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**THE CONSTITUTION
AND THE REAL THOUSAND POINTS OF LIGHT¹**

Keynote Address
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As he sought funds for a projected Commission on the Year 2000, Daniel Bell approached the head of a major foundation. The response was that predicting the future was exceedingly difficult or utterly trivial. He demanded of Bell one valid prediction or he would get no money. Bell attempted one: "This is 1964. In November of this year there will be an election for President of the United States, and in 1968, 1972, 1976, '80, '84, '88, '92, '96, and in the year 2000 there will be elections for President of the United States." The foundation head exclaimed, "That's a darn trivial prediction." Bell replied, "There are more than 120 nations in the world. About how many of those can you make that prediction?" Bell received his grant.²

That one of the greatest achievements in the world's political history could be called "trivial" highlights the problem we faced in commemorating the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution -- a charter whose very success led to complacency so great that efforts to commemorate it were at first met largely with indifference.³

My time with you reviews how Phi Kappa Phi began to shake off this lethargy with a special issue of its National Forum titled Toward the Bicentennial of The Constitution; how this same kind of voluntary effort helped the commemoration succeed -- just as volunteer efforts created and sustained the Constitution in the first place; and how involvement with the commemoration strengthened Constitutional values among volunteer leaders.

The experience of serving as Staff Director of the Commission on the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution has convinced me that opinion leaders, such as those in Phi Kappa Phi, should strengthen the spirit of volunteerism in others. This, more than most things we can do, can help Americans solve their problems. As President George Bush says, "There is no problem in America

that is not being solved somewhere."⁴

Forum Editor Steve White and the board filled the issue on the Constitution with clear, thoughtful articles by illustrious scholars and government leaders. Multiple sources of funding and the American Bar Association facilitated distribution of 576,000 copies to social scientists, lawyers, leaders, and Phi Kappa Phi. About 15,000 copies were given to foreign leaders, scholars and libraries.

This special issue was the most widely disseminated scholarly document pertaining to the Constitution produced since Stanford University Press published Your Rugged Constitution in 1950.⁵ Eminently readable, it stimulated thought as to why liberty, though widely sought, has been so rare, and what conditions engender and perpetuate it.

Phi Kappa Phi's initiative expressed the implicit Constitutional concept that "We the People" not only control government, but also solve problems independently.

FOUNDING AND BICENTENNIAL: THE VOLUNTEERISM FACTOR

American Independence and the Constitution came from acts of popular initiative. Three heroic volunteers -- Hamilton, Jay and Madison -- turned around two to one opposition against ratification at the New York Constitutional Convention by publishing The Federalist. The Founders believed a republic required many virtuous committed citizens to avoid both chaos and tyranny. "Liberty can no more exist without virtue and independence," John Adams warned, "than the body can live and move without a soul."⁶ To Tocqueville, America's voluntary spirit set it apart from Europe.⁷ Volunteerism has created America.

Congress established the Bicentennial Commission in 1985. It drew on this tradition of volunteerism to overcome awesome obstacles including the following: the Commission first met less than two years before the anniversary of the Constitutional Convention; initial appropriations were only \$331,000, with \$700 thousand more expected, compared with \$250 million (in contemporary dollars) spent commemorating the Declaration of Independence; private fund raising was limited by the statute; a new Commission, whose members were devoted but as disparate as Senator Ted Kennedy, Bill Lucas and Phyllis Schlafly, faced time-consuming hurdles in developing agreed upon goals, staff, programs, budget, and organization; and, most devastating of all, there seemed to be virtually no interest in the Bicentennial of the Constitution.

Government agencies tend to regard volunteer efforts as uncontrolled and unreliable or as rivals rather than as allies.

The Commission, however, comprising leaders of experience and imagination, saw volunteer efforts as the only way to succeed. All 23 members were uncompensated. Its Chairman, Warren E. Burger, relinquished the Chief Justiceship in order to devote full time to the Commission.

Appalled by Americans' meager understanding of the Constitution, the Commission vowed to combat it. Studies showed high school texts "did not clearly define the concept of constitution," treated "judicial review superficially," viewed federalism "as simply another constitutional device to obstruct government action, rather than as an underlying principle designed to foster power sharing," emphasized individual rights rather than community responsibilities and devoted less than three percent of content to the Founding (1776 to 1789).⁸ Surveys showed two of five high school students did not know in what half century the Constitution was written;⁹ two out of three did not know the essential difference between a Constitutional system and a dictatorship,¹⁰ and 45 percent believed that the phrase, "from each according to his ability to each according to his need" came from the U.S. Constitution.¹¹

Unlike the 1989 French Bicentennial, the Commission decided against producing a \$67 million extravaganza. Instead, we aimed "to foster among the people ... a just appreciation and a clearer understanding of their constitutional heritage."¹²

To multiply limited resources, we wanted to persuade "thousands of organizations at the grass roots level [to] educate their members and others about" the Constitution's unique ability "to ensure freedom under law."¹³

This difficult task -- to mobilize both private and public agencies -- produced remarkable results. As just a few examples:

- * Despite the absence of Federal grants, Federal agencies, the States and 2500 local governments created Bicentennial organizations to design and carry out an array of programs. Early leaders included the National Endowment for the Humanities which awarded \$24 million to Constitutional research, media, and library projects. The U.S. Park Service presented Constitutional musicals and themes to millions of park visitors. In addition to showing the Constitution itself, the Archives had excellent exhibits. The Defense Department educated enlistees about the Constitution they swear to defend.
- * Many interdisciplinary conferences, which involved community leaders, were held. The research, conferences, and the periodical This Constitution of Project '87, created by the American Political Science and Historical Associations were notable. Many association conferences had constitutional

themes. Thousands of religious congregations and dinner clubs heard presentations about the Constitution.

- * Disney World made the Constitution the theme of its fifteenth birthday with speeches to about 5000 journalists (perhaps the largest number ever gathered) by Nick Daniloff in his first appearance after release from a Soviet prison, Disney President Frank Wells, and Chairman Warren E. Burger, who also held a press conference.
- * About 13 million copies of the Constitution were distributed by the Commission, Phillips Petroleum, Citibank, and others.
- * American Express, and others including Ryder, funded a tour of a remarkable exhibit, including the Magna Carta and a late draft of the Constitution, to 100 cities in 26 States.
- * From the west steps of the Capitol, ABC telecast live a 40-minute celebration on September 16, 1987 with educational speeches by our top leaders. Funded by Xerox and RJR Nabisco, this event attracted 125,000 people.
- * The Advertizing Council worked with the Commission to produce engaging ads, for which television, radio and periodicals gave an estimated \$35 million of free time and space.
- * General Mills placed 15 vignettes on 100 million cereal boxes -- more likely to be read by youngsters than newspaper articles -- which were expected to be seen one billion times.
- * McDonalds printed four artistic tray mats with history and quizzes, expected to make 400 million impressions. Marriott's Roy Rogers also made mats. Others printed millions of panels on milk cartons and shopping bags.
- * In the month of June 1987 alone, 31,700 articles were published about the Constitution. Hundreds of television and radio programs also made constitutional history pervasive.
- * Madison's home, Montpelier, is being restored -- appropriate given that in 1986 only 1 percent of the public knew that Madison played the biggest role in writing the Constitution.¹⁴
- * Merrill Lynch contributed \$6 million to help finance State ratification commemorations, Philadelphia events and an American Bar Association television series.
- * Citizens purchased over 4 million Bicentennial coins, which

yielded a surplus of \$91 million to the U.S. Treasury. These profits uniquely exceeded total appropriations to the Commission of \$53.7 million by the summer of 1989.

Commission Chairman Burger's goal of "a history and civics lesson" for all of us¹⁵ led him to give speeches to such educational groups as the Elementary School Principals Association, the National Council for the Social Studies, and the American Federation of Teachers. The Commission was advised by a volunteer committee, representing major educational organizations, chaired by Elliot Richardson.

The Commission sent hundreds of thousands of packets to schools. A high school writing competition on "How the Separation of Powers Helps Make the Constitution Work" was co-sponsored by USA Today. They prepared a special section of interesting news stories about the original convention and contemporary constitutional issues and distributed it to half a million young people. Other educational projects included a historical-pictorial map contest, assisted by National Geographic and UPS.

Most significant for the educational goal, the Center for Civic Education and the Commission teamed to undertake a near impossible task -- to revolutionize pre-university education about the Constitution. A six-week curriculum was prepared on the ideas and history that went into the Constitution, its writing, the establishment of the government and fundamental rights and responsibilities. Remarkably, this program was approved by people associated with organizations as disparate as Philippa Strum of the ACLU and Dean Jerry Combe of Liberty University.

Through sales and Congressional funding of ten classroom sets for model teachers in each Congressional District, half a million students took the course in 1987-88. A study of the Educational Testing Service showed markedly greater understanding of the Constitution among students who used these materials than among other students. With the production and donation of simplified materials for middle and elementary schools, more than 1.8 million students studied the material in 1988-89. Enrollments will exceed 2 million this coming year. A high school national competition is conducted that requires presentations by every student in a class with cross-examination. One law professor commented that these high schoolers knew more about the Constitution than his law students. The Disney Channel has shown the vitality of the students' interest in the Constitution at the National Competition several times. Former Secretary of Education Ted Bell says he is not aware of any curricular innovation in our history that has spread that widely so rapidly.

The program is implemented in every Congressional District through a network of volunteers. The value of personal

contributions and school materials, time, and facilities multiplies, by about ten times, the impact of the \$8.5 million appropriated by Congress thus far.

Through Fiscal 1989, \$8 million was appropriated for Commission grants, which will upgrade roughly 7000 teachers' knowledge of the Constitution. They teach over half a million students per year.¹⁶

Congress also enacted the Commission proposal for a Madison Fellows Foundation, appropriating \$20 million for an endowment fund to be matched by \$10 million of private contributions to provide scholarships for pre-university teachers for master's degrees on the Constitution.

EFFECT OF BICENTENNIAL EXPERIENCE ON VOLUNTEER LEADERS

What effect did the Bicentennial have on volunteers? I sent questionnaires to particularly active State, local, educational and private association Bicentennial leaders around the country.¹⁷ One third, 482, responded to a single mailing. Many of these people were invited to these positions by State and local officials without resources or support. About half reported that certain negative images had increased.

	decreased	increased or reinforced
My belief that our system of government sometimes operates poorly.	38	62
My discouragement because of the difficulty of raising volunteer support.	53	47
My belief that it is difficult to interest people in the Constitution.	51	49

Despite this frustration, their experience with the Constitution led to increased love for it. Following are some assertions with the percentage of respondents who said the Commemoration increased or reinforced them in that regard:

My commitment to support the Constitution	99
My commitment to learn more about the Constitution	97
My commitment to teach family, friends and others about the Constitution	97

39); opposed movement toward the Parliamentary System (92 - 8); and opposed the holding of a new Constitutional Convention (88 - 12). These Bicentennial leaders strongly disagree with making the last two changes, even though there have been efforts to do so.

Respondents did reveal a willingness to modify structures to help force fiscal responsibility. Though it would strengthen the President's power, the respondents are willing to let him veto line items, (61 - 39) with a slight majority of those who agree feeling strongly. A stronger majority (75 - 25) favor a balanced budget requirement, "except when released due to emergency conditions by a record vote of 60 percent of the House and of the Senate."

This group of Bicentennial leaders believe that a free economy and political system are integrally related. They believe that "free enterprise and the rights of private property are critically important both for political freedom as well as for prosperity" (93 - 7); also, "the U.S. Constitution was very important to the development of an inventive, creative nation with rapid economic growth" (96 - 4).

Interestingly, however, a particular question asked about the independent check the press has on government revealed some reservations.

	Disagree	Agree
Freedoms of speech and press, as presently interpreted, provide sufficient protection to citizens and leaders against unfair and inaccurate portrayals that damage reputations.	42	58

An intriguing finding was that the respondents split 50-50 on whether "The 'free exercise' of religion allows religious groups to seek to enact into law their public policy views without violating the Constitutional clause against 'an establishment of religion.'" The educators responded negatively by 58 to 42 percent. The rest of the respondents, State and local Bicentennial leaders and private (largely nonprofit) leaders, were in agreement by 53 to 47 percent. A separate survey of all law school professors of constitutional law, which yielded a 30 percent return, asked the same question and found them higher in belief that the Constitution allows religious advocacy on policy issues, 58 to 42 percent -- with responding professors from 17 elite law schools even higher at 68 to 32 percent.

Many in this survey, particularly educators, had a remarkable conclusion that would make unconstitutional Black churches'

A majority of these respondents choose "strongly" to describe the increase or reinforcement of these commitments, and most want a national effort "each year to fill Constitution week" with media features and programs.

The one third of the recipients that responded to this survey gave a ringing endorsement to the importance of history. Asked, "On a scale of 1 (unimportant) to 10 (essential), how important in assuring continuous protections of personal freedoms is it for citizens to understand: A) The origins, founding and history of our Constitution?" 62 percent rated it 10. By contrast, on "B) Current judicial interpretations of the Constitution?" only 47 percent rated it 10.

About half rated history and current interpretations equally. Of the rest, twice as many gave the higher rating to history rather than current interpretations. This was not a "conservative" group who tended to exalt the Founding. These respondents, heavily appointed by local and State officeholders, identified themselves as slightly more liberal and Democratic than the country as a whole. Furthermore, a telephone survey of 22 respondents indicated that Bicentennial activities had strengthened their views in each of six questions. The only question, however, in which every respondent indicated a strengthening or reinforcement was the importance of the "origins, founding and history of the Constitution." The majority believed they would have given it a lower rating, 5.8, had there been no Bicentennial. Their actual rating was a 70 percent increase over how they think they would have rated history had they not experienced the Bicentennial.

Three fourths of the respondents estimated their contributions -- an average of over 500 hours and almost \$1000. Two thirds indicated the organizations for which they worked contributed about \$17 million and almost half estimated that organizations to which they belonged contributed about \$13 million. These enthusiastic respondents believed that the Commemoration had about the right amount of intellectual substance and greatly expanded public knowledge and appreciation of the Constitution. They rated the public's current knowledge of the Constitution more than half higher than they estimated it to be before the Commemoration. They rated appreciation for the Constitution as growing by almost half.

The questionnaire also dealt with current constitutional issues, particularly the roles and relationships among branches of government. The respondents preferred a four-year term for Members of the U.S. House of Representatives (58 to 42 percent). However, these Commemoration leaders were reluctant to make other changes. They opposed a single six-year term for the President (70 - 30); opposed a requirement of a two-thirds vote of the Supreme Court to declare national laws unconstitutional (61 -

struggles for civil rights legislation, and various church groups' efforts to outlaw the death penalty or win legislation to help infants or the handicapped. Such a position would allow every group from drug dealers to the organized greedy to have the Constitutional right of legislative advocacy, but religious groups that believe they aim to better society would be prohibited from legislative advocacy.

LESSONS LEARNED

What lessons come from the voluntary initiatives that produced the lasting "Miracle at Philadelphia" and its commemoration?

First, undaunted initiative is alive and well. Innumerable stories of people creating their own ways to honor the Constitution inspired us -- Cheryl Niro had the Constitution read to thousands during lunch hour at Daley Square, Chicago; Jeannie Piazza-Zuniga produced a puppet show on the Founders and entertained some 20,000 children in Miami schools; and James Algernon Johnson, of London, Arkansas, became the first person to fly to all 48 contiguous States in a single trip, and spoke about the Constitution throughout.

Second, though productive, volunteer programs are difficult to manage. Effective promotion of these programs requires personnel as different from normal government functionaries as entrepreneurs are from bookkeepers. They must be imaginative, skilled in working with groups in a non-threatening way, and knowledgeable (in this case about the Constitution and the varied appropriate ways it can be commemorated). They must have patience and staying power. They must be able to persuade people and generate enthusiasm, design assignments that are important but doable, and follow up with frequent personal encouragement.

Third, when volunteering calls for celebration more than celebration, volunteers internalize the subject being promoted. The commitment to supporting and teaching about the Constitution that derived from involvement with its commemoration was extraordinary. This is one of the least recognized aspects of volunteer programs. Well constructed, they may convert sympathetic bystanders into persuasive advocates.

Fourth, maintenance of freedom should be a top priority. People need reminders that freedom is a rare gem -- that is easily crushed by the grinding force of a mortar striking a pestle. Freedom produces a cascade of creativity and benefits, but once lost is costly -- or impossible -- to regain.

Using a variation of our Constitution, Japan has produced an economic miracle, going from one sixth of our per capita income after World War II to in excess of our per capita income now. Taiwan, having started off with a per capita income similar to

Communist China, but with more freedom, now has 17 times the per capita income of the mainland. South Korea's development, with greater freedom, has outstripped North Korea. West Germany, a constitutional democracy, surpassed East Germany.

China has oscillated from letting 100 flowers grow to the Cultural Revolution that stifled intellectuals through prison (an opera singer I met was put in solitary confinement because Mao's wife turned against opera), through house arrest (the Director of the Beijing Symphony Orchestra was locked in his closet for playing Western music), through separation from family and exile to a remote commune, or the daily terror of such horrors. Realists knew that Deng Xiao-ping's allowance of greater freedom in order to modernize might not last. Then students were executed for wanting simple freedoms, and parents were billed \$.13 for the bullet that killed their child.

As Winston Churchill emphasized, "Democracy is the worst form of Government except all those other forms that have been tried...."¹⁸

Fifth, freedom brings a multitude of problems that only the free people can resolve. In contrast, a dictator's will can focus enormous force on a problem. Many of us were angry over deaths caused by drunk drivers, which dwarfs the number of Vietnam War deaths, but we turned a corner when Candy Lightner originated Mothers Against Drunk Driving to honor her victimized daughter.

DIRECTION FOR THE FUTURE

For freedom to succeed, opinion leaders must urge responsible values and behavior by example and precept, particularly in the following five areas:

One. Let us recognize the conditions of freedom. Since the United States has the longest period of expanding freedom with popular sovereignty, this suggests the importance of dispersing power among independent branches of government, the States, and private organizations, such as a free press. This allows public and private checks to stop abuses of power.

Two. Another direction from the Founders is to anticipate the future. In defending their actions, they referred to their posterity and future generations. They saw their creation changing history. Much of the explanation for Japan's rapid economic growth is that they save 20 percent of their income, despite a low interest rate. They forgo instant gratification to invest in the future. Despite a recent increase, Americans only save about one quarter that rate. With chagrin, we note that this enables the Japanese to buy one fourth of U.S. government bonds.

Richard Vetterli and Gary Bryner's In Search of the Republic. In George Washington's Farewell Address he declared, "Of all the dispositions and habits, which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports."²³ Madison declared that a "belief in a God all Powerful wise and good is ... essential to the moral order of the world and to ... happiness...."²⁴ Benjamin Franklin believed most people need religion "to restrain them from Vice, to support their Virtue ... until it becomes habitual."²⁵ Even Founders who were dubious about organized religion believed they would be held accountable for their acts by a divine system of rewards and punishments in an afterlife.²⁶

Could their wisdom be irrelevant for today's problems which may exceed our early ones? Arianna Stassinopoulous, former president of the Cambridge Union, concluded that "The relegation of religion and spirituality to the irrational has been one of the most tragic perversions of the great achievements of Western Rationality, and the main reason for the disintegration of Western Culture."²⁷

Contemporary survey research demonstrates the validity of the Founders' belief that religious people would likely take their civic duty seriously. A study on American values by Connecticut Mutual Life concludes that the 45 million "intensely religious" Americans are likely "to vote often and to become highly involved in their local communities."²⁸ George Gallup found that the highly spiritually committed rank high in being "very happy," in placing importance on family life, and in being more tolerant of persons of different races and religions. They are also concerned about the betterment of society. Forty-six percent of the highly spiritually committed say they are presently working among the poor, the infirm, and the elderly -- almost twice as high as the uncommitted.²⁹

A survey of Independent Sector conducted by the Gallup Poll found that people who attend church weekly (29 percent) were among the most generous givers and volunteers. Although their average household income was well below the national average (\$30,532), they gave an average of 2.7 percent of their household income and volunteered an average of 3.2 hours per week each. Persons who did not attend Church at all had a one-third higher household income (\$41,516), yet they gave 1.1 percent of their household income to charity -- less than half of the percent given by church-goers --and volunteered an average of only 2.5. hours per week.³⁰ Nearly 80 percent of church members contribute to charity, compared with 55 percent of nonmembers. Fifty-one percent of members volunteered, compared with 33 percent of nonmembers.³¹

Furthermore, churches themselves do significant work to solve human problems. A study of Independent Sector found that 46

Three. As Tocqueville said, our first duty is to "educate democracy." A remarkable Bicentennial initiative united such disparate people as the National Association of Evangelicals and their frequent critic, People for the American Way, along with Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter. The document, Education for Democracy, was signed by 150 leaders. It urged moving beyond the self-condemnation of the Vietnam era and called for a curriculum that would extol democracy as "the worthiest form of government ever conceived." They recognize that "any number of popular curriculum materials deprecate the open preference for liberal democratic values as 'ethnocentric.'" Scornful of value-free education, they declared, "It is hardly necessary to be neutral in regard to freedom over bondage, or the rule of law over the rule of the mob."¹⁹

Four. We must nurture the unique American willingness to serve others. We must cultivate these qualities in an on-coming generation that is decreasingly trained in them. Yet youth seek practical ideals. They need to understand the reasoning of the Founders that we can only survive through widespread public virtue -- which they can exemplify. There is an appeal to President George Bush's insistence that "From now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include serving others."²⁰

Peter Drucker's forthcoming book on volunteerism is just one example of new literature available on the freshly discovered voluntary sector. Over twenty universities have set up teaching and research programs about the independent sector.

Last year, around \$87 billion was contributed by individuals to charitable organizations. This amounts to 2.1 percent of household income.²¹ Independent Sector's program "Give Five" urges all people to contribute five percent of their income and five hours a week. William J. Byron, S.J., President of Catholic University, suggested, tongue in cheek, that by adding the two fives together, this could be a modern interpretation of tithing.²² If achieved, this could produce another \$116 billion and 45 billion hours of volunteer time. Even if much less were achieved it could vastly help people.

Five. Religious faith should be perceived as an ally in nurturing the same type of volunteerism that created, developed, and commemorated this nation's founding. Since some people judge religion on the basis of a particular doctrine, policy or evangelistic style, this broader concept of religion needs elaboration.

The Founders widely believed that the public virtue essential for the survival of the republic would derive largely from religious faith. This is documented in scholarly works such as Religion In American Public Life, published by the Brookings Institution, and

percent of all religious contributions go to other than ecclesiastical work,³² such as human services and welfare, health, education, arts and culture, international activity and the environment.

My survey indicates that the value of personal contributions other than time estimated to have been given to the Bicentennial was on average 85 percent higher for respondents for whom religion is "very important" than those for whom religion was "not very important." Estimates of hours contributed to the Bicentennial were also 14 percent higher for religious than non religious respondents.

People of all views are concerned about the near total removal of the study of religion from public schools. Even the strongly separationist People for the American Way, in 1987, said, "We must overcome the fear of controversy that drives textbook publishers and curriculum developers to 'dumb-down' ... coverage of religion in history...."³³ Their president, John Buchanan, said:

... there is no escaping the impact of religion, especially the Judeo-Christian tradition, on Western civilization, on the life of our republic, on the lives of many leaders in each generation, and I don't think that you can actually teach history and ignore that reality.... In a pluralistic society teaching about different religions, so that we can understand each other fully is a good thing.... I think that we would favor courses that help students understand the various religions that comprise our pluralistic society and our planet and treat religion in its proper place as a real influence in the lives of people and the life of our republic.³⁴

CONCLUSION

Volunteerism is exemplified by George Washington, the launching of whose Presidency we commemorate this year. To create a free nation, he served as Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army, forgoing, in advance, any compensation. For the benefit of America he rebuked proposals that he become king.³⁵ Washington served as Chairman of the Constitutional Convention without compensation. He also refused a salary as President.³⁶

America faces herculean challenges, but all is not lost. Washington's example still informs America. International polling shows that Americans stand out in doing volunteer work, in valuing science, in saying that a "feeling of accomplishment" is the most important aspect of their work, in religious faith, in confidence in their institutions, and in pride in their

country -- 80 percent of Americans compared with 38 percent of Europeans.³⁷

Let us keep Washington's image bright. Let us exemplify and teach others to cherish our Constitution and the free system it undergirds, to carry out the responsibilities that will sustain it, to gain the joys of giving of ourselves to help others, so that "We the People" are solving some of the most difficult problems we have ever faced. Only this prescription can counter corrosive greed and cynicism. Our individual challenges are of lesser magnitude than George Washington's, but as he changed history, so can each of us make a difference.

NOTES

1. Appreciation is expressed to the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars for a Guest Scholarship permitting time to reflect on this subject, to Geneva Steel for support to survey lay Bicentennial leaders, and to Dr. Susan Eberley of the Brigham Young University Sociology Department for computerizing the analysis of the questionnaire responses. Thanks also to Calvin Harper, Ariel Clark, John Armstrong, and Ben Amini for assistance with the survey and research, and to other friends with whom I interacted on thoughts pertaining to volunteerism and the Bicentennial.
2. Conversation with Daniel Bell, 26 Jul. 1989.
3. See Michael G. Kammen, A Machine that Would Go of Itself: The Constitution in American Culture (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986).
4. The White House, Remarks by the President at the New York Partnership Luncheon, 22 Jun. 1989.
5. By Bruce and Esther Findlay. According to Peter Spitzform at Stanford University Press, 630,000 copies of Your Rugged Constitution have been disseminated to date.
6. As quoted in Richard Vetterli and Gary Bryner, In Search of the Republic: Public Virtue and the Roots of American Government (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1987) 77.
7. Alexis de Tocqueville, "Of the Use Which the Americans Make of Public Associations in Civil Life" in Brian O'Connell, ed., America's Voluntary Spirit (New York: The Foundation Center, 1983) 53-57. See also Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America (New York: Vintage Books, 1945) I: chapter 4.
8. John J. Patrick, Richard C. Remy and Mary Jane Turner, Education on the Constitution in Secondary Schools: Teaching Strategies and Materials for the Bicentennial and Beyond (Bloomington, Indiana: ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education, 1986) 4-7.
9. Chester E. Finn, Jr. and Diane Ravitch, "Survey Results: U.S. 17-year-olds Know Shockingly Little about History and Literature," The American School Board Journal (Oct. 1987): 31-33.
10. Center for Civic Education, Preliminary Report on High School Students' Knowledge and Understanding of the History and Principles of the United States Constitution and Bill of Rights (Calabasas, California: Center for Civic Education, 1987) executive summary.

11. The Hearst Corporation, The American Public's Knowledge of the U.S. Constitution: A National Survey of Public Awareness and Personal Opinion (New York: The Hearst Corporation, 1987) 12.
12. First Report of the Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution (17 Sep. 1985) executive summary.
13. Ibid.
14. NBC News/Wall Street Journal, survey taken Sep. 20-22, 1986, supplied by The Roper Center. This survey indicated that 31 percent thought Jefferson played the biggest role, though he did not attend the Convention, being in France.
15. The salience of this goal is demonstrated by it being on the cover of the first calendar produced by the Commission late 1985.
16. Derived from information supplied by Anne Fickling, Associate Director of Education for Grants, Commission on the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution, 3 Aug. 1989.
17. The original six page questionnaire was sent to four groups: State Bicentennial leaders, local Bicentennial leaders, educational Bicentennial leaders and leaders of private (largely nonprofit) organizations that undertook Bicentennial projects on top of their regular work. All leaders with general responsibility as well as leaders who were among the more accomplished were selected. For example, State leaders were asked to identify some of the more active communities in their States, and their Designated Bicentennial Community Chairmen were sent questionnaires. It was thought that people who were among the more active would be more likely to fill out the questionnaire and would have more significant experience on which to make comments.
18. House of Commons, 11 Nov. 1947.
19. American Federation of Teachers, The Educational Excellence Network, and Freedom House, Education for Democracy: A Statement of Principles (Washington, D.C.: American Federation of Teachers, 1987) 7, 10, 12. See also Barbara Vobejda, "Teaching of Democratic Values Urged," Washington Post 20 May 1987.
20. The White House, Points of Light Initiative, 22 Jun. 1989.
21. Conversation with Murray Weitzman, economic consultant to Independent Sector, 26 Jul. 1989.
22. William J. Byron, "Five and Five," Commencement Address at Neumann College, Aston, Pennsylvania, 20 May 1989.

23. George de Huszar, et al., Basic American Documents (Ames, Iowa: Littlefield, Adams, 1953) 2: 108-9, as cited in R. Vetterli and G. Bryner In Search of the Republic 69.
24. Galliard Hunt, ed., The Writings of James Madison (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1902) 9: 230, as cited in R. Vetterli and G. Bryner, In Search of the Republic 69. See also Irving Brant, James Madison: The Virginia Revolutionist (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1941) 1: 118-20.
25. Albert Henry Smyth, ed., The Writings of Benjamin Franklin (New York: Haskell, 1970) 9: 521-22, as cited in R. Vetterli and G. Bryner, In Search of the Republic 69.
26. Thomas Jefferson, though anticlerical, declared his own belief in "one only God" who is "all perfect," and "that there is a future state of rewards and punishments." Found in A. A. Lipscomb and E. A. Bergh, eds., The Writings of Thomas Jefferson (Washington D.C.: Jefferson Memorial Association, 1903-4) 15: 384-85, as cited in R. Vetterli and G. Bryner, In Search of the Republic 102. Similarly Benjamin Franklin stated, "I never doubted ... the existence of the Deity; that he made the world and govern'd it by his Providence;... that our souls are immortal; and that all crime will be punished, and virtue rewarded either here or hereafter." Found in Benjamin Franklin, Autobiography (New York: G.P. Putnam, n.d.) 186, as cited in A. James Reichley, Religion in American Public Life (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1985) 102.
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