1980  William A. Galston serves as the Chief Speechwriter for presidential candidate John Anderson.

1984  Galston works as Issues Director for Democratic candidate Walter Mondale’s 1984 presidential campaign.

1988  Galston is among Senator Al Gore’s (D-TN) presidential campaign advisors.


1992  

*February*  Galston helps craft presidential candidate William J. Clinton’s political message. (*Buffalo News*, 02/16/1992)

It is reported that many Democratic Party leaders and strategists believe Clinton’s candidacy signals the Party is moving in a new direction. Clinton distinguishes his bid for the presidency from the other Democratic candidates with centrist positions that emphasize social responsibility, welfare reform, and economic growth, as opposed to redistributive policies. According to Galston, “This is Waterloo for traditional Democrats.” (*The Christian Science Monitor*, 02/21/1992; *The Washington Post*, 07/24/1994)

*April*  Recently published studies demonstrate that children of divorce are more likely to be poor students, juvenile delinquents, and have emotional commitment problems. In response to these studies, Galston argues, in an article featured in a new communitarian journal, *The Responsive Community*, that “we all pay for systems of welfare, mental and physical disability, criminal justice and incarcerations. Whenever institutions and practices have such pervasive consequences, society has the right to . . . reshape them in light of its collective goals.” (*U.S. News & World Reports*, 04/16/1992)

*May*  Clinton’s campaign staff seeks new methods for delivering his message to the American people. Galston states, “People believe increasingly that they can make their own judgments, based on direct access to the primary sources of information. They don’t need or want others pre-chewing their political food.” (*The Washington Post*, 05/19/1992)

*July*  Clinton’s campaign speeches emphasize that government alone cannot solve the nation’s problems. He states, government must form a “new covenant” with the American people that provides more opportunity, but also demands more responsibility from all elements of society. Galston reaffirms Clinton’s vision: “It
is a new moral conception of what government is all about. Democrats have been seen too often as the party of rights, not responsibilities, the party of license, not liberty, and Clinton has turned a very important corner.” (Los Angeles Times, 07/14/1992)

August

Galston, along with Democratic political consultant James Carville and campaign pollster Stanley Greenberg, advises candidate Clinton on how to appeal to middle class voters. Galston observes, “Most Americans these days are tolerant traditionalists. In pursuit of that, each party faces a challenge. The challenge for the Republicans is to be perceived as tolerant. The challenge for Democrats is to be perceived as traditional.” (The Boston Globe, 07/23/1992; The News & Observer-Raleigh, NC, 07/23/1992)

November

Clinton wins the presidency on the 2nd. Galston attributes Clinton’s success in part to his ability to present himself as an alternative to the trickle-down economic policies of Reagan-Bush. More importantly, Galston believes, Clinton’s election is the result of presenting himself to the American voter as an alternative to traditional Democrats. (St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 11/04/1992)

Reports circulate that President-elect Clinton is open to the ideological framework and policy initiatives of communitarianism – a movement that stresses community interests over the individual. Galston, a self-identified communitarian, argues that “communitarian ideas are in the air, and there is a good chance that the Clinton Administration” will govern according to some of these principles. (USA Today, 11/18/1992)

Galston and other academics call upon President-elect Clinton to make family values a central theme for his Administration. In the “Communitarian Position Paper on the Family,” they argue that a two-parent family is the cornerstone of a civil and moral society. They call for specific public policies that strengthen families, including publicly financed family leave for new parents, flex-time at work, better daycare centers, and new divorce laws that favor children and slow the rush to divorce. (St. Petersburg Times, 11/21/1992)

December

President-elect Clinton attempts to represent all sides of the Democratic Party within his Administration by placing Democratic Leadership Council (DLC) moderates alongside more traditional liberals in his Cabinet. According to Galston, Clinton “has institutionalized diversity. He has not only constructed a government that looks like America – he’s also constructing a government that looks like the Democratic Party.” (The Washington Post, 12/20/1992)

1993

January

President-elect Clinton and his advisors begin to investigate the political viability of establishing a national service program that would grant loans to college students who would repay the debt after graduation by working as police officers, teachers, or drug counselors. Galston helps to prepare options for Clinton on the
size and shape of the program. He acknowledges that “the range [of the program] will be determined by the overall fiscal picture. But we do know that there is not one single road to national service.” (Plain Dealer, 01/05/1993)

On the 15th, Galston, along with Bruce Reed, is named Deputy Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy. Carol Rasco will head the Administration’s domestic policy office and serve as Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy. Shirley Sagawa fills the position of Special Assistant for Domestic Policy. (The Washington Post, 01/15/1993)

Clinton is inaugurated 42nd President of the United States on the 20th. (The New York Times, 01/21/1993)

**February**

Clinton pledges to reform the welfare system so that it serves as “a second chance, not a way of life.” (The Washington Post, 02/03/1993)

Clinton signs the Family and Medical Leave Act into law. The plan requires employers to permit employees up to twelve weeks of unpaid leave during any twelve-month period due to the birth or adoption of a child, serious illness of a child or parent, or the employee’s own serious health condition. (The Washington Post, 02/05/1993)

On the 11th, Galston, Assistant to the President and Director of the White House Office of National Service Eli Segal, Deputy Assistant to the President and Deputy Director of National Service Richard Allen, Special Assistant to the President and General Counsel of the Office of National Service Jack Lew and Director of Communications George Stephanopoulos attend a meeting with President Clinton in the Cabinet room where they review the cost of the proposed national service program. (Steven Waldman, The Bill: How Legislation Really Becomes Law, A Case Study of the National Service Bill, New York: Penguin Books, 1995, p. 48)

**March**

President Clinton challenges young Americans to join what will be the 1990s equivalent of the Peace Corps. Clinton describes his proposal as a descendent of federal programs such as the Civilian Conservation Corps, the G.I. Bill, the VISTA volunteer program, and the Peace Corps. The tentative plan calls for participants to trade a year of community service for two years of college or training costs. New cost estimates for the first year of the program range from $400 million for 25,000 participants to $3.4 billion for 100,000 participants by 1997. Clinton also announces 1,000 participants will test the project in the coming summer. (The Washington Post, 03/02/1993)

President Clinton seeks to improve the Head Start pre-school program by increasing funds to give school children the opportunity to participate for at least two years, extend the length of the school day, and improve teacher training. Galston is primarily responsible for pinpointing and developing a solution that builds on the parts of Head Start that work. (Time, 03/08/1993)
April

On the 30th, Clinton delivers a speech at the University of New Orleans that outlines the Administration’s national service program. In this address to community service organizations, the President lays out the specific parameters of the program. He states, “national service will mark the start of a new era for America . . . in which every citizen . . . can become an agent of change, armed with the knowledge and experience that a college education brings.” Galston and Lew fly on the press plane to answer questions before the event. (1993 Congressional Quarterly Almanac, Washington D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1994, pp. 400-401; Waldman, pp. 218-130; The Washington Post, 05/01/1993)

The Administration attempts to gain congressional support for Clinton’s national service program by scaling back proposed tuition awards from $20,000 to $10,000 over two years. Members of the DLC express disappointment over the willingness of the Administration to reduce the size of the national service program’s tuition awards. (1993 Congressional Quarterly Almanac, pp. 400-401; The Washington Post, 05/01/1993)

May

Galston is authorized by the Administration to study what role, if any, government should play in counteracting the effect of divorce on the nation’s children. (The Philadelphia Inquirer, 05/04/1993)

Galston, along with other political analysts and government officials, debate the President’s economic plan at the University of Minnesota. Galston argues that it is possible both to expand social spending and to decrease the size of the federal deficit. He claims that education, health care and social programs for the nation’s children and families are as critical to America’s future economic growth as is tackling the deficit. However, U.S. Representative Vin Weber (R-MN) counters that “the American people did not elect this President to expand existing programs. And they’re rejecting him today because that’s what it looks like he’s doing.” The debate is a part of the Mondale Forum at the University’s Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs. (Star Tribune, 05/08/1993)

June

At a day-long congressional “teach-in,” leading communitarians draw attention to the plight of American families. They call for a national debate on issues ranging from child poverty, divorce rates, and teenage pregnancy to youth violence. Galston, political scientist Jean Bethke Elshtain of Vanderbilt University and sociologist Amitai Etzioni of George Washington University are among those in attendance. Galston praises the Clinton Administration’s efforts to strengthen families, from the passage of the expanded Earned Income Tax Credit program to pending welfare reform. However, he acknowledges that unless a “conversion of consciousness” occurs within American society that acknowledges the importance of the family, “we won’t solve the[se] problems.” (The Washington Post, 11/04/1993)
**July**

On the 25th, Senate Republicans filibuster to block a vote on the national service bill. Republicans attack what they consider to be an example of the Democrats’ tax and spend agenda. Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole (R-KS) argues that the national service bill is an instance of “willy-nilly mortgaging of our future” that increases spending while raising taxes. (*The New York Times*, 07/25/1993)

The House passes the national service bill on the 28th. In the House version of the bill, Veterans’ Affairs Committee Chairman G.V. “Sonny” Montgomery (D-MS) includes a compromise measure that further trims tuition awards to $9,450 over two years. (*1993 Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, p. 401)

**August**

On the 3rd, the Senate passes the national service bill. The Senate’s version of the bill caps spending for the program to satisfy Republicans’ cost concerns. (*1993 Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, p. 402)


**September**

On the 21st, President Clinton signs the national service bill (H.R. 2010, S. 919) into law. The law provides $9,450 in education over two years, a stipend that is at least eighty-five percent of the minimum wage, and health insurance to students in exchange for one year of community service. The program is to be administered by the soon-to-be created Corporation for National and Community Service. (*1993 Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, pp. 400-403)

**November**

The 1,342-page health care reform bill is sent to Congress. The bill provides for universal coverage, with employers paying eighty percent of their employees’ plans, and the government subsidizing low-income individuals. The plans are required to offer comprehensive benefits. (*1993 Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, p. 322)

On the 13th, Clinton gives a speech before the Church of God in Christ in Memphis where he asserts that the United States is entering a new phase in the struggle for racial equality. The President believes that it is time to be honest about both the gains the nation has made and the huge problems still ahead. The speech embodies Clinton’s belief that while government has a large role to play in fostering social justice, government on its own is no substitute for nurturing families and strong communities. Galston reaffirms the President’s position that nothing is more important to a child’s future than having “at least one caring and competent adult to show the way.” (*The Washington Post*, 11/16/1993)

**December**

The Clinton Administration proposes a two year limit on welfare benefits. After the 2nd year, recipients are required to move into private sector jobs or community service. Galston is among those who are preparing a formal set of welfare reform
options for presentation to Clinton later this month. He states, “We cannot afford not to get aggressive in this field.” (The Washington Post, 12/04/1993)

Administration officials indicate that President Clinton will send a welfare reform bill to Congress next year containing four or five key elements of his campaign promise to “end welfare as we know it.” Galston emphasizes, “The President is absolutely determined not to just tinker around the margins of this issue, but to effect fundamental change.” (The Washington Post, 12/27/1993)

1994

January

Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-NY) chides the Administration for moving too slowly on welfare reform and suggests that he might hold up consideration of the President’s health care initiative if welfare reform is not made a higher priority. (The Washington Post, 01/10/1994)

The American Public Welfare Association (APWA) adds its voice to the welfare debate. APWA offers a program similar to President Clinton’s welfare reform plan. But according to Galston, the growing number of out-of-wedlock births to welfare mothers is left out of the APWA’s equation. He believes this factor is “the most important indicator of welfare dependency.” (The Washington Post, 01/12/1994)

Galston contends that Clinton’s public policy agenda runs on the belief that responsible government activism can solve the nation’s ills. He states, “The basic principle under which we are operating is we have to have a government that does more with less. This is an activist Administration. We are here to deal with problems. But we are committed to fiscal restraint as part of that.” (The Washington Post, 01/16/1994)

The Clinton Administration plans to finance several nationally televised New England-style town meetings to explore the bonds that hold American society together. Galston states the project is close to the President’s heart. The objective of the discussions is to open lines of communication among divergent cultural and social groups in order to reduce tensions in American society. (The New York Times, 01/16/1994)

Galston argues that government lacks both “the carrots and the sticks” to change American society. The absence of a citizenry that has reached consensus on certain values and acts accordingly is the major stumbling block toward progress. (The Washington Post, 01/18/1994)

The Clinton Administration intends to launch “an all-out culture-based war” against unwed-teen pregnancy, according to Galston. The campaign will utilize the methods employed in the anti-drug and anti-smoking campaigns. Galston says the White House will galvanize a national campaign using television and
radio public service announcements and classroom education.  (*The Christian Science Monitor*, 02/01/1994)

**March**  
In a speech to the Institute for American Values, Galston asserts that “government policy has been very, very ill-conceived” with regard to families. The tax code is skewed against families with children “for reasons deliberate and accidental” and “we should turn that around.” Galston asserts as irrefutable the fact that family disintegration hurts children.  (*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 03/27/1994)

**June**  
Administration officials, including Galston, conduct a review of academic literature on teenage pregnancy. From the review, Galston concludes that the Administration “had learned something from the previous decade. You might describe the emerging consensus as ‘abstinence-plus.’” Galston argues that for teenagers fifteen or younger “the principal message has to be: don’t, you’re too young.” For older teenagers, he says, the principal message is still, “don’t, but if you do, act responsibly and make sure you don’t do something that harms your future.”  (*The New York Times*, 06/10/1994; *The Washington Post*, 06/22/1994)

**July**  
Galston, Professor Amitai Etzioni, and representatives from government and education groups gather at the White House to discuss character-building programs for young Americans. The aim of this meeting is to focus the nation on how to instill young people with the self-discipline and empathy needed to combat the crisis in America’s schools created by declining discipline and rising violence.  (*The Christian Science Monitor*, 07/29/1994)

**August**  
Galston argues that public policy must correspond with changing family structures: “We have to find a more effective way of convincing young people of what is in fact true: namely, that they are diminishing their own prospects and the prospects of their children if they have children too early. That is, before they’re emotionally mature, before they’ve completed their educational training, and before they’re in a stable relationship, preferably marriage.”  (*Houston Chronicle*, 08/14/1994)

**September**  
After a year of “obstructions, fragmentation, and delay,” Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell (D-ME) declares the health care reform plan “dead.”  (Hill, p. 121)

**October**  
At a conference of liberal activists organized by *Mother Jones* magazine, Galston sketches a “dark picture” of the political landscape. He states that the Clinton Administration is “a qualified policy success, and an almost unqualified political failure.” He admits that “the weight of populist energy is not in our favor.”  (*The Wall Street Journal*, 10/19/1994)

**November**  
The Republicans win control of the House and Senate in the mid-term elections.  
Representative Newt Gingrich (R-GA), the Speaker of the House-elect calls for hearings on a constitutional amendment for school prayer and urges passage in
Congress by the 4\textsuperscript{th} of July. President Clinton states that he will “reserve judgment” on the issue. Galston explains that Clinton has a long, detailed record in favor of moment-of-silence legislation. As Governor of Arkansas, Clinton helped write a bill authorizing schools to “conduct brief periods of silent meditation and reflection at the beginning of the school day.” Nevertheless, Galston emphasizes that Clinton has “consistently drawn the line” against coerced prayer. \textit{(The Washington Post, 11/17/1994; The New York Times, 11/17/1994)}

The Republican Party takeover of the House of Representatives changes the context of the Administration’s domestic policy initiatives. Bruce Reed and Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen repeatedly advise Clinton to adopt centrist policy positions on issues such as school prayer and trade. \textit{(Time, 11/28/1994)}

\textbf{1995}

January

President Clinton kicks off his campaign for a “middle-class bill of rights” - a combination of targeted tax breaks for middle-income Americans and a reform of the federal network of job-training programs. The proposals are the Clinton White House’s answer to the Republicans’ “Contract With America.” The Administration’s plan would consolidate 53 separate federal training programs into one. This initiative enables unemployed and low-income workers to receive up to $2,620 a year for a maximum of two years to learn new skills. Galston believes, “The job-training proposals stand a good chance of passing Congress.” White House officials estimate the job training provisions would cost $3.5 billion. \textit{(The Washington Post, 01/11/1995)}

March

Reports circulate that Galston will leave his position in the Clinton Administration at the end of May. \textit{(The Washington Post 03/17/1995; The Boston Globe, 04/09/1995)}

Clinton asks Christopher Edley, Associate Director for Government Affairs in the Office of Management and Budget, and George Stephanopoulos, Advisor to the President for Policy and Strategy, to conduct a thorough review of federal affirmative action practices. Galston will also serve on this committee. \textit{(Carol Gelderman, All the Presidents’ Words: The Bully Pulpit and the Creation of the Virtual Presidency, New York: Walker and Company, 1997, p. 171; The New Republic, 03/20/1995)}

May

In June, the Administration will host a forum on the nation’s problems, where participants will try to identify ways to strengthen the family, reduce teen-pregnancy, curb violence on the streets and in schools, and rekindle a spirit of volunteerism. Galston states, “The focus of this meeting is the quest for common ground in the midst of the very vigorous cultural, moral and religious discussions that the country is now having.” He continues, “A key part of any President’s job is to try to speak on behalf of the nation and summon up its shared understanding of what really matters to society.” \textit{(The Associated Press, 05/16/1995)}
Galston leaves his post in the Clinton Administration.

**Summer**

In the summer of 1995, Galston serves on the Board of the National Campaign to Prevent Teen Pregnancy and as Chair of the Campaign’s Task Force on Religion and Public Values. He also is the Saul I. Stern Professor of Civic Engagement and Director of the Institute for Philosophy and Public Policy at the University of Maryland’s School of Public Affairs.

**1996**

**August**

President Clinton signs welfare reform legislation into law, declaring, “Today, we are ending welfare as we know it.” *(The Washington Post, 08/23/1996)*

**1998**

**January**

On the 7\textsuperscript{th}, Sidney Blumenthal organizes a “thinkers’ dinner” at the White House. The aim of this event is to bring together prominent Americans and intellectuals to discuss the ideas framing the State of the Union address. Galston is among those in attendance. *(Sidney Blumenthal, *The Clinton Wars*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003, p. 314)*
Joining the Administration

- When did you first meet Governor Clinton? What were your earliest impressions of him?
- What were your observations of Clinton’s involvement with the Democratic Leadership Council?
- What was your role during the 1992 campaign? How did Clinton’s 1992 campaign compare to the other presidential campaigns on which you’ve worked?
- What was your role in the transition?
- How did you come to be selected as Deputy Domestic Policy Adviser? Did you have any discussions, at the time, with the President or Carol Rasco about your responsibilities?
- Discuss your move into Washington politics.

Deputy Domestic Policy Advisor

- How did you view your role as Deputy Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy? What were your primary responsibilities? What issues and activities occupied most of your time?
- With whom did you work most closely? Characterize your working relationship with Carol Rasco, Bruce Reed, Eli Segal, Hillary Rodham Clinton, and Vice-President Gore.
- Describe how the first year’s priorities were established. What was the division of labor in domestic policy matters internally, especially in relation to the National Economic Council and the Office of Management and Budget? Were there any debates over issue jurisdiction?
- Discuss the process of domestic policy agenda-setting, formulation, coordination, and implementation in the Clinton White House. Comment on your role in formulating and coordinating policies on health care, welfare, national service, teenage pregnancy, tax reform, and other key issues.
- What factors did the Administration consider in deciding priorities between welfare reform and health care policy? Discuss your involvement in welfare reform policy making. What were the key debates over welfare reform?
- Discuss how the national service initiative progressed from campaign promise to a legislative proposal. What coalitions were used to mobilize support for this program? What strategies did you employ to gain support from both Democrats and Republicans for the National Service initiative?
- To what extent did your role include public outreach? Describe your working relationships with the Office of Communications and the Office of Public Liaison.
- Discuss your interactions with members of Congress, congressional committees, executive departments and agencies, and interest groups.
• What role did cabinet officers play in setting domestic policy? What other Administration officials had a role in managing domestic policy?
• Describe the internal reaction to the Republican takeover of the House in 1994. Did that change your handling of domestic policy issues?

The Clinton Presidency in Retrospect
• What do you consider your greatest accomplishments as Deputy Domestic Policy Advisor? What were the most challenging aspects of your job?
• Did the Democratic Leadership Council influence policy initiatives? What was the role of that group during the Clinton Administration?
• How influential were communitarian values on Clinton and on his domestic policy agenda? In what instances did communitarianism have the most influence on the Administration’s domestic policy agenda? When did it not?
• What influence did Clinton have on the communitarian debate?
• What were Clinton’s greatest assets as President? Assess his strengths and weaknesses as a domestic policymaker, a legislative leader, and leader of public opinion.
• What features of the Clinton presidency, and your roles in it, were overlooked or misunderstood by the press?
• How should the Clinton presidency be viewed in history?
TIMELINES

- William A. Galston News Timeline, prepared by Jessica M. Steiner, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 03/20/2004.

- Timeline of the Clinton Presidency, prepared by Robbie Robinson, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 05/30/2002.

SELECTED DOMESTIC POLICY ISSUES

Communitarianism and Governance


Families Values


• David S. Broder, “Unstable Families are at the Heart of Social Decay,” Plain Dealer, 03/26/1993.


• Larry Witham, “Is Divorce the Root of All Evil?” Insight on the News, 04/03/1995.
Welfare Reform


National Service Program


**School Prayer**


**Education**


**Affirmative Action**


The Corporation for National Service was created by the National Service Bill, which was signed into law in September of 1993. The Corporation included the following programs during Eli Segal’s 1993-1995 tenure as President & CEO.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AmeriCorps (Established September, 1994)</td>
<td>Networks service programs, largely selected and monitored by the states, and coordinated nationally. For program participants age 17 and older who participate in community service, they receive a stipend, health and childcare benefits, and $4725 for a year for no more than two years from the federal government.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commission on National and Community Service (Established 1990)</td>
<td>Authorizes grants to Learn and Serve America (see below). Provides demonstration grants for national service programs to youth corps, non-profits, colleges, and universities. Incorporated into the Corporation for National Service in September, 1994.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learn and Serve America (Established 1990)</td>
<td>Provides funds to states and higher education institutions to include service activities as part of classroom education. Incorporated into the Corporation for National Service in September, 1994.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Civilian Community Corps / AmeriCorps*NC CCC (Established 1994)</td>
<td>Originally established to allow youth living on military bases to focus on environmental service projects, without the requirement of a high school diploma. Eventually targeted towards environmental and community work. Incorporated into AmeriCorps in September, 1994.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Senior Service Corps (Established 1973)</td>
<td>Includes the Foster Grandparents Program, Senior Companions Program, and the Retired and Senior Volunteer Program. Incorporated into the Corporation for National Service in September, 1994.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VISTA / AmeriCorps*VISTA (Established 1964)</td>
<td>Participants’ work is tailored toward low-income communities nationwide. Participants are paid the same stipends, benefits, and awards as those in AmeriCorps. Incorporated into AmeriCorps in September, 1994.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources:
- (Corporation for National Service Website: http://www.nationalservice.org, 07/02/2002
- 1993 Congressional Quarterly Almanac, Volume XLIX (Washington, D.C: Congressional Quarter
- White House Press Release, 07/18/1995
SELECTED WRITINGS AND PUBLIC STATEMENTS


• “William A. Galston on Can Civil Society be Restored?” Think Tank, PBS, 02/08/1996.


**Deputy Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy**


