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Subseries:

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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001. memo	To President Bill Clinton from Benjamin R. Barber re: SOTU (partial) (1 page)	01/06/95	P6/b(6)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Terry Edmonds
OA/Box Number: 10981

FOLDER TITLE:

Civility [1]

2006-0462-F

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RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

The Moral Equivalent of Apollo

Can't we help other Americans back from the dark side of the moon?

BY JONATHAN ALTER

FAILURE IS NOT AN OPTION." THESE ARE THE WORDS OF Gene Kranz, the Apollo 13 flight director, played by Ed Harris, and they deserve to linger in the minds of moviegoers at least as long as the superb technical re-creation of the American space program. The film is tightly focused on the immense drama of the aborted mission; beyond astronaut Jim Lovell's daughter in a hippie costume, it pretends to no social comment at all. And yet I couldn't help thinking about the larger ideas this movie's heat shield reflects—not about 1970, but 1995. The real heroes of "Apollo 13"—on screen and in life—are today's villains, namely federal bureaucrats. The paper-shuffling government geeks who (we're informed daily from the House floor) couldn't handle a three-car funeral not only put men on the moon, they rescued them against all odds. Twenty-five years ago, failure was not in their vocabulary. Today, we're told, failure is their first name.

Unless there's an American soldier or airman in danger. Then we briefly suspend our disbelief about the federal government and remember the miracles. In recent years, this impulse has become a kind of tiny rescue asterisk in our otherwise deep skepticism about what we can accomplish as a nation. When Americans are lost in space (or Bosnia), we pull together and get the job done. But when Americans are lost in America—through terrible education, say, or a broken welfare system—then it's hopeless. Let them come home under their own power. Let the private sector save 'em. Let the states do it.

Ironically, this loss of faith in Washington coincided almost exactly with the staggering accomplishment of the federal Apollo program. The Vietnam war soured the public on the government just as that same government was making history that will be remembered 500 years from now. The emerging bias against government solutions has been plenty justified by horror stories of unconscionable waste. But the bias is also impervious to evidence of success. The formulation went: "If we put a man on the moon, why can't we [fill in the blank]?" The assumption behind the question was that nothing ever filled in the blank; the moon was a glorious exception. In fact, in the years since, the U.S. government essentially ended hunger (through food stamps), cleaned up polluted air and water (through federal regulation), transformed the role of women and blacks (with routes for upward mobility). Almost no one stopped to notice.

It's true that today's problems are less amenable to NASA-style big fixes than yesterday's. The American family module is much easier to break and harder to repair than the lunar module. Even for technical problem solving, mainframes and command-and-control hierarchies are being replaced all over the world by PCs and decentralized systems, which work better.

But this development is not at odds with the message of Apollo 13. In fact, the small quality-circle teams of Houston technicians on the ground anticipated 1990s-style problem solving. At one point they saved the crew from fatal CO₂ poisoning by feverishly improvising a device with duct tape, then asking the astronauts to replicate their experiment. It worked. They literally fit a square peg into a round hole.

Social problem solving is often just a variation on these challenges. Simplistic as it was, Ross Perot had a point when he argued in 1992 that we need to get under the hood, identify what's wrong with education, welfare and the rest, experiment

with pilot programs, then apply the workable solutions nationally. In the case of Apollo 13, this took the form of grounded astronaut Ken Mattingly (Gary Sinise) and others experimenting under extreme time pressure with solutions in the Houston flight simulator, then telling Jim Lovell (Tom Hanks) to apply the ideas in space.

Such thinking is light-years removed from today's debate, where replicating an idea nationally has become unfashionable. Newt Gingrich's approach is to eloquently conjure the problem, but offer no solution. His favorite sound bite is: "You cannot maintain civilization with 12-year-olds having children, with 13-year-olds kill-

ing each other, with 17-year-olds dying of AIDS, with 18-year-olds getting diplomas they can't even read." Then he argues that Washington simply can't figure out how to change those conditions. National goals for education? No way. And don't dare compare them to JFK's goals for space. If the states want to try, fine, but forget the idea of a national mission.

If this kind of thinking applied to the space program, Apollo 13 would still be orbiting with three dead astronauts. Texas was not about to rescue

Lovell while Colorado figured out another way to get Jack Swigert back to earth. The private sector could not have handled the problem. Gingrich understands this; space exploration is an exception to his thinking about the role of the federal government. He supports it.

It's the implications of that distinction that are so troubling. Are Lovell, Swigert and Haise somehow more American, more deserving of heroic national efforts, than the rest of us, just trying to get prepared for brutal re-entry into the global workforce? Of course, struggling Americans ultimately have to make their own way back from the dark side of the moon, just as the crew of Apollo 13 did. But they, too, could use a little help from those imaginative federal bureaucrats on the ground. To William James's moral equivalent of war, add the social equivalent of Apollo. If the plastic doesn't work, try the duct tape. That's our nation up there, and as the clock ticks down, the mission has not been completed. Failure should not be an option.



Suspending disbelief: Lovell, Mattingly, Haise

*The story's
real heroes—
geeky federal
bureaucrats—
are seen today
as villains*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In my administration, we have helped our schools teach better

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I challenge all of our political leaders to tone down the

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

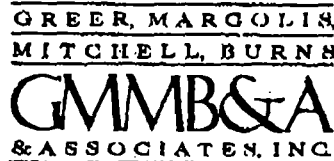
I say to you today, my friends: Let us find a new common ground. Let us stand up for the future of our children. And though we may disagree, let us take up our greatest responsibility to one another: Let us not be enemies, but friends.

Thank you and God bless you.

I believe we can find the answer within our American experience. We can find the answer by recognizing, promoting and celebrating what is best about America. In both thought and word and deed. As I said in my Inaugural Address, "there is nothing wrong with America that cannot be fixed by what is right about America." Today I want to discuss, what I believe can be a critically important effort for our nation.

As we stand on the threshold of the 21st Century buffeted and battered by the pressures of a modern world -- let us launch a national effort to find and recognize and highlight and learn and be inspired by what is best about America.

[GO BACK TO 2ND GRAPH]

**MEMORANDUM**

TO: DON BAER
FROM: FRANK GREER
DATE: JULY 5, 1995
RE: SUGGESTED LANGUAGE

I really believe we should use this kind of language at some point.

Now as the voices of hatred and division seek to weaken our nation, let us renew our dedication to assure a sense of community. As the voices of division try to appeal to appeal to fears and hatred and division, let us reach out and appeal to what is best in America: a sense that we are all responsible to one another, that we all have a duty to responsible citizenship. We are all in this together and we shall rise or fall together.

I believe we can create a chorus of harmony that will drown out the shrill voices of hate. We can celebrate and gain strength from our diversity because that is the genius of America.

That is why today, I am issuing a challenge to all of America. Let us put aside partisan politics... let us understand and focus on what is best in America... Community, opportunity, responsibility and citizenship. Beginning today, all across this country, I'm going to seek out and find those examples of what is best in America. To highlight them, to focus attention on them, and to inspire all of us with their example.

"As we stand on the threshold of the 21st century, we must rebuild the American community again with a new call to responsible citizenship. First, we must offer a new covenant between the government and our citizens. We must provide more opportunity and demand more responsibility of everyone. To the hard working middle class families who play by the rules, who struggle to raise their children and help their neighbors, we

must provide the opportunity for a good job with good benefits, and reward their hard work and their responsible citizenship. And we must provide the quality education and job training that will allow us to compete and win in global competition.

It is our responsibility to put an end to the violence that threatens the safety and security of these hard working families. It is our responsibility to provide safe streets and safe communities and secure retirement. That is our common responsibility to each other and every American family... To give them an opportunity to pass along the American Dream to their children and grandchildren. And we must challenge the business community to be responsible citizens as well. The entrepreneur, the CEOs and the plant managers. You have a responsibility to your employees ... to American workers to provide good jobs and to build quality products that can compete and win in the world markets.

There is a serious and devastating crisis in America today... Working family incomes are going down, we're working harder for less money and having more difficulty supporting their families... while corporate profits and the stock market are at record levels. We must challenge the business community to build and create good jobs here at home -- not overseas. To provide good jobs and wages that reward productive work and provide a good life to America's families. And all of us have a responsibility to provide the public services and the infrastructure that our businesses and our economy need to grow. We have a responsibility to expand trade and stand up to unfair trade. To open markets for American products and American workers. But those businesses that benefit from these government actions also have a responsibility to provide good jobs and good wages.

And we all have a responsibility to protect our environment... to provide clean air and clean water and better health for our families... and to preserve our national heritage for our children and their children. That to is how we keep the American dream alive.

Media, Entertainment Industry, the Religious Community.. we all have a responsibility to responsible citizenship. Community leaders and individuals who today are demonstrating what is best about America. With the kind of caring, community, compassion and citizenship at the local level. [Find examples.]

The Best of America Campaign
Community, Opportunity, Responsibility and Citizenship

Focusing on what is best about America. There are those who have tried to appeal to the worst in us, to fear and hatred and division. Our task, as we stand on the brink of the 21st century, is to reach out and appeal to the best in America. This is not about partisan politics, this is about what is best in America. This is about a shared responsibility, a sense of community, people working together to improve life for every citizen and taking responsibility for each other.

JULY 6, RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP SPEECH

MEETING AGENDA

1. VENUE/TIME - Georgetown University
Gaston Hall, in Healy Hall, 37th & O Street
11:00 am
Guest call time - 9:30 am
2. AUDIENCE - 400 seats in the main hall (without risers)
334 seats in the balcony
3. PROGRAM
4. PRESS/COMMUNICATIONS/AMPLIFICATION PLAN
5. FUTURE MEETINGS - Friday - 12:00 room 180
Monday/Tuesday - conference call?

O'Donovan →
POTUS

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF SPEECHWRITING

PHONE: (202) 456-2777

FAX: (202) 456-5709

TO: Bill Galston

FROM: Terry Edmonds

RECEIVER FAX: 544-5014

RECEIVER PHONE: _____

NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING COVER SHEET): 12

COMMENTS: This draft went to POTUS
tonight. Please call Don or me
at home tomorrow with comments

Don 202-364-9627

Terry- 410-740-7349

WARNING

Unauthorized use of these materials is subject to federal prosecution

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF SPEECHWRITING

PHONE: (202) 456-2777

FAX: (202) 456-5709

TO:

Frank Greer

FROM:

Terry Edmonds

RECEIVER FAX:

360-376-2584

RECEIVER PHONE:

NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING COVER SHEET):

12

COMMENTS:

Please call me or Don
tomorrow morning at home with
Comments. The President got this
draft tonight. Terry ~~410~~ 410-740-7349
Don - 202-364-9627

WARNING

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MEMORANDUM

TO: DON BAER
FROM: FRANK GREER
DATE: JUNE 27, 1995
RE: SUGGESTED LANGUAGE

Frank dictated this to me very quickly and he has not seen the final product yet. This is a rough draft and I'm sure he will talk with you about it and want to offer changes.

"Today is when we prepare to celebrate the founding of our nation. Let us honor the best in America. Let us honor what has made this nation great, inspired the world for over 200 years... A dedication by each generation to keep the American Dream alive, and a commitment to rebuild the American community with shared values and shared purpose and common goals. This year's tragedy in Oklahoma City united our nation against the forces of hatred and violence and division. And it reminded us of what is best about America. Responsible citizenship, neighbor helping neighbor, concern and compassion, caring for one another, understanding and tolerance. A true sense of community. That is what makes America great. Now as the voices of hatred and division seek to weaken our nation, let us renew our dedication to assure a sense of community. A sense that we are all responsible to one another, that we all have a duty to responsible citizenship. We are all in this together and we shall rise or fall together.

I believe we can create a chorus of harmony that will drown out the shrill voices of hate. We can celebrate and gain strength from our diversity because that is the genius of America. Tolerance, our strength and understanding. That is what makes America strong. That is the best of America."

At this point, we should lay a campaign to celebrate and illustrate and focus on what is best about America. Community, opportunity, responsibility and citizenship. "Beginning today, all across this country, I'm going to seek out and find those examples of what is best in America. To highlight them, to focus attention on them, and to inspire all of us with their example.

"As we stand on the threshold of the 21st century, we must rebuild the American community again with a new call to responsible citizenship. First, we must offer a new covenant between the government and our citizens. We must provide more opportunity and demand more responsibility of everyone. To the hard working middle class families who play by the rules, who struggle to raise their children, and help their neighbors, we all must provide the opportunity for a good job with good benefits, and reward their hard work and their responsible citizenship. And we must provide the quality education and job training that will allow us to compete and win in global competition. It is our responsibility to put an end to the violence that threatens the safety and security of these hard working families. It is our responsibility to provide safe streets and safe communities and secure retirement. That is our common responsibility to each other and every American family... To give them an opportunity to pass along the American Dream to their children and grandchildren. And we must challenge the business community to be responsible citizens as well. The entrepreneur, the CEOs and the plant managers. You have a responsibility to your employees ... to American workers to provide good jobs and to build quality products that can compete and win in the world markets.

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the public services and the infrastructure that our business and our economy need to grow. We have a responsibility to expand trade and stand up to unfair trade. To open markets for American products and American workers. But those business that benefit from these government actions, also have a responsibility to provide good jobs and good wages. And we all have a responsibility to protect our environment... to provide clean air and clean water and better health for our families... and to preserve our national heritage for our children and their children. That to is how we keep the American dream alive.

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Community, Opportunity, Responsibility and Citizenship

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

From: Benjamin R. Barber
July 3, 1995

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

Not proof read
or edited!

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

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

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

I. Themes and ideas for the speech:

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

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

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

There are three vital dimensions of citizenship:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

II. A "Campaign for Renewed Citizenship"

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

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

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

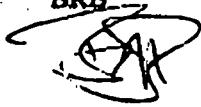
But there does need to be a common device: perhaps a "Covenant of Citizenship" in which Americans pledge NOT TO THEIR GOVERNMENT BUT TO ONE ANOTHER to take responsibility in their neighborhoods, their schools or places of worship, their workplace, for some of the problems that afflict America. It is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

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

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

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

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

BRB


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**Plenary Address by Benjamin R. Barber at the Civitas Meeting
Prague, June, 1995**

I am honored to be among you today. You represent women and men doing the real work of democracy, many in countries with far less good fortune than my own, with less time to make democracy work -- history more often against you than with you.

I am also grateful to Joe Duffey and Penn Kemble for asking me to join you. For they know I am a mischief-maker, someone unlikely to talk in "have-a-nice-day" clichés about democracy, in America or anywhere else. I think they encourage me because they know that more than anything else democracy is about making mischief: asking questions, confronting power, challenging dogmas -- even when they are the dogmas of democracy. They also appreciate that after two hundred years we Americans are not necessarily closer to realizing democracy fully than nations with only twenty years' or two years' experience. Old issues of race and of class as well as new issues of gender still hang over America. When Kemble addressed this gathering yesterday and asked those from countries still troubled by ethnic tensions to raise their hands, I raised my hand.

But then it is in the nature of democracy that it is a process not an end, an ongoing experiment not a set of fixed doctrines. Its ideals, unless we repossess them generation to generation, fossilize and become little different than any other ideology. The "Open Society" is a society without closure; a society open to challenge and criticism. When a nation announces: 'the work of democracy is finished!' it is usually democracy that is finished.

In the skeptical spirit of democracy, I would like this afternoon to ask some hard questions: questions whose answers affect old democracies no less than new democracies. Let me pose and then try to address four related questions:

1. Is democracy exportable? Is it a formal commodity that can be delivered by post or fax or E-Mail by those who possess it, to those who do not?

2. Is democracy a function of political institutions and written constitutions and bills of rights? Can liberty be won by borrowing a document or redesigning a parliament?

3. Is democracy synonymous with markets? Does the defeat of communism and the triumph of capitalism guarantee the establishing of democracy?

4. Does democracy depend on heroic leadership? Extraordinary politicians and noble statesmen? On Churchills and Roosevelts and De Gaulle's and Havel's?

The short version of my talk today is: no, no, no and no. The beliefs that democracy can be exported, that it is no more than a form of government, that it issues directly out of capitalist markets, and that it depends for its success on heroic leaders represent four of the most seductive and ingenious as well as mistaken and dangerous myths of today's would-be democrats. Let me say something about each of them.

1. THE MYTH OF EXPORTABILITY:

It is we Americans and West Europeans and not those of you in Eastern Europe and Russia and other transitional societies who most need to remember that democracy is never a gift of one people to another but the hard won fruit of costly local struggle. It is something to be taken not given, as you have again shown us. Moreover, while there are universal ideals that undergird the struggle everywhere, democracy's forms are as various as the struggles through which they are won. In the years before the American Revolution, Puritan Massachusetts developed one constitutional system, progressive Pennsylvania another and the royal charter plantation-slave colonies still others; our regional institutions are marked by these differences even today.

Democracy grows up indigenously and country to country it is always distinctive. The Swiss celebrate communal rights rather than individual rights, gemeindefreiheit not abstract personhood. Great Britain has no separation of powers though we Americans think such a separation is indispensable to the preservation of liberty; Ethiopia's new constitution must address the problems of tribalism, Poland is a deeply Catholic nation and like Ireland has no separation of church and state. Germany is federalist while France is unitary and centralist. Given this indisputable diversity among the old democracies, why then should the new democracies not find their own appropriate institutions and democratic identities? Surely they too can afford to look to their own histories and cultures for sources of inspiration. Is there some localist promise to be found in the Russian village mir? How about Romanian fraternal organizations? After all, Robert Putnam discovered a linkage between North Italian choral societies and later attitudes towards democracy! Yes, even the old Russian idea of the worker's council -- the soviet -- in its pre-Bolshevik, plural manifestation may hold some promise. To reject communism need not mean throwing away alternative economic strategies that diverge from capitalism: say Employee Stock Ownership Plans (ESOPs) or consumers cooperatives.

In the ancient world, prudent skeptics used to say "distrust the Greeks, especially when they come bearing gifts." New democrats might do well to distrust old democrats, especially when they come bearing the gift of advice -- and I include THIS advice as a fit subject for

skepticism! The only way the unique American experiment in democracy can be imitated or borrowed is to make sure each nation sees its own experience with democratization as equally unique, equally experimental, equally special in its own right. Other nations can no more establish democracy on a strictly American template that America established its democracy on a strictly English template. Common ideas and old institutions play a role, to be sure, but there must always be a sense of fresh experiment -- what Jefferson called a little revolution every nineteen or twenty years. This emphasis on experiment becomes even clearer when we look at the question of whether democracy is an matter primarily of political institutions and a written constitution.

2. THE MYTH OF FORMAL CONSTITUTIONS:

The belief in the exportability of democracy rests largely on the myth that democracy is no more than certain formal political arrangements that can be plopped down like a tent more or less on any soil anywhere in the world. That it is a used car to be handed over from generation to generation, an old reliable heap that, with a few new parts, a little accomodation to climate and conditions, can be driven anywhere. Well democracy is not an automotive universal, not a blueprint to be followed regardless of conditions. It cannot be imposed top down. It grows bottom up, and anyone hoping to design survivable democratic institutions needs first to understand the landscape and topology on which their structures are to be erected.

A constitution cannot create democracy, democracy creates a constitution. Bills of rights do not create rights, they codify rights already defined, fought for and won. America had one hundred and fifty years of experience with local civic culture and civil liberty and municipal freedom before it codified that experience in a federal constitution. Switzerland's nineteenth century constitutions followed on the heels of 600 years of experimentation with confederalism and communal liberty. Britain still hasn't gotten around to writing down the evolving principles of constitutional liberty by which it has lived for nearly eight hundred years since Magna Carta!

What is a bill of rights but a piece of paper? "Parchment parapets" said James Madison -- paper castles from which no defense of real liberty could possibly be waged. For that reason, Madison thought the American Bill of Rights was a poor idea -- the constitution and the experience it codified WAS a bill of rights he said! Without citizens there can in any case be no rights and no liberties and without a civic culture and civic education there can be no citizens. The logic of liberty leads from citizenship to rights, not the other way round. The struggle for citizenship is the struggle for rights!

This is why your work as civic educators and community organizers and NGO advocates is so vital: "democracy," said John Dewey, "is not a form of government but a way of life." It is a set of engrained attitudes, a culture of independent thinking as well as cooperation, of conflict as well as consensus. Such attitudes need to be taught: democratic culture is an acquired trait not a natural attribute. We may be born free on paper, but in reality we acquire our liberty through a long and arduous apprenticeship -- Tocqueville called it the apprenticeship of liberty.

The old Soviet Union had a quite impressive bill of rights but without the apprenticeship of liberty there could be no true Soviet citizens, and in their absence the Soviet Constitution was a fraud, empty promises and vacant rhetoric that only exposed the hypocrisy of a tyrannical party leadership. Today Russia has many of the formal institutions of democracy (indeed, it had some during the Soviet era), but the struggle there is to give these institutions a foundation in civil society, to root them in the culture of democracy, in an education in liberty and in a civil religion -- what Justice Brandeis once called in America "constitutional faith" and what Jurgen Habermas has labeled "Verfassungspatriotismus" or constitutional patriotism. Your task is much more daunting than simply announcing a multiparty system and declaring the press free and telling everyone they can vote for whomever they wish. Cultivating the 'habits of the heart' associated with the democratic way of living takes time. Patience is democracy's foremost virtue but a virtue always in short supply. You are expected to do in six years or six months what we have not yet finished doing in sixty or six hundred. Hurry hurry hurry along the road to democracy, we implore, knowing our road was long and tortuous and was best traversed by those moving slowly and deliberately. Yet in the modern world there is less time, and after long decades of tyranny far less patience.

Moreover, yours is no easy task, even if you can afford to be patient. For there are rivals to the civic educators of our time and they are awesome and irresistible competitors for the attention of the young. The true pedagogy of the post-modern era is plied neither in school or family or church but in television and films. Can an hour of civics once or twice a week rival the twenty-four hour a day mind-whacking of MTV? Can an election campaign attract as much attention as a prime-time soap opera? How are we to teach peace when films celebrate violence so seductively? What are 25,000 NGOs compared to one Walt Disney Company or a Microsoft Corporation or the global McDonald's network?

Last night at the splendid banquet in the Spanish Hall of the old castle, John Cooke of the Disney company reminded us that for better or worse film is the great tutor of our times, and that the most we could hope for would be to get a future film-maker in our classroom for a while. What a sobering, lugubrious thought! And did you notice that among

the film clips he screened showing Hollywood's devotion to civic values, almost all of them were more than twenty years old, and many were thirty, forty or fifty years old? None were from the last few years. How could they be? The lessons of Oliver Stone and Bruce Willis and Arnold Schwarzenhagger are not civics lessons. Nor can they be. The aim of Hollywood is as plain and straightfoward as the aim of Madison Avenue: a profit on investment. They are not selling democracy, they are selling tickets. Which is as it should be, as long as we do not pretend that films can become our civics teachers.

Which brings me to the third myth:

3. THE MYTH OF MARKETS:

No, democracy is not a synonym for the marketplace. The freedom to buy a coke or a video of the Lion King is not yet the freedom to determine how we will live and under what kind of regime. Coke and McDonald's and MTV are in undemocratic Singapore and China as well as in semi-democratic Russia and the democratic Czech Republic. Historically, it is not capitalism that produced democracy, but democracy that produced capitalism. Capitalism needs democracy but does not know how to create or sustain it and frequently produces circumstances that may undermine it.

The myth of the market is our most insidious myth because so many believe it, because the market's invisible shackles are so comfortable. It is so easy to believe that the replacement of communism and its command economy with capitalism and its market economy is all there is to securing democracy. For that makes it possible for many to prosper and assume that their prosperity is the same thing as democratic equality and justice.

There is today a disastrous confusion between the moderate and mostly well founded claim that flexibly regulated markets remain the most efficient instruments of economic productivity and wealth accumulation, and the zany, overblown claim that naked, wholly unregulated markets are the sole means by which we can produce and distribute everthing we care about, from durable goods to spiritual values, from capital development to social justice, from profitability to sustainable environments, from private wealth to the essential commonweal. This second claim has moved some to insist that goods as diverse and obviously public as education, culture, penology, full employment, social welfare and ecological survival be handed over to the profit sector for arbitration and disposal. To solve problems by the logic of this myth means... to privatize.

Yet markets are simply not designed to do the things democratic polities do. Markets give us private rather than public modes of discourse, allowing us as consumers to speak via our currencies of consumption to producers of material goods, but preventing us from speaking as citizens to one another about the social consequences of our private market

choices. Markets advance individualistic rather than social goals, permitting us to say, one by one, "I want a pair of running shoes" or "I need a new VCR" or "buy Yen and sell dollars!" but not allowing us to say, in a common voice, "our inner city community needs new athletic facilities" or "there is too much violence in the movies" or "we should rein in the world bank!" Markets preclude "we" thinking and "we" action of any kind at all, trusting in the power of aggregated individual choices (the invisible hand) to somehow secure the common good. Consumers speak the elementary rhetoric of "me." Citizens invent the common language of "we."

Markets are also contractual rather than communitarian, which means they stroke our solitary egos but leave unsatisfied our yearning for community, offering durable goods and fleeting dreams but not a common identity or a collective membership. The disastrous consequences that follow from patterning political reforms on macro-economic theory are patently visible in countries from Russia to Latin America and Africa where according to Guillermo O'Donnell, a leading Latin American political scientist "as the private sphere flourishes... the public sphere crumbles." To him, the matter is simple: privatization is not democratization." Period.

So not only do we need, beyond our markets, the virtues of democracy; but our markets need democracy too if they are to survive. Nor can they, by themselves, produce it. They are as likely to undermine as to sustain full employment, environmental safety, public health, social safety nets, education, cultural diversity and real competition. Capitalism depends on such public goods for its private functioning, but it does not and cannot produce them.

The great danger in ex-communist societies is that, along with the seductions of the market, the fear of communist statism and totalitarian government will breed a fear of all intervention in the name of the common good, a fear of democratic government itself. I have noticed how reluctant people are here in Eastern Europe to speak of community or solidarity or even of citizenship -- terms redolent of tainted notions of comradeship and party membership. Even civic education may remind us of government indoctrination programs to be avoided as a new form of official propaganda. But as Solzhnitsyn has warned us, and as modern Moscow too often reminds us, wild, unregulated capitalism can be as savage in its own fashion as communism, and under it real freedom can become equally elusive -- especially since there is the appearance of choice. To fear democracy is to fear ourselves.

What then is to be done if democracy is not to be borrowed, or fashioned from a few political reforms or secured by privatization? Will it take heroes to bring us real liberty?

4. THE MYTH OF HEROIC LEADERSHIP:

The quality of democracy, I believe, depends on the quality of citizens not the quality of leaders. Fascist and communist regimes -- dictatorships -- need great leaders to survive. All they have is their leaders. Democracies need effective citizens. In Bertolt Brecht's play Galileo one character remarks "pity the country that has no heros;" another retorts, "no, pity the country that needs heros." Democracy is government without heros: ordinary women and men doing extraordinary things on a regular and continuing basis.

Back in the 1890's, the American populist leader Eugene Debs was addressing a particularly grim meeting in a particularly dour era where things had gone badly for the movement. Voices from the crowd urged him to "save us, lead us out of the darkness!" Debs replied in a fashion democrats everywhere need to engrave on their hearts: "I will not lead you out of the darkness. I cannot. And if I could, I would not. For if I could lead you out, I could lead you back in again." Charismatic leaders are problematic in a democracy. We Americans, "we get in the most trouble," said Garry Wills, "under the leaders we love best." "Strong leaders," said Emile Zapata, "make a weak people."

No, our work here must be our work -- the mundane tasks of civic education and community organization and the establishment of a global civil society. In the words of the old Negro spiritual, "we are the ones we've been waiting for."

We can start by renaming "NGOs". No good thing can come from entities defined in the negative by what they are not. Non-governmental organizations are not just non-governmental, they are also non-corporate, non-private. They are voluntary yet public, free associations devoted to common goods, non-coercive without being indifferent to justice. The civic associations and international organizations you represent are our strength, and a crucial counterbalance both to international anarchy and to the incipient monopoly of multinational corporations. Our transnational civic associations (TCA's?) occupy a third space in between overbloated governments and overbloated private corporations; they represent old fashioned civil society, a space where we can breathe together the air of liberty.

This domain belongs to us. Civic space is our space, but it exists today mostly in our imagination, especially in the international sphere. In reality we have malls and shopping arcades and voting booths and movie houses and bureaucracies but little real civic space like the space we have created here in Prague over the last four days.

Our session today is labeled "the future of civil society." I am not sure what kind of future civil society has. I am a little pessimistic, in part because the myths I have talked about this afternoon are so widely shared. I do know that without a robust civil society and a will to push it beyond national boundaries, there will be no citizens, only consumers of goods and subjects of bureaucratic states. And without citizens, there will be no democracy.

The good news is that we do have a choice. That the educators and organizers in this room, and people like them everywhere, can make the difference. But the work is hard, the obstacles are multiplying, the myths still spreading.

Liberty, wrote J.J. Rousseau, is a food easy to eat but hard to digest. If we are not careful, in New York and Washington no less than in Prague and Moscow, we may produce not free civil associations and democratic societies but only an enduring civic indigestion.

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MEMORANDUM TO:

PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON
DIRECTOR OF SPEECHWRITING, DON BAER

FROM: Benjamin R. Barber

Director, The Walt Whitman Center for the Culture
and Politics of Democracy, Rutgers University

FAX: Office -- 908-932-1922

Home --- P6(b)(6)

[001]
Please confirm
Receipt of FAX

TELEPHONE: Office -- 908-932-6861

Home --- P6(b)(6)

RE: Your Fax dated January 4, 1995 inviting suggestions for
the State of the Union

Date: January 6, 1995

Seven pages

Thank you for inviting comments on the President's upcoming State of the Union. The suggestions offered here are based on the premise that what Americans who are emerging from an angry and divisive election and who retain a hostility to government most need from their President right now is a sense of PERSPECTIVE: historical context that reassures them that things are not SO different; a powerful civics lesson that reminds them that in a democracy, theirs is the ultimate responsibility; a trans-partisan appeal that recalls them to an affirmative and cooperative view of America's democratic prospects.

I have tried to suggest a distinctive language that allows the President to stand above the fray without seeming opaque or irrelevant; a language that challenges those who have tried to capture recent events with negative, anti-governmental or anti-Clinton rhetoric, a language that appeals to the better angels of America's nature.

The language I deploy is one in which terms like civil society, democracy, citizenship, civility, deliberation, responsibility and fairness (which I have tried to treat in the context of the others, since it is not presently a viable issue!) can be used without seeming hoary or old-fashioned. My assumption is that the President can best serve and influence the nation at this polarized moment through the exercise of moral leadership and long-term vision. A seer is finally simply some one who can see. With Congress in the hands of others, the President must use the bully pulpit as a vantage point from which to see both deeply and to distant horizons.

This President is a natural teacher: eloquent without being professorial or scholastic; capable of grasping and articulating complexity without sacrificing sincerity. Teaching may be a more effective way to lead than trying to vye with Republicans for legislative paramountcy. For

legislation and policy reforms grow out of a vision, and he who controls the vision ultimately controls the political process -- (which is how Reagan dominated a Congress controlled by Democrats).

Without seeing the linkage between specific policies like national service, health care, welfare reform and crime and a larger vision of America, Americans will not support policy reforms at all, whoever authors them and however impressive their technical merits. Called to action by such a vision, there is almost nothing they will not undertake -- who knows, they may even prove willing to raise taxes for a vision in which they truly believe!

For all their anger, Americans desperately want leadership from those they elect, yearn for a vision of themselves and their country that will pull them out of cynicism and alienation and allow them to become active agents and responsible citizens again. That is why national service has been such a success.

A State of the Union that begins to fashion a new vision using the fresh and affirmative language of citizenship and civil society would then be a powerful way to initiate a Presidential counterpoint to the noisy antigovernmentalism of the new Congress. Although a common thread runs through them, I have grouped my specific suggestions -- (far more I am sure than you have any use for) -- under several different headings to facilitate review. I am happy to have you ransack these suggestions for words, phrases, sentences or whole paragraphs, as you see fit. Or to discuss the language here. I know speechwriting at this level is a collaborative art, and that many interests need to be represented. It is the tone and spirit of the specifics below that are, to me, most important.

1. SPEAKING TO LARGER CIVIC THEMES OF CIVIL SOCIETY.
CITIZENSHIP AND DEMOCRACY:

"These are not easy times for our democracy, but democracy is never easy. Tyranny owes as much to laziness and complacency as it does to power and dominion. There is less certainty and security today than ever before, but liberty and certainty are often in tension, while security can sometimes signal the end of opportunity -- doors closed on change, newcomers excluded from contributing. A traveller once said that you can always tell when you cross the frontier of a dictatorship because of the silence. Democracy is full of welcome noise: loud, raucous, a little unseemly, even vulgar. And that is as it should be.

"It is true that politicians are not held in high esteem by many, but then George Washington was villified as a tyrant while Thomas Jefferson was called names at which my friends on talk radio would shudder. Distrust of governors is the mark of free women and men and only tyrants need fear it.

"The tumult of democracy means that as Americans, we often seem to be at odds with ourselves. But it is still not easy, even after 200 years, to live with our freedom. As Rousseau (the French democratic philosopher) observed, liberty is a food easy to eat but hard to digest. It is not so surprising that from time to time we suffer a little indigestion -- or that others around the world, newly introduced to democracy, should have jumbo belly aches.

"Not to belittle the special problems of our times: there are legitimate grievances that need our attention -- mine, Senator Dole's, Speaker Gingrich's, but also yours. Many of you have worried that government has grown too big and bureaucratic, unresponsive to your needs; and some of us have worried that this has in turn made you forget that government belongs to you; not just your country council or municipal government, but the Federal Government here in Washington. It too belongs to you, we are merely its stewards, serving at your pleasure -- or not serving, as some of us learned in November! What this means is that government at its worst as well as at its best is nothing more than American citizens engaged in common activity, doing things together no one individual or group can do alone. In a democracy the buck stops not here -- I can be voted out -- but there where sovereignty lies, with you, the citizenry, to whom this government, lock, stock and barrel, belongs.

"We cannot allow Government to become an "It." You cannot allow government to become a "them." In a democracy, government is always a "we." Politicians and civil servants have to work at remembering who exactly the "we" is that they serve. Citizens and ordinary people have to work at remembering that the government belongs to them -- that they are the "we" -- and can never succeed unless they take responsibility for ~~that~~ 'we'.

"Many of you are waiting for better leaders. I understand. But we need to remember, in the words of the old civil rights anthem, "we are the ones we've been waiting for." We need to make government work but we need also to make citizenship work.

"Responsibility comes hard to politicians and citizens alike today, because we have so little civic space. Civic space -- our democratic forebearers like Alexis de Tocqueville or John Locke might have called it civil society -- is that precious place between government and the private sector where we can encounter one another as citizens. Like the private sector it is free and voluntary -- but it is not private! It is public space, neighborhood space, where we are in public without being in government, in conversation without becoming adversaries, in action, without becoming bureaucrats.

"Civil society is the space where we learn responsibility, where we nurture cooperation, and where we cultivate citizenship. It is where we practice what Tocqueville called that "most arduous of all

apprenticeships: the apprenticeship of liberty." To rein in big government does not mean we have to give up our public space or reduce every public ideal to a private calculation. Less government can mean more space for our churches and synagogues, our foundations and voluntary associations, more room for civil society, more room for citizens to run their own affairs. Government is only one expression of our commonality: there are many others that help Americans feel like a "public," like one people, one nation indivisible. In our rush to thin down and streamline government, let us not undernourish civil society or give our common nationhood short shrift. Citizens should not feel merely like clients of governments but nor should they feel merely like customers of commercial markets."

2. SPEAKING ABOUT OUR INELUCTABLE AND GROWING
INTERDEPENDENCE BOTH WITHIN AMERICA AND
INTERNATIONALLY:

"We need one another today as never before. The American nation was forged by individuals, but they worked together. We have sometimes pictured the peopling of our continent by conjuring pictures of a solitary conostoga wagon heading west. Yet Americans headed West not alone but in wagon trains; we settled our great country not just homestead by homestead but village by village, town by town, helping one another raise the barns and build the schools. One by one, our forbearers certainly looked like unique and special people; but only together could they have built this unique and special country. See Time

"As we make government smaller and return power to states and localities, we cannot afford to lose our sense of community. There are many task that government cannot do that individuals, one by one, cannot do either. To privatize should not mean to isolate, to carve up our civil society into pieces so small and groups so selfish that we can no longer do common work together.

"Interdependence is our condition, and we need a politics that recognizes that condition. In recent years, we have watched old walls of tyranny and hatred being torn down abroad: surely this is no time to be building new walls here at home. In a world that gets smaller every year, in a country where no one can succeed or fail alone, there is no wall high enough to insulate the prosperous from poverty, the healthy from public plagues like Aids, the suburbs from the effects of urban violence, the old from the anger of the young, the young from the indifference of the old.

"Some people have toyed with the illusion of withdrawal: pull out of civil society into some gated and fortified subdivision with its own police and school and sanitation service. Such strategies are as harmful to those who withdraw as those they leave behind in underfunded public schools and overcrowded cities. Though America has many parts and pieces, it is a single vessel: we wander its

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decks in ones and twos harboring the illusion that we can come and go as and where we please. But if the boat founders, we all go under together. The illusion of our independence is exposed.

"The same is true across the porous borders of the modern world. When the peso falls, American investors are stung; when the Brazilian rain forest burns, our oxygen supply is depleted; when Yugoslavia falls into civil war, the security of Europe is threatened and we too are at peril.

"It is not altruism but realism that compels our engagement in the world. We are not in the United Nations as do-gooders but to protect our own interests; we must sometimes put our soldiers in harm's way not just to guarantee the liberty of strangers but to secure our own. Foreign Aid is a misnomer: it is a domestic insurance policy that serves Americans no less than people on the other side of the globe. Interdependence has made it so. Isolationism, whether internationally or in the suburbs, rests not on selfishness but illusion -- the illusion that selfishness is possible in our interdependent world."

3. SPEAKING TO COMPETENT CITIZENSHIP AND THE NECESSITY OF CIVILITY:

"The success of our democracy depends on the quality of its leaders, but far more than this it depends on the energy and commitment of its citizens. In Brecht's play *Galileo* a soldier sighs "Pity the country without heroes." "No," replies his comrade, "pity the country that needs heroes." It is tyrannies and dictatorships that need heroes to function against the odds; democracy is government without heroes, government in which competent citizens in and out of public office do the work themselves.

"Effective citizenship in turn depends on the quality of our democratic conversation -- the power of our civil discourse. Here I want to share with you a worry about the deterioration of our democratic talk. Civility is not just a nicety of life; it is a necessity of democracy. Words are the currency of our commonality; we need them both to clarify our conflicts and to discover what we share. Words are bonds that hold us together, make us -- for all our diversity -- one people, under God. In the beginning, the Good Book tells us, was the Word! And for good reason.

"So when words are depreciated, when they become weapons in angry hands, we lose our capacity for cooperation and compromise. When speech is a club, clubs become knives and guns, and violence replaces speech as the broker of our differences.

Democracy does not mean we all agree with one another, or share a single set of values. It means we have pledged not to permit our disagreements to destroy our community; it means we have promised to respect one another even when -- especially when -- our values diverge. There are good honest

Americans who believe deeply that abortion compromises sacred life; there are good and honest Americans who believe ^{deeply} taking from women the right to choose when and where they will bear children compromises sacred liberty. Neither epithets nor the bullets epithets call forth can settle such deeply felt conflicts over the sacred; what they can do is to unsettle and undermine the civility that allows us to live with them.

"When we brand the religious as zealots or call those with compassion for the poor 'socialists,' when liberals and conservatives each expatriate the other as "un-American," when "crypto-fascist" and "femi-nazi" become everyday ways of dismissing those to whom we no longer want to listen, we debase our civic language and put democracy itself at risk.

"I call on my friends and my critics to restore civility to their public voices. We are blessed with a plain and frank language that does not need personal insult to dress up disagreement. Let us challenge views we oppose without dismissing our opponents. Let us confront the issues that divide us without making divisiveness the issue. Let us argue in public as loving family members do in private: with a conviction leavened by affection; with frankness marked by respect. Only thus can our nation both recognize its plurality and hold together as a civil -- I mean civil -- society."

FINALLY, SPEAKING TO THE YOUNG, which might be a powerful device in one section, perhaps the end of the speech.

"I want in closing to speak in particular to our young people. To Chelsea, to your children. To all our children. For you are us, our future, America written into time. Many of you are tonight serving your communities in Americorps or Vista but too many more are on drugs or in prison; millions are in school but how many of you are drop-outs, or considering it? I am glad to tell you we have promised to get tough with criminals, three strikes and they're out. But many of you may feel you have three strikes against you long before you are ~~even~~ old enough to commit a felony. For though you represent who we will become as a nation, we have not always made you the measure of our legislative aptitude.

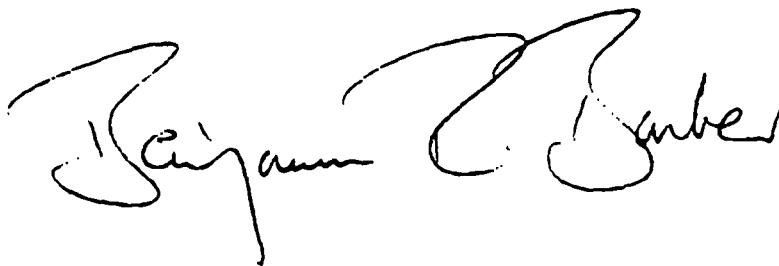
"Yet surely you are the markers of our success and failure. When you flourish, we know we are succeeding. When you are hurting, we are in trouble. And the path leads in both directions: as we feel cynical, you feel betrayed. As we quarrel and recriminate, you lose hope. As we punish you for our failures, send you to jail because it is easier to put you out of our minds than get into yours, as we watch some of you buried and mourned far too soon because we have responded to your anger and pain much too late -- as we give up on you, you give up on America. And we forfeit our future.

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"I want to say to you tonight that we know that without you we have no future. That it is our job -- I don't mean government, I mean your country, your parents, the citizenry you will soon join -- to give you a world free of drugs and Aids and debt so that you can perhaps give to your children a world of health and prosperity and peace. I want to tell you that we will not forsake you by neglecting your schools or walling off your neighborhoods or insulating ourselves from the turmoil of your coming of age.

"You will be the acid test of our policies and action. Many of you have risen to the challenge of national and community service. National service is also our task. Because only when you are served by us, can you hope to inherit an American worthy of your service. Not so much as your President, but as a citizen who calls on the activity and agency of every American, I pledge to you unceasing service to your cause, our cause, this blessed nation's future."

END

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Benjamin Barber". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Benjamin" written in a larger, more prominent script than the last name "Barber".

**REMARKS BY PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY
JULY 6, 1995**

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

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

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

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

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

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

For the past two-and-a-half years, we have worked hard to change that, to strengthen our economy, to expand educational opportunities, to increase trade, and to create jobs that will keep our citizens and our families strong. In my administration, we have worked hard to help our schools teach better citizenship, responsibility and values. We have created Americorps, our

To

national service initiative give new meaning to the old American principles of opportunity and responsibility, community and country. And I have spoken out, on many occasions, to say we must come together now to meet the demands of change, that we are going up or down together.

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

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

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

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

you

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

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

It should not take chaos or catastrophe to bring out our character. We must revive the search for virtue and the common good in our everyday lives. The message is clear -- Let us unite to condemn hatred, intolerance and violence. Let us rebuild a sense of community with respect, civility and civil order.

I believe we can do this, because I know we have done it before. If you go back to the beginning of this country, the great strength of America has always been our ability to associate with people who were different from ourselves and to work together to find common ground. Many of you were fortunate enough to have had the experience I had of growing up in places where people did come together to help one another. My grandparents and my parents taught me about equality, justice and the worth of every individual. It did not come without resistance, but many of the people I grew up around believed we could work in unity -- and because we believed it, we helped to move one another forward.

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

We should begin with the way we think about one another. In many ways, we have become a nation of "others." White, black. Men, women. Liberal, conservative. We have all come to categorize the other person, to count them out of our group and into another group that we suspect of not sharing our values, our concerns, our virtues. Some of this came out of the best of impulses: People of like backgrounds or interests have, in recent decades, found a new freedom to express their shared heritage and strengths. And much good has come out of this, for all of us. But we must make sure that our diversity remains a strength for all of us, and not a force for divisiveness.

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

We need to begin by letting go of the presumptions we make about people whom we do not know -- whom we regard as too different. Let me put this in personal terms. All of us have been guilty of false presumptions. Think about the presumptions that apparently led to the Oklahoma City tragedy. Many of those who lost their lives were hardworking government employees, who have been routinely and derisively referred to as "bureaucrats." When Hillary and I visited the families and loved ones of those

workers who had been killed, I realized that they gave their lives performing the most vital services to people -- sending out pension checks, ensuring public safety, taking care of our children. And I vowed right then and there never to use the term "bureaucrat" again derisively. That is the kind of presumption I am talking about.

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

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

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

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

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

When our words become weapons in angry hands, we lose our capacity for cooperation and compromise. When speech is a club, clubs become knives and guns, and violence replaces speech as the

broker of our differences. We cannot afford that in our democracy.

Finally, beyond our thoughts and our words, we must take the actions that can renew our sense of community. As President, I have worked hard to rebuild community across our country. Our support for Americorps. For community development banks. For empowerment zones: All reflect our larger commitment to help people make the most of their lives and to give them the tools to work together.

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

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wrong
and*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thank you and God bless you.

GREER, MARGOLIS
MITCHELL, BURNS
GMMB&A
& ASSOCIATES, INC

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6/15/95

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MEMORANDUM

TO: PRESIDENT CLINTON
FROM: FRANK GREER
DATE: APRIL 27, 1995
RE: THE NEXT STEP

You have been a superb President in the face of this tragedy. You have comforted and inspired the nation. You have been caring and compassionate yet tough and decisive and firm.

"The Lord Works in Mysterious Ways."

Out of this tragedy and suffering, I believe we have an opportunity to fundamentally change attitudes in this country. If we seize the challenge, it can be a turning point for America and for your Presidency.

What we as a nation need to hear is not just denunciation -- we need inspiration.

"What we saw in Oklahoma City was not only the forces of hatred and violence and division. We saw the best of the American spirit ... caring and compassion ... concern for one another ... neighbor helping neighbor ... understanding and tolerance and love -- A true resurgence of community. That's the American Spirit. That's what keeps the American Dream alive for our children."

"And now we need to unite and inspire the nation with a Crusade to Stop the Violence and Rebuild the American Community."

I believe you could launch this crusade with your speech at Michigan State University on May 4th. You could issue a challenge to the nation -- to communities and neighborhoods plagued with crime, to parents and teachers in our homes and schools, to Ministers and Rabbis in our churches and synagogues, to the media and the movie

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makers, the writers and the talk show hosts... To leaders of every political persuasion — left or right.

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

This does not require legislation. It requires a volunteer mobilization on a massive scale. Beginning with a White House summit, State summits convened by the Governors, City summits with the Mayors.

You could ask for a Hollywood summit to challenge the movie and television industries to reduce violence on air and screen. Churches, synagogues, schools and universities would be asked to develop programs to find ways to reduce violence and teach tolerance. Every American could be asked to spend time learning and then teaching peaceful conflict resolution ... the possibilities are tremendous.

I believe you have an opportunity to seize the "bully pulpit" and unite the nation in a crusade to Stop the Violence and Rebuild the American Community.

Let's seize it.

cc: HAROLD ICKES
ERSKINE BOWLES
GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS
MARK GEARAN
DON BAER

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY
JULY 6, 1995

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

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I ran for President to apply that lesson to our effort to meet the challenges of a new century. And I returned to Georgetown in 1991 to call for a New Covenant to help us overcome the obstacles of our own times.

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

For the past two-and-a-half years, we have worked hard to change that, to strengthen our economy, to expand educational opportunities, to increase trade, and to create jobs that will keep our citizens and our families strong as we approach a new century. In my administration, we have worked hard to help our schools teach better citizenship, responsibility and values. We have created Americorps, our national service initiative, ~~to~~ give new meaning to the old American principles of opportunity and responsibility, community and country. And I have spoken out, on many occasions, to say we must come together now to meet the demands of change, that we are going up or down together.



FAX TRANSMISSION

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services
Office of the Secretary

DATE:

7/3

TO:

Terry Edmondy

FAX:

456-5709

PHONE:

FROM: DAN PORTERFIELD, DIRECTOR

OASPA, SPEECH DIVISION

Phone: (202) 690-7470

Fax: (202) 690-7318

TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES TRANSMITTED:

15

COMMENTS:

Terry - This is from the summer issue of Georgetown Magazine, which goes out to all alumni. It was dedicated to the community service tradition of the University.



U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Services
Office of the Secretary

DANIEL R. PORTERFIELD
Director, Speech Division

Good Luck;

Dan

Room 630E, H.H. Humphrey Bldg.
200 Independence Avenue, S.W.
Washington, DC 20201

(202) 690-7470

**PEOPLE FOR
THE AMERICAN WAY***Your Voice Against Intolerance***FAX COVER SHEET****TO:**Terry Edmunds**FROM:**Elliot Minberg & Carol Keys**DATE:**7/3**FAX #:**456-5709**# OF PAGES:**17**CODE:**

(Including cover)

If there are any problems with Fax transmittal, please call and ask for: _____

*Please call me if you have
questions*

Carol

467-2383

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Traditional Values

COALITION

TVC
Clinton Ad

November 17, 1994

Dear Friend of TVC,

Isn't it wonderful. I told my wife, Beverly, to pinch me because I may be dreaming. But it is real. Family-friendly legislators are now in control of the Congress. Voters did reject Clinton liberalism in favor of family values, lower taxes and tough measures against crime. The liberal Washington establishment has been turned on its head and sent packing. Now conservatives have the opportunity to govern expediently.

TVC is involved in the transition process in Washington D.C. and I am personally making sure that the "family values" issues are given proper priority and advancement. Right now we are developing a series of positive pro-family initiatives that we will have introduced into Congress. In the meantime, I am accelerating a project that we began last summer. It is important that we unite together to achieve an important goal.

Please join a national effort spearheaded by Congressman Cliff Stearns of Florida and TVC to remove Dr. Joycelyn Elders as President Clinton's Surgeon General.

Elders' hate-filled, malicious attacks on heterosexuals and Christians are of the same spirit and caliber as the bigoted statements made by the nation of Islam's spokesman, Khalid Abdul Muhammad, about people who are Jewish. This country reacted with outrage at Muhammad's comments. Even members of his own faith--for whom he claimed to be speaking--renounced him. Yet, when Elders assails Christians, she goes unquestioned and the President does not act to restrain her. This behavior is indefensible and must be put to a stop with her removal from office.

With the change of leadership in the Congress, I believe we have an outstanding opportunity to have Dr. Elders resign. Her slanderous comments against Christians and outrageous ideas of providing condoms and R-rated sex education in public schools puts all of our children at risk. As parents, grandparents and citizens, we must fight back.

Please join my efforts in dumping Dr. Elders by signing the attached petition and sending it back to me. Your signature, combined with thousands of others will create a snowballing effect for this effort.

Could you please also enclose a special financial gift to assist in this effort? We must contact hundreds of thousands of pro-family supporters to activate the grassroots. This takes money for postage, printing, phone calls, etc. I know you will send what you can. Without your financial support, we cannot complete this project successfully.

Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders has done just what we warned. With astounding regularity, she has used her position to malign and insult people with deeply held religious convictions. Her diatribes have nothing to do with the health of this nation's citizens but rather are a way for her to promulgate her own religious bigotry.

Dr. Elders' statements are more than words, they reflect a deep hatred for people based on their religious beliefs. In our country she is free to hold these views, but as a high level government official, she and her superiors must be held accountable for the impact those views, when publicly revealed, have on our nation. There is clearly a double standard. What is unacceptable for anyone else to say is apparently "politically correct" when Joycelyn Elders says it.

She has had the audacity of celebrating legal abortion as a positive way to reduce the number of children born with Down's Syndrome. As the grandfather of a precious disabled child, I find that assertion frighteningly reminiscent of Nazi Germany, where people considered "inferior" were eliminated. And she has callously suggested that increased funds to combat diseases that afflict the elderly are not necessary because "they will probably die with something sooner or later."

Clearly, the contempt in which she holds those with whom she disagrees is such a problem that it interferes with her ability to do the job she is paid to do. She has spent far more time taking potshots at her adversaries than in promoting good health. Let's tell President Clinton: "Americans have had enough, your Surgeon General must go."

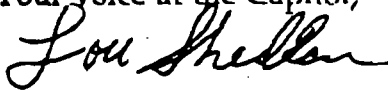
While Surgeon Generals are meant to be leaders in increasing awareness of health issues, Elders has concentrated on sex. While she has done little to inform Americans of the dangers of heart disease, leukemia, prostate cancer, tuberculosis, etc.; she has gone out of her way to promote sexual activity to underage and unmarried people.

Elders contends that contraceptive distribution clinics in public schools will eliminate teen pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases. Concerning AIDS education Elders has said: *"We can't teach them about AIDS without telling them about sex. We taught them what to do in the front seat (of a car). Now it's time to teach them what to do in the back seat,"* (National Commission on Children Video, 3/4/92).

As you can see we must force the resignation of Dr. Elders. Please join the efforts of Congressman Cliff Stearns and TVC by signing your petition and mailing it back to me TODAY so we protect our country's children and uphold our religious liberties!

Also, could you please pray for our efforts? We need your undergirding. One last thing. We are financially drained because of our activities associated with the election. Could you please enclose the petition along with a special financial gift? We need you now more than ever.

Your voice at the Capitol,



Louis P. Sheldon
Chairman

THE AMERICAN CENTER FOR LAW AND JUSTICE

P.O. BOX 64429, VIRGINIA BEACH, VIRGINIA 23467-4429

When the IRS launched a blatant attempt to
gag "politically incorrect" churches,
ACLJ attorneys took immediate action to keep
it from happening to your church...

Dear Friend,

Recently, Jay Sekulow and other American Center for Law and Justice attorneys climbed the steps of a federal court to defend people of faith in what may be our most important case yet!

This case ultimately affects every church, synagogue, mosque, ministry, and para-church organization in America.

It pits the ACLJ squarely against one of the most feared of all federal agencies -- the Internal Revenue Service.

John Marshall, an early Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, knew the dangers of taxation when he wrote in an early 19th century ruling that, "the power to tax involves the power to destroy."

Over 100 years later, another Chief Justice, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., took this statement one important step further when he wrote, "the power to tax is not the power to destroy while this Court sits."

Justice Holmes knew that taxation without restraint could lead to abuse and danger. He also knew that the judicial system was a key deterrent to controlling punitive taxation. Which brings us to the case I mentioned...

This case centers around Pierce Creek Church of Binghamton, New York, which had its tax-exempt status revoked by the IRS.

Pierce Creek Church co-sponsored an ad which ran in USA Today and The Washington Times four days before the November 1992 presidential election.

The ad posed a number of moral questions regarding the candidacy of Bill Clinton, but fell short of recommending that Mr. Clinton not be elected. Pierce Creek Church was identified as one of the co-sponsors at the bottom of this ad. There was a brief reference to tax-deductible donations being accepted.

In a move that falls nothing short of being a blatant attempt by the IRS to "gag" politically incorrect churches,

(Continue on the next page, please...)

5795
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(Continue on the next page, please...)

--Page Two--

Pierce Creek Church's tax exempt status was revoked -- not just from the time the ad ran and forward, but from the beginning of 1992, eleven months earlier!

Can you imagine how devastating this must have been to the church? All of 1992's donations no longer tax-deductible?

Now, imagine the far-reaching implications this IRS action has for all religious institutions.

For years, people of faith have been told to keep their beliefs and views behind the walls of the Church:

"Don't dare peaceably assemble to protest the horrors of abortion!"...

"Don't even think about getting access to public buildings otherwise accessible to 'non-religious' groups"...

"Don't try to restore moral sanity and the pre-eminence of the family!"...

"Educators and bureaucrats know what's best for our children, not parents or pastors!"...

Every time we have heard phrases like this, we have jumped into action.

And in little more than four short years, the ACLJ has forged victory after victory -- while serving notice to America's new social engineers and historical revisionists that their designs will be met at every juncture and challenged.

But now the battle is taking a new turn -- right back toward what is the very heart and soul of the Church!

For if the Church is not permitted to speak out against moral issues...if the Church can no longer expose abhorrent behavior...if the Church cannot confront sin...if the Church no longer raises a standard for society to strive for and attain...then, just what is the Church?

Pierce Creek's pastor responded to the IRS' threats the way the Church of Jesus Christ must always respond: That his church was merely doing what the Church has been doing for centuries -- warning people of moral dangers if they make the wrong decisions!

Now, the IRS seeks nothing less than to "silence" this brave church. But if the IRS is successful in "silencing" Pierce Creek Church, a frightening precedent will be established that will be called up whenever and wherever there is a church, synagogue, or mosque whose views differ from those in political leadership.

It may seem an extreme comparison, but the former Soviet

(Turn to the next page, please...)

--Page Three--

Union was successful in creating a "manageable" Church whose believers were fed a "gospel" in line with government orthodoxy and practices.

Likewise, the Peoples Republic of China has authorized a "Patriotic Church," and has made sure that it is led by politically correct priests who attend to its needs.

Even the earliest Christians were "encouraged," sometimes to the point of martyrdom, to "sanitize" Christianity's message, so that it fit with the prevailing moral and cultural attitudes.

Yet the Church has never backed off before -- nor can it ever retreat from speaking the truth.

But the IRS has found a powerful tool to level at American churches when their messages don't conform with politically or religiously correct standards -- revoke the church's tax-exempt status, thereby forcing it to operate as a business enterprise.

We recognize that there have been occasional abuses by churches that may have blurred the line between tax-exempt and for-profit activities.

But philanthropy has flourished in America, as in few other places, because our government has made it advantageous for generous people to support religious and social activities they believe in. And, in so doing, a large portion of needs that might have to be otherwise met by government programs are served by what is referred to as the non-profit sector.

If left unchallenged, this IRS ruling will impact America severely.

First, the Church will live in fear as to what it can preach or teach. Next, charitable donations will decrease when the tax benefits to philanthropy are revoked. And, finally, truth will be impeded when an all-powerful agency like the IRS can make tax-exemption determinations whenever a church's message is at odds with the nation's leadership.

This is why the Pierce Creek Church case against the IRS may be the most significant case yet undertaken by the ACLJ.

This case will not go down easily. The IRS is a powerful, frightening opponent.

It has the resources to fight on for years. We cannot let the IRS outlast us in this battle, so we must take strategically measured steps on behalf of our client and, ultimately, America's religious institutions.

Just our initial effort, which includes the full attentions of chief counsel Jay Sekulow and four to six other legal

(Please continue on the final page...)

--Page Four--

associates, will require perhaps thousands of hours. Now that ACLJ attorneys have begun, there can be no turning back. Too much is at stake.

The seriousness of this case, and its implications for all people of faith in America, requires that we urge concerned people like you to do four things to help us mount an effective and successful challenge against the IRS:

First, we ask you to complete the American Opinion Survey we've enclosed. Your opinions are extremely important. They count. And, they will send a strong message to both our opponents and the American people.

Second, we need your regular, ongoing prayer. While our attorneys are highly skilled in the law and the American judicial system, we know our strength comes from the Lord.

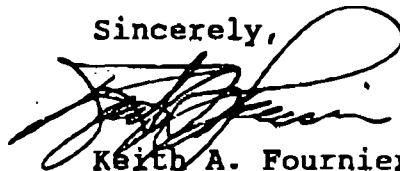
Third, we need the most generous gift you can send -- \$50, \$25, \$100, \$500 or whatever is possible -- right now!

Fourth, and finally, we ask you to show this letter to your pastor and to your church's leaders. It is important that your church be informed about this threat, and even consider helping us through intercessory prayer for the ACLJ and the Pierce Creek Church, as well as with financial support.

Pierce Creek Church has been dealt the equivalent to a death blow by the Internal Revenue Service. And, the Pierce Creek Church tax-exempt revocation will become a dangerous weapon against the American Church. Perhaps against your church, also, one day.

Please respond quickly. Thank you.

Sincerely,



Keith A. Fournier, Esq.
Executive Director

P.S. When you complete and return your American Opinion Survey, please indicate your desire to receive my booklet, *Fighting for Law and Justice*. This 34-page booklet is yours, free, just for the asking. In it, I tell the exciting story of how the ACLJ became one of the foremost public interest law firms in America.

Our work is expensive, and this case against the IRS may be our costliest yet. Yet as a public interest law firm, we do not charge for our legal services. Please let us hear from you today by completing the survey...requesting your booklet...praying for us...sending the most generous gift possible...and letting your church leaders know about this case. Again, thank you and may God bless you.

Christian Coalition Monthly Gift Card

"Righteousness exalts a nation, But sin is a disgrace to any people." Proverbs 14:34

☐ Enclosed is my gift for the month of: May

Amount enclosed: \$ _____

☐ I understand that my continued support entitles me to receive *The Christian American*.

[REDACTED]

Please detach and return card with your gift.

Make any changes or corrections to your address on the reverse side of this card.

Monthly Message

Carol, the Senate will soon vote on President Clinton's choice for Surgeon General -- Dr. Henry Foster. If confirmed, Foster will be the first U.S. Surgeon General to have actually personally performed abortions. In addition, Foster is a strong advocate of the failed "safe sex" philosophy which includes explicit sex education for children as young as kindergarten and the mass distribution of birth control to young children through the schools (without the consent of parents).

Foster is the darling of radical organizations like the NATIONAL ABORTION RIGHTS ACTION LEAGUE. We cannot afford to let the Foster nomination stand because, if he's confirmed, the Left will trumpet this as a devastating defeat for the pro-family cause. Please call your two Senators at (202) 224-3121 and urge them to vote against Foster's confirmation.

Pat Robertson

Please make your check payable to Christian Coalition. Thank you.

P.O. Box 1990 • Chesapeake, VA 23327

OFFICIAL RECEIPT

Please retain this
portion for your
records.

____/____/____
Date

\$ _____
Amount

Christian Coalition is a non-profit organization under IRS Code 501 (c)(4). Contributions, including membership fees, are not tax-deductible because they are used to influence legislation. Corporate and business contributions are welcome.

(5)

HILLARY ALERT

A special project of the American Conservative Union.

11011

Dear Fellow American,

Here is your opportunity to do what you couldn't do in 1992...

...vote FOR or AGAINST First
Person Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Please, take out a pen right now and sign the enclosed HILLARY BALLOT. Then rush it back to me today.

Hillary "Rodham" Clinton is now the second, if not the first, most powerful person in the world.

She sits in on Cabinet meetings...

... her lackeys are in charge of, among other things, the Justice Department and the Department of Health and Human Services;

... she has a huge taxpayer-paid staff and flies on U.S. military aircraft at your and my expense;

... her lavish offices take up nearly an entire floor of the West Wing of the White House;

... and even though Hillary is in the process of dictating what health care will be available to you...

... she was elected by no one and is accountable to no one.

You and I didn't have a chance to vote for or against "First Person" Hillary Clinton before.

But you can now. And this time, I'll personally make sure your voice will be heard.

So please, do not delay your response. Complete your HILLARY BALLOT and rush it back to me today. Your HILLARY BALLOT will be tabulated in our national processing center here in Washington. D.C.

Your vote will be kept strictly confidential.

But the overall results will be sent to the White House, Congress, and to the national media.

Our goal: to counter the biased media's ridiculous claim that Americans approve of Hillary and her enormous illegitimate (or illegal) power. What's more, we want to use the results of our HILLARY BALLOTS to force Bill Clinton to rein in his wife before she

can do any serious and long term damage to our nation.

"Billary" (Bill and Hillary) fooled America last November. They deliberately misled voters into believing that Hillary would not have enormous power.

We all know now that this was not true. We know that Hillary's "down home" act and cookie baking were all a charade.

And we know that Hillary intends to rule the White House and our nation with an iron fist.

In fact, that is exactly what she is already doing:

- * Hillary demanded that Bill Clinton pick a woman for Attorney General -- no matter how many times it took to get it right;
- * Hillary played a major role in nearly all Cabinet appointments making sure her friends, such as the ultra-liberal Donna Shalala, were chosen over others;
- * Hillary sits in on all Cabinet meetings, was a major player in the White House/Governors conference, and has already begun lobbying -- and bullying -- Senators and Congressmen from both political Parties.

Do you ever wonder why Bill Clinton caters so much to the radical homosexual crowd?

Why he insists on homosexuals in the military? Or why he wants AIDS infected immigrants to come to America?

Part of the answer is "Queen Hillary."

Her radical agenda includes special privileges for homosexuals, feminists, abortionists and other left-wing kooks.

It also includes... sky-high taxes... oppressive government regulations... a massive redistribution of wealth... an expansion of the welfare state... racial quotas... federally funded pornography... the complete dismantling of the military and the CIA...

... and total control over your life and your income.

That's why she told Bill Clinton to give her the one job in the one area in which she can cause the most damage -- health care.

Nothing frightens me more than Hillary deciding for me and for you what kind of health care we should have. Because despite what she says, Hillary's health care plan will almost certainly lead to:

- * rationed health care;
- * new taxes on Social Security, income and health care benefits;
- * long waiting periods and delays

in treatment;
* fewer doctors, less drug research,
and poorer health care quality.

This is the future if Hillary is allowed to decide our nation's health care system -- guaranteed.

Guaranteed because Hillary is a pro-socialist, pro-Marxist leftist who will lead our nation down the same path as the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and other nations who have bankrupted themselves by trying to provided "free" government run health care.

The bottom line my friend is that nothing is "free." One way or another, you and I will always pay for health care.

But with Hillary in charge, the health care we get will be far worse then what we get now.

That's why you and I have to stop her.

And why, I hope I can count on you to join "HILLARY ALERT," a special project of the American Conservative Union (ACU).

My name is David A. Keene. I am Chairman of both HILLARY ALERT and the ACU. The ACU was founded in 1964 by aides to Barry Goldwater's Presidential campaign.

Considered by many to be the most respected and effective grassroots organization in America, the ACU is the one group that truly frightens the liberals.

And for good reason.

From standing up for the "Silent Majority" in the 1960s... to limiting the damage caused by Jimmy Carter in the 1970s.. to helping Ronald Reagan build his conservative "revolution" in the 1980s...

... the ACU has helped make history.

And with your support today, we intend to continue to make history in opposing the socialist agenda of Bill and Hillary Clinton.

We believe in lower taxes... less government... a strong defense... the traditional family values that made America great.

In short, the ACU stands for everything Bill and Hillary detest... God, family, and patriotism.

That's why one of our top priorities is using HILLARY ALERT to limit the power of Hillary "Rodham" Clinton. In many ways, she is far more dangerous than her husband because she fanatically believes her leftist philosophy. And about all that stands in her way right now are you, me, and the taxpayers of America. That's why, in addition to your HILLARY BALLOT...

... I also hope I can count on you to rush the ACU a most

generous donation of \$15, \$20, \$25, \$50, \$100 or more today.

Please, your gift is just as important as your HILLARY BALLOT.

You see, in taking on Hillary Clinton we are taking on the darling of the media, Hollywood, and the entire establishment Left.

To counter this force, we need to:

- * distribute a minimum of 3 million HILLARY BALLOTS nationwide as soon as possible;
- * recruit an army of 100,000 Americans willing to flood the White House, the Congress and the radio talk shows in a sea of petitions, phone calls and letters demanding Bill Clinton rein in his radical wife;
- * create and publish a HILLARY ALERT newsletter which will track and expose every move made by our new "First Person";
- * form an alliance of Congressional leaders who will help us fight Hillary's socialist health care proposals in the House and Senate.

My friend, this is indeed a massive endeavor. And it will take your support, both political and financial to make it work.

But with your help, it can and will work. As long as we begin today, before it's too late.

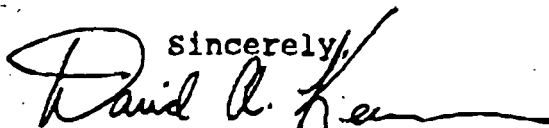
The ACU needs your completed HILLARY BALLOT today so we can launch a counter strike against her biased allies in the media.

And we need your gift of \$15, \$20, \$25, \$50, or \$100 to fund this counter strike.

So please, complete your HILLARY BALLOT and then rush it back to me today along with your most urgent, most generous donation.

Thank you.

Sincerely,



David A. Keene
Chairman

P.S. In an arrogant and symbolic slap in the face to all Americans, Hillary Clinton changed her name to Hillary "Rodham" Clinton after the election. This use of her maiden name is Hillary's way of saying, "I fooled you in November. Too bad. I'm in power now and there is nothing you can do stop me!".

Please, help me and the ACU prove Hillary "Rodham" Clinton wrong -- today.

*Falwell-
DM*

**Bill and Hillary Clinton have a dirty little
secret they have tried to hide from America ...**

**... but I have obtained a SPECIAL REPORT that
EXPOSES the SHOCKING TRUTH!**

Dear Friend,

Here is a little known fact that will horrify you:

During the past two years, the Clinton Administration has
been busy attempting to brainwash the entire federal workforce.

Now the secret is out. Clinton-appointed bureaucrats are
using your tax funds to promote deviant homosexuality --

-- IN EVERY MAJOR BRANCH OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT!

Here is just a part of their shameful SECRET AGENDA.

- ** Homosexuals training as FBI agents!
- ** Federal agencies adding "sexual orientation" to
their employment policies!
- ** The Gay, Lesbian and Bisexual Employees (GLOBE)
association formally recognized by the federal
Office of Personnel Management (OPM)!
- ** Taxpayer-funded gay research!
- ** 22 known homosexuals appointed by the President
to high level positions!

I know you are as stunned as I was to learn of this. It
makes me sick -- and it should make both of us FIGHTING MAD!

"Gays in the military" was only the tip of the iceberg. It
makes you wonder if the Clintons are obsessed with homosexuality.

I do not mean to panic you -- but we must take drastic steps
now to root out this spreading moral cancer in our government.

Thankfully, a man of courage -- Sen. Jesse Helms of North
Carolina -- has come forth to lead the fight for decency.

For this cause, I will be asking you to put
your STAMP OF APPROVAL on the enclosed copy
of Sen. Helms bill (S.25) to halt taxpayer
funding of perversion in our government.

Then return your signed and approved bill to me. I want to
present thousands of these signed bills to Sen. Helms so he can
convince his colleagues to vote in favor of this crucial bill.

Unless you help now -- his bill may not have a chance! Will
you take just a few moments to give your STAMP OF APPROVAL today?

-2-

Here is what Sen. Helms's bill simply says:

"To stop the use of taxpayer funds on activities by Government agencies to encourage its employees or officials to accept homosexuality as a legitimate or normal lifestyle."

As Sen. Helms told Congress: "No other group in America is given special rights based on their sexual preference."

My friend, taking up this fight will infuriate homosexual organizations and their liberal allies everywhere.

Radical homosexuals hate Jesse Helms and Jerry Falwell!

And they will stop at nothing to thwart our efforts to prevent your tax monies from funding their perverted schemes.

Already, they have labeled Sen. Helms, Jerry Falwell and any other citizen who dares to oppose their sick agenda:

"homophobic"... "bigoted"... "right-wing extremists"... "fundamentalist ayatollahs"

And they mean you also -- if you dare disagree with them.

TAXPAYER-FUNDED "RE-EDUCATION" CAMPS?

Nearly every member of Bill Clinton's cabinet and other top officials -- many of them openly homosexual -- have launched an avalanche of pro-homosexual policies and regulations.

Their intention is to coerce federal employees to attend "re-education" pro-homosexual seminars and training sessions.

(You may remember we spoke out against the Navy's "Diversity Day" that was merely a front for homosexual propaganda.)

All of which is costing taxpayers millions of dollars.

Federal workers -- especially Christians -- who object to this brainwashing are harassed, censored and persecuted!

SECRET MEETINGS AND STRATEGY SESSIONS

Do not be fooled. President Clinton's new "moderate" image is a sham. He is a liberal wolf in sheep's clothing who has not forgotten his wealthy homosexual friends.

In fact, President Clinton has been working closely with the radical homosexual community since he took office -- and continues it to this day.

The goal: force America to accept homosexuality as an alternative lifestyle by first infiltrating the government.

-3-

THE WHITE HOUSE "STEALTH" AGENDA

This is truly a "stealth" agenda. Cabinet Secretaries and top Administration officials have quietly put pro-homosexual reforms in place throughout government agencies for months.

In the military ... in the President's Cabinet ... in federal bureaucracies ... in agency after agency, from The White House on down

... Clinton appointees -- many of them proudly professing homosexuals -- are pushing through public acceptance of their degenerate practices using tax funds, government resources and federal employees.

Many federal agencies have now added "sexual orientation" to employment policies -- giving official recognition to homosexuality for the first time.

All of this was done without legislative action or public input: YOU AND I WERE NEVER ASKED!

But now I am asking you to give your STAMP OF APPROVAL to Sen. Helm's bill. We must convince the Congress to prohibit all government sanctioning for this depraved and immoral lifestyle.

And I desperately need your financial help. Many friends have not given anything in a long time -- and we are hurting.

DIVERSITY TRAINING MANDATORY

So-called "diversity" training sessions to promote homosexuality in government agencies and have become mandatory for nearly all federal workers --

-- regardless of their religious or deeply held personal beliefs against homosexuality.

In this case, "diversity" means a redefinition of family... promoting "gay pride", and encouraging the use of federal resources to promote homosexual causes and activities.

OFFENSIVE AIDS EDUCATION

President Clinton is requiring each Cabinet Secretary to implement HIV/AIDS "education and prevention" programs and develop workplace policies for employees with AIDS.

These "training" programs include:

- ✓ history of AIDS, symptoms and risk reduction
- ✓ needle sharing
- ✓ sexual contact: vaginal, anal and oral
- ✓ practicing so-called "safe sex"
- ✓ the use of condoms, plastic wrap, latex gloves

Is this how you want YOUR tax dollars to be used?

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As you can imagine -- federal employees have complained that they found this type of repulsive material offensive.

But the Clinton Administration has DECLARED GUERRILLA WARFARE against family and traditional values by embracing this radical homosexual power grab.

That is why it is vital for you to return your copy of Sen. Helms' bill with your signed **STAMP OF APPROVAL**. With your help we can put a stop to this garbage.

And please send along a gift of \$100, \$50 or even \$25 to Liberty Alliance. We must alert the nation now to this **SECRET AGENDA** before it is too late.

I must tell you financial giving to our important work has fallen drastically since the election last November.

I fear that many friends like you think we simply do not need your help since "conservatives" now reign in Washington.

My friend, NOTHING COULD BE FURTHER FROM THE TRUTH!

You may not realize how much damage has been done to traditional family values in just two short years. This secret White House homosexual agenda is just one tragic example.

At times it seems the entire forces of Hell are arrayed against us. Your prayers and financial support give us the strength to stand against them.

But right now -- our financial situation is very bleak.

Despite facing one of our biggest battles ever, our giving has never been lower. I must count on hearing from friends like you if we are to keep our doors open much longer.

It is more important than ever that I keep Liberty Alliance operating as a powerful force for traditional values.

That is why I need to hear from you today.

Sincerely,



Jerry Falwell

P.S. Time after time, Sen. Helms has been ridiculed as he stood alone on the floor of Congress in the fight for moral decency. Let's not allow him to stand alone this time.

Without your help, his bill may not even come up for a vote. And please send a gift of \$100, \$50 or even \$25 to Liberty Alliance immediately. Help me fight this homosexual threat.

For your gift of any amount to help **LIBERTY ALLIANCE**, I will send you the entire "SPECIAL REPORT" on this **HOMOSEXUAL INVASION** of our government!