seats in windowless janitor closets turned into classrooms. The lesson for the day--not found in books, because there weren't enough to go around--is that they can achieve anything they want in life, and that becoming a prison guard for a dungeon full of psychotic, feces-smeared sex offenders who may also be their sons, cousins and fathers--this is the brightest of futures, for at least they'll be on salaried side of the bars....

Two more Chaucerian tales with which to end:

The first is from Jonathan Kozol, again in Amazing Grace. He observes that Gouverneur Morris, who wrote the preamble to the Constitution, was born near East 132nd Street and Cypress Avenue, smack in the middle of what is today the poorest Congressional District in the country, the South Bronx. In a textbook aimed at public school children now living in that area, "children are

urged to imagine what it would be like to be 'a ten-year-old slave boy' in the manor house while Gouveneur was growing up. 'You hear young Gouveneur speaking French,' which he has studied at the private school that he attends, in which he also studies Latin grammar, English composition, and arithmetic. He also 'studies French with his tutor, who is preparing him for college,' and will later enter 'the school...now called Columbia University,' where 'he will have the best education' possible."⁵

The second story occurred three years ago when I had to do an interview in a maximum security prison in Waynesburg, Pennsylvania. Waynesburg is a mostly-white, former mining and farming community that, having fallen on hard times, lobbied for and received the booming economic opportunity embodied in a nice new state of the art correctional facility. On my way there, I got lost in a snowstorm and found myself instead at the door of Waynesburg Central High School. When I asked for directions, a kind woman who might have been a teacher told me, "Oh you just drive straight up the way for two minutes, till you hit Progress Road, then just go till you can't anymore. Progress dead ends at the prison."⁶

There is a peculiar cynicism abroad in the land, succinctly encapsulated in that pilgrimage to pun-ishment. (Just think--city planners must have put their heads together with approving legislators to come up with that one!) But however variously divided along lines of black and white, rich and poor, rational and irrational, deserving and undeserving--sooner or later, the brain must be able to abide in the physical realm; and the body will only survive as a thinking being. Not only for the sake of the nation but for ourselves, these two conceptual halves must be joined, must be married, for without that re-union I think we stray farther and farther from the path to our salvation.

By the way, the passage from Isaiah that I was trying so unsuccessfully to recall over dinner is Chapter 62, verses 1-4. It reads in relevant part:

For Zion's sake, I will not keep silent.,

⁵ Jonathan Kozol, *Amazing Grace*, Harper Collins 1995, p. 28

⁶ I was lost because while the street sign puts the prison on Progress Road, the official address on the prison's stationary is a U.S. Route number, if memory serves me.

*and for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest ,
until her vindication goes forth as brightness
and her salvation as a burning torch.
The nations shall see your vindication
and you shall be called by a new name
which the mouth of the Lord will give.
You shall be a crown of beauty in the hand of the Lord,
and a royal diadem in the hand of your God.
Your shall no more be termed Forsaken,
and your land shall no more be termed Desolate
but you shall be called My delight is in her, and your land Beulah
for the Lord delights in you,
and your land shall be married...*

I hope that these thoughts are of some assistance to you. Again, I am most grateful to have been given the opportunity to offer my opinions.

Sincerely yours,

Patricia J. Williams
Professor of Law

III. LIBERTY AND UNION

Walt Whitman's Idea of the Nation

SAMUEL H. BEER
Harvard University

THE FOUNDERS of the American Republic sought to establish a regime of republican liberty, that is, a government that would protect the individual rights of person and property and that would be founded on the consent of the governed. Such a regime suffered from a central weakness. History and theory warned that republican liberty could destroy itself by reason of the very diversity that liberty must breed. The task of government was to concert the powers of the people in defense of their liberties. But as their interests multiplied and their opinions divided, how could a government responsive to these interests and opinions achieve such a concert? By what dialectic could the regime of liberty generate the union necessary for its own survival?

The new regime had dispensed with the props that governments had previously found in hierarchy and class, dynastic right, and aristocratic tradition. It could hope to enjoy the solidarity that came from giving individuals a say in how they were governed and a chance to better themselves by their own efforts. The fragility of an order based largely on the satisfactions of self-interest and commitment to impersonal ideals, however, was widely felt. Thoughtful people recognized that the young republic would have to enlist in its support the hearts of its citizens as well as their good sense and conscience. Vaguely, but earnestly, they spoke of the need for "attachment" to its institutions and "affection" among its people, for "veneration" and for "sympathy."¹

These doubts about the new regime did not arise from some circumstance, material or ideal, peculiar to America. In the West generally the

AUTHOR'S NOTE: I wish to thank Dr. Francis P. Glosser, a poet and Whitman scholar, who first directed my attention to the importance of Whitman's ideas about society and who has expertly criticized earlier versions of this article.

POLITICAL THEORY, Vol. 12 No. 3, August 1984 361-386
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great liberating movement of the age put the sovereign, rational individual at the center of its theorizing. To see in this premise a prescription for pluralistic disorder was a reasonable fear. In 1790, although the effort to liberalize the French state was still in its moderate phase, Edmund Burke exposed its self-destructive potential in a fierce but prescient polemic against the rationalism of the *philosophes*. He wrote:

On the scheme of this barbarous philosophy . . . laws are to be supported only by their own terrors, and by the concern which each individual may find in them from his own private speculations, or can spare them from his own private interests. . . . Nothing is left which engages the affections of the commonwealth. On the principles of this mechanic philosophy our institutions can never be embodied, if I may use the expression, in persons; so as to create in us love, veneration, admiration or attachment. But that sort of reason which banishes the affections is incapable of filling their place. These public affections, combined with manners, are required sometimes as supplements, sometimes as correctives, always as aids to law.³

Such fear for the fragility of the modern liberal state, whether voiced by the archenemy of French republicanism, or by thoughtful friends of republicanism in America, was well-founded. In the light of it one must ask how the liberal state, if it had been so conceived and so constituted, could have long endured? The answer is that it became something more than the liberal state; it also became the nation-state, a new form of political community with a power to generate public affections and mobilize solidarity beyond anything of which the old regime had been capable.

It is not my task to prove the power of nationhood. I take that for granted. My quest is to understand the nature of the ties among the millions of individuals composing a nation-state, specifically, the American Republic, that have enabled them to display such solidarity in feeling and behavior.

In the background is a public policy question. From the earliest days of the Republic, "consolidation of the union"—an expression already used by George Washington³—has been a criterion of public policy, sometimes with more, sometimes with less, emphasis. Today the forces of self-defeating pluralism, sectional, economic, and ethnic, make that criterion as relevant as ever. If that criterion is to serve as a guide for government action, a more fundamental question must first be answered: What is the Union that American nationalists have sought to consolidate?⁴ Or to put the question in the language of contemporary problems: What do we mean by integration?

An ancient and honored line of thought holds that in certain circumstances diversity itself can be a source of unity. The idea of a social aggregate in which diverse, but complementary, parts bring and hold together the whole is as old as Plato. In this model, called organic by analogy with a living body, the various parts or functions or virtues, because they complete or perfect one another, make the many into one. Their union is a natural social or political whole.

In the history of Western thought, variations on this model have appeared in many contexts, religious and secular, hierarchical and egalitarian, political, economic, and sociological.⁵ From fairly early in the nineteenth century, the organic model, transformed and transmitted by the romantic movement, found expression in American politics and literature.⁶ A powerful version, adapted to our new democratic circumstances, was set forth by Walt Whitman, the "[s]upreme American inheritor of Romanticism,"⁷ during the climactic years of the great effort to subvert the Union. In Whitman's rich utterance, of course, one can find levels of meaning other than the political and social. Yet his concern with the Union was passionate and pervasive. And what he said is still instructive today. My purpose, therefore, is not to trace its sources or its influence, but to explore its descriptive and explanatory power. That means taking Whitman seriously as a social scientist. In order to sharpen that focus and to bring out Whitman's insights, I will examine in a brief preface a work that treats the same matters explicitly as questions of social inquiry, Emile Durkheim's classic *Division of Labor in Society*.⁸

DURKHEIM'S MODEL OF SOCIAL SOLIDARITY

If we are concerned to know how diversity might be an agent of unity, we will find a bold and positive, although not always entirely lucid, explanation in Durkheim's famous book. Writing from the austere heights of positive social science, he did not in so many words say that he was concerned with the solidarity of nations and the solidarity of the French nation. This was pretty clearly, however, his preoccupation. In 1887 at the start of his scholarly career after a year of study in Germany, he wrote an article on the rationale for teaching philosophy, as he now conceived it, in France. It should serve "national education," he said:

We wish above all to know the *raisons d'être* of national sentiment and patriotic faith; whether they are founded in the nature of things or whether, as is maintained,

openly or not, by so many doctrinaire persons, they are only prejudices and survivals of barbarism . . . To answer these questions one must teach students to appreciate the nature of sympathy and sociability, and get them to see their reality and usefulness . . . It is necessary . . . to show them that sympathy is only exercised within groups that are unequally extensive but always confined and closed, and to indicate the place of the nation among these groups.⁹

In the same year he began the course of lectures that led to the publication of the *Division of Labor* in 1893. To open this book at almost any page is to be struck by its optimism. The faith in progress pervades it. The basic structure is that scheme of evolutionary development, also entertained by many of his Victorian contemporaries, in which the liberal order emerges from the traditional order and automatically moves ever forward to greater prosperity, higher culture, and more freedom.

To be sure, Durkheim was greatly concerned with the disorders of industrial society and found in them cause for wider intervention by the state. While not fundamentally critical, in time he became "a socialist of sorts."¹⁰ It would be fair to think of him as a father of the Welfare State. His principal worry was the emergence of *anomie*, of which the main example was the conflict of labor and capital. As a remedy he offered the usual liberal prescription of equality of opportunity.¹¹ He did not find that task beyond the competence of the liberal state. For he saw around him a society whose normal processes, in his view, maintained the bonds of social solidarity and provided a stable basis for the real but limited interventions needed to cope with *anomie*.

In his analysis of the strength of the liberal order, Durkheim tellingly criticized the weaknesses of individualist theory which, as in Herbert Spencer's system, had imagined that social harmony could be founded solely on self-interest. Moreover, like Burke, recognizing that no order could survive unless supported by public affections, as well as good reasons, he nevertheless rejected the reactionary view that only a society ordered by tradition could enjoy this advantage. His reformulation of liberal theory therefore had a twofold task: to identify the social bonds in the liberal order that at once transcend self-interest and engage the emotions.

In his study he found two sources of solidarity, each of which performs this dual function. One consists of the resemblances among the members of a society and the other of the differences, leading, respectively, to what he calls "mechanical" and "organic" solidarity. The resemblances are "the collective or common conscience," defined as the "totality of

beliefs and sentiments common to average citizens of the same society."¹² According to Durkheim, the collective conscience of the liberal order of his time drew its substance from the advancing ideals of the Enlightenment—individual responsibility, equality of opportunity, social justice. Yet as conceived in his system, this ideal does not perpetrate the errors of the old abstract rationalism. For "every people," he observed, gives a specific form to these liberal universals in "some particular conception . . . which pertains to its personal temperament." "That is why," he continued, "each nation has its own school of moral philosophy conforming to its character."¹³ The Frenchness of French liberalism was not being overlooked.

Such public affections, identical among the members of a society, call forth a passionate response in support of the norms they embody. According to Durkheim, however, their power to unify is limited. If a society depends for its solidarity largely upon this source, it will be "segmented"—a series of villages, for instance, each small, simple and similar, related to one another by few and insubstantial ties.¹⁴ Since differentiation is low, the self-subsistent member units will necessarily be small and, in consequence, the society as a whole will lack the cohesive impetus that comes from interdependence. It takes something more than a culture of common beliefs and values to produce the solidarity enjoyed by what Durkheim calls the "higher societies."¹⁵

In these societies the diversities of the division of labor are the source of that greater solidarity. While the consensual element continues to contribute to solidarity, it becomes less and less important compared with growing differentiation. In Durkheim's scheme of evolutionary sociology, such an increasingly differentiated society will be ever larger in scale, more interdependent in its parts and more solidary in sentiment and behavior.

In modern society the diversities of the division of labor are "the principal source of cohesion."¹⁶ Such is his basic thesis. How does he defend it?

The key is his use of the term "division of labor" to refer to two different, but related, aspects of a single process—the economic and the social. Much of the time he is talking about the division of labor in the straight economic sense of occupational specialization. As the economic division of labor progresses, the specialized parts become more interdependent, exchange among them grows, and the total output of material goods and services rises, all in good Smithian fashion.¹⁷ Moreover, Durkheim does not confine this process to the money

economy, but like public choice theorists today, recognizes the economic aspect of nonmonetary relations in politics, governments, marriage, and other realms.¹⁸

For the laissez-faire liberals, such as Herbert Spencer, a system of purely economic relations on these lines would suffice to produce social harmony. In his critique of this school, Durkheim develops the familiar case against rationalist individualism and also elucidates the social forces that can offset its self-destructive tendencies. In Spencer's system, he says, "[s]ocial solidarity would then be nothing else than the spontaneous accord of individual interests." Interest, however, can only create "an external link."

In the fact of exchange," he continues, "the various agents remain outside of each other. . . . Consciences are only superficially in contact; they neither penetrate each other, nor do they adhere. . . . Where interest is the only ruling force each individual finds himself in a state of war with every other since nothing comes to mollify the egos."¹⁹

To the rescue of liberal society from the disintegrative dangers of the economic division of labor, Durkheim summons the integrative powers of the social division of labor.

His illustrations are drawn from common face-to-face relations. In an analogy as old as Plato's *Symposium*, he uses sexual attraction to show how not "the resemblance, but the difference in the natures" may unite two people. Moreover, he claims, it is not merely diversity, but "differences which require each other for their mutual fruition" that bring about this passionate union.²⁰ And similarly in wider social relations:

As richly endowed as we may be, we always lack something, and the best of us realize our own insufficiency. That is why we seek in our friends the qualities that we lack, since in joining with them, we participate in some measure in their nature and thus feel less incomplete.²¹

So it is, he says, that small friendly associations are formed "wherein each one plays a role conformable to his character, where there is a true exchange of services." One is a thinker, the other a doer; one urges on, another consoles.²² Such are the complementary services that are exchanged in the social division of labor.

In a striking passage he describes the solidarity that results:

The image of the one who completes us becomes inseparable from ours, not only because it is frequently associated with ours, but particularly because it is the

natural complement of it. It thus becomes an integral and permanent part of our conscience, to such a point that we can no longer separate ourselves from it and seek to increase its force.²³

Under these circumstances, economic exchange is transformed. Economic interdependence becomes "only the superficial expression of an internal and very deep state. . . . Precisely because this state is constant, it calls up a mechanism of images which functions with a continuity that exchange does not possess."²⁴

Durkheim's illustrations are taken from small groups, but in his scheme, scale is no bar to the efficacy of social interdependence, thanks to which, he writes, "great political societies can maintain themselves in equilibrium."²⁵ The thrust for self-fulfillment can lead the way in social development as powerfully as the compulsions of the struggle for existence. The external differentiation of the economy and the internal differentiation of culture evolve together: "our intelligence and sensibility" increase and "humanity" receives "a more intense and varied culture."²⁶ With this growing diversity goes an increase in scale and the boundaries of the culture and of the economy are extended. As solidarity extends from individual face-to-face relations, the social sentiments, while retaining their national particularity, become focused on the larger groupings. With a hint of his later corporatism, Durkheim calls these groupings "social functions."²⁷ That entails no loss in solidarity. The nation-states—the "great political societies"—derive their remarkable cohesion from the same affectual sources as the more intimate groups.

Social exchange is the key concept. In the case of the economic division of labor the notion of exchange is clear. One thinks of the occupational specialties that man the various sectors of the economy, producing the goods and services that are exchanged. Social exchange, however, is not identified with this external relation, but with an internal relation between minds. This internal relation involves communication. But of what? For a moment one might suppose that the "natural complements" of social exchange consist of the interdependent crafts, skills, and techniques that give form to the economic division of labor. One might go on to imagine some expanding social process in which individuals gain access to an ever wider world of practical and theoretical knowledge.²⁸ This possibility, however, is obviously narrowly limited. In the modern as in the premodern world, these bodies of specialized knowledge remain incommunicable "mysteries" to those outside the respective guilds. They cannot be the bond among diverse occupational groups. Nor does Durkheim say they are. The "natural

complements" he refers to are not economic and technical, but social and moral. What are they? Durkheim's suggestive generalizations cry out to be clarified and illustrated. We ask: In the social division of labor what is exchanged and how is it possessed? What is the process and what is the connection? For a voluminously empirical response informed by penetrating sociological insight let us turn to Walt Whitman.

WHITMAN'S NATION-CENTERED PURPOSE

Both his personal and his professional life stimulated a lively interest in politics.²⁹ Like his father, an ardent Jacksonian Democrat, at an early age he became a Tammany regular and stump speaker. His employment as a journalist in a day when newspapers were highly partisan reflected his political interests. In 1848 he was a delegate to the national convention of the Free Soil Party. In the same year he was fired as editor of the Brooklyn *Eagle*, because he had taken up the Free Soilers' opposition to the extension of slavery. In 1856 he voted for the first candidate of the Republic Party for President and, of course, the party's second candidate became his political idol and later on the subject of his matchless elegy.

As the crisis of the Union deepened, the minds of Walt Whitman and Abraham Lincoln converged, one moving from the negativism of the Jacksonians, the other from the elitism of the Whigs, toward the democratic nationalism of the new party and toward deeply similar conceptions of the Union and what had to be done to preserve and consolidate it. In these same years the genius of Whitman suddenly crystalized into the unique mold that produced *Leaves of Grass*. In the prose in which he explained what he meant to do and had done in his poetry, from his first preface for *Leaves of Grass* to "A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads" in 1888, his nation-centered purpose predominates.³⁰

In the 1855 preface, announcing his purpose, he declares: "The United States themselves are essentially the greatest poem . . . unrhymed poetry . . . [which] . . . awaits the gigantic and generous treatment worthy of it."³¹ In his long prose work of 1871, *Democratic Vistas*, after fiercely attacking the vices of the day, he calls on the literature of the future to express that "intense and loving comradeship," that "adhesive love, at least rivalling the amative love hitherto possessing imaginative literature, if not going beyond it," which is "the most substantial hope and safety of the future of these States."³² In the next year, as "a poet of

America," he promises to run through his "chants" "the thread-voice . . . of an aggregated, inseparable, unprecedented, vast, composite, electric *Democratic nationality*."³³ At the time of the first Centennial, he says that in *Leaves of Grass* he has sought to express "this never satisfied appetite for sympathy, and this boundless offering of sympathy—this universal democratic comradeship—this old, eternal yet ever-new interchange of adhesiveness, so fitly emblematic of America" by which "the United States of the future . . . are to be most effectually welded together, intercalated, anneal'd into a Living Union."³⁴ Finally in "A Backward Glance" only four years before his death, he declares that "the ambitious thought of my song is to help the forming of a great aggregate Nation . . . through the forming of myriads of fully develop'd and enclosing individuals." He stays with his original position that before the national poet comes the poetry of the nation itself. Giving his view of the origins of his work, he says that *Leaves of Grass* presupposed:

The United States today—the facts of these thirty-eight or forty empires solder'd into one—sixty or seventy millions of equals, with their lives, their passions, their future—these incalculable, modern, American, seething multitudes around us, of which we are inseparable parts.

Accordingly, he concludes with Herder's comment to the young Goethe "that really great poetry is always . . . the result of a national spirit and not the privilege of a polish'd and select few."³⁵

This view of the function of the poet makes him or her more an observer and reporter than a teacher, moralist, or prophet. We see its significance if we contrast it with other conceptions of the poet as the archetypal "maker" whose gift enables him or her to generate new forms and impose them on the world. Shelley's poet-legislator, for instance, is an exceptional figure who, enjoying privileged inspiration, draws from his solitary imagination new values and species of possibility.³⁶ Whitman did prescribe and moralize; he wanted to influence events. But for him the democratic poet drew his inspiration from, and returned the fruits of it to, his society. Only by virtue of his participation in the productive life of his social moment does this poet realize his visionary capability. In a striking passage in the 1855 preface, Whitman suggests this creative, yet representative and repertorial, role. It comes at the end of one of his prodigious panoramas of "these States." Having inventoried the present, he looks to the future and how it will arise. "Here comes one among the well-beloved stonecutters," he concludes, "and plans with decision and science and sees the solid and beautiful forms of the future where there are now no solid forms." The creative function is

acknowledged. But Whitman's use of the familiar analogy of the sculptor who finds the angel in the marble is a way of saying that like the sculptor "the American poet" when chanting "the great psalm of the republic" will find the future form of "these States" in them, not impose it upon them.³⁷ He drives home this idea of the poet as reporter when writing about the art of "the greatest poet":

He swears to his art, I will not be meddlesome. . . . What I tell I tell for precisely what it is. . . . What I experience or portray shall go from my composition without a shred of my composition. You shall stand by my side and look in the mirror with me.³⁸

Whitman was not an intellectual in the sense of being a system-builder or academic philosopher and his efforts to express a world view in his prose are not notably interesting, except for the fact that they were made by a great poet. He was, however, a penetrating observer. The data of social interaction cannot always be expressed in conceptual terms and what Whitman observed he most fully and accurately reported in his verse.

"THE LESSONS OF VARIETY AND FREEDOM"

At the start of *Leaves of Grass* he states the problem of liberty and union in this paradoxical couplet:

One's-Self I sing, a simple, separate person,
Yet utter the word Democratic, the word En-Masse.³⁹

In the American Republic, as he observed it, persons, individual and separate, were yet united with one another En Masse. The members of this "En-Masse" are diverse, variegated, heterogeneous. Whitman observes and approves. "The greatest lessons in New World politics and progress," he says, are "the lessons of variety and freedom."⁴⁰ Singing the praises of his own composite self, he exclaims, "I resist anything better than my diversity."⁴¹ His portrait of the "En Masse" embraces all the pluralisms, economic, sectional, and ethnic of America at mid century. Thus the many become one in the celebrated opening lines of the first of the longer poems, *Starting from Paumanok*:

Starting from fish-shape Paumanok where I was born,
Well-begotten, and rais'd by a perfect mother,

After roaming many lands, lover of populous pavements,
Dweller in Mannahatta, my city, or on southern savannas,
Or a soldier camp'd or carrying my knapsack and gun, or a miner in California,
Or rude in my home in Dakota's woods, my diet meat, my drink from the spring . . .

And so on across the continent to that culminating, annunciatory line.

Solitary, singing in the West, I strike up for a New World.⁴²

Whitman's exclamatory enumerations do not always have the enchantment of those lines; they sometimes read more like a gazetteer or census tract, than literature or social science. For example, a little further along in the same poem:

Interlink'd, food-yielding lands!
Land of coal and iron! land of gold! land of cotton, sugar, rice!
Land of wheat, beef, pork! land of wool and hemp! land of the apple and the grape!⁴³

The list continues setting forth at length and in detail the variety of American economic geography.

The diversity he records is usually connected with work. In the vignettes of American life in sections 10 to 13 of his great inaugural, *Song of Myself*, the principal figures include: hunter, skipper, boatman, clamdiggers, trapper, slave, butcherboy, blacksmiths, and drayman. There is only one scene of leisure, the exquisite parable of the 29th bather. Generally, in Whitman's vision of America, economic structure is less important as the basis for differentiation than in Durkheim's model, only because Whitman includes other bases, such as sectionalism and ethnicity. In the second poem of the first edition, to which Whitman in 1855 gave the title, "Poem of the Daily Work of The Workmen and Workwomen of These States,"—and later the simpler, but less satisfactory "A Song for the Occupations"—he sets forth a list that starts

House-building, measuring, sawing the boards,
Black-smithing, glass-blowing, nail-making, coopering, tin-roofing,
shingle-dressing.

And so on line after line to enumerate what may well have been all the main occupations of American manufacture in his day, in order at the conclusion to inform "workman! whoever you are" that there will be found "In them the realities for you and me, in them poems for you and me."⁴⁴

In their love of nature, romantics often reject civilization, especially its modern branches of science and technology, along with the industrial society they produce. Not so this romantic who welcomes "steamers steaming through my poems," "cities, solid, vast, inland, with paved streets, with iron and stone edifices, ceaseless vehicles, and commerce," "the many-cylinder'd steam printing-press," "the electric telegraph stretching across the continent," "the strong and quick locomotive as it departs, panting, blowing the steam-whistle."⁴⁵ Like Durkheim, Whitman starts from industry, commerce, and agriculture to display the diversity that produces union.

He does not deny the material bonds of those "interlink'd, food-yielding lands." The tie that really binds, however, is not the economic and instrumental, but that erotic and consummatory bond to which he gives many names: love, sex, touch (the red marauder), fraternity, comradeship, and especially "adhesiveness," a term he took from phrenology. This erotic force is the medium and the motive of the "old, eternal, yet ever-new interchange of adhesiveness."⁴⁶ Let us look at the "adhesiveness," then at the "interchange." For Whitman's reenchantment of the bourgeois world arises from his perception of both process and connection.

In his terminology, Whitman adopted the distinction drawn by the phrenologists between "adhesiveness," the faculty of friendship or fraternity, and "amativeness," the faculty of sexual passion.⁴⁷ Yet as fully as Freud and Plato and far more explicitly than Durkheim, he recognized the erotic nature of the social bond and the continuity of sexual attraction with motivation toward the wider ties of social life. Laying down the premises of his outlook near the start of *Song of Myself*, he writes:

Urge and urge and urge
Always the procreant urge of the world.

Out of the dimness opposite equals advance, always substance and
increase, always sex
Always a knit of identity, always distinction, always a breed
of life.

To anyone who wishes to push the analysis deeper, the next lines are an abrupt stop:

To elaborate is no avail, learn'd and unlearn'd feel that
it is so.

Sure as the most certain sure, plumb in the uprights, well
entretied, braded in the beams,

Stout as a horse, affectionate, haughty, electrical,
I and this mystery here we stand.⁴⁸

Freud makes much the same reply to this question. Eros, he says, "aims at binding together single human individuals, then families, then tribes, races, nations, into one great unity, that of humanity." "Why this has to be done," he continues, "we do not know; it is simply the work of Eros. These masses of men must be bound to one another libidinally; necessity alone, the advantages of common work, would not hold them together."⁴⁹

For Whitman, however, Eros is not merely an urge, not merely an undisciplined impulse of gregariousness.⁵⁰ It has a rationale. Eros binds because of what it does and seeks to do. As we might expect of a disciple of Emerson, there is more than a suggestion of the Platonic Eros that moves souls toward perfection by a rebirth in beauty. At times Whitman explicitly uses the language of the idealist logic of identity. As we have just heard him declare: "opposite equals advance. . . . Always a knit of identity, always distinction." The process of interchange is the rationale of the connection of adhesiveness. What are the items that are given and received in this process?

THE HEROIC GIFTS OF AMERICAN PLURALISM

One function of those recurring enumerations is to answer that question. In them Whitman identifies the particular things that the poet absorbs from his diverse American experience. Although usually associated with crafts and skills, these items of exchange, as in Durkheim's account, are not technical, but humane. Whitman calls them "heroic." A true romantic in this respect, he had announced in *Starting from Paumanok* that he would "report all heroism from an American point of view."⁵¹ Accordingly, he asserts in *Song of Myself* "there is no trade or employment but the young man following it may become a hero."⁵² In the enumeration of representative American activities in Section 15 of the same poem, he identifies these heroic traits, usually in verbs and adverbs indicating action, attached to nouns denoting an occupation or activity. Here are five typical lines:

The pilot seizes the king-pin, he heaves down with a strong arm,
The mate stands braced in the whale-boat, lance and harpoon
are ready,

The duck-shooter walks by silent and cautious stretches,
 The deacons are ordain'd with cross'd hands at the altar,
 The spinning-girl retreats and advances to the hum of the
 big wheel.⁵³

How would one conceptualize these heroic gifts in a scientific typology? The decisiveness of the pilot; the alert courage of the mate; the prudence of the duck-shooter; the piety of the deacons; the graceful rhythm of the spinning girl? But, of course, no abstraction can equal the veracity of Whitman's particularization. The interchange that he is reporting, as he repeatedly emphasizes, is not of abstractions but of persons.

Logic and sermons never convince,
 The damp of the night drives deeper into my soul.⁵⁴

Or more to the point:

Behold, I do not give lectures or a little charity
 When I give I give myself.⁵⁵

And as a person who did write a book that might be suspected of sermonizing, he reassures us that "Camerado, this is no book,/ Who touches this touches a man."⁵⁶

The gifts that are exchanged are not merely exemplary; they have power. They are not the skill or science or technique that individuals put to work in their occupations; they are, however, the humane powers that enable individuals to acquire and exercise skills and knowledge. The technology of pilotage does not include the gift of firm decisions; but it does take decisiveness to make a pilot. Although the science of spinning is not the gift of rhythmic grace, it takes gracefulness to make a spinning girl. Moreover, these gifts not only empower those who possess them, they also, as the items of social exchange, empower others. One cannot acquire from lectures the courage of the harpooner or the piety of the deacons. But one may be encouraged or elevated by actual examples of brave or pious men and women.

The speaker says he gives not lectures, but himself. And what is the effect?

I am the teacher of athletes,
 He that by me spreads a wider breast than my own proves the width

of my own,
 He most honors my style who learns it to destroy the teacher.⁵⁷

Such is the process of social exchange, the American *paideia*, teaching through the hidden curriculum of the work place, the store, the street corner, the club, the bar, and other arenas of the common life.⁵⁸

In capturing the process the metaphor of exchange is helpful only to a point. Social exchange is not fully analogous to economic exchange. In economic exchange, what I give I no longer have and what I receive you give up. After that brief encounter, as Durkheim pointed out, the parties are again as separate as before. In social exchange what they give to one another they also keep. The outcome of the "interchange of adhesiveness" is not renewed separation but closer connection. The parties do not have something more, they have become something else.

In *Song of Myself* at the end of that long and variegated survey of heroic gifts in section 15, he concludes simply:

And these tend inward to me, and I tend outward to them,
 And such as it is to be of these more or less I am,
 And of these one and all I weave the song of myself.⁵⁹

"Myself" is the poet. But that does not make him a different species of humanity. Whitman rejects hierarchy in art as in politics.

The messages of great poets to each man and woman are, Come to us on equal terms. Only then can you understand us. We are no better than you. What we enclose, you enclose. What we enjoy, you may enjoy.⁶⁰

Whitman's rendition of the social experience of the poet in *Song of Myself* is a paradigm for the life of every citizen. Ideally, the "interchange of adhesiveness" links all members of the democratic republic. The Union so constituted, being embodied in persons, can, therefore, as Burke demanded, arouse love, veneration, admiration, and attachment—those public affections needed to support, to supplement, and to correct the law.

The persons to whom these affections are directed, however, are not kings, aristocrats, or any hierarchical authority, but rather the free and equal citizens of the American nation. A fierce egalitarianism pervades Whitman's utterance, as it did the Jacksonian world from which he sprang. This passion came down from what he called "the good old cause," the creed of liberty that denied natural authority to anyone and claimed that each person is capable of individuality—that is, making

something of himself. For all the diversity that Whitman perceived and celebrated, adherence to the creed of liberty was a massive uniformity in his perception of the nation. The hierarchies of the great chain of being were no longer acknowledged, or valued, or desired. Whitman embodied this attitude in some of his most characteristic lines:

I believe a leaf of grass is no less than the journey work
of the stars,
And the pismire is equally perfect, and a grain of sand, and the
egg of the wren,
And the tree-toad is a chef-d'oeuvre for the highest,
And the running blackberry would adorn the parlors of heaven.⁶¹

As in Durkheim's system, the bonds of union for Whitman are twofold. On the one hand are the diversities that, so to speak, people the common life. On the other hand are the identities of the American liberal tradition. This collective conscience is at once cognitive and normative, a language of political and social communication and a system of ethical standards. As standards they define what will and will not fit into the common life. In those famous debates of 1858, for instance, Stephen Douglas, proclaiming that "our Government was founded on the principle of diversity," held that slavery was included in that diversity. "Why," he therefore asked, "cannot this Government endure, divided into Free and Slave States?" In reply, Lincoln granted that "the great variety of the local institutions in the States, springing from differences in soil, differences in the face of the country, and in the climate, are bonds of Union." Slavery, however, as "a moral, social and political evil" had no place in those "varieties" that "bind together the different parts of the Union."⁶² Slave labor and free labor were not the sorts of diversities that make a complementary national whole.

The exclusions effected by American liberalism are, of course, more subtle than this gross contrast. American liberalism is not British or German or French liberalism, but a distinctive specification of the universals of modern liberty. Whitman sometimes dwelt on these exclusions as in his enumeration in *Democratic Vistas* of the "models" of heroic individuality "adjusted to other standards than America's" that have been produced by other cultures.⁶³ In his prose and poetry, moreover, he captured the nuances of the American tradition. Consider, for instance, his encomium upon "the common people" in the 1855 Preface.⁶⁴ Or, even more revealing, his portrait of the "pure American

breed" in *Song of the Broad-Axe*. Those verses seem intended to praise, but their ambiguities also evoke peculiarly American vices:

Where the men and women think lightly of the laws,
Where the slave ceases, and the master of slaves ceases,
Where the populace rise at once against the never-ending audacity
of elected persons,
Where fierce men and women pour forth as the sea to the whistle of
death pours its sweeping and unripped waves.⁶⁵

THE UNION AS SHIP OF STATE⁶⁶

Whitman gives us no single figure of speech in which he expresses his vision of the Union and so the essential nature of social integration in America. His most memorable metaphor, "leaves of grass,"

... a uniform hieroglyphic,
... Sprouting alike in broad zones and narrow zones.
Growing among black folks as among white⁶⁷

states the problem, not the solution. It affirms the radical equality of all persons, but does not say how their multiplicity is made one. Some poems, however, present an image that can be taken as a summary of his vision. One of the most suggestive is *Crossing Brooklyn Ferry*, another of his mid-fifties works.⁶⁸ Its balance and subtlety, its sense of both limits and possibilities, again confirm Whitman as a master of the sociological imagination.

In this poem the action is the crossing of one person and of "hundreds and hundreds" of others in the present and in the future.

Flood-tide below me! I see you face to face!
Clouds of the west—sun there half an hour high—I see you also
face to face

Crowds of men and women attired in the usual costumes,
how curious you are to me!

On the ferry boats the hundreds and hundreds that cross, returning
home, are more curious to me than you suppose.

And you that shall cross from shore to shore years hence are
more to me, and more in my meditations, than you suppose.

The poet looks at this crossing in a long framework of time, asking the central question of the work:

What is it then between us?
What is the count of the scores or hundreds of years between us?

And in reply asserts connection and continuity, declaring:

Whatever it is, it avails not—distance avails not, and
place avails not.

This question states the problem of the Union over time. What is the connection between the generations? To that question political thought has returned various answers.

The well-known Jeffersonian reply is: "none." In a letter to James Madison of September 6, 1789,⁶⁹ Jefferson asked "whether one generation of men has a right to bind another" and returned the answer he found "self-evident," namely, that: "As the Earth belongs to the living, not to the dead, a living generation can bind itself only" (Madison's paraphrase).⁷⁰ Jefferson set this period first at 34, later at 19 years, entirely in harmony with his belief in the need for frequent revolutions to liberate each generation from the burden of the past.⁷¹

Utopians of a different persuasion have foreseen a future society, perhaps also ushered in by revolution, where the long-denied potential of human nature is fully realized and, in the words of Marx and Engels, "the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."⁷² In other perspectives, idealist or religious, human completion can be achieved only in a transcendent reality. Some of Whitman's poetic utterance—for instance, *Passage to India*—does examine and affirm a transition to such a realm from the world of appearances.

But not *Crossing Brooklyn Ferry*. The ferry of that poem plies neither the river Lethe of Jeffersonian revolution, nor the river Jordan of a passage to some heavenly city, but the East River of our imperfect Union.

The very image of a ferry-crossing warns us not to expect too much. The boat takes people over to Manhattan then returns to Brooklyn. It goes nowhere. Its only completion is a round trip back to where it started from. Our ship of state is the U. S. S. Brooklyn Ferry.

William James commented on this poem in an essay written to open the eyes of his readers to "the feelings of creatures and people different from ourselves." Although he was using it to illustrate "the vast world of

inner life" that lies beyond the concerns of one's "single specialized vocation," he emphasized its strictly earthbound reference. "[T]his world," he wrote, referring to the panorama of the poem, "never did anywhere or at any time contain more of essential divinity, or of eternal meaning, than is embodied in [these] fields of vision. . . . There is the only kind of beauty that ever was. There is the old human struggle and its fruits together. There is the text and the sermon, the real and the ideal in one."⁷³

Although not looking to otherworldly redemption, Whitman yet finds an integrating "scheme" in the flow of social time. Those scores of years "avail not." "I am with you, men and women of a generation, or ever so many generations hence." What is the connection? In words that might seem to echo Emerson or Durkheim he says, "the similitudes of the past and those of the future." Yet these similitudes are not the reflections of a transcendent reality, nor the norms of the national tradition. They are rather the particularities of the common life:

The glories strung like beads on my smallest sights and hearings,
on the walk in the street and the passage over the river,
The current rushing so swiftly and swimming with me far away,
The others that are to follow me, the ties between me and them,
The certainty of others, the life, love, sight, hearing of others.

Thanks to this "scheme," the diversities of time are abridged and the nation is sustained, as one generation in Whitman's words, is fused with another and pours its meaning into it. And insofar as this is the case, Lincoln was right on March 4, 1861, to appeal to these same similitudes in the hope that "the mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land" would "yet swell the chorus of the Union."⁷⁴

AMBIVALENCE OF THE COMMON LIFE

Whitman, however, no more than Lincoln, was not a man of simple hopes. His sense of the redemptive possibilities of social experience is balanced by an awareness of limits and complexities. In *Crossing Brooklyn Ferry* he is boldly hypothesizing continuity and connection. Yet the time of day is twilight; the piece was originally titled *Sundown Poem*. When we look more closely at the substance of the common life

portrayed in it, we must be struck by the mixture of success and failure, adequacy and inadequacy, good and evil. In this twilight, the "glories strung like beads" are blotched by "dark patches" that are Dantesque in their variety. They include the failures of finitude:

The best I had done seem'd to me blank and suspicious,
The great thoughts as I supposed them, were they not
in reality meagre?

They include outright evil, the classic vices of "the wolf, the snake, the hog." Not least among these deficiencies of social life is a withdrawal of love which the speaker here takes on himself, confessing that he too:

Saw many I loved in the street or ferry-boat or public assembly,
yet never told them a word,
Lived the same life with the rest, the same old laughter,
gnawing, sleeping,
Play'd the part that still looks back on the actor or actress,
The same old role . . .

Unlike some romantics, Whitman did not deny these realities. Rather, he explored them with clear-eyed empiricism. His major prose work, *Democratic Vistas*, contains a corrosive denunciation of the hollowness, depravity, materialism, and corruption of the Gilded Age. Abruptly near the end of his most buoyant summons to social adventure, *Song of the Open Road*, he reveals that Eros may fail, leaving a self that, living without love and only for external things, is burdened with "a secret silent loathing and despair."

Another self, a duplicate of everyone, skulking and hiding it goes,
Formless and wordless through the streets of the cities, polite and
bland in the parlors,
In the cars of railroads, in steamboats, in the public assembly,
Home to the houses of men and women, at the table, in
the bedroom, everywhere,
Smartly attired, countenance smiling, form up-right, death
under the breast-bones, hell under the skull bones.⁷⁵

Eros endows mankind with the propensity to exchange heroic gifts, excellencies, and virtues. What the actual citizens of the actual republic do a good deal of the time, however, is busy themselves acquiring from

one another the capacity for follies, villainies, deficiencies, and all manner of vices. Leaves of grass may blossom as *fleurs du mal*. The common life can be a dangerous place to raise a child.

The common life in any generation is a patchy achievement. What is ironic, but no less true to empirical fact, these deficiencies are intrinsic to the bonds of national identification in time and space. Heroic gifts come into play only if there is need for them. The vignettes of courage in *Song of Myself*—the faithful skipper, the dying general, the matchless rangers, the unyielding captain—emerge from a context of disaster.⁷⁶ If there were no danger, there could be no prudence. If no obstacles, no grace. If no sickness, no loving care. The very "agonies" (Whitman's word)⁷⁷ that call forth our best efforts for their relief are embedded in the common life and remain on in the memory of it.

As social science, *Leaves of Grass* is an hypothesis about the nature of the American Union.⁷⁸ In Whitman's mind the course and outcome of the Civil War confirmed that hypothesis. He had seen the great "En-Masse" that embraced those millions of domineering individualists, grasping egalitarians, and corrupt democrats. Indeed, reflecting on the test that the outbreak of the war thrust on America, he asked rhetorically: "For who except myself has yet conceiv'd what your children en masse really are?"⁷⁹ In his eyes, the victory vindicated his reportage. "Down in the abysses of New World humanity," he wrote, "there had form'd and harden'd a primal hard-pan of national Union will, determin'd and in the majority, refusing to be tamper'd with or argued against, confronting all emergencies, and capable at any time of bursting all surface bonds, and breaking out like an earthquake."⁸⁰

Today the regime of republican liberty displays the same ambivalence. Its diversity is a source of union. Yet the Union cannot be taken for granted. The task of its consolidation remains as urgent in its third as in its first century.

Whitman—by the time he turned to the party of Lincoln—believed that there was a major role for government, especially the federal government. Obviously his thoughts cannot provide us with a program; they do suggest a strategy. According to the liberal outlook, diversity is a right and must be protected. Alongside this principle, interest points in the same direction, reminding us that the peculiarities of our own person and group may also need that protection some day. The paradoxical argument of this American romantic is that diversity itself holds out the promise of a common life that may mobilize more consent among the citizenry for the protection of diversity than is accomplished by the calculations of interest or the compulsion of right.

NOTES

1. The widespread fear among the colonists for the fragility of the republican regime is richly documented in Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787* (New York: Norton, 1972), chs. II and III, esp. pp. 65-70, 91-97, 107-114. The concern of both Federalists and Anti-Federalists with this question is a main theme of Herbert Storing's informed and penetrating analysis in *What the Anti-Federalists Were For* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981). As he observes (p. 74), it was examined "most profoundly" by Madison in *Federalist*, no. 49.
2. "Reflections on the French Revolution", *The Works of Edmund Burke* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1839), 9 vols. Vol. III, pp. 99-100.
3. Max Farrand, (ed.), *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1911-1937), 4 vols. Vol. II, p. 667.
4. Anyone who has worked on the intellectual history of American nationalism must acknowledge his debt to Paul Nagel's indispensable study, *One Nation Indivisible: The Union in American Thought, 1776-1861* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964). Nagel does not, however, take up Whitman.
5. The single most important work on this subject is Arthur O. Lovejoy's classic history of the Platonic conception of unity in diversity, *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of An Idea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936).
6. Understandably, but unfortunately, Lovejoy did not take his study beyond the eighteenth century. In his last two chapters, however, he sketched the use made of the Platonic conception by romantics of the idealist persuasion. In the United States, Daniel Webster took up the theme when, adapting the imagery of another romantic nationalist, Edmund Burke, he set forth his organic conception of the Union. See Samuel H. Beer, "The Idea of the Nation," *The New Republic* (July 19 and 26, 1982; vol. 187, no. 3), pp. 23-29. Some of Webster's most telling rhetoric was echoed by Lincoln and, as we shall see, much as Whitman detested the arch-Whig, his own vision of the Union drew on the same cultural source.
7. Justin Kaplan, *Walt Whitman: A Life* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1980), p. 189.
8. My references are to Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society*. Trans. by George Simpson. (New York: The Free Press, 1933).
9. Translated and quoted in Steven Lukes, *Emile Durkheim: His Life and Work* (London: Penguin, 1973), pp. 87-88.
10. Lukes, 1973, p. 546.
11. Durkheim, 1933, Book Three, Chapter Two, throughout.
12. Ibid., p. 79.
13. Ibid., p. 397.
14. Ibid., pp. 174-183.
15. Ibid., p. xiii.
16. Durkheim, 1933.
17. Ibid., pp. 39, 50, 122-129, 200-201. Contrast pp. 233-234, 256-263.
18. Ibid., pp. 40, 201.
19. Ibid., pp. 203-204.
20. Ibid., p. 56.

21. Ibid., pp. 55-56.
22. Ibid., p. 56.
23. Ibid., pp. 61-62.
24. Ibid., p. 61.
25. Ibid., p. 62.

26. So I read Durkheim. Certainly, the individual struggle for existence is an important motor of development. When "density" (the volume of social interactions) increases in a homogeneous society, competition leads to differentiation (pp. 266-270) and in this manner "without having desired it," humanity receives "a more intense and more varied culture" (p. 273). On the other hand, the social not the individual impulse is primary (p. 279). In the higher societies, this impetus toward a more solidary society is also an impetus toward a higher culture. "Moral density" and "material density," the culture and the economy, develop together. "It is useless," concludes Durkheim, "to try to find out which has determined the other; they are inseparable," (p. 257).

27. Durkheim, 1933, p. 407.

28. Lovejoy, 1936, reviews some of the more extravagant possibilities conjured up by the early idealists, ch. x.

29. For what I say about Whitman's life I depend largely upon Justin Kaplan's superb biography, *Walt Whitman: A Life* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1980). Kaplan's criticism also seems right to me; I only wish there were more of it. He not only documents Whitman's intense interest in politics, but also suggests the political implications of his poetry. See, for example, pp. 215-216, 223, 228, 300, 318. Generally in the literature on Whitman's political ideas, he is portrayed as the Poet of Democracy, believing fervently in the capacity of "the people" as individuals and citizens, but little or no attention is paid to his poetic insight into the nature of the American Union. Roger Asselineau is concerned not with Whitman's understanding of the nation, but with his opinion of it, finding that he rose from "a rather narrow Americanism to a very broad internationalism." [*The Evolution of Walt Whitman: The Creation of a Book* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962), p. 132.] Whitman's upbringing and activity as a Jacksonian Democrat are detailed in Joseph Jay Rubin, *The Historic Whitman* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1973), but again the focus is on his democratic beliefs to the exclusion of his nationalism. In his chapter on "The Realm of Whitman's Ideas" in *The New Walt Whitman Handbook* (New York: New York University Press, 1975), Gay Wilson Allen also emphasizes Whitman's faith in democracy and his hostility to slavery, but says virtually nothing about his concern for the Union. While Carey Wilson McWilliams in his *Idea of Fraternity in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973) grants that Whitman "was devoted to the Union as an idea," he holds that "it meant little in concrete terms except the Constitution, the traditional process and way" (p. 419). Benjamin T. Spencer's chapter on Whitman in *The Quest for Nationality: An American Literary Campaign [1607-1892]* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1957) is based almost entirely on the prose. In trying to grasp what Whitman said, however, one does best to follow D. H. Lawrence's dictum: "Never trust the artist. Trust the tale." (*Studies in Classic American Literature*; New York: Doubleday, 1951), p. 13.

30. A handy but scholarly edition of *Leaves of Grass* and relevant prose is James E. Miller, Jr., (ed.), *Complete Poetry and Selected Prose by Walt Whitman* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1959). The definitive text is Harold W. Blodgett and Sculley Bradley, (eds.), *Leaves of Grass: Comprehensive Reader's Edition* (New York: New York University Press, 1965) which also includes the prefaces. I will refer to it as Blodgett and

Bradley, 1965. The process from which this text emerged is documented in Sculley Bradley, Harold W. Blodgett, Arthur Golden, and William White, (eds.), *Leaves of Grass: A Textual Variorum of the Printed Poems, 1855-1891* (New York: New York University Press, 1980). 3 vols. Cited as Variorum edition.

31. Blodgett and Bradley, 1965, pp. 709-710.
32. Floyd Stovall, (ed.), *Walt Whitman: Prose Works 1892* (New York: New York University Press, 1964). 2 vols. Vol. II, *Collect and Other Prose*, p. 414.
33. Blodgett and Bradley, 1965, pp. 742, 744.
34. Ibid., p. 751.
35. Ibid., pp. 451, 446, 454.
36. "Poets," he writes in the concluding lines of *A Defence of Poetry*, "are the hierophants of an unapprehended inspiration; the mirrors of the gigantic shadows which futurity casts upon the present . . . the influence which is moved not, but moves. Poets are the unacknowledged legislators of the world." Roger Ingpen and Walter E. Peck, (eds.), *The Complete Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (New York: Gordian Press, 1965), 10 vols., Vol 7, p. 140.
37. Blodgett and Bradley, 1965, p. 712.
38. Ibid., p. 717.
39. One's-Self I Sing, Blodgett and Bradley, 1965, p. 1.
40. *Democratic Vistas*, Blodgett and Bradley, 1965, p. 361.
41. Song of Myself, Blodgett and Bradley, 1965, p. 45.
42. Ibid., pp. 15-16.
43. Ibid., p. 24.
44. Ibid., pp. 216, 217.
45. Starting from Paumanok, Blodgett and Bradley, 1965, p. 27.
46. Ibid., p. 17.
47. Kaplan, 1980, pp. 148-155, 233.
48. Blodgett and Bradley, 1965, p. 31.
49. Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents*. Trans. by Joan Riviere. (London: Hogarth Press, 1930), p. 102. International Psycho-Analytical Library. Ed. by Ernest Jones. No. 17. I recognize that Freud's view of Eros is not as simple as this passage may suggest. As Patrick Riley has reminded me, Freud did indeed think that Eros supported social life, but only insofar as its sexual aim was inhibited. Such aim-inhibition, however, produces resentment, leading to neurosis and, conceivably, violence and war. See "Thoughts for the Times on War and Death" (1915) in John Rickman, (ed.), *Sigmund Freud: Civilization, War and Death* (London: Hogarth Press and The Institute of Psychoanalysis, 1939).
50. I do not, for instance, follow Ivor Winters, who believes that Whitman (and Emerson) preached that "the impulses" be "indulged systematically and passionately," a course of action that can "lead only to madness." *In Defense of Reason* (Denver: Alan Swallow, 1947), p. 590.
51. Blodgett and Bradley, 1965, p. 19.
52. Ibid., p. 86.
53. Ibid., p. 40.
54. Song of Myself, Blodgett and Bradley, 1965, p. 58.

55. Ibid., p. 73.
56. So Long!, Blodgett and Bradley, 1965, p. 505.
57. Song of Myself, Blodgett and Bradley, 1965, p. 84.
58. See Werner Jaeger, *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture*. Trans. from the German by Gilbert Highet. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939-1948). 3 vols. Like the Greek *paideia*, as described by Jaeger, the American *paideia* is a practical school for making the community more of a community. Unlike the Greek *paideia*, however, it is not exclusive, all-embracing, fixed, or hierarchic.
59. Blodgett and Bradley, 1965, p. 44.
60. Preface 1855, Blodgett and Bradley, 1965, p. 717.
61. Song of Myself, Blodgett and Bradley, 1965, p. 59.
62. Erwin Earle Sparks, (ed.), *The Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858*, (Springfield, IL: Illinois State Historical Library, 1908), Lincoln Series, vol. I, pp. 224, 302, 103, 353, 104.
63. Stovall, (ed.), *Prose Works 1892*, Vol. II., p. 393.
64. Blodgett and Bradley, 1965, p. 710.
65. Ibid., p. 189. The expression "pure American breed" occurs only in the 1860 version, titled "Democratic Chants" No. 2. See Variorum edition, Vol. I, pp. 188-189.
66. On the use of the ship as a symbol of the Union not only by Longfellow in his famous poem, "The Building of the Ship" (1849), but also by politicians, including Lincoln, see Paul Nagel, *One Nation*, pp. 215-218.
67. Song of Myself, Blodgett and Bradley, 1965, p. 34.
68. Blodgett and Bradley, 1965, pp. 159-165.
69. Thomas Jefferson Randolph, (ed.), *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (Charlottesville, VA: F. Carr Co., 1829). 4 vols. Vol III, pp. 27-31.
70. Gaillard Hunt, (ed.), *The Writings of James Madison* (New York: Putnam's, 1900-1910), 9 vols. Vol V, p. 438.
71. Randolph, (ed.), *Writings*, pp. 29, 32, 30. On the need for frequent revolutions, see Julian P. Boyd et al. (eds.), *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1950-71). Vols. 1-18. Vol 11, pp. 93, 174, 526; vol. 12, pp. 442, 356.
72. From the concluding sentence of Section II of *The Communist Manifesto*.
73. "On a Certain Blindness in Human Beings," in *Selected Papers on Philosophy*, (London: J.M.Dent, 1917, Everyman's Library), pp. 1, 8, 15.
74. James D. Richardson, (ed.), *Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, (New York: Bureau of National Literature, c. 1897-1917), 20 vols., Vol. VII, p. 3213.
75. Blodgett and Bradley, 1965, pp. 157, 158.
76. Ibid., pp. 66-71.
77. Ibid., p. 67.
78. Reflecting on the "value" that "time" would put on his work, Whitman wrote in 1888: "Behind all else that can be said, I consider 'Leaves of Grass' and its theory experimental—as, in the deepest sense, I consider our American republic itself to be, with its theory." "A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads", Blodgett and Bradley, 1965, p. 562.
79. Long, Too Long America (1865), Blodgett and Bradley, 1965, p. 312.
80. Stovall, (ed.), *Prose Works, 1842*, Vol. I, p. 25.

Samuel H. Beer is Eaton Professor of the Science of Government, emeritus, at Harvard University. His latest book is Britain Against Itself: The Political Contradictions of Collectivism (1982). At present he is working on a book to be called Federalism and the National Idea, of which this article on Whitman is a part.

The Social Philosophy and Policy Center will hold a conference entitled "Morals and Markets" on September 21, 1984, at Bowling Green State University. Original papers will be presented by Jules Coleman (Arizona), Alexander Rosenberg (Syracuse), and Amartya Sen (Oxford). Their commentators will be Donald Regan (Law, Michigan), Hal Varian (Economics, Michigan), and Allan Gibbard (Philosophy, Michigan). For information, please write to John Ahrens, Social Philosophy and Policy Center, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, OH 43403.

THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN

1-26-98



Office of the Presiding Bishop

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January 22, 1998

 ✓ The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
 President of the United States of America
 The White House
 Washington, DC 20507

 WJC
 CTS
 Podesta

Dear Mr. President:

All people of goodwill throughout the world, particularly those of the United Pentecostal Churches of Christ, join me in continued prayer and supplication for your strength and peace throughout this time in your life.

Please allow me to speak to you as one Christian to another. Satan specializes in destruction. He uses innuendoes, half-truths, and creates a circumstance, when picked up by our enemies, which appears to be fact and truth indeed. It matters not to the enemy of your soul that you have begun your serious walk with the Lord, and by your lifestyle and devotion to Christ you've brought well being and major improvement to every quarter of our nation. It matters not to the devil that "...when the righteous reign, the people rejoice..." His overwhelming desire is to see "the people mourn."

This continual attack against yourself, your wife and Chelsea should serve as a signal to you that the *Kingdom of God* is at war with the kingdoms of this world. As head of the world's greatest nation and leader of the "Free World," you have sought to apply the *God-principle* in your leadership and administration style. You've done something else, Mr. President; you've given minorities more than token representation in your government. You've included the disenfranchised and you've welcomed the poor, the Black, the Hispanic, and the Asian, along with the European to sit around the table with you and live out the true meaning of "a government by the people and for the people..."

 PHOTOCOPY
 WJC HANDWRITING



The Lord is about to make your last days in office greater than your first. The average American cares very little about any supposed or real past indiscretions. You are a member, Sir, of the community of the forgiven, and you are covered by much prayer. The bishops of our College join me in assuring you of our *prayers and continued public and private support*. We only ask that you remain faithful in your testimony.

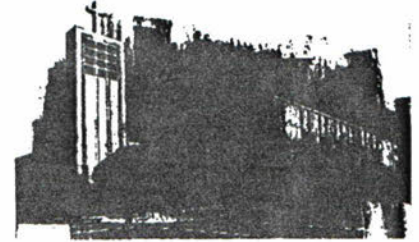
For the glory of God,

The Most Reverend J. Delano Ellis, II

*Presiding Bishop, The United Pentecostal Churches of Christ and
President, The Joint African-American College of Pentecostal Bishops*

AD-411

Third Baptist Church, Inc.



1399 McAllister Street • San Francisco, California 94115 • (415) 346-4426 • Rev. Amos C. Brown, Pastor

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington D.C. 20502

January 22, 1998

Dear Mr. President:

We are praying for you! You may rest assured that as we have been with you when you have supported the African American agenda, we are with you as you seek to resolve the challenging situation that you now confront. It is our hope that the American public will give you the courtesy of letting you defend yourself and not inundating you with undo pressures and distractions that would deter you from doing the sterling job of providing focus and successful leadership for our nation and the world.

It goes without saying that under your leadership the nation and the African American community are the better. We wish for your leadership to continue so that the better job that you've done will become the best Presidential leadership of this century.

With personal regards and best wishes I am,

Sincerely yours,

Rev. Amos C. Brown

Rev. Amos C. Brown
Senior Pastor
Third Baptist Church of San Francisco

ACB:jm

KMBA, Inc.

January 22, 1998

President Bill Clinton
THE WHITE HOUSE
Washington, DC 20502

Dear President Clinton,

We are appalled at the allegations leveled against you by the media and others.

We believe it is a sad day for America to see our country stoop to this level. We as Americans elected you for President of our country based on your ability as a leader.

None of these accusations should ever have been made public to a person of your stature.

Our support and prayers are with you and we pray that God will give you the courage to withstand this assault.

Sincerely,

KMBA, Inc., Dionne Warwick Corporation

Dionne Warwick
Marie Byars
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Henry Carr
Jennifer Brown
Marcella Kingi
Beverly Todd

Raymond Pounds
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David Cockrell
Wade Short
Robert Kloess
Rob Shrock
Myrna Smith

Leroy Swearingen
Scott Weatherspoon
Barrance Warrick
Alan White
Renato Pereira
Delia Warrick

MB/jb

cc: Robert B. Johnson,
Deputy Assistant to the President

COPY OF MAILGRAM SENT TO PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON
THURSDAY, JANUARY 22, 1998

**PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, DC 20502**

**THIS COMES TO REAFFIRM OUR HIGH ESTEEM OF YOU, YOUR
INTEGRITY, YOUR LEADERSHIP AND YOUR ENDURANCE UNDER
PARTISAN SIEGE.**

**WE PRAY THAT YOU SHALL OVERCOME AS YOU MOUNT YOUR
DEFENSE WHILE MAINTAINING YOUR BRILLIANT CURRENT
PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP OF THE U.S.A. AND THE FREE WORLD.**

**BISHOP AND MRS. FRED C. JAMES
3700 FOREST DRIVE, SUITE 502
LANDMARK EAST
COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA 29204**

Founded in 1919

ALLEN TEMPLE BAPTIST CHURCH

J. Alfred Smith, Senior
Senior PastorJ. Alfred Smith, Junior
Co-Pastor

January 22, 1998

CHAIRPERSONS

HONORARY CHAIRPERSON

BOARD OF DEACONS

Joseph Mondy

BOARD OF DEACONS

Lewis Sellers

BOARD OF DEACONESSSES

Sueva Edmon

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Rdell Brooks

BOARD OF

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

Emuel Thompson

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20502

Dear Mr. President:

You have our full support and fervent prayers.

Prayerfully,

J. Alfred Smith, Sr.
Senior Pastor

JASSR/crh

cc: Mr. Ben Johnson



THE FIRST EPISCOPAL DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS

CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

4466 ELVIS PRESLEY BOULEVARD SUITE 222

MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE 38116

WILLIAM H. GRAVES
PRESIDING BISHOP

OFFICE: (901) 345-0580 Ext. 151
RESIDENCE: (901) 332-4968

January 22, 1998

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President
The White House
Washington, DC 20502

Dear Mr. President:

Please be reassured that we stand with you and offer on your behalf our fervent prayer that "He who is able to keep us from falling" will make known to you His presence today.

I commend for your meditation and edification Psalm #27 in its entirety, but especially verses 5, 6, and 9-14.

Yours in His name,

William H. Graves
The First Episcopal District
The Christian Methodist Episcopal Church

"Whisper A Prayer"

CONFERENCES: EAST TENNESSEE • WEST TENNESSEE • NORTH ARKANSAS • SOUTH ARKANSAS

First African Methodist Episcopal Church

2270 South Harvard Boulevard

"FIRST TO SERVE"

Los Angeles, California 90018

(213) 735-1251

Dr. Cecil L. Murray MINISTER

January 22, 1998

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20502

Dear Mr. President:

You sat with the pastor and staff for two hours in the pastor's office when you presented yourself as a candidate to our nation's highest office.

You returned as President, and with Secretary of Commerce, Ron Brown, put on tennis shoes and played basketball in Watts, helping to heal the wounds of our inner city. You were kind enough to remember our pastor and congregation on that occasion.

Now we remember you at the altar and in our determinations to stand by you.

Call upon us. We are here for you.

Sincerely,



Cecil L. "Chip" Murray
Senior Minister, First A.M.E. Church, Los Angeles

GLIDE

January 22, 1998

President William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500-0001

Dear Mr. President,

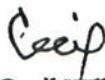
I have been shocked at the long suffering that you and your family have experienced in the last three and a half years. It is inconceivable that the nation would be as mean-spirited as engaging in conflicts that separate us rather than bring us together.

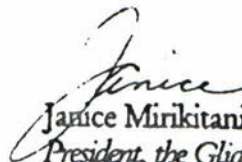
I would admonish you and Hilary to re-read the story of Job in the Old Testament. Surely there is a point where light overtakes darkness, and the loss of — it seems everything — can give you courage, can strengthen you, and can bring hope into the most difficult of circumstances.

Jan and I would like to send our unconditional love to you and your family. We would like for you to know that there are those of us who stand with you, who will be praying that this situation will soon pass over and that you can take care of the business of this nation.

As Isaiah cries out in the 43rd chapter, "Fear not, for I have redeemed you; I have called you by name, you are mine. When you pass through the waters I will be with you; and through the rivers, they shall not overwhelm you; when you walk through fire you shall not be burned, ... For I am the Lord your God, ... Because you are precious in my eyes, and honored, and I love you ..."

Walk That Walk!


The Reverend Cecil Williams
Minister of Liberation


Janice Mirikitani
President, the Glide Foundation

'98 JAN 21 PM5:

HONORARY PARTICIPATION REQUEST

Please return to Woyneab Wondwossen, Room 93

Today's Date: January 20, 1998

Date of Request: 1/6/98
Request for: POTUS
Type of Request: Honorary Patron
Requestor Name: Mr. A. Van C. Lanckton
Title: President
Organization: American Jewish Congress
New England Region
126 High Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02110
Contact Tel. #: 617/457-8888
Event Date: 2/5/97
Event Description: 1998 Distinguished Community Leadership Awards
Notes: The New England Branch of the American Jewish Congress will honor David Spina and the State Street Bank for their achievements in housing development. Organizers hope to encourage New England business leaders to invest in community development programs. Several members of Congress have agreed to lend their names to an Honorary Committee. Debbie Mohile in OPL recommends the President accept.

The President should REGRET, but offer a MESSAGE.

Recommendation:

1126198

TS NO

(Unless otherwise noted, a yes answer will automatically generate a message as well as acceptance of the honorary position).

Comments:

1/20

Todd/Phil -

Recommend regret with message because this is so local.

D

Wayna -

would be great
if the President
could serve as
honorary chair -
please call with
questions.

- Debi Mohile

OPL

x65157

Rec'd
1/6

A Tribute to

David Spina & State Street Bank and Trust Company

January 2, 1998

to benefit
American
Jewish
Congress

President William J. Clinton
The White House

Dinner Committee Co-Chairs

Bruce A. Beal
President
The Beal Companies

Donald Donat
Managing Partner
Donat Donat & Company

James M. DiSanto
Area Managing Partner
Ernst & Young

Evelyn Friedman
Executive Director
Nuestra Comunidad

Edward F. Hines, Jr.
Crosby, Hall & Stewart

Ira A. Jackson
Executive Vice President
BankBoston

Alan R. Morse, Jr.
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Harvard Pilgrim Healthcare

Dennis J. Picard
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President and CEO
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H. Jay Saries
Vice Chairman
Fleet Financial Group

Program Journal Chair

Joseph Flatley
President and CEO
Massachusetts Housing
Investment Corporation

New England Region
American Jewish Congress

President
A. Van C. Lanckton
Criss & Macauley

Executive Director
Sheila R. Dexter

Development Consultant
Cindy Rowe

Dear President Clinton:

On Thursday, February 5, 1998, American Jewish Congress will award its 1998 Distinguished Community Leadership Award to David A. Spina and State Street Bank and Trust Company in recognition of their outstanding leadership in the development of affordable housing and community revitalization. A dinner honoring David Spina and State Street will be held at the Fairmont Copley Plaza Hotel in Boston.

We hope that you will agree to be on the Honorary Committee for this important event. We would also greatly appreciate a letter of congratulations from you to David Spina and State Street Bank. This letter will be a inspirational addition to our program book.

David Spina, President and Chief Operating Officer of State Street, has for years worked with community development organizations and financial institutions to structure tax advantaged equity investments and raise loan funds for affordable housing development. In addition, Mr. Spina has held leadership positions on the boards of several civic, community and educational organizations. Most notably, he has served as chairman of the Massachusetts Housing Investment Corporation; is currently a director of the Metropolitan Boston Housing Partnership and the Massachusetts Bankers Association; vice chairman of the Massachusetts Taxpayers Foundation; and is a Trustee of the Dana Hall School.

State Street Bank is a significant presence, holding more than \$3.8 trillion in its custody and managing over \$370 billion in assets. The American Jewish Congress has chosen to honor the Bank not because of its size, however, but because of its dedication to investment in the community. State Street has a long history of working with community development organizations and financial institutions to structure tax-advantaged equity investments for affordable housing. The ventures have resulted in over 3,000 units of low-income housing. State Street is known as a "banker's bank," responsible for worldwide investments; this is why it is particularly significant that they are willing to put the weight of their leadership behind investing and encouraging others to invest in affordable housing.



126 High Street
Boston, MA 02110
Tel: 617-457-8888
Fax: 617-988-6246

The selection of this year's recipients reflects the ongoing mission of the AJCongress to protect fundamental constitutional freedoms and American democratic institutions, and to advance social and economic justice. The American Jewish Congress is a leading national human rights organization, known for the past 80 years for its work in many areas including affordable housing. We look forward to this dinner as a means to speak to the corporate leaders of New England about the importance of corporate responsibility including investment in the community and to provide information about why it makes economic sense for them to do so.

We would be truly honored to list you as a member of the Honorary Committee and to be able to have a letter of congratulations from you included in our program book.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,



A. Van C. Lanckton, President
New England Region
American Jewish Congress

A Tribute to

Spina

*Please join us for a dinner
on Thursday, February 5, 1998
at the Fairmont Copley Plaza, Boston
as David Spina and State Street Bank and Trust Company
receive the American Jewish Congress
Distinguished Community Leadership Award*

*Reception 6:00 pm
Dinner 7:00 pm*

Please respond

American Jewish Congress

National President: David V. Kahn
Chair, Board of Trustees: Jack Rosen
Chair, Board of Advisors: Zoe Baird
National Executive Director: Phil Baum

National Officers from New England Region

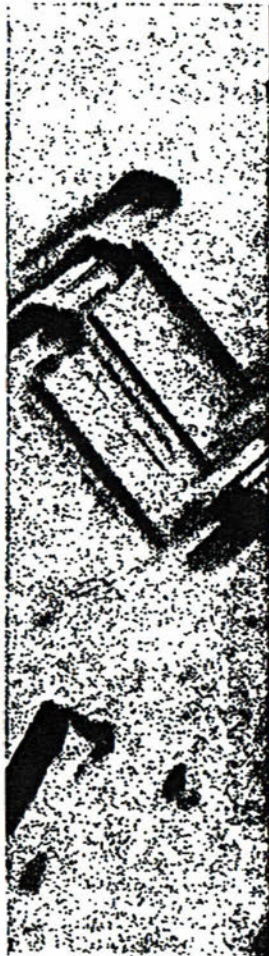
Vice Chair, National Governing Council: Geoffrey H. Lewis
Vice President: Barbara Cullen
Honorary Officers: Henry Rosovsky, Theodore Bikel, Judith Wolf

Officers, New England Region

President:
A. Van C. Lanckton
First Vice-President:
Barbara Cullen
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Marilyn Segal
Erica Streit



American Jewish Congress

American Jewish Congress, the "Attorney General for the Jewish People," has distinguished itself for more than eighty years in the United States and around the world for its tireless efforts to promote religious freedom and diversity, defend the civil rights of minorities, and guarantee the constitutional rights of all Americans. AJCongress has been widely acclaimed for its skill in building coalitions among organizations and individuals to combat all forms of prejudice. Our New England Commission on Law and Social Action meets weekly to review and select emerging issues for discussion and advocacy and our conference calls to our Jerusalem and Washington representatives carry the Jewish voice in support of the peace process.

We are delighted to honor David Spina and State Street Bank and Trust Company this year because in doing so we are given the opportunity to celebrate the commitment of both our organizations to the creation and rehabilitation of affordable housing. AJCongress has been at the forefront of drafting and advocating for legislation establishing safety and sanitary codes, protecting against discrimination, and designing federal government protocols for the sale of previously bank-owned housing. AJCongress looks forward to joining with concerned institutions and individuals who value social justice and civil rights as we honor David Spina and State Street.

David A. Spina and State Street Bank and Trust Company

David A. Spina, President and Chief Operating Officer of State Street Bank and Trust Company has been active in community development and particularly in the area of affordable housing in Greater Boston for many years. Among many civic and community leadership roles, he served as a director of the Metropolitan Boston Housing Partnership and was the founding Chairman of the Massachusetts Housing Investment Corporation in 1990. He took the lead in creating MHIC's loan and equity pools which have since channeled more than \$225 million of invest-

ments, making possible the creation of more than 3,100 units of affordable housing. A decorated veteran of Navy service in Vietnam, he has also served as a director of the Massachusetts Bankers Association, Vice Chairman of the Massachusetts Taxpayers Association and as a trustee of the Dana Hall School.

State Street Bank and Trust Company has shared its continuing financial success with the Greater Boston community not only by creating thousands of new jobs in the 1990's, but also through its commitments to philanthropy, housing, education, training and community development. Since 1977, The State Street Foundation, which receives 1.5% of the company's pretax profits each year, has made hundreds of grants

totaling more than \$33 million in all — to nonprofit groups that help the urban poor through education, job training, health care and youth programs. State Street has also committed nearly \$30 million in the 1990's to support MHIC's affordable program, and in 1994 launched a new micro-lending program to inner-city small businesses. Under the leadership of Marshall N. Carter, Chief Executive Officer, State Street's spirit of concern and involvement is reflected in volunteer activity by more than 1,500 employees of all ranks — and by the generosity of employers that has made State Street the number one contributor to the United Way of Massachusetts Bay each year from 1991 to 1997.

SPINA
and
State Street Bank
and Trust
Profile.

**American Jewish Congress
Distinguished Community Leadership Award
Presented to David Spina And State Street Bank
Thursday, February 5, 1998 at the Fairmont Copley Plaza Hotel**

David Spina, State Street Bank and Affordable Housing

State Street has:

- Worked with community development organizations and financial institutions to develop creative ways in which to finance affordable housing development.
- Helped fund the creation or rehabilitation of over 3,000 units of affordable housing.
- Created an investment fund for institutional investors, which will provide up to \$100 million for affordable housing mortgages.
- Supports the delivery and education of job-training skills to the less-advantaged and other neighborhood revitalization programs.

David Spina has held many leadership positions, lending his talents to important civic, community and educational organizations. For example, he has served as:

- Director of the Massachusetts Bankers Association
- Director of the Metropolitan Boston Housing Partnership
- Founding Chairman of the Massachusetts Housing Investment Corporation
- Vice-Chairman of the Massachusetts Taxpayers Foundation
- Trustee of the Dana Hall School

American Jewish Congress and Affordable Housing

- The selection of this years recipients reflects AJCongress' ongoing mission to protect the fundamental constitutional freedoms and American democratic institutions, and to advance social and economic justice.
- AJCongress was one of the key initiators of the first Massachusetts legislation requiring health and safety standards for housing.
- AJCongress has worked closely with the Citizen's Housing And Planning Association to encourage development of affordable housing in Massachusetts. As a result of this joint collaboration, legislation was passed to allow the FDIC to consider affordable housing issues in the liquidation of bank properties.
- AJCongress was also instrumental in the passage of legislation to protect condominium housing.

A Tribute to

David Spina & State Street Bank and Trust Company

to benefit
American
Jewish
Congress

January 19, 1998

Dinner Committee
Co-Chairs

Bruce A. Beal
President
The Beal Companies

Dan Dennis, Sr.
Managing Partner
Dan Dennis & Company

James S. DiStasio
Area Managing Partner
Ernst & Young

Evelyn Friedman
Executive Director
Nuestra Comunidad

Edward F. Hines, Jr.
Choate, Hall & Stewart

Ira A. Jackson
Executive Vice President
BankBoston

Alan R. Morse, Jr.
Chairman of the Board
Harvard Pilgrim Healthcare

Dennis J. Picard
Chairman and CEO
Raytheon Company

Robert C. Pozen
President and CEO
Fidelity Management and
Research Company

H. Jay Saries
Vice Chairman
Fleet Financial Group

New England Region
American Jewish
Congress

President
A. Van C. Lanckton
Craig & Macaulay

Executive Director
Sheila R. Decter

Development Consultant
Cindy Rowe

Ms. Wayna Wond Wossen
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20501

Dear Ms. Wossen:

This letter is to followup on our conversation last week concerning the American Jewish Congress event honoring David Spina and the State Street Bank and Trust Corporation. As you requested, I am sending a list of members of the Honorary Committee. I am also sending a list of our dinner supporters to date, who represent many of the major corporate leaders in the New England community. We would be delighted if we could include the President as the Chair of the Honorary Committee or whatever title protocol requires. ★

We would also like to enclose a letter of greeting from the President in our Program Journal for the event. I am enclosing the invitation which provides you with some background about our honorees. The dinner will take place on Thursday, February 5, 1998, and our Program Journal will be going to press shortly.

Thank you for your help in this matter. If I can be of any assistance, please feel free to contact me at 617-457-8888.

Sincerely,



Sheila R. Decter
Executive Director

cc. Ann Lewis

* Contact has
agreed to change
request to Honorary
Patron (v. H. Committee
Chair)



126 High Street
Boston, MA 02110-2700
Tel: 617-457-8888
Fax: 617-988-6246

Honorary Committee for the David Spina Dinner

Waiting for Confirmation

Honorary
Committee
list

William J. Clinton - Honorary Chair
President of the United States

Marshall Carter - Chair
Chairman and CEO, State Street Corporation

U.S. Senator Edward M. Kennedy

U.S. Senator John F. Kerry

Congressman William Delahunt

Congressman Barney Frank

Congressman Joseph P. Kennedy II

Congressman Edward J. Markey

Congressman James P. McGovern

Congressman Martin T. Meehan

Congressman John J. Moakley

Congressman Richard E. Neal

Congressman John W. Olver

Congressman John F. Tierney

Governor A. Paul Cellucci
Commonwealth of Massachusetts

The Honorable William F. Weld

The Honorable Michael S. Dukakis

Mayor Thomas Menino
City of Boston

Mayor James A. Sheets
City of Quincy

**Senator Thomas F. Birmingham, Senate President,
Commonwealth of Massachusetts**

**Rep. Thomas M. Finneran, Speaker of the House,
Commonwealth of Massachusetts**

**Reverend Gerard Reedy, President
College of the Holy Cross**

**Professor Kim B. Clark, Dean
Harvard Business School**

**American Jewish Congress
Tribute Dinner Honoring
David A. Spina & State Street Bank and Trust Company
February 5, 1998**

Benefactors

BankBoston
Choate Hall & Stewart
Ernst & Young LLP
Fidelity Investments/ Fidelity Foundation
Fleet Financial Group
Price Waterhouse
Raytheon Company
State Street Bank and Trust Company

Patrons

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General Electric Investment Corporation
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Palmer & Dodge
Peabody & Arnold
Perini Corporation
Ropes & Gray
Sard Verbinen & Co., Inc.
Scudder Kemper Investments, Inc.
Train Smith Counsel
Wachtell, Lipton, Rosen & Katz
Trinity Trading, Inc.
Wasserstein Perella

Sustainers

The Boston Globe

CSC - Computer Sciences Corporation

Daniel Dennis & Company

George B. H. Macomber Company

Ionics, Incorporated

McDermott/O'Neill

Peabody & Brown

Peabody Office Furniture Corporation

Sherin & Lodgen LLP

State Street Research & Management Company

Daniel & Prudence Steiner



Russell W. Horwitz

12/17/97 12:12:55 PM



Record Type: Record

To: Phillip Caplan/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: estate tax letter

I mentioned it to Gene and Chuck Marr has asked Talisman to do a paragraph on the tax and its implications.

Do f
Murray

Gene Marr

Don - Burkhardt

We need to incorporate
my/Sean's edits. Call me if
you can't understand.

Peri 1/26

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 7, 1997

MR. PRESIDENT:

Walter Annenberg sent you the attached letter in late October. It's my understanding that Mr. Annenberg asked you about it in Texas yesterday.

The Correspondence Department is working on a reply in coordination with Treasury and NEC, but we wanted to get you an update today.

In short, Mr. Annenberg expresses concern over the "generation-skipping" transfer tax (GST) which taxes gifts (money/property) made to one's own grandchildren. Mr. Annenberg is essentially correct about how the GST works -- it taxes gifts as if they were made to the children and the grandchildren.

I haven't spoken to Gene about this, but according to the person I spoke to at Treasury, the GST is operating exactly as intended and only very, very wealthy people generally object to it. Furthermore, Treasury advises that altering GST is not on Congress' radar screen, and it is not something the Administration was looking to take on.

Phil Caplan

pm
— This is a big bigger unit is?
— comes as was allowed up to a
cap. so all what that couldn't be
avoided —

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 19, 1997

The Honorable Walter Annenberg
St. David's Center
Suite A200
150 Radnor Chester Road
St. David's, Pennsylvania 19087

Dear Walter:

Thank you for your letter regarding the federal generation-skipping transfer tax.

I understand your concern regarding this tax. The GST was enacted in 1976, based on the belief that property transferred from grandparent to grandchild should bear just as much tax as property transferred from grandparent to child and from child to grandchild. In other words, Congress intended that transfers having a similar effect would be subject to tax in a similar manner. In 1986, however, several exemptions from the tax were enacted and provide some relief from the tax. As you know, these exemptions remain in effect today.

You are right that the GST itself generates only a small fraction of the annual federal receipts from tax collections. GST collections, however, understate the overall benefits of the tax to the federal tax system. As you note, the GST's existence discourages individuals from making gifts or bequests that skip generations. So the increase in revenues due to the existence of the GST is largely reflected in increased collection of estate and gift taxes from the intervening generation.

I'm glad that you took the time to write and share your perspective, and I am passing along a copy of your letter to my staff for further review.

Sincerely,

In particular, between 1986 and

on the National Economic Council
In the meantime prior to 1990, every person was permitted to transfer \$2,000,000 to each grandchild without any GST liability. Today, an aggregate of couples are permitted to transfer a \$2,000,000 to their grandchildren free from the GST.

11/18

Phil -

I'm not sure this letter is helpful and can't imagine Annenberg doesn't already know this. (I suspect his letter just "fences" around the issues we discuss here.) Maybe we should discuss.

Dr

Generation-skipping Transfer Tax

Background. In a letter to the President, Walter Annenberg expressed concern regarding the generation-skipping transfer tax (the "GST tax"), which he stated "imposes a confiscatory tax on gifts made to one's own grandchildren."

The GST tax is imposed only on transfers that "skip" a generation (e.g., transfers to grandchildren rather than children). The tax is imposed at a flat rate of 55 percent on any "generation-skipping" transfer. The GST tax was originally enacted in the Tax Reform Act of 1976, but was substantially modified by the Tax Reform Act of 1986.

Talking Points.

The GST tax is intended as a backstop to the Federal estate and gift taxes.

- The GST tax is designed to tax the transfer of wealth to remote generations in a manner similar to the way such transfers would have been taxed had they been transferred separately to each succeeding generation. Property that is transferred to a child and then subsequently transferred to such child's own donees or heirs generally is subject twice to Federal estate and gift taxes. Prior to the imposition of the GST tax, wealthy individuals would avoid this second round of transfer taxation by making transfers directly for the benefit of persons in a generation more remote than their children's generation.

The GST contains several exemptions that ensure that only the very wealthy could ever incur this tax.

- Every person has an exemption from the GST of \$1,000,000. This exemption can be used during life or at death, and can be applied to outright transfers or transfers in trust. Using this exemption, a married couple can transfer \$2,000,000 to grandchildren without imposition of a GST tax.
- Gifts that are exempt from the gift tax because they fall within the \$10,000 annual exclusion are also exempt from the GST tax.
- Gifts that are exempt from the gift tax because they are payments of tuition made directly to an educational institution or payments for medical care paid directly to the provider of such care are also exempt from the GST.
- When enacted in 1986, the GST contained an additional exemption of permitting every person to transfer \$2,000,000 to each grandchild without payment of the GST tax. This exemption sunset at the end of 1989. Thus, transfers taking advantage of this exemption had to have been made before 1990.
- Transfers can be made directly to grandchildren without GST tax if their parents are deceased at the time of the transfer.
- Thus, if they had fully used these exemptions, a couple like the Annenbergs, who collectively have seven grandchildren, could have transferred more than \$30 million to grandchildren without payment of any GST tax.

OCT 29 1997

WALTER H. ANNENBERG

October 24, 1997

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to solicit your views on the federal generation-skipping transfer tax which, in its present form, imposes a confiscatory tax on gifts made to one's own grandchildren. The imposition of this tax results in the Internal Revenue Service actually collecting more in taxes than the amount of the gift which is received by the grandchild. I think it would be equitable to tax grandchildren at the same rate as children. Given the sweeping changes to the Internal Revenue Service which are now being considered by Congress, and which I understand you now support, I believe it is especially appropriate at this time to consider the propriety of the continued imposition of this tax. I do not pretend to present an expert's view on this highly complex legislation, but only a very limited analysis.

I will reach 90 years of age on March 13, 1998 and I have one daughter and four grandchildren. My wife, Lee, will reach the age of 80 on February 20, 1998. She has two daughters and three grandchildren.

Under the present generation-skipping transfer tax, any gifts or bequests which either my wife or myself make directly to our grandchildren results in a generation-skipping transfer tax and a gift tax. Tax law treats direct gifts to our grandchildren as though they were first made to our children (subject to a first tax) and then gifted over by our children to our grandchildren (subject to a second tax).

I would call to your attention the fact that federal transfer taxes imposed on a lifetime taxable gift to a grandchild equals 140.25% of the amount of the gift, and such taxes imposed on a gift at death equals 244.44% of the amount of the gift. Thus, for example, for every \$100 taxable gift to one of my grandchildren, I pay the Internal Revenue Service federal transfer taxes equal to \$140.25; the same \$100 gift to my child would require payment to the Internal Revenue Service of \$55. As such, an outlay of \$240.25, i.e., the \$140.25 in taxes payable to the Internal Revenue Service and the \$100 gift, is required to make a \$100 gift to my grandchildren, whereas only a \$155 outlay is required to make a \$100 gift to my daughter. The results are even more dramatic at death where a \$100 bequest to a grandchild results in a tax of \$244, whereas the same bequest to a child produces a tax of \$123.

I strongly question the rationale of a law that makes such an intra-family distinction, forcing gifts to children at the expense of grandchildren because federal law, in essence, requires it.

The President
October 24, 1997
Page Two

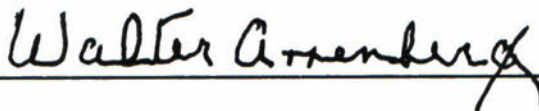
This is a decision which many in our age brackets are facing right now with serious thoughts being given to disinheriting or limiting gifts to grandchildren because they are so tax-expensive. There can be no question in my case, as well as in the case of most Americans, that my grandchildren are just as natural an "object of my bounty" as my own child and, accordingly, should be treated equally for tax purposes. To make a distinction between the two for tax purposes, and to prevent the distribution of wealth among more individuals, is not justifiable.

I have been advised that generation-skipping transfer taxes to be collected by the United States Government in 1997 will amount to, at most, \$200 million, representing approximately only .013% of the total budget receipts. Moreover, the confiscatory nature of the tax can be solved by merely excepting grandchildren from the purview of the tax, rather than instituting a complete repeal of the tax. The generation-skipping transfer tax is so complex, however, that I would suspect that the administrative costs of administering and enforcing it may equal or exceed the revenues which it generates.

With full recognition of the complexities and time demands on your stewardship, I earnestly and respectfully request that you and your administration take a broad look at this outrageous tax which affects only a very few.

Because of my respect for the Secretary of the Treasury, who has a wealth of background in this area, I am taking the liberty of sending a copy of this letter to Secretary Rubin.

Most sincerely,



St. Davids Center
Suite A-200
150 Radnor-Chester Road
St. Davids, PA 19087

cc: The Hon. Robert E. Rubin

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Date 1-26-98

To: SOTU Team

From: The Staff Secretary

The President want this sent to the
SOTU team.

cc: Bowles
Podesta
Mathews
Waldman
Lewis
Blumenthal
Emanuel
Begala

'98 JAN 26 PM2:

January 26, 1998

Memorandum to the President

From: Al From

Subject: The State of the Union

Having witnessed the hysterical, feeding frenzy over the weekend, I have a some brief thoughts you might find useful in your final preparations for the State of the Union. Here goes:

1. Now, the objective of the speech is to shore up your support – not to try to define history. You need to reinforce the views of the majority of Americans who believe you are doing a good job as president.

Your key audience will be the rank and file viewing audience, not the political commentators or the Washington elites. The elites have made up their minds about you – and they aren't going to do you any favors. You need to reassure the ordinary Americans who think you're a good president. Your best chance to do that with an unfiltered message is with the speech itself. You can't count on the post-speech press to carry your message. Most of the commentary will be about how the extraordinary circumstances played on the speech – in other words, the press is likely to do a lot of scandal talk in the speech analysis. Therefore, the speech needs to be written so the average viewer will stick with it and understand it without the help of post-speech commentary.

2. Despite all that's happened, you have some strength going into the speech. With all the battering you've taken, your approval ratings have stayed extraordinarily high. Because people think you're doing a good job as president, you need to play to that in the speech. You need to remind them of why they think that – by reminding them what you've done and telling them what you're going to do.

3. Now what does that mean for the speech? The drafts I've seen are pretty good – and getting better. But I think the tone needs to be slightly modified and the storyline made more clear.

4. I believe the tone should be strong and understated. I'd cut out high flying rhetoric. I'd be very careful with all the historical rhetoric – or any references that are going to need commentator reinforcement for the viewers to fully understand. I'd also shorten the speech. You want the viewing audience to stick with the whole speech. Finally, the tone should be gracious and not partisan. It won't hurt to go out of your way to say what you and the Congress have accomplished together. That allows you to remind voters of what you've accomplished, and makes it more difficult for the Republicans to attack you.

5. I believe the storyline should also be very simple, straightforward, and easy to understand. It should be: the country was undergoing historic change and was having trouble adapting; we came in with a new approach; it's worked for the good of most of us; and, now, together, if we make the right choices we can make it work for the good of all of us.

I would essentially organize the speech into three sections: (1) where we were; (2) how far we've come, and (3) where we need to go. I think the ideas in the current draft will easily fit into that format.

While, as you know, I'm fanatical about opportunity, responsibility, and community, I would not try to fit the speech into those themes. I think the fit is a bit too labored – and I just think this is one case where the simplest structure works best.

6. Because your key audience is the viewers who think you're doing a good job, you're emphasis ought to be on the things that matter in their every day lives: the strong economy, good jobs, the balanced budget, reducing crime, reducing welfare, quality education, smaller government, clean environment, etc.

In that light, I particularly think you need to redo your vision at the beginning of the speech to tie it to things that ordinary people think about every day. Your vision should be of an America where everyone will finally have the chance to get ahead, where hard work will be valued and rewarded, where every citizen can live in a safe community, where families are strong and every child has the opportunity to get a quality education, where government provides opportunity and citizens honor the responsibility to give something back to their community, and where the strength of our democracy is a beacon of hope and freedom for people all over the world.

My rhetoric might not be right, but you get the idea. A vision of an America where every child can stretch a hand across a keyboard and reach every book ever written, etc., is, in my view, too disconnected from the principal concerns of the principal audience you now need to reach.

One more point about the top of the speech. Just say the state of the union is strong. I'd drop the line that reporting on the state of the union is a duty every citizen would cherish. The circumstances don't fit your delivering that line.

7. Finally, the speech has a lot of good and popular ideas in it. But I still think the impact of the speech would be greater if they were packaged – as they easily could be – into a bigger mission: that of assuring that ever American will have the tools to succeed in the 21st century.

I know – though for the life of me I can't figure out why – there is an aversion among your advisors to using the bridge analogy. You spent tens of millions of dollars to hammer that fact that you were building the bridge to the 21st century into the heads of the American people. I don't see why you don't build on that investment.

And, to me, it works perfectly for this speech: together, we've built the bridge to the 21st century; now, together, we need to make sure that everyone will have the chance to cross it.

Good luck. And, I stand ready to help.