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7-6-95 Georgetown Univ. Speech "Responsible Citizenship," Washington, D.C.

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**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

insert

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.

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

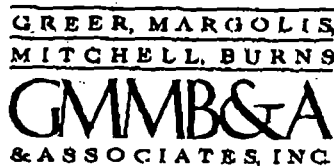
DATE: 7/5TO: Don Baker / Terry Edwards - URGENTFROM: FRANK GREER

RE: _____

PAGES TO FOLLOW: 6COMMENTS: _____

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MEMORANDUM

TO: DON BAER
TERRY EDMONDS

FROM: FRANK GREER

DATE: JULY 5, 1995

RE: SUGGESTIONS FOR DRAFT SPEECH

[Insert after paragraph 1]

Two days ago as our nation celebrated its birth, the people of Oklahoma City recognized, honored and thanked the thousands of people who in the face of tragedy truly brought us what was best about America.

That tragedy not only united our nation against the forces of hatred and violence, it also reminded us of what is best about America -- care for one another -- neighbor helping neighbor -- understanding and caring and tolerance -- responsible citizenship -- the true sense of community. ^{It reminds - better angels} That is what makes America great. This is the American spirit. That is what keeps the American dream alive for our children.

And since that morning memorial service, I have thought time and again is the spirit of America, "the best of America" that we need to honor and understand and encourage every day, if we are to face not only the tragedies of our time, but if we are to face the challenges of our time. How do we build a nation of opportunity and responsibility? How do we provide a better future for every child? How do we reward work, honor family, protect our environment, celebrate our diversity, and build a strong, secure and vital democracy that can continue to inspire the world? How can we put an end to violence and make our neighborhoods more safe and secure and how can we make the world a more peaceful place for our children and their children?

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]

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.

because I believed in that fundamental truth about the American spirit. . . because I believed it was our duty, our moral responsibility to meet the challenge of a new century.

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

so that we could, indeed keep the American Dream alive for future generations

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.

*all sectors of our society. the busin com, worker, povark,
teachers, entertainment industry, the
religious leaders.*

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 *insert (A)* 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.

We have learned that
~~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 ^{based on} of respect, civility and civil order. That is what makes America ^{respan, reconciliation} 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.

appeal to our worst instincts -- fear, hatred + discrimination

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. ^{various areas of our national life} Education, ^{religion.} 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, ^{+ completing about 500.} 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. *Let us reach out our way*
our call *respons.* *as citizens* *Let us* *answer*
Thank you and God bless you. *To reach out, work together, in*

Common cause, as friends,
to keep the Am. Dream alive for
our children. (That is what's
best about America)

Call - Sam Huetner



Father Leo J. O'Donovan
Member of my Administration

[Sec. Riley, Sheldon Hackney,
Ambassador Molly Raiser,
Joe Duffy, Dir. USIA, Jane
~~Alexander~~ Alexander, Chair, NEA

Maddie Kunin, Dept. Sec. Ed
Penn Kemble, Dept. Dir. USIA
our

Leaders of Community

V.P. in Tenn. w/mom -
heart attack - happy - VP
called hour ago reports she's
making terrific recovery.

Father Lee J. O'Donovan
Members of my Administration

6-2660

remarks in car
- teleprompter -

2:05

SPEECH TEXT OUTLINE
GEORGETOWN SPEECH

I. Opening: July 4th.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

II. Georgetown: New Covenant

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

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

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

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

III. Time of change that leads to frustration

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

IV. Objective reality

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

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

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

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

V. What do we do about it?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. Leaders in particular must lead this effort.

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

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

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

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

2. Role of all Americans.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

divide us.

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

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

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

VIII. Conclusion:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SPEECH TEXT OUTLINE
GEORGETOWN SPEECH

I. Opening: July 4th.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

II. Georgetown: New Covenant

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

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

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

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

III. Time of change that leads to frustration

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

IV. Objective reality

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

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

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

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

V. What do we do about it?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

VII. National conversation toward a new common ground:

Responsible citizenship means making right decisions about how to use that government and our common effort to meet new demands. Must be able to talk with one another civilly to do that.

A. Leaders in particular must lead this effort.

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

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

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

B. Role of all Americans.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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2ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The New York Times

January 20, 1991, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 6; Page 16; Column 3; Magazine Desk

LENGTH: 3893 words

HEADLINE: Secession of the Successful

BYLINE: By Robert B. Reich; Robert B. Reich teaches political economy at Harvard University. This article is adapted from his book, "The Work of Nations: Preparing Ourselves for 21st-Century Capitalism," to be published in March by Alfred A. Knopf.

BODY:

The idea of "community" has always held a special attraction for Americans. In a 1984 speech, President Ronald Reagan celebrated America's "bedrock" -- "its communities where neighbors help one another, where families bring up kids together, where American values are born." Gov. Mario M. Cuomo of New York, with a very different political leaning, has been almost as lyrical. "Community . . . is the reality on which our national life has been founded," he said in 1987.

There is only one problem with this picture. Most Americans no longer live in traditional communities. They live in suburban subdivisions bordered by highways and sprinkled with shopping malls, or in tony condominiums and residential clusters, or in ramshackle apartment buildings and housing projects. Most of them commute to work and socialize on some basis other than geographic proximity. And most people pick up and move to a different neighborhood every five years or so.

But Americans generally have one thing in common with their neighbors: they have similar incomes. And that simple fact lies at the heart of the new community. This means that their educational backgrounds are likely to be similar, that they pay roughly the same in taxes, and that they indulge in the same consumer impulses. "Tell me someone's ZIP code," the founder of a direct-mail company once bragged, "and I can predict what they eat, drink, drive -- even think."

Americans who own their homes usually share one political cause with their neighbors: a near obsessive concern with maintaining or upgrading property values. And this common interest is responsible for much of what has brought neighbors together in recent years. Complete strangers, although they may live on the same street or in the same condominium complex, suddenly feel intense solidarity when it is rumored that low-income housing will be constructed in their midst or that a poorer school district will be consolidated with their own.

The renewed emphasis on "community" in American life has justified and legitimized these economic enclaves. If generosity and solidarity end at the border of similarly valued properties, then the most fortunate can be virtuous citizens at little cost. Since most people in one neighborhood or town are equally well off, there is no cause for a guilty conscience. If inhabitants of another area are poorer, let them look to one another. Why should we pay for

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their schools?

So the argument goes, without acknowledging that the critical assumption has already been made: "we" and "they" belong to fundamentally different communities. Through such reasoning, it has become possible to maintain a self-image of generosity toward, and solidarity with, one's "community" without bearing any responsibility to "them" -- the other "community."

America's high earners -- the fortunate top fifth -- thus feel increasingly justified in paying only what is necessary to insure that everyone in their community is sufficiently well educated and has access to the public services they need to succeed.

LAST YEAR, THE TOP FIFTH of working Americans took home more money than the other four-fifths put together -- the highest portion in postwar history. These high earners will relinquish somewhat more of their income to the Federal Government this year than in 1990 as a result of last fall's tax changes, although considerably less than in the late 1970's, when the tax code was more progressive. But the continuing debate over whether the wealthy are paying their fair share of taxes obscures a larger issue, with more profound implications for America: the fortunate fifth is quietly seceding from the rest of the nation.

This is occurring gradually, without much awareness by members of the top group -- or, for that matter, by anyone else. And the Government is speeding this process as Washington shifts responsibility for many public services to state and local governments.

* The secession is taking several forms. In many cities and towns, the wealthy have in effect withdrawn their dollars from the support of public spaces and institutions shared by all and dedicated the savings to their own private services. As public parks and playgrounds deteriorate, there is a proliferation of private health clubs, golf clubs, tennis clubs, skating clubs and every other type of recreational association in which costs are shared among members. Condominiums and the omnipresent residential communities dun their members to undertake work that financially strapped local governments can no longer afford to do well -- maintaining roads, mending sidewalks, pruning trees, repairing street lights, cleaning swimming pools, paying for lifeguards and, notably, hiring security guards to protect life and property. (The number of private security guards in the United States now exceeds the number of public police officers.)

Of course, wealthier Americans have been withdrawing into their own neighborhoods and clubs for generations. But the new secession is more dramatic because the highest earners now inhabit a different economy from other Americans. The new elite is linked by jet, modem, fax, satellite and fiber-optic cable to the great commercial and recreational centers of the world, but it is not particularly connected to the rest of the nation.

That is because the work this group does is becoming less tied to the activities of other Americans. Most of their jobs consist of analyzing and manipulating symbols -- words, numbers or visual images. Among the most prominent of these "symbolic analysts" are management consultants, lawyers, software and design engineers, research scientists, corporate executives, financial advisers, strategic planners, advertising executives, television and

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movie producers, and other workers whose job titles include terms like "strategy," "planning," "consultant," "policy," "resources" or "engineer."

These workers typically spend long hours in meetings or on the telephone and even longer hours in planes or hotels -- advising, making presentations, giving briefings and making deals. Periodically, they issue reports, plans, designs, drafts, briefs, blueprints, analyses, memorandums, layouts, renderings, scripts or projections. In contrast with people whose jobs tend to be tedious and repetitive, symbolic analysts find their work varied and intellectually challenging. In fact, the work is often enjoyable.

These symbolic analysts are in ever greater demand in a world market that places an increasing value on identifying and solving problems. Requests for their software designs, financial advice or engineering blueprints come from all parts of the globe. This largely explains why most (but by no means all) symbolic analysts have become wealthier, even as the ever-growing worldwide supply of unskilled labor continues to depress the wages of other Americans.

Successful Americans have not completely disengaged themselves from the lives of their less fortunate compatriots. Some devote substantial resources and energies to helping the rest of society, not through their tax payments, but through voluntary efforts. "Generosity is a reflection of what one does with his or her resources -- and not what he or she advocates the government do with everyone's money," Ronald Reagan said in 1984.

The argument is fair enough. Government is not the only device for redistributing wealth. In his speech accepting the Presidential nomination at the Republican National Convention in 1988, George Bush said that the real magnanimity of America was to be found in a "brilliant diversity" of private charities, "spread like stars, like a thousand points of light in a broad and peaceful sky."

No nation congratulates itself more enthusiastically on its charitable acts than America; none engages in a greater number of charity balls, bake sales, benefit auctions and border-to-border hand holdings for good causes. Much of this is sincerely motivated and admirable.

But close examination reveals that many of these acts of benevolence do not help the needy. Particularly suspect is the private giving of those in the top income-tax bracket. Studies have revealed that their largess does not flow mainly to social services for the poor -- to better schools, health clinics or recreational centers. Instead, most voluntary contributions of wealthy Americans go to the places and institutions that entertain, inspire, cure or educate wealthy Americans -- art museums, opera houses, theaters, orchestras, ballet companies, private hospitals and elite universities.

And even these charitable contributions are relatively skimpy. Last year, American households with incomes of less than \$10,000 gave an average of 5.5 percent of their earnings to charity or to a religious organization; those making more than \$100,000 a year gave only 2.9 percent. After the 1986 tax-code overhaul reduced the benefits of charitable giving, the very rich became even stingier. According to Internal Revenue Service data, taxpayers earning \$500,000 or more slashed their average donations to \$16,062 in 1988 from \$47,432 in 1980

The New York Times, January 20, 1991

Corporate philanthropy is following the same general pattern. In recent years, the largest American corporations have been sounding the alarm about the nation's fast deteriorating primary and secondary schools. Few are more eloquent and impassioned about the need for better schools than American executives. "How well we educate all of our children will determine our competitiveness globally, and our economic health domestically, and our communities' character and vitality," said a report of The Business Roundtable, a New York-based association of top executives.

Accordingly, there are numerous "partnerships" between corporations and public schools: scholarships for poor children qualified to attend college, and programs in which businesses adopt individual schools by making conspicuous donations of computers, books and, on occasion, even money. That such activities are loudly touted by corporate public relations staffs should not detract from the good they do.

Despite the hoopla, business donations to education and charitable causes actually tapered off markedly in the 1980's, even as the economy boomed. In the 1970's, corporate giving to education jumped an average of 15 percent a year. In 1990, however, giving was only 5 percent over that in 1989; in 1989 it was 3 percent over 1988. Moreover, most of this money goes to colleges and universities -- in particular, to the alma maters of symbolic analysts, who expect their children and grandchildren to follow in their footsteps. Only 1.5 percent of corporate giving in the late 1980's was to public primary and secondary schools.

Notably, these contributions have been smaller than the amounts corporations are receiving from states and communities in the form of subsidies or tax breaks. Companies are quietly procuring such deals by threatening to move their operations -- and jobs -- to places around the world with a more congenial tax climate. The paradoxical result has been even less corporate revenue to spend on schools and other community services than before. The executives of General Motors, for example, who have been among the loudest to proclaim the need for better schools, have also been among the most relentless in pursuing local tax abatements and in challenging their tax assessments. G.M.'s successful efforts to reduce its taxes in North Tarrytown, N.Y., where the company has had a factory since 1914, cut local revenues by \$1 million in 1990, part of a larger shortfall that forced the town to lay off scores of teachers.

THE SECESSION OF the fortunate fifth has been most apparent in how and where they have chosen to work and live. In effect, most of America's large urban centers have splintered into two separate cities. One is composed of those whose symbolic and analytic services are linked to the world economy. The other consists of local service workers -- custodians, security guards, taxi drivers, clerical aides, parking attendants, sales people, restaurant employees -- whose jobs are dependent on the symbolic analysts. Few blue-collar manufacturing workers remain in American cities. Between 1953 and 1984, for example, New York City lost about 600,000 factory jobs; in the same interval, it added about 700,000 jobs for symbolic analysts and service workers.

The separation of symbolic analysts from local service workers within cities has been reinforced in several ways. Most large cities now possess two school systems -- a private one for the children of the top-earning group and a public one for the children of service workers, the remaining blue-collar workers and

The New York Times, January 20, 1991

the unemployed. Symbolic analysts spend considerable time and energy insuring that their children gain entrance to good private schools, and then small fortunes keeping them there -- dollars that under a more progressive tax code might finance better public education.

People with high incomes live, shop and work within areas of cities that, if not beautiful, are at least esthetically tolerable and reasonably safe; precincts not meeting these minimum standards of charm and security have been left to the less fortunate.

Here again, symbolic analysts have pooled their resources to the exclusive benefit of themselves. Public funds have been spent in earnest on downtown "revitalization" projects, entailing the construction of clusters of post-modern office buildings (complete with fiber-optic cables, private branch exchanges, satellite dishes and other communications equipment linking them to the rest of the world), multilevel parking garages, hotels with glass-enclosed atriums, upscale shopping plazas and galleries, theaters, convention centers and luxury condominiums.

Ideally, these complexes are entirely self-contained, with air-conditioned walkways linking residences, businesses and recreational space. The lucky resident is able to shop, work and attend the theater without risking direct contact with the outside world -- that is, the other city.

Carrying the principle a step further, several cities have begun authorizing property owners in certain affluent districts to assess a surtax on local residents and businesses for amenities unavailable to other urban residents, services like extra garbage collections, street cleaning and security. One such New York district, between 38th and 48th Streets and Second and Fifth Avenues, raised \$4.7 million from its residents in 1989, of which \$1 million underwrote a private force of uniformed guards and plainclothes investigators. The new community of people with like incomes and with the power to tax and enforce the law is thus becoming a separate city within the city.

When not living in urban enclaves, symbolic analysts are increasingly congregating in suburbs and exurbs where corporate headquarters have been relocated, research parks have been created, and where bucolic universities have spawned entrepreneurial ventures. Among the most desirable of such locations are Princeton, N.J.; northern Westchester and Putnam Counties in New York; Palo Alto, Calif.; Austin, Tex.; Bethesda, Md., and Raleigh-Durham, N.C.

Engineers and strategists of American auto companies, for example, do not live in Flint or Saginaw, Mich., where the blue-collar workers reside; they cluster in their own towns of Troy, Warren and Auburn Hills. Likewise, the vast majority of the financial specialists, lawyers and executives working for the insurance companies of Hartford would never consider living there; after all, Hartford is the nation's fourth-poorest city. Instead, they flock to Windsor, Middlebury, West Hartford and other towns that are among the wealthiest in the country.

This trend, too, has been growing for decades. But technology has accelerated it. Today's symbolic analysts linked directly to the rest of the globe can choose to live and work in the most pastoral of settings.

The New York Times, January 20, 1991

The secession has been encouraged by the Federal Government. For the last decade, Washington has in effect shifted responsibility for many public services to local governments. At their peak, Federal grants made up 25 percent of state and local spending in the late 1970's. Today, the Federal share has dwindled to 17 percent. Direct aid to local governments, in the form of programs introduced in the Johnson and Nixon Administrations, has been the hardest hit by budget cuts. In the 1980's, Federal dollars for clean water, job training and transfers, low-income housing, sewage treatment and garbage disposal shrank by some \$50 billion a year, and Washington's share of spending on local transit declined by 50 percent. (The Bush Administration has proposed that states and localities take on even more of the costs of building and maintaining roads, and wants to cut Federal aid for mass transit.) In 1990, New York City received only 9.6 percent of all its revenue from the Federal Government, compared with 16 percent in 1981.

States have quickly transferred many of these new expenses to fiscally strapped cities and towns, with a result that by the start of the 1990's, localities were bearing more than half of the costs of water and sewage, roads, parks, welfare and public schools. In New York State, the local communities' share has risen to about 75 percent of these costs.

Cities and towns with affluent inhabitants can bear these burdens relatively easily. Poorer ones, faced with the twin problems of lower incomes and greater demand for social services, have had far more difficulty. And as the gap between the richest and poorest communities has widened, the shift in responsibility for public services to cities and towns has functioned as another means of relieving wealthier Americans of the cost of aiding less fortunate citizens.

The result has been a growing inequality in basic social and community services. While the city tax rate in Philadelphia, for example, is about triple that of communities around it, the suburbs enjoy far better schools, hospitals, recreation and police protection. Eighty-five percent of the richest families in the greater Philadelphia area live outside the city limits, and 80 percent of the region's poorest live inside. The quality of a city's infrastructure -- roads, bridges, sewage, water treatment -- is likewise related to the average income of its inhabitants.

The growing inequality in government services has been most apparent in the public schools. The Federal Government's share of the costs of primary and secondary education has dwindled to about 6 percent. The bulk of the cost is divided about equally between the states and local school districts. States with a higher concentration of wealthy residents can afford to spend more on their schools than other states. In 1989, the average public-school teacher in Arkansas, for example, received \$21,700; in Connecticut, \$37,300.

Even among adjoining suburban towns in the same state the differences can be quite large. Consider three Boston-area communities located within minutes of one other. All are predominantly white, and most residents within each town earn about the same as their neighbors. But the disparity of incomes between towns is substantial.

Belmont, northwest of Boston, is inhabited mainly by symbolic analysts and their families. In 1988, the average teacher in its public schools earned \$36,100. Only 3 percent of Belmont's 18-year-olds dropped out of high school, and more than 80 percent of graduating seniors chose to go on to a four-year

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college.

Just east of Belmont is Somerville, most of whose residents are low-wage service workers. In 1988, the average Somerville teacher earned \$29,400. A third of the town's 18-year-olds did not finish high school, and fewer than a third planned to attend college.

Chelsea, across the Mystic River from Somerville, is the poorest of the three towns. Most of its inhabitants are unskilled, and many are unemployed or only employed part time. The average teacher in Chelsea, facing tougher educational challenges than his or her counterparts in Belmont, earned \$26,200 in 1988, almost a third less than the average teacher in the more affluent town just a few miles away. More than half of Chelsea's 18-year-olds did not graduate from high school, and only 10 percent planned to attend college.

Similar disparities can be found all over the nation. Students at Highland Park High School in a wealthy suburb of Dallas, for example, enjoy a campus with a planetarium, indoor swimming pool, closed-circuit television studio and state-of-the-art science laboratory. Highland Park spends about \$6,000 a year to educate each student. This is almost twice that spent per pupil by the towns of Wilmer and Hutchins in southern Dallas County. According to Texas education officials, the richest school district in the state spends \$19,300 a year per pupil; its poorest, \$2,100 a year.

The courts have become involved in trying to repair such imbalances, but the issues are not open to easy judicial remedy.

The four-fifths of Americans left in the wake of the secession of the fortunate fifth include many poor blacks, but racial exclusion is neither the primary motive for the separation nor a necessary consequence. Lower-income whites are similarly excluded, and high-income black symbolic analysts are often welcomed. The segregation is economic rather than racial, although economically motivated separation often results in de facto racial segregation. Where courts have found a pattern of racially motivated segregation, it usually has involved lower-income white communities bordering on lower-income black neighborhoods.

In states where courts have ordered equalized state spending in school districts, the vast differences in a town's property values -- and thus local tax revenues -- continue to result in substantial inequities. Where courts or state governments have tried to impose limits on what affluent communities can pay their teachers, not a few parents in upscale towns have simply removed their children from the public schools and applied the money they might otherwise have willingly paid in higher taxes to private school tuitions instead. And, of course, even if statewide expenditures were better equalized, poorer states would continue to be at a substantial disadvantage.

In all these ways, the gap between America's symbolic analysts and everyone else is widening into a chasm. Their secession from the rest of the population raises fundamental questions about the future of American society. In the new global economy -- in which money, technologies and corporations cross borders effortlessly -- a citizen's standard of living depends more and more on skills and insights, and on the infrastructure needed to link these abilities to the rest of the world. But the most skilled and insightful Americans, who are already positioned to thrive in the world market, are now able to slip the bonds of national allegiance, and by so doing disengage themselves from their less

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avored fellows. The stark political challenge in the decades ahead will be to reaffirm that, even though America is no longer a separate and distinct economy, it is still a society whose members have abiding obligations to one another.

GRAPHIC: Drawings

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: January 20, 1991

7/5/95

**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.

Two days ago as our nation celebrated its birth, the people of Oklahoma City raised their flags and their spirits to full mast for the first time since the tragic events of April the 19th. Governor Keating led a celebration of recognition, honor, and thanks for the thousands of people who in the face of tragedy truly brought out what was best about America.

That tragedy not only united our nation against the forces of hatred and violence, it also reminded us of what is best about America -- neighbor helping neighbor, understanding and tolerance, responsible citizenship, the true sense of community. It brought out what Lincoln called in his first inaugural address, "the better angels of our nature." That is what makes America great. This is the American spirit. That is what keeps the American Dream alive for our children.

If we are to face not only the tragedies of our time, but also the daily challenges of our time, we need to honor and understand and encourage the American spirit -- the best of America

everyday. How do we build a nation of opportunity and responsibility? How do we provide a better future for every child? How do we reward work, honor family, protect the environment, celebrate our diversity, and build a strong, secure and vital democracy that can continue to inspire the world? How can we put an end to violence and make our neighborhoods more safe and secure and how can we make the world a more peaceful place for our children and their children?

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.

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 Carroll 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 because I believed in that fundamental truth about the American spirit...because I believed it was our duty, our moral responsibility 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 so that we could indeed keep the American Dream alive for future generations.

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, all sectors of our society must share the responsibility: the business community, workers, parents, teachers, the entertainment industry, religious leaders, all of us.

And we must begin by focusing on hard-working families who play

by the rules, who struggle to raise their children and help their neighbors. For them, we must provide the opportunity for a good job with good benefits. We must 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 the responsibility of all of us to put an end to the violence that threatens the safety and security of those hard working families. It is the responsibility of all of us to provide safe streets and safe communities and secure retirement. It is the responsibility of all of us to protect our environment...to provide clean air and clean water and better health for our families. To preserve our national heritage for our children and their children. 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.

But, we must challenge the business community to be responsible as well. "To whom much is given, much is demanded. And so, to the entrepreneurs, the CEOs and the plant managers I say, 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.

My Administration has been the most pro-business Administration in decades. We have worked 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 actions have a special responsibility to provide good jobs and good wages.

We have all learned that 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.

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 based on respect, responsibility, reconciliation, 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 appeal to our worst instincts: fear, hatred, and discrimination, 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 of various areas of our national life. Business. Entertainment. Media. Sports. Education. Religion. 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 mowing your lawn, and complaining about government. 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. 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