

in America; and with it fear and a tendency to scape-goat -
 - 'it's the fault of government, it's the fault of the poor,
 it's the fault of immigrants, it's the fault of affirmative
 action, it's the fault of liberals, it's the fault of the
 sixties... But without rational and historically grounded
 explanations for our problems there can be no hope for
 rationally grounded solutions. Without holding up a mirror
 to Americans that helps them see where they are, no
 politician will be able to lead them in any direction
 whatsoever.

You have yourself increasingly been asked philosophical
 questions. At your news conference on April 18, you were
 asked about whether "liberal" and "conservative" were still
 pertinent categories; you were also asked to discuss the
 relationship between ancient (Roman) civic virtue and modern
 family values. Such questions would have been inconceivable
 a decade ago; now they are almost natural, so uncertain have
 we become about our philosophical and moral bearings. There
 is a hunger for larger ideas that can illuminate our
 problems.



In the aftermath of the tragedy in Oklahoma City you spoke
 with special eloquence, in a broad philosophical way, to the
 relationship between the rhetoric of violence and terrorist
 action. In doing so, you opened up a debate about civil
 liberties, speech, action, and treason that goes to the
 heart of our nation's current dilemmas. Terror is bred from
 powerlessness and powerlessness always has a component of
 ignorance and incomprehension in it. Moral leadership, as
 you have sensed, is part of the answer to the question of
 Oklahoma City.

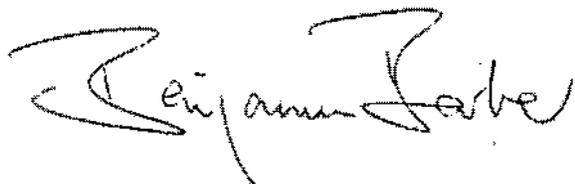
In every important arena of debate and potential
 legislation, serious philosophical questions are being raised.
 The debate over affirmative action reopens questions of the
 nature of "inclusion," universal standards, and
 institutional bias. The attack on the Corporation for
 National and Community Service as a kind of "forced
 voluntarism" demands a discussion of the relationship
 between enlightened self-interest and altruism, of the
 difference between philanthropy and social responsibility,
 the difference between supererogatory morals and
 citizenship. The growing disillusionment with and rage at
 "government" raises questions about the nature of democracy,
 and whether government is a bureaucratic "it" or an
 extension of our popular sovereignty that belongs to us. As
 the authority of police officials is questioned, central
 issues of the meaning of political legitimacy and the
 difference between legitimate coercion and illegal force are
 raised (the Branch Davidians at Waco). Immigration
 controversies suggest we need to think harder about what it
 means to be an American citizen, and how national
 citizenship is related to an interdependent world. The

Family values discussion challenges us about the meaning of parenting, education, and the character of sexuality and reproduction. Health care debates focus us on problems of responsibility (are we responsible ultimately for our own bodies, diseases and mortality? what is government's role?)

There is not a single legislative controversy today that does not suffer from insufficiently deliberative, insufficiently long-term, insufficiently philosophical weighing. There is not a single policy area that does not call out for moral and intellectual leadership prior to the taking of concrete policy decisions. Mr. President, there is no office better suited to such a task than yours -- above all in an era of divided government when the opposition owns the legislative initiative and appears (or tries to appear) as the Party of principle.

The model for our time is neither Truman nor Roosevelt, but Abraham Lincoln. Though not engaged in a civil war, the country is troubled and divided in some of the same ways a teeters on the edge of violence, race and union are again issues, incivility is a spreading sickness, and the legitimacy of the federal government and the American nation are again under siege. Our time cries out for Lincolnesque moral and philosophical leadership. Democrats need to rediscover their moral compass without relying on the old maps and atlases left over from the era of traditional welfare state liberalism. The country needs to recover its civility and its willingness to live with its differences and organize around its commonalities without turning to a incendiary and polarizing rhetoric that is never more than a stone's throw from real violence.

If you decide that this role suits the needs of our times, of the Democratic Party and of your office, then I hope you will be able to make time in your schedule and a place on your staff where a longer term horizon can open up serious thought and debate and a commitment to the large picture can be championed. Should you decide to make this kind of leadership a priority, I hope you will permit me to help, inside or outside of government, in every way I can.



File:
Ben Barber

LEGISLATING CIVIL SOCIETY: AN INTRODUCTION TO A WALT WHITMAN
CENTER SERIES OF RESEARCH PAPERS

American citizens have grown disaffected with government and bureaucracy. Nor are they happy with the alternative--an asocial and often rapacious private market that seems unconcerned with community needs and public ideals. There is a "third domain," however, which while once a robust sphere of common activities, has now largely vanished. That domain is civil society, a sphere of social relations which lies outside of the realms of the government and the market. At the Walt Whitman Center, we believe that civil society, if reinvigorated, may serve as a source for a healthy and strong democracy. In this introduction to the Center's series of papers, "Legislating Civil Society," we hope to explain what we mean by civil society and what role we believe the federal government can play in nurturing it today.

The best way to think about civil society is to envision the domains Americans occupy daily when they are engaged neither in government (voting, serving on juries, paying taxes) nor in commerce (working, producing, shopping, consuming). Such daily business includes attending church or synagogue, doing community service, participating in a voluntary or civic association, joining a fraternal organization, contributing to a charity, assuming responsibility in a PTA or a neighborhood watch or a hospital fundraising society. It is in this civil domain that such traditional institutions as foundations, schools, churches, public interest groups, voluntary associations, civic groups, and social movements belong. The media too, where they take their public responsibilities seriously and subordinate their commercial needs to their civic obligations, are part of civil society.

Civil society is the domain that can potentially mediate between the state and private sectors and offer people a space for activity that is simultaneously voluntary

and public. It is a space that unites the virtue of the private sector--liberty--with the virtue of the public sector--concern for the general good. That is, it is public without being coercive or bureaucratic and voluntary without being privatized or commercial. This is why civil society is so crucial for a healthy democracy.

Historically, both an expansive, corporation-dominated "free" market and a burgeoning, bureaucratic state have disempowered civil society. Local and civic institutions have been squeezed between an increasingly bureaucratized and monopolistic market sector and the state. During the late 19th century, capitalist corporations with an appetite for expansion and a tendency to monopoly began to encroach on and crush civil society. During the 20th century, seeing a need for further and further demand, big business promoted the idea that people were not citizens with public concerns but consumers with private desires. In its growing size and its glamorization of private consumption, big business has often posed a major (if less visible) threat to the interests of an actively engaged democratic public.

During the twentieth century, beginning in the Progressive Era and ending with the Great Society, the federal government has tried to curb the excesses of the free market to ensure the public weal--without, however, fully gaining the civic confidence of the public, which became a dependent client of the government. In assuming the powers it needed to confront corporate power and ensure an ever growing set of economic rights, government inadvertently encroached on and crushed civil society. Whereas the market conceived of people only as consumers, government increasingly conceived of them more as clients than as citizens. Squeezed between the warring and ever-expanding state and corporate sectors, civil society has largely vanished from American life.

As civil society shrinks, a major threat is posed to American democracy. Only in civil society can citizens educate themselves into the responsibilities of political judgment and decision-making. Only there can they understand governing

institutions as an extension of their own agency, rather than as adversarial to it. If this sphere of interaction is allowed to languish, democracy and liberty will continue to fade away. The questions we want to pose are straightforward and concrete: how can we resuscitate civil society? How can we as political leaders, intellectuals, and citizens renew a commitment to local, civic institutions and the ideals of democracy? Is there a role for the federal government in rejuvenating institutions it has inadvertently helped to crush? Does it also have a responsibility to oppose the effects of the market on civil society? And can it do this without duplicating the errors of earlier reforms that often hurt the very civic institutions that government intended to nourish?

Arguing in favor of civil society may seem to buy into the political alienation that characterizes skeptics and extreme zealots in America. Certainly the state, with its bloated bureaucracy, has trespassed on the ground of civil society and its critics are correct to point out that the federal government has become increasingly unresponsive to citizens' demands. More importantly, many social critics, among them Ernie Cortez, Francis Lappe, and Harry Boyte, have shown that citizens often recreate the bonds of civil society on their own without any help from the state simply by becoming active in local political struggles. We agree that citizens themselves can and should nurture civil society on their own terms, and we agree that a busy-body government bureaucracy can often undermine such processes with well-intentioned liberal programs.

However, there is a partisan and unpersuasive tone to the criticism of the state. The problem is not democratic government per se but bureaucracy, unresponsiveness, bloat, unaccountability, and inertia wherever they are found. And make no mistake, they are found in the private commercial sector--the market--no less than in the government sector. The market is often seen as more efficient and responsive than the state, yet the large, bureaucratic corporation can be

just as inefficient and unresponsive. Nor does the market promote citizenship, since it typically encourages maximization of private pleasure and profit--consumerism and materialism perhaps, but not civic comity. Indeed, corporations, unlike democratic governments, lack any formal means of accountability, and their soft despotism is thus more troublesome in the long run.

We think that to use hostility towards the federal government as a means to dismantle every form of regulatory power is dangerous, if not outright cynical. We believe that instead we must re-envision what the federal government should do in the future in light of the need to reinvigorate civil society and help citizens to restore confidence in their own power of democratic agency. *How we think about the state as citizens is crucial, for it clearly affects what we expect from the state and from ourselves.* The major premise behind this series of papers is that *we must ask the state to serve the needs of civil society and, through a reinvigoration of our own sense of citizenship, reappropriate its democratic institutions.* Where the government encroaches on liberty, legislation must help government help itself--limiting its purview and liberating not market forces but civil society in order that it may act freely. Where the private commercial sector is the problem, government must again become the public's ally in curbing commercial and market abuses.

We are not suggesting that the federal government can or should *create* civil society any more than we would expect the market to do this. Civil society is born out of the self-willing processes of engaged citizens. But the federal government *can* provide more fertile soil in which civil society can grow. It can support citizens in the work they themselves need to do and prevent bureaucracy--whether governmental or commercial--from interfering. The role of the state we envision here is a *new* role--one which conceives of the state less as a regulatory bureaucracy and more as a facilitator of democratic civil society. We must reinvent government by reconceiving it as an ally--not an enemy--of civil society and an instrument by

which citizens pursue those public and civic ends they cannot achieve on their own as individuals or consumers.

As we enter the crucial year of 1996, we should not limit our debates about the role of the federal government to budgetary issues. We need to reinvigorate the *civic and moral* debate about what we want from *our* government and transcend the limits of budget-driven policy. It is here that we offer our legislative papers as a provocation to public discourse and policy debate.

Although these papers will offer some concrete legislative proposals, we see our major goal here as focusing on large political issues and reconceptualizing legislation around the idea of regenerating civil society. These are not detailed policy documents, although they review policy carefully. Nor do they promote detailed legislative plans, although they do suggest new kinds of legislative action. We have focused initially on three areas--telecommunications, federal arts funding, and public space--to seek out ways in which the idea of civil society can actually reconfigure the role of the federal government as an ally of the civic domain and a partner to citizens. We hope that both politicians and citizens can make use of this series of papers, "Legislating Civil Society," to start thinking in more productive ways about the role of the federal government in relation to civil society and strong democracy.

Barber, Ben

THE CIVIC PARTNERSHIPS PROJECT
[Community Covenant for Shared Social Responsibility]

Benjamin Barber

I. AIMS AND GOALS:

If the end of the era of big government is also to be the beginning of a new era of shared social responsibility and civic partnerships, President Clinton has an opportunity to play a politically and philosophically significant role of leadership that can contribute to a highly visionary campaign and a second term legislative agenda. His aim would be events, policies and possibly a modest legislative agenda aimed at helping to establish and nurture a robust civil society as a partner of a downsized government. He would encourage shared social responsibility by focusing on the civic sector as a domain distinctive from both the government and the commercial sector, and by cultivating partnerships that render all three sectors more responsive and democratic. In doing so, he would also be helping to redefine the Presidency in an era after big government, taking on new leadership responsibilities geared to the office as an engine of active citizenship. Through the civic partnership approach, he could also help re-link politics and citizenship to the everyday places where people live, work, learn, pray, parent, grow and play, and thereby help overcome the incivility, anti-political animus and civic cynicism that are the hallmarks of this era.

In Portland this week the President said "if we had the type of cohesion elsewhere (that Portland showed in responding to the flood)... we'd be in remarkable shape." This program is aimed at showing that in many small ways, we DO have this kind of cohesion and sense of social responsibility; and that the President can play a critical role in fostering, displaying and expanding it where it already exists and creating it where it does not.

II. MEANS:

The civic partnership approach would call for a strategy in which the President himself engages in outreach events designed both to express his commitment to partnerships and the model potential partnerships by:

- * helping carefully selected communities, groups and assemblies of citizens to identify their chief challenges and problems;
- * encouraging them to seek approaches to those challenges that allow them to take significant responsibility for solutions;
- * exhorting them to extend and enlarge the compass of their interests and take greater responsibility for forging partnerships with other civil society groups as well as with the private sector (business) and government;
- * inviting them to explore how and where government (and the President) might play a partner role or, when necessary, deal with issues beyond the scope of their competence and/or power.

III. REQUIREMENTS AND THEIR RISKS:

Talk or Action?

1. Because so much of the civil society discourse is talk -- talk ABOUT civil society -- rather than a manifestation OF civil society, a program involving the President needs to focus on ACTION. No just people talking about problems and the need for cooperation and partnership, but people who are cooperating and acting. However, such events are harder to script and control, and provide more careful planning and advance cooperation with community groups than a simple on-shot town meeting.

Single Event or Multiple Events?

2. Because the project can easily be seen cynically as one more campaign gimmick, or a windy idea with no substantive content, a single-event approach is risky; it puts alot of eggs in one basket and tries to create a new discourse in one fell swoop. A multiple event approach constitutes a real program over

time and allows the President to kind of surround the idea of civil society and make it clear that it is not just THIS or THAT one kind of community meeting or group. But multiple events require more planning, and a systematic approach that rule out doing a one day media event.

Listening or Control?

3. Because the aim is interactive, the President needs to be in a listening mode and agendas need to be somewhat flexible. But his risks a loss of control of an event, and may leave the President facing unpredictable outcomes. On the other hand, this is his forte and his forte lends itself to the democratic spirit that such events should conjure.

Interactivity or Familiarity?

4. By the same token, because the aim of the program is to gorge genuine partnerships and present the President interactively, there is also a danger of injury to the dignity of the Presidential office. Some argue that a certain distance and aloofness, an economical and sparing exposure are essential to this dignity. This approach thus needs to draw a sharp line between interactivity and familiarity, between the President as a dignified facilitator and the President as just one more guy in the room talking problems. Risky.

Presidential Modesty or Presidential Impotence?

5. Because the project is predicated on "the end of big government" and the modest notion of a civic partnership between government and civil society, there is a risk of downgrading the POWER of the President and the Presidency -- "we're just one more player in the game." The challenge is how to replace the imperial Presidency with the Citizen Presidency without creating the impression of the Impotent Presidency. The risk is making the end of Big Government look like the end of a big and powerful President.

Abstract Places or Real Places?

6. Because the needs of scheduling, security and control are likely to dictate a large, neutral setting -- an auditorium, an anonymous community hall, a gym -- there is a risk that the event will seem contrived and media-driven, lacking the very community specificity and civic identity the event is meant to telegraph. On the other hand more immediate and intimate settings are harder to deal with in media terms and may be too stamped by their parochial character.

Now, I would argue that in every choice the better choice is the bolder and perhaps riskier choice: to organize events predicated on

- * action not just talk
- * multiple events, not a one-time happening
- * a listening mode rather than a control mode
- * interactivity -- hoping to avoid familiarity
- * modesty -- hoping to avoid a sense of powerlessness
- * specific community spaces

These preferences not only are in accord with our aims -- civic partnerships and community covenant -- but are also suited to the strengths of this President: his style, his quickness, his approachability, his capacity to listen to ordinary Americans, his understanding of the President as America's First Citizen rather than its imperial archon.

IV. A PROGRAM OF EVENTS:

If a multiple event approach is accepted, there is a mix of events that might be appropriate; the three TYPES include fairly large town meeting style gatherings; national civil society organization meetings; and specific local community group meetings.

TYPE 1. TOWN MEETINGS: here the President would locate a specific geographical community and invite a cross section of citizens who are not at present necessarily working together and invite them into a conversation in which they would be encouraged both to identify critical issues of concern and then explore ways in which they might work to solve them. Some solutions might depend only on their on collaboration and common effort, others would call for partnerships with other sectors -- business or governmental (local or national). This is the easiest meeting to organize and the President has already demonstrated his skill in such settings. But it has the shortcomings of being about talk not community work, involving folks in what could simply become a gripe session or a "get government" shoot out. Perhaps such a meeting could be held as the culmination of other more specific, community based events at the end of a series of events rather than as a kick-off.

TYPE 2. NATIONAL CIVIC ASSOCIATION MEETINGS: here the aim would be to identify a national civic organization and pre-plan with it an agenda and action menu. The event would to some degree reenact and ratify some provisional prior agreements, and result in an action outcome that broadened the commitment of the organization and perhaps certified a new partnership with other groups or with the government.

Here are some specific examples:

- * The President joins a national meeting of the Chamber of Commerce (it might be a preschedule meeting or called specifically for the purpose) and challenges its members to seek partnerships that permit businesses and civil society entities such as schools or philanthropies to work together on specific projects -- say in literacy (reading programs) or school-to-job programs. He calls on them to commit to a new community covenant in which they accept a bill of corporate responsibilities. The Chamber responds that it would like to pursue the education initiative, but needs an assist from the Department of Education. The President says he will take it up with the Secretary (or perhaps the Secretary is there since this issues will have been put on the agenda in advance). On the way to calling business back to its social responsibilities, the President demonstrates the Department of Education is not a meddling bogeyman but a facilitator of local education-business partnerships.

- * The President joins a meeting of the Council on Foundations and raises with it the fundamental question: "Just how much of the burden of our nation's social problems can you take on? Where can you do more? Are there partnerships you can forge with other community groups to extend your impact?" Foundations agree to broaden their mandate and sign onto to a new community covenant, but also make clear (with an aside to the Republican Freshmen class) that philanthropy cannot become a surrogate for government, and that there are still crucial activities government must undertake if foundation work is to be successful. On the way to lighting a fire under foundations, the President also gives Americans a lesson in the limits of philanthropy.

- * The President meets with the American Association of Universities (AAU), an elite group of 53 of the nation's leading research universities, and asks why so many of America's leading higher education institutions -- the pride of America -- sit on billion dollar endowments and undertake elite education in the middle of some of the country's most troubled inner city school systems (Stanford next to East Palo Alto, crime capital of California, Yale in New Haven with one of the highest infant mortality rates in the country, the University of Chicago on the gang-ridden south side, Rutgers with branches in Camden and Newark, New Jersey's most trouble cities). Why can't they model for the higher education community a new form of partnership in which they recognize they are members of the larger community and put some of their educational resources and facilities at the disposal of hard-pressed inner city schools. What can Harvard's Kennedy School do for the Roxbury School District's social science department? What can the Mason Gross School of the Arts at Rutgers do for defunded arts education programs in New Jersey? And the AAU may respond: alright, we will take the challenge, but why is the government reducing Pell grants and threatening Americorps funding which is vital to letting students continue their education THROUGH doing community service. On the way to turning colleges and universities towards their communities, the President gives a lesson about the relevance of some threatened federal programs to education.

* The President takes his concern with violence and incivility to the National Association of Broadcasters or a meeting of Hollywood studios and telecommunication conglomerates (the kind of meeting he called for in the State of the Union) and asks what they can do on a voluntary basis to offer Americans both diversity and a healthy menu of entertainment; he also asks why they do not act to prevent the commercialization of the classroom by groups like K-III's Channel One (which brings soft news and hard advertising into 12,000 American classrooms every day). They say they worry about government censorship; the President explores voluntary programs like the V-chip and labelling. The country sees not only a President deeply concerned with how not only government but the commercial sector can corrupt family values, but also gets a lesson in voluntary compliance from embarrasses and anxious-to-demonstrate-their-values studio executives.

* The President participates in a joint meeting of the AARP (retired persons) and the American student association and brokers a conversation about generational justice. What can kids do to help elderly shut-ins; what can the elderly do to help a generation on whose backs a vast entitlement program now rests? Can the AARP extend the compass of its work to develop a voluntary means testing program for entitlements? Or a fund into which the well off can turn in a percentage of their social security specifically targeted at problems of youth? On the way to bringing together the old and young in a common discussion about justice, the President can highlight for the nation the disastrous economics that entitlements mandate down the line and get us all thinking about taking a share of the responsibility.

and finally, an example that can actually be put into practice since it rests on an invitation already extended to the President:

* The President accepts the January 29, 1996 invitation from the Council of Jewish Federations to meeting with the Council in Washington on March 7 ON THE CONDITION that the Council express a willingness before the event to be responsive to a call by the President for the Council to turn outwards and forge partnership with other religion philanthropies to take on social challenges larger than the ones it can face alone. The President turns say to Arthur Schechter from Texas or Monte Friedkin from Florida and asks: "Can the Federation extend the compass of its work and forge partnership with catholic charities and Lutheran philanthropies and together take on some of our urban problems?" On the way to helping the Federation make a historic move out of its inward facing philanthropic stance and into a partnership with other religious charities, the President also displays a concern for the Jewish community and (not so incidentally) helps secure his electoral and campaign resources in the Jewish community.

- THIS CAN HAPPEN ON MARCH 7 IF WE MOVE QUICKLY. I would recommend it, but only if we have a guarantee that there will be a positive response (the Federation is divided and needs leadership from President Clinton here).

TYPE 3. SPECIFIC COMMUNITY EVENTS: I would like to see the national events suggested above mixed in with a diet of local community events that would be very local, very specific and very symbolic. These meetings would bring the President to a community group such as a Little League or a big brother/big sister program or a block association party and allow him both to help display to the nation a side of American life ignored in the bad-news media and neglected by those who think the American infrastructure is in decline but also to challenge them to expand the compass of their concerns. Can a little league soccer association do something for the local public school soccer program that has been defunded? Can a commercial zone store association provide a "safe haven" program for kids walking home? What is a block association that has driven drug dealers off ITS block going to do about the fact that the same dealers have set up shop two blocks away in a neighborhood where there is no block association? There are endless possibilities here, but here are a few examples of what I think might be particularly inspiring examples:

* the President arranges a visit to one of the remaining BOWLING LEAGUE teams that has not succumbed to Bowling Alone (Bob Putnam) and talks with them about the differences between bowling in leagues and bowling alone, and how come they still stay in the League. Are they working to get younger folks who bowl alone back into the League? Are there activities they can engage in that will broaden their

community to address some of the problems in the larger community? Bowling for latchkey kids with nowhere to go after school? Free instruction or free bowling for the ten kids in the local school who show the most improvement in their grades? Free equipment for drops out who go back to school? How about a partnership with an bowling ball or equipment manufacturer to do such things? On the way to highlighting Bob Putnam's disturbing message about the decline of community activity and membership (in Putnam's now notorious "BOWLING ALONE" article, the President helps the League to help itself enlarge its membership and expand its social responsibility.

* The President visits an ESOP (Employee Stock Ownership Plan) firm where employees are really engaged in some governance (the ICA Group in Boston specializes in worker-owned businesses and could help locate a good candidate); he talks about a democratic workplace, and how ESOPS combine capitalism and worker involvement in ways that increase productivity but preserve a close linkage between the community and the firm. Workers talk about the difference between having a share of ownership and about how ownership means responsibility. And perhaps the President challenges them to show how their increased responsibility over their work lives translates into other arenas? What is their company doing for the community? What should it be doing? On the way to helping a company expand its sense of social responsibility, the President highlights that capitalism and democracy in the workplace can go together, and that just as democracy means the right to own, the right to own carries responsibilities with it.

* The President visits Mashpee Commons Mall in Mashpee, Mass (Cape Cod) where an enlightened developer named Doug Storrs has built into a mall a library, a church and a senior citizens' home. Or visits Wheaton Square Mall in Wheaton, Illinois where there is an outdoor mall that focuses on a public square smack in the middle of the mall. He talks with folks there about the vanishing of public space and town life, and how too often today our public spaces are only commercial spaces. He calls on other business people and chain stores vendors to imitate these experiments and think about their responsibility to providing suburban America with town squares where they can be neighbors and citizens as well as shoppers and consumers. Local politicians might reflect on how hard it is to resist developers and why zoning laws (or state court decisions) interfere with civic uses of malls. On the way to reminding America of how little is left of the civic space we need to cultivate civil society, the President shows off a mall that is trying to do something bold about the problem and gives us a lesson in overcoming defeatism.

* * * * *

Of these three kinds of events, I prefer the second and third to the first and believe that a combination of those two would be very effective. I could envision a town meeting ~~up~~ down the road IN WHICH PARTICIPANTS IN THE EARLIER MORE SPECIFIC EVENTS GATHERED to talk through with the Presidents lessons learned, activities undertaken, new commitments made, and agendas that were expanded.

A SECOND PHASE of such a program might begin to envision legislative initiatives at the Federal level that would help civic partnerships and community covenant. The Walt Whitman Center is exploring several avenues here (Malls, Telecommunication and Campaign Finance Reform, Arts Education -- see enclosure) and Dan Coats and Bill Bennett have offered nineteen legislative proposals using federal funds as inducements for civil society and family values activity (see enclosure) from a Republican perspective. The point here would be to follow up on exhortation and encouragement with programs aimed at sustaining and extending civil society and its activities (the CNCS can be effectively positioned as exactly such a civic partnership). It might even offer some hope for a bipartisan agenda here (just in case the President still faces a hostile Congress next year!)

Although this need not be planned in detail here, it would be prudent to think about it systematically now so that scheduled events could be selected that reflected areas in which the President could continue to show an interest and undertake legislative initiatives. For the underlying aim of the program is to help give to the President's core beliefs a set of principles and issues that are coherent, visionary and consistent over time and that become the basis not just for a set of events but for Presidential leadership at home and abroad.

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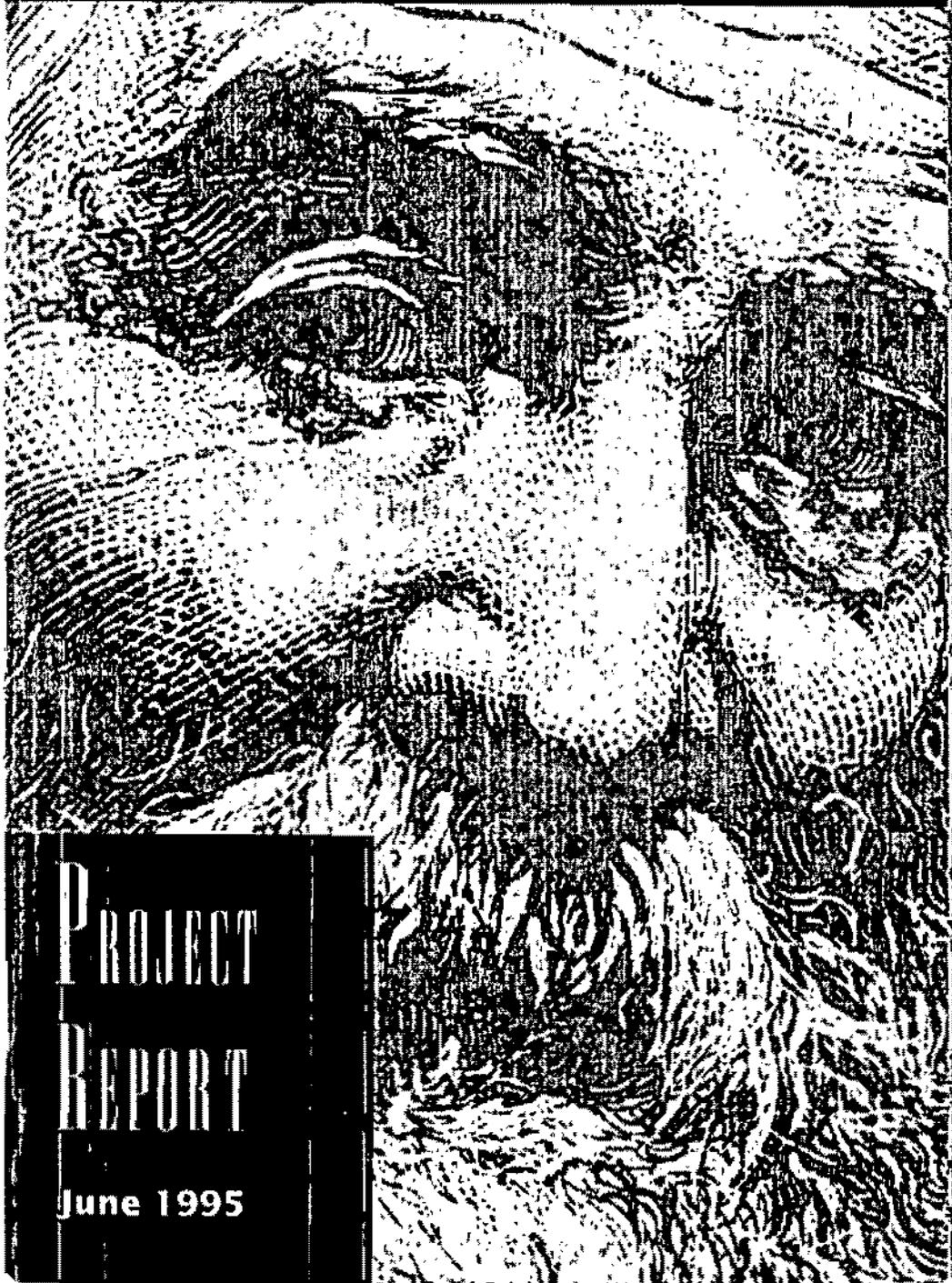
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THE WALT WHITMAN CENTER
FOR THE
CULTURE AND POLITICS OF DEMOCRACY



PROJECT
REPORT

June 1995

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CIVIC *A Call for a New
Citizenship*
DECLARATION

A New Citizenship Project of the American Civic Forum

December 9, 1994

An Occasional Paper of the Kettering Foundation