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001. memo	Sidney Blumenthal to POTUS re: The Florence Conference (3 pages)	11/12/99	P1/b(1), P5
002. memo	Blumenthal to POTUS re: The New Consensus and the Vital Majority (4 pages)	7/30/99	Personal Misfile

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Third Way

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*Le Conseiller
auprès du Premier Ministre*

3rd Way

Paris, 14 OCT. 1999

Dear Sidney,

Here are a couple of thoughts following Marta's fax dated 28 September and David's letter dated 17 September, for which I think we are all very grateful.

As far as the Conference schedule is concerned, I guess that proceedings are due to start on Sunday 21 November at 9 am, rather than 9.30 am as stated on the draft, since Session 1 will actually start at 9.30 am.

I would like to contribute to our on-going reflection about the subheadings.

Session 1 : « The New Economy : the role of public policy ». I suggest to highlight to a greater extent the « *role of public policy* » part which we agreed upon in the title, and also to bring in a couple of themes which I find relevant. Together with what David suggested, the subheading could include the following items :

« This session will focus on how public policy can improve education systems, boost research, and strengthen global competitiveness of economies ; on the way public policy can reform international financial structures in order to prevent financial crisis from undermining growth ; on how public policy can set rules and regulations to promote fair competition ; on how the New Economy can also benefit to the development of Third-World countries ».

Session 2 : « Equality and opportunity : the new agenda ». In my opinion, this session should deal mainly with social issues in the light of equality. I suggest to change the title into : « *Equality of opportunity for all : the new social and political challenges* ». The subheading could include :

« Progressive governance must work on raising social standards for everyone. This session will focus on a wide-ranging approach of equality, including equality between men and women ; on how to tackle exclusion and social inequality ; on how to achieve full employment ; on how to build solidarity through a rejuvenated welfare-state and modernised public services. »

... / ...

Mr. Sidney BLUMENTHAL
Special Adviser to the President
WASHINGTON

Session 3 : « Democracies in the 21st Century: values, rights and responsibilities ». I agree with David Miliband's saying that there are a good number of candidates for questions. This is the reason why we should try and structure this session. The subheading could include :

« This session will explore how progressive governance can (a) modernize democracy within our societies thanks to new rights for greater citizenship ; and (b) build democracy at the global level : strengthening international institutions to prevent recourse to unilateralism ; protecting diversity (esp. cultural diversity) ; cracking down on human right abuses. It will also focus on how progressive governance should balance rights with responsibilities, e.g. promoting sustainable development in order to find the balance between present generations' rights and their responsibility to respect future generations' rights. »

Please do let me know what you think. Another meeting with the five of us could prove useful.

I very much look forward to reading from you.

Yours sincerely,

A. Morelle

A. Morelle

Aquilino MORELLE

CABINET DU PREMIER MINISTRE

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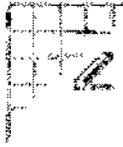
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Date : lundi 4 octobre 1999.

MESSAGE :

THE FLORENCE MEETING.

3rd Way



Jennifer M. Palmieri
06/30/2000 10:19:09
AM

Record Type: Record

To: Jenni R. Engebretsen/WHO/EOP@EOP, Joseph N. Crisci/OPD/EOP@EOP, Marilyn L. Scott-Perez/NSC/EOP@EOP, Cathy R. Mays/OPD/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: Re: Clinton Interview

fyi -- memo from Joe Klein for POTUS interview. Please give to your folks for our Joe Klein meeting today.

----- Forwarded by Jennifer M. Palmieri/WHO/EOP on 06/30/2000 10:12 AM -----



JKlein2875@aol.com
06/30/2000 07:19:22 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Jennifer M. Palmieri/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: Re: Clinton Interview

Hi--

See attached. If you or Joe or POTUS have any questions, I'll be reachable at home--1-914-738-7502...Also, you could tell me where and when to show up on Wednesday? Thanks for everything, Joe



- Clinton letter.doc

1
28 June 00

Dear Mr. President—

Thank you very much for agreeing to sit down with me next week. As you know, I've been working on an old-fashioned (which means very, very long) 'New Yorker' piece about the *substance* of the past eight years. My intention is to view your administration through a lens you provided me a long time ago when you said the job of the government in the 90s would be to move us from the Industrial Age to the Information Age.

After dozens of interviews with all sort of people, I've come to the conclusion that you've been acting on that premise throughout; that, indeed, it's been the core vision and purpose of the past eight years. I hope you agree (if not, I'm in trouble). I'd like to ask you about some of the specifics... and I'd also like to hear your thoughts on some of the more general issues raised by this rather remarkable moment in time.

I'm not sure how I'll structure the piece yet, but there are five essential areas I've been thinking about. Feel free to add others if you like.

--Management of the Domestic Economy.

--Understanding the Impact of Globalization on Just About Everything—
this includes your foreign policy (especially the emphasis on economic

issues and free trade), but also your efforts to prepare Americans for this confusing and scary new reality by expanding education and training, changing the social compact (welfare reform), etc. I've also noticed your delight in new medical, scientific and technological breakthroughs; a different president might not have had so much fun with this, or understood the message that your obvious enthusiasm conveys.

--Understanding the Importance of Diversity. This could easily fit in the point above, but the change in the country has been so remarkable that I believe it needs to be highlighted. In the past eight years—and especially in the past two—Americans have finally come to see diversity as a strength not a weakness. You've said that all along, and you've acted on it. The impact on our national identity has been subtle, but huge.

--Creating a social safety net appropriate to the Information Age. This includes everything from the Workforce Investment Act to universal health insurance to old-age pensions. You understood the challenge, but, obviously, there have been some problems here.

The fifth area is more amorphous:

--A hundred years from now, this decade may well be remembered as the moment when the traditional distance between leaders and the public vanished. (I suspect a certain amount of distance, of mystery, is a good thing.) You've had to walk point for future president in this area, and I'd like

to know your thoughts about the vagaries of our public atmosphere—including the point you raised to Bob Putnam at the New Economy Conference: How do leaders create a sense of national purpose when so many of us spend all our time doing what I'm doing right now—staring at a computer screen, alone?

I've had a lot of fun working on this piece. I know its been a frustrating eight years, at times, for you (and I know there have been times when I've increased the frustration level). But I do believe that you've a very clear and, ultimately, accurate vision of where the world was headed and what needed to be done about it. That isn't easy during a paradigm shift of this magnitude, but it's the most important thing that leaders do. I think it's time some of the rest of us acknowledged that, too.

Best Wishes,

Joe Klein

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[Back to story](#)

Monday, March 13, 2000

As Candidate, Bradley Was Too Left to Be Mr. Right for Democratic Party

In Gore's victory, president Clinton's stamp on his party's agenda is unmistakable.

By RONALD BROWNSTEIN

What if they gave a counterrevolution and nobody came?

Ever since Bill Clinton emerged in 1992, a noisy portion of the Democratic left in Congress and key constituency groups has been itching to reverse the centrist "New Democratic" course he set for the party. But when Bill Bradley, however imperfectly, tried to inspire such a liberal revolt against Al Gore this year, it turned out that he had almost no one behind him except firebrand Sen. Paul Wellstone of Minnesota and the editors of the *Nation* and the *American Prospect*. Precious few voters followed, as Gore romped to the nomination.

"Bradley ended up being the New Deal liberal Democrat attacking the New Democrats, and that just did not really resonate with many voters," says pollster Mark Baldassare, a senior fellow at the nonpartisan Public Policy Institute of California. "I think it suggests the Democratic Party has changed in some fundamental way, and has really adopted the New Democratic strategy."

Leftist critics of Clinton and Gore correctly quibble that Bradley was an unlikely champion for their cause. A solitary senator who rarely enlisted in causes not of his own design, Bradley lacked personal ties with left-leaning groups (such as organized labor) that might have generated more enthusiasm for his candidacy. And Bradley couldn't tap into the protectionist sentiments on the left—one of the most powerful sources of opposition to Clintonism—because he, like Gore, supports free trade.

But on almost every other major issue where he differed with the vice president, Bradley moved to Gore's left. Indeed, Bradley offered as the overarching rationale for his candidacy the core liberal complaint that Clinton and Gore, in their eagerness to reassure centrist voters, have been reduced to nibbling around the edges of problems "with rhetorical flourishes followed by tiny, demonstration projects." Democrats, Bradley insisted, needed "big ideas."

As it turned out, those ideas almost all reflected priorities that liberals felt Clinton had slighted. Bradley made the centerpiece of his campaign a plan to provide health care for the uninsured that would have constituted the most expensive domestic spending initiative in decades. He called for registering all handguns (and ridiculed Gore as timid when he suggested that this was politically infeasible). He accused the administration of ignoring child poverty and criticized Gore for urging increased defense spending.

On racial issues, Bradley lambasted Clinton for not doing more to stop racial profiling and questioned Gore's commitment to affirmative action. He said gays

should be allowed to serve openly in the military, and be added as a protected class under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Perhaps most tellingly, Bradley denounced Clinton's decision (supported by Gore) to sign the 1996 welfare reform bill, which imposed time limits on aid and mandated work. Reforming welfare represented the cornerstone of Clinton's efforts to realign Democratic domestic policy around the idea of linking opportunity and responsibility--but remains a bete noir to many liberals who consider it punitive and even racist.

On some of these fronts, the vice president responded to the challenge by tilting left himself--also endorsing open gay service in the military, for instance, and proposing his own plan to license all handgun owners. Bradley's challenge also encouraged Gore to bulk up his own proposal to gradually provide health insurance to those without it--a more ambitious initiative than Clinton had dared since his universal coverage plan collapsed in 1994.

But even in the health care debate, Gore defended the Clinton administration's centrist direction. While Bradley ridiculed Gore's plan as too timid, the vice president championed an incremental approach as more realistic and emphasized the need to keep the federal budget in balance. Likewise, when Bradley stressed society's moral obligation to eliminate child poverty, Gore talked also about the responsibilities of absent fathers. And Gore never wavered in defending welfare reform--even when Bradley excoriated it before a sympathetic debate audience last month at Harlem's Apollo Theatre.

On all of these issues, Democratic voters were given a clear choice of direction. Yet the contest proved no contest. Organized labor stuck with Gore; so did almost all leading black and Latino elected officials. Bradley generally ran somewhat better among liberal than moderate voters in the primaries; but Gore beat Bradley by 52 percentage points among liberals in last week's California primary and by 24 points among liberals in New York--a state where there's still something left to the left.

Much of this, of course, reflected a pragmatic reluctance among both interest groups and voters to abandon a sitting vice president during good times. But all evidence suggests Democrats were much more content with the Clinton-Gore approach than Bradley had believed. Polling by The Times just before the voting in Iowa, New Hampshire and California found almost 90% of Democrats in each state approved of Clinton's policies.

To veteran Democratic strategist Bill Carrick, the telltale moment came when Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), the great liberal champion, not only endorsed Gore but declared his incremental health care approach superior to Bradley's sweeping plan. "Do we need more evidence of what Bradley's problem was?" Carrick asks. "What you've got is a Democratic Party where the old conservative wing and the old liberal wing have met in the middle, and they are trying to govern."

This apparent consensus may not last forever. Prosperity has encouraged the truce by allowing Clinton and Gore to promise both new spending and a balanced federal budget; if the two goals ever conflict, old divisions could reemerge. Likewise, Democratic rifts over both welfare reform and free trade would widen if unemployment rose.

None of that should underscore the magnitude of the change. Even many Democrats have lost respect for Clinton personally. But in Gore's victory, the president's stamp on his party's agenda is unmistakable. Gore won the race largely through his own hard work and Bradley's deficiencies as a candidate. But Gore's victory also shows that eight years after Clinton first offered his New Democratic synthesis, the president has decisively shifted his party's center of gravity. Bradley's failure was in part a monument to Clinton's success.

Ronald Brownstein's column appears in this space every Monday.

See current and past Brownstein columns on The Times' Web site at: <http://www.latimes.com/brownstein>.

Stephen Carter
Integrity

God Way

TOWARD AN INTEGRAL POLITICS

221

which no majority should be allowed to tamper. But a thriving democracy must insist that the set of untouchable icons be as small as possible. Nowadays, the temptation of power is to do just the opposite, to make the set as large as possible. In fact, the temptation is to place *all* our causes beyond the reach of democratic politics, lest some future majority disturb our work. But if ever we allow that to happen, we certainly cease to be a democracy.

6. Our politics must call us to our higher selves. The debasement of political language is particularly embarrassing when the negativity is being spread by our elected representatives. The matter is only made worse when we think that even the polite ones seem too often to be calling us to selfishness. In a politics of integrity, we must try to respond to politicians who call us to our highest rather than lowest selves; in particular, we must respond to politicians who talk of the national interest and our shared obligations, not merely those who promise to enrich us.

The trouble is that, nowadays, every politician tries to enrich us. The devil's definition of an honest politician (and quite an unfair definition at that) is one who stays bought. Nowadays, this notion must seem depressingly cynical. Yet something very close to it captures the unhappy political spirit of our selfish age. Most Americans seem to think an honest politician is one who will buy our votes with promises of wealth and then go on to complete the purchase.

The wealth with which politicians make their electoral purchases comes in a variety of forms, but nearly all of them play to our selfish instincts. Conservatives tend to promise tax cuts, which translate to more money for good, honest, hardworking Americans, and less for the despicable *them*, who may be demonic bureaucrats or demonized welfare cheats, according to one's taste. Liberals promise entitlements and, better yet, constitutional rights, which translate to more freedoms for good, honest, hardworking Americans against the despicable *them*, who nowadays are likely to be wealthy fat-cats or what liberals sadly persist in labeling the "religious right."

Promises of both kinds offer something for the voter, and so appeal to our lower instincts.* (Remember our discussion in the previous chapter of *Brown v. Hartlage*.) Neither kind offers the vision of a better nation, except in the narrow sense that the nation is better when it gives us precisely what

*I am well aware of the political science literature arguing that appeals of this kind are precisely what politicians should be doing if government is to aggregate private preferences. I simply disagree.

we desire. In other words, neither kind calls us to duty. One longs for the political candidate who is willing to say, more than three decades after John Kennedy's assassination: "Ask not what your country can do for you. Ask what you can do for your country." At the time, the borrowed phrases sounded a little hokey. Looking back, they ring with an optimism about America that today's cramped and self-regarding politics altogether lack.

One reads from time to time that changes in the economy are to blame; that it is far harder to be generous of spirit or genuinely optimistic in a nation that is undergoing the rapid and unsettling economic evolution with which America currently wrestles. If true, this explanation is a sad one. Holding to our principles of duty and service and regard for others is most important at times of stress; after all, as we have seen, integrity is not integrity if it is never tested.

7. *We must listen to one another.* A politics of integrity is a politics in which all of us are willing to do the hard work of discernment, to test our views to be sure that we are right. As we have already seen, this in turn implies a dialogue, for in the course of our reflections, especially in a democracy, it is vital to listen to the views of our fellow citizens. If our discernment is genuine, then so must our listening be, which is why our seventh principle, simply put, is that all of us must listen with our ears, not with our mouths.

By this I mean that we must strive to avoid an error I confess to committing all the time: the error of allowing others to speak only because we need to hear their views in order to be able to refute them. In true dialogue, as Martin Buber ~~has~~ pointed out, we not only seek to persuade the other but we allow ourselves the possibility of being persuaded by the other. An integral politics certainly needs citizens who listen; otherwise, the dialogue itself becomes pointless.

The trouble is that we may lack the capacity for truly open and thoughtful dialogue. I do not say we have lost it; I am not convinced we ever had it. But what we did have and seem to have forgotten is a strong tradition favoring the old saw "I disapprove of what you say but I will fight to the death for your right to say it." Our public dialogue—our very language—has been debased through the move toward increasing negativity and even hostility, so that, in an argument, the first weapon we reach for is often the most extreme: "That's ridiculous!" or "He's such an idiot!" or "She's full of it!" or "I've never heard anything so crazy in my life!" Missing are such stalwarts of civility as "I'm sorry, but I must respectfully disagree" or "Let's talk about this further" or "I might not go as far as that, but I do see your point." Having lost the talent for argument, we call names instead. But dialogue in

228

RUMINATIONS

ernance, think only of our own narrow interests, whether expressed in terms of "our" tax dollars or "our" constitutional rights, we can hardly expect to find a government, at the local, state, or national levels, that operates with a needed vision of national purpose. Instead, we will find a politics as parochial and selfish as we are. In a democracy, it is not only true that people tend to get the *government* they deserve; it is also true that people tend to get the *politics* they deserve.

Edmund Burke warned, famously, that all that is needed for the forces of evil to triumph is for enough good people to do nothing. When we retreat into cynicism or fatalism, we fertilize the ground from which evil springs. I have friends who believe that the forces of evil triumphed in 1994. I have friends who believe that the forces of evil were defeated in 1994. Both groups of friends, I think, are wrong. But there is evil abroad in the land, as there is evil at work in the human soul. If we do not demand of our politics sufficient integrity to keep evil at bay, we will wake one horrible morning and stare the triumphant evil in the face—in the mirror.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

3rd Way

DATE: 2-12

TO: ^{Leon} Harold
 Evelyn
 ^{George} Bruce R.

FROM: Staff Secretary

(y). I am
forwarding to Patms,


150622

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

96 FEB 12 P 3: 15

February 12, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DONALD A. BAER

SUBJECT: BARBER MEMO

Attached is a memo and cover letter from Ben Barber that he asked me to send in to you.



THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW JERSEY
RUTGERS

Department of Political Science
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Walt Whitman Center for the Culture and Politics of Democracy

Director:
Benjamin R. Barber
Whitman Professor of Political Science

Don Baer
Director, Office of Communications
The White House

February 12, 1996

Dear Don,

I hope we may have a chance to talk on Wednesday when I am in Washington. I have been thinking a good deal about what it might mean to forge from the President's powerful insights into the governing process and his several distinctive approaches to different policy areas a coherent long-term vision that might root and give expression to both a campaign strategy and a second term governing philosophy.

One might say that given the ideological and political disarray of the opposition, he scarcely needs to do anything: he will automatically appear as statesmanlike and visionary. And this is of course true. But by the same token, the Republicans' morass offers him an opportunity to be boldly visionary and persuasively coherent, and I believe boldness in the face of Republican weakness is a politically prudent as well as a statesman-like path to follow. For the President still faces a perception of being insufficiently certain and principled in his core values and choices (witness the reaction to the Naomi Wolff memo, and even some of the cynicism with which our January meetings were met). Would this not be exactly the right time for the President to identify and make explicit the philosophy that was implicit in his thinking and his actions during the first term and prophetic of his hopes for the second?

To do this would mean linking the President's new Democrat move away from big government (a position open to misreading) with his affirmation of civil society and greater civic involvement, thus separating it from Republican privatization and laissez-faire policies (the thrust of my enclosed memo). It should offer a standard for distinguishing those domains in which government must remain active to regulate private sector bureaucratism and nurture and sustain civil society from those domains it can cede to a robust civil society. And it should distinguish democratic governing institutions (which remain philosophically defensible and politically viable) from the abuses of paternalism and bureaucratism that have attended them in their welfare state incarnation.

Finally, it should link domestic and foreign policy and offer a grounding for what have been sometimes perceived as a successful series of initiatives which, however, seem to appear to lack a coherent philosophical through line (as Thomas Friedman complained last week in the New York Times.) I have thoughts on this subject I will put in writing another time.

I am enclosing a memo that develops an initial take on one part of this agenda: linking the 'end of the era of big government' that highlighted the State of the Union message to the civil society and social responsibility themes that have absorbed the President's recent attention. This is needed not only to reassure progressives and make explicit that the President is not buying into Republican-style laissez-faire privatization tactics, but also to put the rather negative "end of an era" language together with an affirmative "beginning of an era" promise.

Perhaps part of the problem in the Broder interview was precisely that the language of civil society gets deployed in a vacuum -- used as rhetoric but without respect to real policy and politics. It is taken to be "soft" and "rhetorical", a kind of window-dressing that at best diverts us from and at worse obscures the Administration's "real motives" and its political tactics. The aim is to show its relevance to policy-making and political strategy -- to demonstrate that it is part of the thinking that recognizes the "end of the era of big government," and that it issues in important conclusions about domestic and foreign policy.

In any case, I hope these thoughts and the memo provide a basis for some discussion on Wednesday, and that the memo may be of some use to you and the President.

I will be in the office this afternoon (Monday), and I hope we can talk briefly to see if Wednesday works.

Best wishes,



Benjamin R. Barber
Director

Memorandum: to President Clinton
On: "The end of the era of big government."
From: Benjamin Barber
Date: February 12, 1996

Among the several powerful phrases coined for the State of the Union, none had more resonance or political wallop than 'the end of the era of big government.' It signalled your refusal to make progressive politics dependent on traditional Democratic welfare state politics, but also -- to many -- signalled an apparent rightward shift in Democratic strategy. "WE WON!" trumpeted the WEEKLY STANDARD on its cover, explaining inside that your conclusion certified their ideology of wholesale privatization.

Now while I believe that announcing the end of the era of big government was a bold way to separate progressivism from traditional special interest politics, it will speak to progressives only if the alternative is something other than wholesale privatization -- the end of all democratic responsibility for public goods. The Republicans gloated while liberals worried because they assumed, with big government out of the way, the market was to be unleashed without the regulatory, countervailing weight of government to hold it to public interests of the commonweal. In order to counter these misreadings, I would like to see the rhetoric of the "end of big government" closely tied to the rhetoric of civil society, thus:

"We have come to the end of the era of big government, but if this is not to mean the beginning of a new era of big business, we will need to reestablish a strong civil society in which citizens in partnership with their downsized government take responsibility for both their liberties and their common interests. For we must never forget that though big government has run its course today, it first came into existence because big business -- the great trusts and cartels of the gilded age -- were undermining capitalist competition and running roughshod over our liberties. And if we now dismantle big government but leave the new international conglomerates and global monopolies in place, we will not have defeated bureaucracy and indifference, but only shifted them from the government to the market sector.

"If then it is bigness and monopoly and bureaucratic bloat that we wish to fight, we must fight them not only in government but in the private sector as well. And to do that, we must actively nourish civil society and social responsibility -- calling on individuals, small businesses and large corporations alike to take

[BARBER -- PAGE 2]

on the tasks of self-government and social responsibility that are at the core of our democracy."

This suggests a policy that links a commitment to a more modest government with a commitment to a more robust civil society. It means emphasizing that the war on big government is predicated on the real evils of bigness rather than on the supposed sins of government. For democratic government belongs to us, and only when it gets too large and centralized and out of touch with those it represents does it lose its capacity to represent us and secure our common goals. By the same token, when private corporations become monopolistic and lose touch with those they serve -- employees as well as shareholders, the communities in which their factories have been established as well as the world markets from which they profit -- they too, like big government, need to be reined in and made responsible. This may even mean that in this domain, government itself will continue to play a vital ameliorative role.

Such a strategy promises liberals that their government is not abandoning the cause of the public interest but looking for more effective means than government bureaucracy to further it; it tells Republican privatizers that putting government on a more modest footing is not an invitation to big business to do as it will. It tells all Americans that the enemy is not government per se but bureaucratic indifference and dependency-breeding paternalism -- whether governmental or private.

The electoral campaign this year and the four years of governance that will (we trust!) follow demand a vision that both acknowledges the limits of big welfare state style government, but offers a visionary alternative to Republican style laissez-faire privatism and the absurdity that markets can redress major social problems. This is not to play the class card, but to remind Americans that indifference to public goods, family values and civic responsibility can be found in the private sector's big businesses that big government was originally designed to counter no less than in big government itself; and that if we dismantle the one without attending to the perils of the other we will have done little to reestablish responsible democratic institutions.

BRB

3rd Way

1/22/96

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

To: Baer
Waldman
Reed
Speerling

From: Blinken

Attached, articles on Tony Blair's "stakeholder society" concept which is now center of political debate in U.K. You're probably up on this, but in case not, some obvious parallels to our situation + some possible language thoughts for SOU or beyond.

ATony

Blair unveils economic 'big idea'

Nick Cunniff-Bruce in Singapore and Michael White

TONY Blair will today unveil his vision of a "stakeholder society", binding all parts of the community to a common national enterprise as the key to restoring Britain's fortunes and as the economic big idea that will help beat the Tories in the election.

The Labour leader has chosen a brief excursion into the economic powerhouse of Asia as the moment to provide Labour's answer to Conservative Party sloganeering about making Britain "the enterprise centre of Europe".

A foretaste of the speech came as Mr Blair paused yesterday between engagements around Singapore, where his declared purpose is to examine the ways in which the city-state has pioneered interventionist changes in the financing of cradle-to-the-grave welfare provision.

"I want Britain to be a stakeholder economy where everyone has a chance to get on (and succeed, where there is a clear sense of national purpose, and where we leave behind some of the battles between left and right which really are not relevant in the new global economy of today," he said.

Mr Blair's tour of Japan and Singapore — his first major visit outside Europe — was intended partly to show off "what an incoming Labour government looks like" and to reassure business by spreading New Labour's message on the dynamic Pacific Rim.

But spurred by the interest and favourable reception he feels he received from Japan's industrial barons, Mr Blair will use today's speech to businessmen in Singapore as the platform to present "the economic justification for social cohesion" — themes more familiar to Asian audiences than those in Britain or the US.

The main thrust of his argument will be that "the creation of an economy where we are inventing and producing goods and services of high quality needs the engagement of the whole country. It must become a matter of national purpose and national pride."

This needs a relationship of trust between government and people, he will reason, emphasising that trust means "the recognition of a mutual purpose for which we work together and in which we all benefit". If people feel they have no stake in the economy, they feel little responsibility for it and little inclination to work for its success.

Mr Blair believes this vision will capture the high ground of economic debate — so long the preserve of the Tories — and finally shake off the image of a "tax-and-spend" party which the shadow chancellor, Gordon Brown, has been working to exploit.

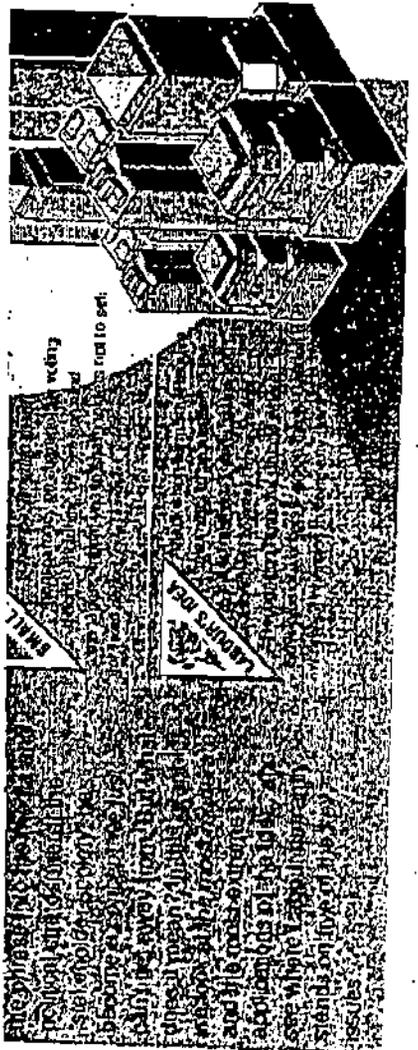
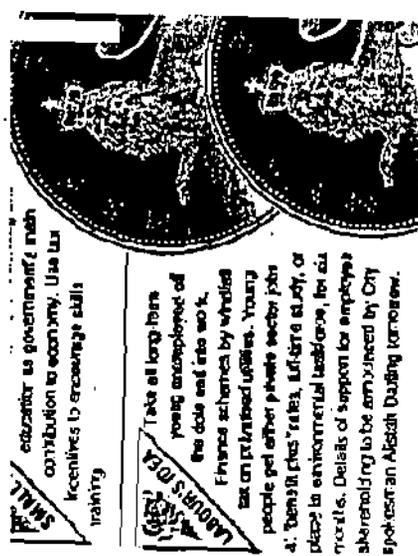
In a further break with Labour's traditions, Mr Blair will argue that old strategies of delivering social justice by redistributing taxes and benefits may have served their purpose in the past.

But they do not fit the country's needs in the emerging global economy, Mr Blair will say. His comments are likely to trouble more cautious colleagues as well as leftwing MPs, some of whom are being wooed by the Scargill-led breakaway socialist party.

John Major yesterday joined ministers in deriding the Labour leader's visit and his "soundbite" politics: "They seem substantially to be an empty box."

Mr Blair's speech is intended to pull together all the arguments on social, economic and educational reform he has advanced in 20 months since becoming Labour leader and in the process reinforce his weekend appeal to win One Nation Tories to Labour.

PM's unity plea, page 3; Blair ponders 'labor' welfare, page 3; Mark Lawson, page 13



Raising the stakes



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

3rd Way

From the Head of the Prime Minister's Policy Unit

17 September 1999

THIRD WAY MEETING IN FLORENCE

Thank you very much for your letter of September 15th, and for all your hard work last weekend. The agenda looks good.

You asked for thoughts on sub-headings to give focus to the sessions. My first ideas are as follows:

Session 1 'We are living through a time of economic transformation. The knowledge economy is here. It has profound implications for work, for economic growth and for government. This session will focus on the way technology is enhancing productivity and innovation; on the importance of knowledge and education to wealth creation; on the new spurs to competitiveness, including competition itself; on the changes and opportunities for change in the workplace; and on the role of public policy in supporting business, and especially small business.'

Session 2 'Economic changes brings a new progressive opportunity, but we need to adapt our approach to new circumstances. Our challenge is to widen the winners' circle in our increasingly diverse societies. This session will focus on employment policy and the imperative of tackling unemployment; on how public services and public investment can be modernised to serve new needs; on how we promote family stability without reversing beneficial social change; and how we can guarantee to the next generation a greater degree of social mobility than the last.'

Session 3. I would be interested in other people's views, but I would have thought there are a good number of candidates for questions. Top of my list would be: protecting the environment, responding to multiculturalism, promoting equality for women, the development of democratic structures.

I hope this is helpful. I look forward to hearing the views of others, and am copying this letter to Aquilino Morrelle, Klaus Gretschmann and Sidney Blumenthal.

All good wishes.

DAVID MILIBAND

Marta Dassu - by fax

Stake that claim

Tony Blair should ignore the critics of his new big idea: the stakeholder society finally gives the left a credible ideology that, **Will Hutton** argues, stands up effectively to laissez-faire capitalism

To: **Barr**
Waldman
Reed
Sperling
From: **Blinks**



THE main reaction of the left to the idea of the stakeholder economy and society is that it is little more than Thatcherism in drag, just another way of talking about popular capitalism or the enterprise culture. The right is no more forgiving. The dynamics of capitalism are immutable and brook no reform. Tony Blair will find that championing stakeholding is no easy ride; he has entered the political battle of ideas with a vengeance.

But the stock capitalists are wrong. Like it or hate it, stakeholding does represent a different political economy of capitalism with profound implications for economic, social and political organisation. It stresses that workers should be seen as members of firms rather than locked into an antagonistic dualism between capital and labour, in this world view, firms are

and if they are reduced to commodities bought and sold on the stock market, that undermines the trust and reciprocity of obligation on which long-termism and productivity thrive.

Too much fracturing and tiering of society in the quest for simple economic efficiencies is ultimately socially unsustainable — and that spills over into the sustainability of economic growth. Social citizenship and economic membership are interdependent — but this links up with political citizenship. An active participative democracy goes hand in hand with underpinning social cohesion and promoting stakeholder firms.

There are no bifurcations. A different vocabulary opens up — social citizenship, membership, trust, co-operation, long-termism, equality of opportunity, participation, active citizenship, rights and obligations — the common language

of stakeholder value and the "burden" of welfare and social costs. Behind the vocabulary lies a different value system, a different view of what makes a successful market economy tick — and a dramatically different approach to economic and social policy.

Corporate law, the organisation of pensions, systems of training, company behaviour, making the behaviour of the Stock Exchange and the role of education are markedly different in a stakeholder world. The international evidence, as Blair said in Singapore, is that this approach delivers social cohesion and economic growth; the two feed off each other. By pinning his colours to the stakeholder mast, Blair has taken a decisive political step. New Labour has now embodied a substantial and novel body of ideas; it stands in sharp opposition to the

enough to beat its ideological rival, communism, and even good enough to take on and beat British collectivism — not as a model for the good society or efficient economy it falls far short of any decent yardstick. It is characterised by academic short-termism, economic volatility and social divisiveness — and, when married to the top-down centralised nature of British government, has delivered a society in which civic duty and public services have become progressively unappreciated.

It was exactly against this kind of laissez-faire capitalism that the stakeholder idea was first developed — by the American left during the sixties. The word derived from the way US settlers staked their claim in virgin territory. Business strategists in the late fifties and early sixties used it to rethink the idea of a company as a network of reciprocal claims between shareholders, employees, bankers, suppliers and managers. Large industrial organisations were bureaucracies which arbitrated between these rival claims — a necessary function in any industrial economy, market capitalist or market socialist.

But it was when JK Galbraith picked up the idea in the New Industrial State, published in 1967, aimed and edited by Robin Marris, author of the Theory of Managerial Capitalism, that the idea first gained economic and political currency. During the seventies, American corporate raiders concluded that companies were cynically appealing to stakeholder interests to obstruct takeovers and limit shareholders' rights (a complaint they still make). But as no US politician has attempted to organise the idea into a legislative programme, stakeholding has not progressed much beyond encouraging worker share ownership through Employee Stock Ownership Plans.

In Germany, the social market ideas developed by left theorists in opposition to fascism and communism had similar roots — they thought of the firm as a social organisation with long-term stakeholders, which operated in highly competitive markets. The welfare state was seen as a protective social instrument to promote social inclusion, and allow capitalism its much-needed flexibility to build up and run down industries without worrying about the social consequences. The political purpose was the

balance of the left and right. In Britain the whole debate has never taken off before. The post-war settlement was a compromise, allowing the left to achieve its social goals through extensive public spending and extending public ownership, but leaving the right to protect civil freedoms and the ancient notion that the firm represented no more than the shareholders' interests. The case for stakeholding was left to fringe groups campaigning for worker participation and co-ownership. But with the instruments of Old Labour erasing, and the right building on the laissez-faire model, the most promising avenue for the left to stakeholding.

The TUC has recognised this for some time, and General Secretary John Monks has established a task force to suggest legislative proposals and ways the unions might profit. The Department of Community and Social Cohesion came out firmly in favour of stakeholding last summer. Tony Blair has been tentatively slow to adopt it publicly but the Singapore speech was a watershed.

It establishes authentically left credentials, blindsides his opponents and has a reforming sting. Witness just one passage. "It is surely time," he said, "to assess how we shift the emphasis in corporate ethics — from the company being a mere vehicle for the capital market to be traded, bought and sold as a commodity — towards a vision of the company as a community or partnership in which each employee has a stake, and where the company's responsibilities are more clearly delineated."

Michael Parenti immediately attacked this as a straight copy of longstanding Conservative policy — but it is difficult to recall a Conservative politician ever indicating the operation of stock market capitalism for communitarian companies and workers, or proposing a clear delineation of corporate rights and obligations. Isn't the Conservative idea to promote deregulation and to regard stock market freedom as sacred?

But Blair's advocacy of what he calls the Stakeholder Welfare System may arouse more concern. There is a clear account on social cohesion and the necessity "to secure the welfare state so it ceases to offer an escape to training or self-employment, and it is equally attractive to seek up collective means of self-insurance to allow individuals to produce pensions or sickness benefit above the basic levels. The danger, though, is also clear. Singapore-style provident funds could be progressively used to replace existing welfare structures, with their accompanying need for a redistributive tax system.

Yet in 1994, his commitment to a stakeholder economy and society is a key moment — a way of binding the centre and left together in common cause while providing the ideological impetus for important economic and social reform. Blair went in Australia this

Raising the stakes

There has been a frenzy of analysis since Tony Blair's Singapore speech 10 days ago about the stakeholder society. Is it the 'Big Idea' for the new Britain in the new millennium? Or part of soundbite culture? **Will Hutton** looks beyond the rhetoric. Graphic by **Patrick Wintour** and **Paddy Allen**

THE REACTION to the idea of the stakeholder economy and society, which Tony Blair first unveiled in his Singapore speech ten days ago, has been extraordinary. Mix it and do not miss an opportunity to attack the media, rears of newspaper copy and video clips have been expended on exploring what it could mean. The political and journalistic establishments are united in their judgement. Stakeholding, whatever its antecedents, could have legs as New Labour's big idea.

But for all the ministerial professions that Mr Blair has made his first mistake by putting some "red water" between him and the Conservative party, the unexpected success at Central Office have played into the Labour leader's hand.

By insisting that its media barrow or parliamentary intervention should be complete without some serious challenge to the idea, they have disobeyed the first law of politics. Seizing the agenda is half the political battle, and by the middle of week

two, stakeholding has become the agenda. The Conservative establishment is that it was more dangerous to allow Mr Blair's free rein in developing what might be a very attractive political idea that could pull together a potent coalition of the centre and moderate left of British politics. After all a number of leading British companies, including BT, BP and Marks and Spencer, call themselves stakeholder companies and can readily disavow themselves from the idea — unlike the level-headed element in the union movement are actively campaigning for the unions to abandon their long-standing opposition. Put these wings together, and there is a very powerful new political coalition underpinned by an overarching political concept.

Hence the urgency, from the Conservative range point, of defining stakeholding in negative terms before Mr Blair could define it so that it sounds attractive. The business community and the Tory leaders who John Redwood describes as the

last five million has better beware. This means a return to the bad old days of British corporations, red tape, tax and spend governments — and bringing back trade union vitality.

With equal urgency Mr Blair has been resisting such attacks. It is about enterprise, he says, quality education and training for all; the creation of a new community at work as much as in welfare state; and of "treating workers as partners rather than factors of production" (as he said in his interview with David Pym). Above all it is about giving individuals a stake.

Yet for all its occasional lapses into a language of platitudes and generalities, this is a political strategy of fundamental importance which both sides regard as essential to win. Central to the Labour Party and in absolute beyond in the media files to prove their independence and powers of professional resistance by leading at stakeholding to displace unionism, interest or understanding is to depart from the unwritten code. All politicians are knives and propagandists; all their ideas are confused, inadequate or held down to the same old left/right divide in the end.

Yet stakeholding is a genuine departure. It attempts to offer a set of existing political ideas that could organise a reformist political programme in five chief areas: the workplace, the welfare state, the firm and the City, the constitution, and economic policy more generally. This is not social reform in the twentieth century. Stakeholding is a new kind of social reform.

Justified by planning and public ownership; but it is not an orthodox advocacy of free market capitalism championed by the Conservative Right. It is an explicit statement of the values and principles that have underpinned the country since at least to build a just society and meet community that is congruent with private property, the pursuit of the profit motive and decentralised decision-making in many ways — the famous Blair or middle way. There are similarities and differences; but as a system of ideas it deserves to be taken seriously.

The underlying idea is including the individual as a member, a citizen and a stakeholder. But inclusion is not a one-way street. It places reciprocal obligations on the individual as well as rights — and in every domain and in every social class. These rights and obligations can be organised in a voluntary code, or they may be codified into law. The institutions that grow out of these relationships foster relations of trust and commitment; they tend to be high investing, attractive to human capital and highly creative. OK, you may be thinking, but what does it mean in practice?

Start with the workplace. A worker in Britain is legally a disposable commodity, a view backed by a body of economic theory, company and employment law which insists that no further privileges can be afforded. In stakeholder theory, building on the knowledge that most firms are reluctant to treat their workers as commodities and pay them above the market rate means to give them what

cent and loyalty, workers are seen as members of the firm — recruited and enabled to upgrade their skills and encouraged through trusts or share ownership to own all or part of the firm.

They deserve representation, consultation and prior notification of major events — a round of redundancies or new investment sites. This does not mean 1970s-style union power, which Conservative ministers accuse me of advocating in my book, *The State We're In*; nor does it mean German collective bargaining. It means constructing trust relations with groups of workers, which are best gained if the workers themselves can be formally grouped and represented and if firms accept that such is their responsibility as firms.

This is where workplace relations overlap with the new thinking on corporate governance. There is a crisis in accountability in British firms, with pension funds and business company owners having a rock-hard moral right to secure a flow of dividends and to sell their shares as they choose — but with no accompanying obligations when times get hard or when directors are over-rewarded themselves. Shares are not an expression of a relationship, as many small shareholders still regard them. They are chips in a fast-moving game in which the game is, as Keynes put it, to pass the appreciating half-penny to the next man and cash in yourself.

Thus, as Keynesian theory shows, periodically voters are drawn by maximising utility — but stakeholder theory adds a new twist. By giving most British companies an insecure ownership platform because their shares are casino chips in the British game of takeover, they can't construe long term trust relationships as the weakly. Managers have other goals to please. But owning a company carries reciprocal obligations — to participate in decision-making and to stand by it in times of crisis.

Obviously firms re-enter the political debate not in the old public-private typology — but by blurring that private ownership has responsibilities, and shareholders have a wide diversity of means to achieve

that end. Public ownership is but one of a spectrum of possibilities that range from a new legal definition of the public enterprise, through profit-sharing, employee stock ownership plans, trusts and friendly societies, to worker co-operatives.

Then there is welfare. Here inclusion and membership imply a substantial welfare state, financed by progressive taxation, in which every individual has a stake. It implies a solid state pension as the first building block in the pension system, a non-linked National Health Service free at the point of use, and an inclusive national education system in which the long tail of education underachievement is firmly tackled and the weakest middle class are reincorporated — reforming the comprehensive principle by tackling its weaknesses. But private delivery systems, organised themselves along stakeholder principles, are more than admissible, as are public/private partnerships, with a public sector that itself has been revitalised by reform.

Here again the same principles apply. Citizenship is an expression of political inclusion, and democratisation of government along with more accountability means of permitting local citizens some leverage over decision-making and power.

A stakeholder economy and society is nurtured by a stakeholder policy, directors of companies have to be elected — local authorities are accorded more autonomy of action. Public institutions gain more constitutional independence. In a stakeholder policy, the BBC and the Bank of England alike would suffer less political interference over their proper spheres — notably appointments.

But the ultimate stake for most studies is a job. Stakeholder institutions must be buttressed by full employment policies — implying that the full battery of economic instruments be deployed to stimulate demand, investment and growth. Training and education are thus part of a wider effort to include all in the world of work.

In some of these areas, notably over training and political reform, Tony Blair has assumed a clearly discernible position

continued on page 4.



Tony Blair... 'red water' between Labour and the Tories

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 12, 2000

Bruce,

Could please find
a draft of the Pearl
Communique. It needs
more work.

Thyler?

STP

3rd Way

BERLIN COMMUNIQUE: PROGRESSIVE GOVERNANCE FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

Draft in accordance with the results of the meeting of
Senior Political Advisors held 2nd May 2000 in Berlin

We have come together in Berlin in order to exchange views and learn from each other about how to tackle the new challenges and opportunities that emerge in the 21st century. In November six of us met in Florence. We promised there to expand our discussions. Today, 17 Heads of State and Government have found common ground that we believe defines a progressive political project fit for the new century.

We are bound together first and foremost by our values. We are committed to solidarity and social fairness. We believe in the equal worth of all and in mutual responsibility. These values are not new – but we know they obtain fresh relevance in a world that is changing at rapid speed.

We are the first leaders of the post Cold War world. We are liberated from old enmities; but we are humbled by the responsibility to make up for lost years. The only way to do this is to break out of the old political debates, and forge a new progressive path.

We are leaders who can see the dangers of globalisation, but above all we see the opportunities. Globalisation cannot be resisted; but neither should it just be allowed to happen; the key task of progressive governance in the new century is to help people make the most of change, by providing the tools for them to fulfill their talents in the new world that is being created in front of them.

We believe market economies must be combined with social responsibility to safeguard growth, promote social justice, and protect the environment. But the digital revolution, the growing integration of the global economy, as well as demographic and social changes mean that we can only fulfill our values if we work in new ways. We know that the benefits of globalisation are not being realised for all our people, especially in the developing world, where income distribution has become more unequal.

All these challenges require progressive action. We commit ourselves to the core values of opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and community of all. We affirm, therefore, that governments must be committed to the principles of opportunity, responsibility, and community of all. We practice new methods of progressive governance. In this, we can only be helped by wider dialogue, and invite other leaders to join us in a commitment to meet the challenges and opportunities we describe below.

People want to live in a community, not only work in a market; therefore they expect their governments to effectively fight unemployment - in cooperation with management and labour unions; they want education and lifelong learning, because they know that this is the key to more efficiency and more social cohesion at the same time; they want government to promote opportunity and security; they want to protect the environment and improve local quality of life; they seek co-operation across national borders in order to recognise the links of the international community in pursuit of these goals.

We are determined to take our countries forward and to establish safe and sound conditions that help to promote civil rights, employment and prosperity, equal opportunity for women and men. Our goal is to liberate the talent of all our people, but to do that we must share responsibility between public authorities and private individuals, between governments and international organisations, between non-governmental organisations and the public sector. This question is at the heart of progressive governance in the 21st century.

Advancing Prosperity

Our discussion at the Berlin-Conference has focussed in three areas. First, we have discussed the role of politics and government at national level in the context of global economic competition, global markets and global financial flows. For us, there are four key responsibilities for national government in advancing prosperity:

- It must maintain stability in macroeconomic policy, supporting sound public finances and a firm stance against inflation; only on this basis can businesses and families invest with confidence; only on this basis we can keep our economies on a steady and sustainable growth path and envisage full employment.
- The new economy sweeping the globe is leading to unparalleled affluence. Just as it is altering economic relations, it will also reshape the technology through which we govern. We believe that economic change and innovative technology can open up new ways of working and new markets can be empowering and democratic. Economic progress can help to lift people above social and economic barriers, but this demands that individuals are equipped with the capabilities of meeting the new challenges.
- Education is critical to equity, development and citizenship all at the same time and is the key to social justice and economic dynamism. Therefore it is a top priority for all of us. For example, the expansion of higher education is essential for students, but also promotes a vibrant research base from which new businesses

can be formed. Moreover, our aim is to promote lifelong learning and in particular to upgrade the skills of low-skilled workers.

- Social and welfare systems need to be both enhanced and adapted. In developing countries better social safety nets can prevent the transmission of poverty and inequality. We must also ensure that the provision for the ageing, the sick and the disabled is financially secure for the future to prepare for new demographic challenges. The foundation of social policy is an effective employment policy, directed towards participation and especially preventing structural unemployment. In this field in particular we will share and learn from best practices.
- (...) We are determined to fully exploit the chances of the new information and communication technologies for prosperity, employment and participation (...). The role of government is to create a climate for entrepreneurship to flourish, to help reduce costs for access to new technology, and to promote research and scientific advance. We are also committed to bridging the digital divide. All citizens need to possess the skills to participate in the technology that is rapidly changing the ways we live. We are aware that new technologies bring about new forms of labour organisation and affects worker's rights.

Strengthening Civil Society

Second, we discussed how to strengthen civil society. In an environment of changing social structures, people want to live in sound social relations: Families need our particular attention; citizens want to live in a secure neighbourhood; children have the right to live their childhood and to grow up in an environment without crime, drugs and violence; indigenous people need to be fully integrated into economic, social and political life.

We believe that civil society needs to be renewed for the modern age: the dynamic market needs to be matched by a strong civic society, based not on prejudice but agreed rules, and by a reformed state. Those in authority must be accountable. Reformed governments have to be the counterpart to globalisation, making globalisation work for people, providing social security, fairness and cultural bearings, engaging people in public affairs. We consider the following issues to be key:

- We need a new balance of rights and responsibilities as the basis for stronger communities. The well off should lend society their abilities and talents, not exclude themselves from society, and those who are underprivileged should be integrated, by offering them new chances. We support an enabling role for the state, providing all citizens with the tools to develop themselves to the full, (...)

Companies have responsibilities in community life too. This relationship has to be emphasised.

- Public services are critical to equal opportunity and a civilised society, because we all depend on the quality of education, health, criminal justice and social services. Our conviction is that these services must be driven by the needs of the citizen - for improved quality, greater convenience, more personalised service provision. That often means difficult reform, which is an essential counterpart to increased investment to meet growing needs.
- For us, communities only deserve that name when all citizens, whatever their race, religion or origin, live in an atmosphere of tolerance and mutual respect. At time of huge challenges of population movement, we must have clear policies for immigration and asylum. We are committed to foster social inclusion and respect for cultural and religious diversity, because they make our societies strong, our economies more flexible and promote exchange of ideas and knowledge.
- Indigenous people number among the most vulnerable worldwide. We recognise that protecting and promoting their rights warrants special consideration and is a legitimate concern of international community.
- The New Economy presents an opportunity to build a new society. But its tensions also offer an opening for demagogues who seek political gain through the manipulation of fear. We will oppose those who exploit xenophobia, hatred and prejudice, who cynically seek to take advantage of social divisions, who falsely promise that the future can be made safe by repressing the rights of others.
- We must modernise and update government to ensure that it's focus is on addressing effectively the problems our citizens face and on encouraging their development. Where partnership with the private sector delivers the public interest, we support it; where decentralisation gives citizens more control of their affairs, we support it; where technology can rationalise provision and make it more convenient, we support it.
- The digital revolution must be embraced by government in order to make it more accessible, accountable and efficient. We recognize that digital technology is a powerful tool that offers citizens a new way to connect and communicate with their government.

Further Improving International Cooperation

Third, we aspire to be an international community of shared values. We are describing here a new international social compact - the practical fulfilment at international level of our commitment to strong communities at home. The compact is a recognition of interdependence and is based on mutual effort and mutual responsibility for common goals. The developed world has duties to the developing world, and the commitment is reciprocated - aid debt relief are used for popular need not conflict, development respects the environment, the benefits of trade are shared. In order to advance social justice and economic dynamism in developing countries, we must support the rule of law, market institutions and free trade as keys to economic development. As the global economy and a shared concern for international affairs draws us closer together, we need to advance the idea of community from both a global, regional and national perspective.

Just as we seek to advance social justice and economic dynamism for the whole population of our own countries, so we have a responsibility to develop a more inclusive and sustainable international division of wealth and opportunity. We have international institutions dedicated to many of the key issues: trade, financial stability, conflict prevention, public health, education, labour, environmental protection, economic development.

We recognise the demands for transparency and accountability in these institutions. We also believe that the strengthening of the international co-ordination and co-operation on issues of global concern can make a significant contribution to reinforcing progressive governance at the domestic level, by ensuring more stable economic conditions and by fostering efforts to build a more symmetric process of globalisation.

We know that problems of poverty, debt, conflict, environmental degradation are connected. That is why we need efficient international co-operation that links together solutions to these problems. This form of linkage is being pioneered in the connection between debt relief and poverty reduction programmes (...). For us the following issues are key:

- We support free trade as an important instrument of economic development for the developing world, and as the route to new markets for industrialised countries. A strengthened multilateral trading system is essential for progressive governance to prosper at the international level by ensuring hard-working people in all countries a fair chance to market their product abroad. (...) We agreed that as a crucial step for trade liberalisation developed countries and developing countries should provide the least developed nations enhanced market access.

- We are aware that a stable international financial environment is a crucial factor in promoting economic growth and in allowing all countries to reap the potential benefits of globalisation. We support the far-reaching attempts at debt relief for HIPC (...). And we want to give more support to good governance in countries where it is the weakness of government that is undermining the rule of law and the development of economic and social life.
- We see the need to improve the institutional framework in which financial markets operate, in terms of the adoption of efficient regulation, supervising and accounting, codes of conduct, principles of sound corporate governance, and a fair sharing of responsibility between the public and the private sector. We agreed on the need for adequate regulation and supervision in order to strengthen financial stability.
- Globalisation, trade and technological advances should enable us to tackle widespread poverty better than ever before. It is our responsibility to secure that poor people and the poorest nations are included in the present historic opportunities. Direct effective aid from both governments and non-governmental organisations is still needed. We will give it more priority and resist those who would give it less.
- We must turn the digital divide into international digital opportunities by training teachers and building strong partnerships with government, businesses, foundations, and civil organisations. We need to use new technologies to its fullest advantage, to improve health, promote education, and foster cultural exchange and understanding. We believe that education is as important, if not more important, for the developing world as the developed world. We support the target to substantially increase universal primary schooling. We must ensure that the children of the world – the citizens of the future – are well taught by qualified teachers with proper materials.
- [To add: Bullet on international law and human rights.]
- The global environment must be handed on safely to future generations. Sustainable development is an important orientation for modern governance. The aim is to link economical, social, ecological and labour market policies. We support the commitments of the Kyoto protocol and want to use new mechanisms, like emissions trading, to create common interest between the developing and developed world.
- We must make a concerted effort to prevent the spread of infectious diseases that are robbing developing countries of their most precious assets – their people. We

support an increased focus on resources on health infrastructure. We also commit to increasing our contributions to vaccine and immunisation efforts that assist the poorest countries and to fostering the development of new vaccines and immunisations to prevent diseases such as TB, Malaria, HIV/AIDS.

We, the leaders of progressive governments, informed by the tragedies and triumphs of the 21st century, disdaining dogma, believe that democracy in the 21st century advances the ideals and instruments of hope for all. Despite momentary abstacles and sacrifices in current politics, we believe that our principles gain their meaning through effective progress. We act now in the interest of the future generations of the 21st century.

We have all learnt from this meeting and we all want to meet again. One of the conclusions of the Florence meeting is to broaden the network of reform oriented governments. We want our ministers, civil servants and public administrators to meet and co-operate on a regular basis, to discuss political solutions and to learn from each other. We will promote the exchange of civil servants and public administrators and we will establish a network of thinkers and scientific institutions designed at identifying challenges and policy options. We believe our citizens should gain confidence from the common experience and approach that we are taking and we look forward to taking forward our ideas to all people.

3rd Way

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 19, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRUCE REED
TOM FREEDMAN

SUBJECT: Talking Points for Session Two of the Third Way Conference
"Democracies in the 21st Century – Values, Rights, and Responsibilities"

The basic pact that binds our society together is the idea that we have responsibilities as well as rights, that we have an obligation to expand opportunity for all and demand responsibility from all. Activist government can only succeed if it reinforces people's values and doesn't undermine them.

Here are a few illustrative examples of what you have done to expand opportunity and responsibility, and some of the fundamental challenges New Democratic leaders will face in the next decade.

A. New Democratic Accomplishments

- **Balancing the Budget While Increasing Investment:** Over the last 7 years, we've turned a \$300 billion annual deficit into back-to-back surpluses, with the prospect of a trillion-dollar surplus over the next decade. Yet in that same period, we've doubled investment in education and nearly doubled investment in public safety.
- **Rewarding Work Over Welfare:** Our system used to make single mothers worse off for going to work, instead of rewarding them. We enacted a tax credit for working families that makes work a better deal than welfare. In 1998, the EITC lifted 4.3 million Americans, over half of them children, out of poverty – more than twice as many as in 1993. We also dramatically increased our investment in child care, so poor mothers could go to work and not have to worry that their children were safe. We reformed our welfare laws to require and reward work, and to demand more child support from absent fathers. We increased our minimum wage. All these steps, along with a growing economy, have given us the biggest five-year drop in poverty in 30 years.
- **Increasing Access to College While Asking Young People to Give Something Back:** We have taken several steps to open the doors of college to any young person, with tax credits and scholarships. We have also given young people the chance to

give something back to their community and country in return. We have done this by: (1) launching our Americorps program which has given 100,000 young Americans the chance to serve while earning funds for college; (2) allowing students to repay their loans as a percentage of their income over time; and (3) expanding work-study programs, which 1 million Americans will now take part in as a result of the budget that Congress passed this week.

B. Some Future Challenges

- **Balancing Work and Family:** As more families have come to depend on two incomes over the last 3 decades, American parents now have 22 fewer hours a week to spend with their children than 30 years ago. If we're going to succeed as societies, we need to find ways – through business and government – to give parents more time, more choices, and more ability to succeed at work and at home. For example, the first law you signed upon becoming President guarantees people the right to take unpaid leave to care for a sick child or family member. We're trying to expand that to give workers the right to take time off for other important family needs, such as parent-teacher conferences and doctors appointments.
- **Giving Parents Tools:** The greater personal freedom a society allows, the greater personal responsibility it must demand. We need to give parents the tools to protect and raise their children in a complex time. Starting in January, we're equipping every new TV set with a V-Chip that allows parents an easy way to control what their children watch. We are expanding that concept to the Internet and other media. For instance, there is now a free website where parents can obtain blocking and filtering tools to protect their children on the Internet.
- **Making the Most of Our Diversity:** To succeed, we must make opportunity available to all, and take advantage of everyone's diverse talents. The New Markets tour is part of that commitment to broaden opportunity and strengthen our economy for global competition. Further, a commitment to an inclusive society means that everyone must feel protected by our laws. That's why we're seeking hate crimes legislation to guarantee that no group will be targeted for violence, intimidation, and exclusion.

3rd Way

November 16, 1999

THIRD WAY CONFERENCE

DATE: Saturday, November 20, 1999
LOCATION: Villa La Pietra
TIME: 7:20pm
FROM: Samuel Berger and Sidney Blumenthal

I. PURPOSE

For you to participate in the Florence Conference entitled *Progressive Governance for the Twenty-first Century*. You will attend a reception and dinner on Saturday night at Villa La Pietra, the former estate of Sir Harold Acton, now owned by New York University. The Florence Conference is the third in a series of continuing events to promote the new ideas of your presidency internationally.

II. BACKGROUND

The conference will include the participation of six world leaders including you, Prime Minister Tony Blair, President Fernando Cardoso, Prime Minister D'Alema, Prime Minister Lionel Jospin and Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder. The New York University School of Law and the European University Institute are co-sponsors of the Florence Conference. NYU sponsored the first conference in September 1998.

III. PARTICIPANTS

You	Sidney Blumenthal	Secretary Albright
The First Lady	Melanne Verveer	Amb. Thomas M. Foglietta
Chelsea Clinton	Kelly Craighead	Maria M. Foglietta
John Podesta	Gene Sperling	Mark Penn
Doug Sosnik	Bruce Reed	Lynn Forester
Sandy Berger	Nancy Hernreich	Al From
Joe Loekart	Consul-General Lari	John Sweeney
Bruce Lindsey	Martinez	

IV. PRESS PLAN

Mix and Mingle
Dinner

CLOSED PRESS
POOL PRESS

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- You, the First Lady and members of the U.S. delegation will informally greet members of other delegations at the foyer.
- You and the First Lady will proceed to the outdoor tent and take your seats.
- Dean John Sexton of the NYU School of Law will make welcoming remarks.
- Jay Oliva, President of the New York University, will make welcoming remarks and present the New York University Global Law School Leadership Award to the First Lady.
- The First Lady will make remarks
- Dinner will then be served.
- After Dinner, Professor Masterson of the EUI will introduce President Romano Prodi of the European Union, who will then make remarks.
- Dean Sexton will make remarks.
- **You will make brief closing remarks.**
- You and the First Lady may spend some time with the leaders and depart.

VI. REMARKS

REMARKS TO BE PROVIDED BY SPEECHWRITING – all preparatory materials provided by Sidney Blumenthal, Sandy Berger, and Paul Glastris.

VII. ATTACHMENTS

- November 12, 1999 "Memorandum for the President from Sidney Blumenthal."
- October 27, 1999 "Memorandum for Sidney Blumenthal from Roger Ballentine."

November 16, 1999

THIRD WAY CONFERENCE

DATE: Sunday November 21, 1999
LOCATION: Palazzo Vecchio
TIME: 10:00 a.m.
FROM: Samuel Berger and Sidney Blumenthal

I. PURPOSE

For you to participate in the Florence Conference entitled *Progressive Governance for the Twenty-first Century*. You will attend public events at the Palazzo Vecchio, including a leaders' breakfast, lunch and two panel sessions. The Florence Conference is the third in a series of continuing events to promote the new ideas of your presidency internationally.

II. BACKGROUND

The conference will include the participation of six world leaders including you, Prime Minister Tony Blair, President Fernando Cardoso, Prime Minister D'Alema, Prime Minister Lionel Jospin and Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder. The New York University School of Law and the European University Institute are co-sponsors of the Florence Conference. NYU sponsored the first conference in September 1998.

III. PARTICIPANTS

LUNCH

You	Sidney Blumenthal	Secretary Albright
The First Lady	Melanne Verveer	Amb. Thomas M. Foglietta
Chelsea Clinton	Kelly Craighead	Maria M. Foglietta
John Podesta	Gene Sperling	Mark Penn
Doug Sosnik	Bruce Reed	Lynn Forester
Sandy Berger	Nancy Harnreich	Al From
Joe Lockart	Consul-General Lari	John Sweeney
Bruce Lindsey	Martinez	

SESSION ONE and SESSION TWO

You	Gene Sperling	Nancy Jackson
The First Lady	Bruce Reed	Al From
Chelsea Clinton	Nancy Hearnreich	Will Marshall
John Podesta	Consul General Lari	Phil Stefani
Doug Sosnik	Martinez	Mrs. Stefani
Sandy Berger	Secretary Albright	Wendy Luers
Joe Lockart	Amb. Thomas Foglietta	Rosabeth Kantor
Bruce Lindsey	Maria Foglietta	John Sweeney
Sidney Blumenthal	Mark Penn	Tom Freedman
Melanne Verveer	Lynn Forester	
Kelly Craighead	Evelynde Rothschild	

IV. PRESS PLAN

Leaders Breakfast	CLOSED PRESS
SESSION ONE	POOL PRESS
Working Lunch	POOL PRESS
SESSION TWO	POOL PRESS

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

Leaders Breakfast

- You will meet at breakfast with Blair, Cardoso, D'Alema, Jospin and Schroeder.
- This will be a private discussion of issues and concerns.
- You will depart and go to SESSION ONE.

SESSION ONE

"The New Economy: Equality and Opportunity."

- The Mayor of Florence, Leonardo Domenici, will make welcoming remarks.
- Jay Oliva and Professor Masterson will introduce Prime Minister D'Alema, who will moderate SESSION ONE.
- You will depart for LUNCH.

Working Lunch

- You and the First Lady will be seated at lunch.
- Juan Somavia, Director-General of the International Labor Organization, will make brief remarks.
- Javier Solana, chief of defense issues for the European Union will make remarks.
- You and the First Lady will go to SESSION TWO.

SESSION TWO

"Democracies in the 21st Century: Values, Rights and Responsibilities."

- Prime Minister D'Alema will moderate SESSION TWO.
- You will participate as a panelist by answering questions from distinguished thinkers along with the other five leaders.
- All leaders will make brief closing remarks.
- You will then depart.

VI. REMARKS

NO PREPARED REMARKS – all preparatory materials provided by Sidney Blumenthal and/or Sandy Berger.

VII. ATTACHMENTS

- November 12, 1999 "Memorandum for the President from Sidney Blumenthal."
- October 27, 1999 "Memorandum for Sidney Blumenthal from Roger Ballentine."

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Sidney Blumenthal to POTUS re: The Florence Conference (3 pages)	11/12/99	P1/b(1), P5

**This marker identifies the original location of the withdrawn item listed above.
For a complete list of items withdrawn from this folder, see the
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Domestic Policy Council
Bruce Reed (Subject File)
OA/Box Number: 21209

FOLDER TITLE:

Third Way

rs79

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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3rd Way

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

**FROM: BRUCE REED
TOM FREEDMAN**

**RE: "BROTHER, CAN YOU PARADIGM": THOUGHTS ON SOME
METHODS USED IN YOUR THIRD WAY DOMESTIC PROGRAMS**

The Third Way political movement has come a long way from its origins when small factions struggled for survival within the orbit of apparently declining opposition parties. Today, the opposition parties have been transformed into ruling parties, and the parties themselves are run by the former dissidents. Indeed, the practical success of the movement is indicated by the high-profile list of national leaders who are participants in this year's Third Way conference. The shared Third Way philosophy of these leaders is well-detailed in previous memos, each of the leaders attending the conference has found compelling ways to answer contemporary domestic challenges – a formula you have described for America as opportunity, responsibility and community.

A remaining challenge, however, is the task of describing the *methods* by which Third Way governments construct agendas. Critics are quick to acknowledge the specific programs as being "Third Way," but they question how the programs are connected generally. To paraphrase the infamous jurisprudential saying, "we may know a Third Way policy when we see it, but why is it a Third Way policy and how do the different types of Third Way policies work together to create a better community for all?" An answer to that question makes it easier not only to answer critics, but also to provide a model of what *types* of programs might provide solutions to future problems.

We have attempted to take some of your specific measures and categorize them, demonstrating some key Third Way techniques you have used to help build a better country. The methods involve: (1) giving individuals and families better tools to protect their values in the new marketplace; (2) the use of public-private partnerships to further community goals; and (3) a determination to strengthen the social safety net in key areas, turning a patchwork of partial commitments into a broader social pact. Taken together, the techniques describe courses of action for governmental decision-makers working on problems involving individuals, private sector corporations, as well as large-scale social issues.

In the following we have attempted to describe some Third Way governmental methods and provide several examples of how you have implemented an appropriate Third Way solution.

I. Providing Tools To Parents

It is often noted that one can't legislate values. However, you can give parents the tools they need to raise their children as they see fit. Here are three examples where you have

worked to help parents maintain their role as parents despite the onslaught of new products and entertainment that is easily available to children.

- **The V-Chip.** Beginning in January 2000, every new television set will be equipped with this device which allows parents an easy way to control what their children watch. The idea finds a sensible path between the false choice of heavy-handed regulation or telling parents they simply have to be with their kids whenever the T.V. is on.
- **Carding Kids for Movies.** The agreement with movie theater owners means that children are consistently subjected to adult rules and can't see movies the community feels are inappropriate. The agreement protects free expression (it is not even legislated), but it again frees parents from having to accompany their children to theaters in order to control what their children are seeing.
- **Help for the Internet.** You have supported the creation of a website where parents get free software blocking and filtering to protect their children while they are on-line. In addition to the free blocking and filtering tools, the site includes a safety guide, information on how to report trouble, and names for safe educational websites.

II. Public-Private Partnerships

You have used public-private partnerships with great effect to change public attitudes, particularly in conjunction with legislative changes. Your New Markets tour is a good example of this, below are some other examples:

- **Welfare to Work Partnership.** Welfare reform posed a multiplicity of challenges, among them how to demand participant responsibility but simultaneously create real opportunity. The welfare law required individual responsibility, but it was up to the partnership created with your encouragement and launched in your State of the Union address to help make sure jobs were available: More than 10,000 businesses have now joined the partnership and they have hired more than 400,000 former recipients of public assistance.
- **Teen Pregnancy.** The National Campaign to Prevent Teen Pregnancy uses a community-based approach to help unite Americans behind a cause they can agree with. The Campaign avoids potential political fights (abstinence vs. condoms) and focuses on what we can accomplish together. Partially as a result, Teen birth rates have declined nationwide by 18% from 1991 to 1998, and have fallen in every state and across ethnic and racial groups.
- **Youth Violence.** You are in the midst of launching a third program that will help to change public attitudes using non-profit and private sector involvement. The National Campaign Against Youth Violence has already allied itself with

private institutions like the NFL (which is running ads during Sunday games) to target young populations with a compelling anti-violence message. Like the others, the campaign demonstrates there are non-legislative, non-regulatory means for bringing together and dealing with seemingly intractable social problems.

III. Turning a Torn Safety Net Into a Trampoline

Large-scale public commitments are frequently and mistakenly seen as inconsistent with Third Way politics. But one key element of the Third Way means requires an on-going and comprehensive commitment to people so that they have the *basics* necessary to strive and succeed in the competitive marketplace of the upcoming century. The era of big government is over, but the need to have a compact between people and their government must not end. That means that in major areas like education, safety and civil rights it cannot be left up to chance whether every citizen is protected and is in a position to succeed.

Accordingly, your Administration has worked to create a world of universal opportunity, underwritten with whatever power of the government is necessary. Thus, you have sought means to ensure every child has access to a quality public education. In the area of public safety, you have recognized that one key freedom is the freedom from fear. You have been willing to invest in more police, tougher sentences, and harsher restrictions to keep guns out of the hands of criminals. In civil rights, you have advocated a world that is fairer and protects diversity, pushing for example for stronger measures to protect citizens from hate crimes. You might point out that the First Lady's work to expand health care coverage to all is consistent with this Third Way ethic, the idea that some needs are so fundamental to individual success that they should not be left up to chance but instead require governmental involvement.

These three types of Third Way action – tools for parents, public-private partnerships, and protection of necessities – help describe some useful approaches that are worthy of discussion, and provide models for future answers to the new crop of challenges that Third Way governments will face.



DLC

February 8, 1999

Memorandum to the President

From: Al From

Subject: Possible New Democrat-New Labor Third Way Event

The purpose of this memorandum is to see if you'd have any interest in participating in a Third Way event with Tony Blair in April when the Prime Minister is in Washington for the celebration of the 50th Anniversary of NATO.

As a follow up to our Third Way discussions with Tony Blair, I have been talking with Gordon Brown and David Milliband (Blair's chief domestic policy advisor) about putting together a series of New Democrat-New Labor events that would take place here and in Great Britain over the next 12 to 18 months. The DLC would sponsor the series with either the Labor Party or a Labor Party affiliated think tank.

My grandest hope would be to kick off the series with Tony Blair here in April and to end it in Britain next year with an event featuring you, the First Lady or the Vice President.

Blair is available on Sunday afternoon, April 25, and is interested in participating in such an event if you (and/or the Vice President) are. Blair would also like to involve Schroeder and Jospin, and has suggested an event focusing on the empowerment theme that could also involve governors and mayors.

My purpose in pursuing this effort is both political and substantive. The political purpose - as we discussed briefly the night of the DLC conference - is to brand the Third Way as Democratic, to make sure that we continue to own the politics we created. The substantive purpose is to continue to give substance to the Third Way by discussing common themes, values, and ideas that define it throughout the democratic world - so that the Third Way is seen as a substantive governing philosophy and not just an electoral tactic.

A high profile event with you, Blair, other European leaders from center left parties (and Democratic governors and mayors) discussing empowerment ideas would help achieve both purposes. It would certainly underscore the political point that the Third Way is the purview of center-left parties - i.e. the Democratic Party. And, it would focus on the cornerstone of the Third Way, New Democrat philosophy which is - a new kind of activist government that equips or empowers citizens with the tools they need to solve their own problems in their own communities.

I hope you will be interested in doing this event. I believe if we plan it well, it can have more edge and give us more political benefit than the Third Way event we did last September at NYU.

This event and series will be part of our continuing effort to build upon the discussions we began with the First Lady at Chequers and continued during the Blairs' visit here a year ago. Just the weekend before last (January 29-31), PPI hosted a small conference at the Airlie Center entitled *The Politics of the Third Way*. At that conference, about 20 prominent political thinkers, activists, and commentators -- half from the United States and half from Europe -- discussed Third Way policy ideas and political strategies. Bruce Reed, Rob Shapiro, and Bill Galston all took part. Sid was supposed to attend, but had to prepare for his deposition. David Miliband helped us pull together the European group. The New Labor participants include Miliband, his brother, Ed Milliband, who works for Gordon Brown, and Patricia Hewitt, an MP, who participated at Chequers.

Finally, I see New Democrat-Third Way politics as your most important legacy. That's why I suggested in my State of the Union memo that we need to launch a real effort over the next 18 months both to educate the American people on the Third Way and to create an identity for the New Democrat brand. As Tony Blair said at the meeting we had at Chequers, we need to brand our politics so we can occupy the territory.

I think branding our politics, building the New Democrat brand so voters understand what it means, should be your last campaign. You should use that campaign, after the impeachment trial ends, to help ensure that your legacy is what it should be. I'm ready to do whatever's necessary to make sure that happens.

This event on April 25 would be a terrific launch for such a campaign. I hope you will agree to do it.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. memo	Blumenthal to POTUS re: The New Consensus and the Vital Majority (4 pages)	7/30/99	Personal Misfile

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U - ORC

4.25.99

Braze 1) how to provide prosperity
and 2) social stability in times
of global change

- Old left opposed change (crisis)
- New right counter-revolution
and just get rid of govt, indifferent to
- voyage of rediscovery. what
we're really really about is common -
ORC

- Reasserting self as party of values

1) New role for govt in econ terms

- educ., skills, small bus
- not free market or heavily handed intervention
not old role of govt

2) Modern civic society - rts & duties

- "Do your own thing" (my question mark)
- Free from prejudice, but not free from rules
(things, well-being)

3) Retiret govt

- decentralize, partnerships

4) Applies internet as well as here

- Intl. values, not just econ etc.
- Internationalist

- "Practical policies"

- Policy content is driven by these values

- Values, principles, policies give one
seamless line of vision

- Dynamic center, not soggy center
not LCD - genuine attempt to
address prob of future - more radical

Third Way

KOK - 3rd way is a way
- toward 3rd Ave

- high soc. std - high benefits
- But people must recog. urgency, freesp
- OPP is one thing, but resp. is another
- Solidarity/Respons
- Solidarity is a 2 way or way
- Bringing people from welfare to work
- Rts are also respons.
- Take change as a reality
- winners & ill respons. for losers
- Quality of life/ecological aspects

Schooner - looked for alternative

blw neoliberalism & state socialism
- S.E. Asian model (narrow access
to capital + educ. - root cause of
Asia-crisis)

- Euro model - ^{post-war} ~~socialist~~ ^{social} ~~market~~ ^{market} ~~based~~
based on broad involve + particip. of working masses
- 3rd way means particip. of as many as
poss. in values of soc., but also educ etc.
Need to help as many as poss take part in
opport as well as respons. = defn. of 3rd way

- No magic formula - run an experiment -
trial + error.
- Need econ growth - increase in know. & skills.

Crucial Q = how to keep all people involved in
offer of know. + educ. - more is the even
that's winners that will determ. fate of society

- Moral rt/partitlement to educ + work,
but balanced to respons. to do work +
get the training. You may be too old or young.

But solid. is 2 way st - person has to do everything
they can for selves + families - He who does
not comply w/ respons. shd lose his entitlement
to support of the state. That is justice.

Rest of society will not want to support weak ones.
- Amers could benefit from taking over our
training. Eg - HRC HC. we can learn from
one another. we can learn from US on
flex. of markets + labor market. That's diff. in Europe

all diff. languages, cultures
- Need new vibrant blw pub + private sector, but also
decide everything as close to people as possible. Then

D'ALEMA

- Germans love Itals, Itals ~~love~~ respect
I find Germans love, + believe Itals should be
respected.

- 3rd Way is a cultural challenge.

Open, democ. societies have suffered a setback,
soc. injustice. Easy to rise to success, or
drop out. Societies achieved an equality.
How heavy bureaucratic systems, slow down

- 3rd way is effort to find act. pt b/w these
expos. Is it possible to have dynamic

- Not a ideology, find answers to
Result of a crisis of ideologies, not the
victory of ideologies

- Freedom + equality. Conflict b/w individuality
+ freedom has defined 20th C - aimed conflicts.
We must find peace b/w solidarity + freedom.

- Europe. Solidarity thru total. in E. Europe,
semi-way. in W. Europe. Blair
is a bridge b/w US + Europ. experts - needs
to include whole Europ. left

- Need less nat. govt, more government
local. Crisis of nat. commitment. Overleverage
is local commit. - at that level, less bureauc,
less cumbersome

- Global comm + response - must give opp to people
- We've been successful b/c BC not just force
at also hope.

BC

- Demanded to prove we could manage econ. + the
deal w/ soc justice - what to do about people
how to have well system that empowers them
who could take a car to school, + take care of those
who can't. 2) Inequality

3) Rt balance b/w work + family, + still maintain
econ dynamism (econ, time)

France has opp. prob. Here UI drops w/ growth
Europ - how do you get growth? USA - how do you
have growth, + how do you get family.

In some ways, we're crossing.

Germany - school-to-work, success.
How do you deal w/ part-time work, work + home
work - highest % of voluntary part-time
workers - even they get vacations +

Most imp. thing is to get it right
for work + family. Most 12 p. jobs in
society is to raise children, something
we've burdened w/ even more at the moment

Kooc Respons. choices by govt + businesses
What do needs of growing prosperity?

- People did make choice b/w 2 care families.
But other opp for ♀ + ♂ to combine work
+ raising child (ad aged). Flexibility
is dirty word in Europ - but it should
to benefit of workers, to organize their time
work + leisure in best way.

- Fixed schedules to take leave, to combine
work + child

- Everybody must be respons., not only
weekend but straight

SubRODER

- Full speculation can destroy a economy overnight

BC - classic 3rd way prob

- \$1.5T in ^{money} / day, 15x trade in goods + services

D'ALEMA

- One of greatest soc. challenges is to reconcile
work + family in a free way. Reconcile b/w individual

Create opp. for indiv. to decide

- Eg., Italy legis to take parental leave -
entitlement for ♀ + ♂ - not burden only on
♀ + children. Very difficult to assure no gender

- We should promote a free way to organize
time. Need for educ - not just 1st part of life
lifelong learning.

- Culture of indiv. is best soc. protection -
educ + skills - not imp part of soc. exclusion.
Not just tech skills, but human sciences - tech
changes. What really matters is learning how
to learn. Don't push too quickly to specialize

BLAIR

Our pos. is that enterprise & justice can live together - & they have to - invest & select is essential to econ., & central to opp + response

Action comes based on O+R.

In 80s, no allowed choice to be bly, you can vote for yourself or for anyone else. They voted for selves. This is a fatal choice.

It's remarkable - long overdue. Here we are engaged in Euros, and it is central for us to be solid & we have common esp + common ideas. What we have in common > what divides us. Let's be the key to a modern progressive democ. world

Treasurer

- 1. Statemile character ideas
 - 2. Gun tracing
 - 3. Frygates - crisis to shut gun
- the open aspirin bottle

50% of all crime = 3% of neegh
60% of drugs - private

- 1) Hot Spots (Comm trust)
- crime down 12% = hot spots
- 2) Test trace auto. for drugs
- 80% reduction

Results encourages sense of trust in govt.

POWER

- 1. ST2
- 2. Bandwidth
- 3. You do better = JMS with - share methods
- 4. Tech - global
- 5. Centrif. of competency / disturbance
(free mkt to provide better)
- Europe too centralized, US too dispersed
- Culture is essential - I'm from state

WEBB

- 1. Fiscal discipline
 - 2. Businesslike govt
 - 1) Public safety - people will more
 - 2) Kids - schools - major benefits
 - 3) livability - parks, open space, culture
 - Bus. units needs telephone + computer
 - 4) Empowerment for all.
- Critic down 28%
UI. 34%

TEACHERS

TY to BC. Thanks
67K families, 525M savings
- recruited a ce, hrs, team preparing
Fatherhood - 84% now working
Will be judged by goal of life for poor
Proof driving
3rd way is the right way

BC

Paul Holt
Stories were just heard or why we got into politics.
Coke is abstract - press has to
What a Test of ideas is whether they make different lives of ordinary people

BLAIR

For all had faith we could do things together
3rd way - contract bly govt + citizens
Come - we'll give you help, but you've got to do things too.
Health - more & better. Teachers.
Old days of becoming labor govt, so spend & however you want. need results, obj's.
Come is about a deal bly people
Press can't get handle on this - (head a head line)
bus spend on slashers
We're trying to do some things in case of some pubic. Else is on edge.
Values + serious practical ideas
Dec can be prod.

(KOE) work w/ people for people

(BC) Huge 3rd leg debate in US over how fed govt shd interact w/ locals

R's on law enforcement: just give it. Old model would have been too US diff prog w/ diff subcom. names.

What Tim tries to do is, if states have shown us what works, ~~we shd give it~~ ^{we shd give it for things that work & stop funding things that don't}

~~we shd give it for things that work & stop funding things that don't~~

- not trying to micromanage - ^{not telling you how to do it.}

- Play out in 3rd areas there yr, we may not win them all.

SWISS

SUBSIDIARITY

Not govt can set a framework

D'ALEMA

Similar issues

Italy - autonomy of ed. insts.

not amazing, but mgmt of local school no longer mt.

"Govt-owned belongs to nobody, we want people to think it belongs to them"

- "Beautiful discussion" b/w mayors
- Shd like R's direct comm.
- Probs w/ words - fear of "co-opt it."

Expns are close & expected.

(BC) wouldn't have you have it running for a decade

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
THE WHITE HOUSE 5-3-99
WASHINGTON

3rd Way

ROUTING SLIP

Doug (Abund - Fyl - ~~IA~~)

TO: ~~President Clinton~~

FROM: SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: FOR YOUR INFORMATION

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THE NEW YORK OBSERVER

OPINIONS

Leftists on Parade! (And They're in Power)

by Joe Conason

As NATO's 50th-anniversary conference concluded, the paradoxical result of the Western triumph over communism was on public display in the ballroom of the National Press Club. Four European prime ministers and the President of the United States spoke about freedom and social justice from a perspective rarely occupied by leftist politicians during the final decades of the Cold War: They are in power.

And the irony, of course, is that their ascension has been due in large part to the vacuum created by the disappearance of the Soviet Union. Into that yawning black hole went not only the decrepit left-wing totalitarians, but also the right-wing ideologues whose movements now lack any unifying purpose. Reaganism or Thatcherism might have persisted without Ronald Reagan or Margaret Thatcher, but not without communism.

It was appropriate, then, that the NATO summit would provide a forum for a group of center-left leaders who are among the true beneficiaries of the trans-Atlantic alliance's historic victory. Under the auspices of the Democratic Leadership Council, the Prime Ministers of Britain, Germany, Italy and the Netherlands joined Bill Clinton on the summit's final day to discuss the wide-ranging intellectual effort to renovate progressive policy and politics that has become known as "the Third Way."

Aside from the current emphasis on globalization and information technology, the notion of a "Third Way" between stagnant statism and cruel capitalism is not really new. Even the name has been heard before, way back in the early years of the Cold War.

So in its present vague incarnation the Third Way might be dismissed as just another exercise in spin, a slogan designed to enhance the electoral prospects of Britain's Tony Blair or Germany's Gerhard Schröder. But it is also true that the collapse of communism and the confusion of conservatism have provided the



JOE CONASON

'The Third Way is the result of a crisis of ideologies, not the victory of ideologies.'—Italian Prime Minister Massimo D'Alema

center-left with a chance for renewed relevance.

Massimo D'Alema, a former activist in the Italian Communist Party who now heads its successor, the Party of the Democratic Left, described the present moment succinctly. "The Third Way is the result of a crisis of ideologies," the Italian Prime Minister said, "not the victory of ideologies." He summarized the 20th century as a period of harsh conflict between "open, democratic societies that are very dynamic and competitive" but suffer from social injustice, and "other societies that achieved solidarity but at the cost of a heavy bureaucracy." Speaking presumably from painful memory, he added that "the ideal of social solidarity has been accompanied too often by the fact of authoritarianism ... We must find peaceful coexistence between solidarity and freedom."

That is easy to talk about and hard to do—as Mr. Clinton's own fitful and mostly failed attempts to reform health care and other basic features of American capitalism have demonstrated. In this country, the Third Way emerged as "triangulation," an electoral tactic which resulted in the sell-out of the welfare reform bill.

Somewhat provocatively, the droll Mr. D'Alema also mentioned a word that has long been politically taboo in Washington. He noted that four of the five leaders on the dais "belong to a movement, the Socialist International ... I'm aware that this word is somewhat sensitive here"—a remark that elicited knowing laughter from the audience—"and I can see that we have avoided pronouncing this word here."

Replied Mr. Clinton with a broad smile, "I'm not sure I would have you here, Massimo, if I were running for re-election." A similar sentiment suddenly may have gripped Al From, the Democratic Leadership Council's president, whose corporate-funded organization has spent the last decade trying to purge "socialist" elements from the ranks of the Democratic Party, although he, too, kept smiling graciously.

"We should prevail over this fear of words," said Mr. D'Alema when the nervous chuckles subsided, and he had a point. If the Third Way accomplishes anything, it will create a dialogue between Europeans and Americans about fostering enterprise and equality—with many proposals coming from officials of traditionally socialist parties that now dominate the continent. While "socialist" remains a term of abuse in the American lexicon, it may not be quite as effective a weapon for the right as it once was. Americans who look across the pond at the likes of Mr. D'Alema, Mr. Blair and Mr. Schröder are unlikely to perceive these modern, casual politicians as ominous commissars.

Meanwhile, some conservatives seem to be aware, however dimly, that their ideology may be fated for the same dustbin of history where Marxism-Leninism ended up. Against ferocious opposition from the far right, the Republicans' leading Presidential contender appears to be groping opportunistically toward his own weak imitation of the Third Way. Or isn't that what George W. Bush is trying to do with his chatter about "compassionate conservatism"?



Third Way

Conference speech by Gordon Brown

Bournemouth, Monday 27th September 1999

--- CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY --- CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY ---

I come to this Conference: to report to you not just on the work we as a Government are doing, and what we plan to do.

But to affirm to you that the values which brought our party into being in the first year of this century - are the values that will guide us in the next: justice, fairness and economic progress- the same values, yesterday, today and tomorrow.

And there can be no better demonstration of Labour values than that yesterday in Washington, a historic meeting of world finance and Development Ministers, at which Clare Short and I were proud to represent you, agreed our party's policy, that in the year 2000 the world will be writing off 100 Billion Dollars, more than 2/3 of the debts of the world's poorest countries. Debt Relief once a dream, then a promise, now becoming a reality. The richest countries, as they should have done long ago, honoring their obligations to the poorest countries.

We aim not only to eliminate these debts, but to eradicate poverty. And yesterday we agreed also a new anti-poverty strategy --- money now spent on servicing debts will be invested not in military weapons or bureaucratic waste or corruption, but where the money should always have gone - educating the young, healing the sick, relieving the suffering of the world's poor.

This shows why if a Labour Party did not exist it would have to be created to fight for justice for all.

And to those who say our great radical achievements are behind us and to those who thought our high watermark as a party was the first of may 1997, I say winning the General Election was only the first step.

I say to this conference

As a Labour Party and as a Labour Government, we have only just begun.

Now the essential first stage of our journey since 1997, has been to end damaging economic instability --- to tackle the Tory boom and bust which served the interests of a privileged few but left millions insecure and worse off. Instead to create the conditions for growth and for jobs.

And it is because we rejected not just the Tory policy but the flawed Tory values behind it - their short-termist, take-what-you-can, selfish irresponsibility - and it is because we put in their place Labour values of economic responsibility, planning for the long term, building stability from solid foundations - that we now in our country have mortgage rates around their lowest levels for twenty years, inflation at its lowest level in

over thirty years, long term interest rates at their lowest levels in nearly 40 years and not just one hundred thousand additional jobs or 200,000 additional jobs but today in Britain, 648,000 more jobs, more people in work -- over 27 million men and women -- than ever before in our history.

You and I know that behind every policy, every number and every statistic, there are people, their hopes, their hard work and their future.

At this Conference we have with us David Obaje,

Two and a half years ago out of work in Tory Britain.

Last year, with us at Conference, one of the first to sign up to the new deal.

Now this year, moved from the New Deal to a new job.

David -- last year you shared with us your hopes and ambitions, today we celebrate your achievement.

If only David had found a job this would for me have made the New Deal worthwhile.

But today I can report the New Deal has reached a new milestone - 500,000 people, like David, have now entered the New Deal.

The Tories have stated they would end the New Deal. Let them explain that to David Obaje whose presence here demonstrates the difference between the dole under the Conservatives, work under Labour.

Twenty years ago the Tory Party put up posters around the country claiming Labour isn't working.

At the next election let us have posters telling the truth about our Government.

Labour is working.

Today we also have with us Susan Martin, mother of two children, from here in Bournemouth who now works full-time - with our better deal for working families, the Working Families Tax Credit, introduced next week, she can expect to be nearly 50 pounds a week better off. And mothers like Susan, under the National Childcare Strategy our party called for, now with a right to affordable, high quality childcare for the first time.

But the Tories want to abolish our Working Families Tax Credit.

Let them explain that to Susan Martin and the 1.5 million families who know the difference between poverty under the Tories, hope under Labour.

And let us not forget - that in 100 years of the Labour Party - for all the great things we accomplished during these early years - until now, our party had not succeeded in creating - as we have now - a Statutory Minimum Wage, the Working Families Tax Credit, the new Tax and Benefit System, the New Deal, the National Childcare Strategy, until now:

Until our generation,
Our Government,
Our Prime Minister Tony Blair.

And all of us can be proud that these are our achievements.

And I say to you today that for all the people whose hopes are at the heart of our purpose, for the principles we believe in, for the new Britain we hope for and strive for, we have only just begun.

And who was against every single one of our measures to put the economy right - who opposed making the Bank of England independent? Who opposed every interest rate decision that was made to tackle inflation? Who opposed every single tax change to sort out the Tory deficit?

Hague, Widdecombe, Redwood and Maude.

Who said that 40 billion on health and education was reckless, wasteful and could not be afforded?

Who said we should stop building new hospitals and stop renovating our schools?

Hague, Widdecombe, Redwood and Maude.

Who opposed giving the poorest pensioner couples an extra 15 pounds a week in a New Minimum Income Guarantee and who failed to support our new 100 pound winter allowance for all pensioner households?

Hague, Widdecombe, Redwood and Maude.

And who even said this - that as a country we could not afford to ensure workers a Minimum Wage of £3.60 an hour? Who said the Minimum Wage would destroy thousands of jobs?

You know the answer: Hague, Widdecombe, Redwood and Maude.

Who last year at this time called our growth forecasts fantasy?

Who called them "fairy-tale figures"?

Who called them "Peter Pan economics"?

Who called them "wonderland politics"?

Who called them "complacent nonsense"?

And who said there would be a recession, a downturn, they said, made in Downing Street?

Who talked Britain down every time they spoke?

You know who it was - Hague, Widdecombe, Redwood and Maude.

Who will now hear their false prophecies of doom repeated back to them day-in, day-out up to and during the next General Election that Labour will win.

I say that these people - Hague, Widdecombe, Redwood and Maude - are not just unfit to be the Government. They are proving unfit even to be the Opposition.

And I think the country agrees with us.

Hague, Widdecombe, Redwood and Maude.

And what can you say about a Tory Party so extreme that Peter Lilley is too moderate to be in the Shadow Cabinet, Michael Howard now not hardline enough to be at Home Affairs.

And to who in their desperation does the Tory party now turn? Who do they believe can give them a more human face, a fresh approach, a more caring Conservatism ... Michael Portillo.

The same Michael Portillo who wanted to abolish the State Pension.

The same Michael Portillo who at the Treasury cut more public spending

on more public services than any other Tory.

The same Michael Portillo whose latest campaign we read about is not as he would have us believe on behalf of the NHS but on behalf of General Pinochet.

Michael Portillo - now presented as the acceptable face of extremism; his is the political face that would launch a thousand cuts.

And let the Tories go to Blackpool and prepare for their next leadership election. Here in Bournemouth we are planning for the next General Election.

And I say to Conference and the country, we will never return to the days of Tory boom - bust.

So in the years ahead, we will always be vigilant about stability, our Labour Government will never take risks with inflation.

I will never let the deficit get out of control.

We will not spend money we have not earned.

Our years of responsibility in Government have only just begun.

We will never again let Tory economics ruin people's lives.

And we will be the party of Britain in Europe. Europe is where we are, where we trade, from where thousands of businesses and millions of jobs come.

Our October 1997 statement says clearly that a successful Single Currency that met our five economic tests is in Britain's national economic interest.

Our common campaign: not Britain isolated in Europe under the Conservatives but Britain in Europe with Labour - and in Europe to stay.

And it is precisely because of what we have been able to achieve together that as a Party and Government we can now raise our sights.

Our values, our history, our movement teach us that we are in politics not just to serve an electoral purpose but to serve and realise a greater public purpose. Our obligation not just to hold office in our country for today, but in the office we hold today to change our country for tomorrow --- our summons as a Party not just to build for the next election but to build for the next generation.

And what will the new Great Britain founded on Labour values look like?

Two centuries ago, Great Britain created an industrial revolution that swept the world.

In the new century, let us exploit the new technological revolution so that, for the first time, we create a Britain of rising opportunity not just for the few, but for all.

A progressive ideal which will define a new Great Britain to the world.

A new Great Britain of great opportunity - realising Labour values - because at last we develop all the potential of all of our children.

A new Great Britain of great opportunity - realising Labour values - because, for the first time, all young people can study as far as their talents take them, get the qualifications they need and be all they can be.

A new Great Britain of great opportunity - realising Labour values - because through investment, reform and modernisation, we deliver the

best public services in our history.

A new Great Britain of great opportunity – realising Labour values – because where, as we raise our productivity to the world's best, more people are in employment and enjoying prosperity than ever before.

This is the Great British society we seek – the greatness of Britain defined by great opportunities for all the people of this land.

And to create this new and dynamic Great Britain, the forces of progress and modernisation, which we represent, must defeat the forces of reaction and privilege, which have for too long held our country back.

This is the challenge of the next decade:

To sweep aside the old cosy cartels, the complacent old boy networks in favour of enterprise open to all.

To sweep aside the something-for-nothing short-termism whether it be in the boardroom or any workplace in our economy – in favour of responsibility accepted by all.

To replace poverty and the denial of opportunity with fairness guaranteed to all.

Our promise: enterprise for all,
Our demand: responsibility from all
Our mission: fairness to all.

Now the new economy of the next decade will need more competition, more entrepreneurship, more flexibility, more long-term investment.

And companies, indeed countries, which fail to adapt, reform and lead the way will simply be left behind.

Let us be honest with ourselves: we must never again become a Party that is seen as anti-success, anti-competition, anti-profit, anti-markets.

Our enemy is not markets but monopoly, not competition but cartels, not profits but privilege and greed.

And it is because we are the party that understands the importance of opportunity for all, that we must be the party that promotes enterprise open to all.

Too often in the old Britain, Conservatism exalted a closed system of enterprise for the few and put the speculator above the long term investor and entrepreneur.

So in the new Great Britain, we are creating, we are rewarding long term investment with a lower long term rate of capital gains tax.

Our banking review, set up last year, reporting this year, to be implemented next year will want to ensure that big institutions cannot hold back small business from investing, growing and creating jobs.

And the benefits of employee share ownership will no longer be wasted, in millions of share options for a few utility bosses, but millions of employee shares will go to millions in the workforce.

Too often in the old Britain, monopolies, cartels and cliques have overcharged, pushed prices far above what consumers pay in America and elsewhere.

In the new Britain of enterprise open to all, competition will be open to all. So we will expose and end anti-competitive practices. We will stand on the side of consumers, for the first time publish league tables comparing all the key charges for financial services.

And never again will we allow the retirement plans of tens of thousands of Britain's hardest working people to be ruined by the misselling of pensions.

Our promise to the British people: in place of the rip off Britain we inherited, a fair deal Britain for the future.

And instead of an old Britain that undervalued science, modern manufacturing, innovation and long-term investment:

1 Billion of investment in science, an r&d tax credit, regional institutes of enterprise at the service of modern manufacturing, new Computer Learning Centres to teach the skills of the future in every community and now Regional Development Agencies empowered to promote, across the regions, balanced economic growth.

And in the old Britain the forces of Conservatism falsely said economic efficiency depends on social injustice. And so they penalised the hard working majority, who are the backbone of Britain.

In the new Britain, we are creating -- in place of tax cuts for millionaires -- still the first Tory priority, still the main Tory obsession. Our labour priority: a 10p Tax Rate, the basic rate cut to 22p. The Working Families Tax Credit worth an extra 24 pounds a week to low-paid families, we are making work pay for the hard-working majority whose side we are on.

In this new great Britain, we will stand for enterprise not the old establishment. We will reward hard work, not heredity, we will value the talents of all, not the titles of a few. We will exalt the potential of millions of hard-working families, never the privileges of 1000 hereditary peers.

And it will be the British people, that will be able to say, in the words of Roosevelt, in our first term, these forces of reaction and privilege met their match; in our second term they met their master.

And in the new Great Britain, let there be responsibility from all.

A high and stable level of employment is our goal. Not jobs for life which no government can promise to deliver, but job opportunities for all throughout all their working life.

And this is our challenge: if those who can work take the responsibility to work, if employers take the responsibility to train and to invest, and if all of us show the same responsibility in pay, then Britain can deliver, in our generation, employment opportunity for all: a goal that this party and this movement has long sought, a goal now within our reach for the twenty first century - full employment for our country.

Not just for one brief shining moment when the figures look good, not just figures that impress for a month or a year, but high and stable levels of growth with high and stable levels of employment.

That is why we, the Labour party are extending the New Deal, its rights and its responsibilities, to help more young people, and the long-term unemployed--- helping lone parents and the disabled who want to work.

That investment in work is now saving money on benefits. While the Tories would abolish the New Deal, I believe our duty is to make the New Deal a Permanent Deal - rights backed by responsibilities- not just for this Parliament but for the next Parliament too.

Not just for the young today, but for all who should be in jobs today and in the future.

Responsibility from all, fairness for all.

Stage by stage, we are tackling the poverty we inherited.

We are already taking nearly a million children out of poverty.

This is a start, Labour values in action.

But I say, for all those in need, we have only just begun.

We know the numbers of children in poverty, children who unless we act- are destined to fail even before their life's journey has begun.

We know this is wrong and let me tell this Conference how we will change it:

We will attack child poverty with better financial support for children and families.

Next week, income support for every child under 11 rising by nearly 5 pounds a week.

Child benefit, by next April, 15 pounds for the eldest child, up since 1997 by over 30 per cent.

And, with our Tax and Benefit changes together, total family support for the first child-- only 600 pounds a year when we came to power will by 2001 be more than twice as much - around 1200 pounds a year.

And we will attack child poverty too with our new Sure Start Programme for the under three's, an extra 3000 pounds per child. A Sure Start in Health Care, a Sure Start in Childcare, a Sure Start in Education, a Sure-Start for the children of the poorest families in our country.

And we will attack child poverty by harnessing the energy, the imagination and the compassion of all who care about child poverty and forge new partnerships with community and voluntary groups.

For I want all of us - parents, teachers, health visitors local authorities, carers, trades unions, leaders in the private and voluntary as well as public sector to join together in a crusade that will mobilise the forces of justice and change in our communities.

As Tony Blair has said, let us be remembered as the generation that won the war against child poverty, the child poverty that has shamed Britain.

So we have made our choice.

With the scale of the challenges ahead, there is no gain for our country in policies which look credible but are not radical--and fail to deliver.

Nor, as we learned the hard way, can we ever succeed by posing as radical without being credible--and fail even to begin.

Our approach is indeed a third way.

Our socialism - credible and radical.

Credible radicals for the 21st century

And we in our party are strengthened for this cause by the inspiration that comes for all of us from the achievements of our pioneers, that we celebrate in this our centenary year.

Our ancestors had to fight against the greatest odds. They knew how much easier it was to be Conservative than Labour.

Easier to conserve than to change.

Easier to succumb to vested interests than to oppose them.

Easier to appease your enemies than to take them on.

Easier to take only for yourself than fight for everyone to have a fair share.

But our Labour pioneers had a dream. They had a vision. They saw beyond the here and now. Because hard times did not teach selfishness but solidarity, they rose above their hardships to create in 1945 a Welfare State that took the shame out of need, and in 1948 a National Health Service---an NHS which is the greatest living realisation of Labour's vision of a just society.

Now is our time and this is our cause

Together we have come a long way since 1997. But we have only just begun.

We will never lose sight of that ambition we all share, to right wrongs, to end injustice, to meet new needs, to give life to our peoples' hopes and give strength to our country's future.

So I say to all of you who share our vision The millions who feel with us the pain of all those in need the millions who share with us a faith and belief in something bigger than ourselves.

Together as a party, as a country, under Tony Blair's leadership we can build the new Great Britain of great opportunity for all.

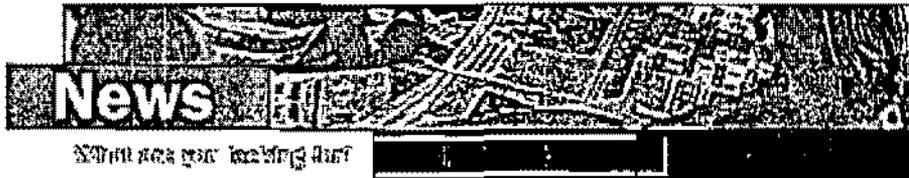
Together we can build the Great British society.

Join us
Join with Labour
Join us
Join us on our journey
Join us
We have only just begun

--- CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY --- CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY ---



Labour 



Speech by Tony Blair MP, Prime Minister and leader of the Labour Party

Bournemouth, Tuesday 28th September 1999

--- CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY --- CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY ---

Today at the frontier of the new Millennium I set out for you how, as a nation, we renew British strength and confidence for the 21st century; and how, as a Party reborn, we make it a century of progressive politics after one dominated by Conservatives.

A New Britain where the extraordinary talent of the British people is liberated from the forces of conservatism that so long have held them back, to create a model 21st century nation, based not on privilege, class or background, but on the equal worth of all.

And New Labour, confident at having modernised itself, now the new progressive force in British politics which can modernise the nation, sweep away those forces of conservatism to set the people free.

100 years in existence, 22 in power, we have never, ever won a full second term. That is our unfinished business. Let us now finish it and with it finish the Tory Party's chances of doing as much damage in the next century as they've done in this one.

Today's Tory party – the party of fox hunting, Pinochet and hereditary peers: the uneatable, the unspeakable and the unelectable.

There's only one thing you need to know about today's Tory Party.

Clarke and Heselline: outcasts.

Hague, Widdecombe, Redwood and Portillo in charge.

The only Party that spent two years in hibernation in search of a new image and came back as the Addams family.

Under John Major, it was weak, weak, weak.

Under William Hague, it's weird, weird, weird.

Far right, far out.

But not far enough for some. Like the letter I got last week from a man who said did I know the Tories had been listening to Britain. They can't have been listening too hard, he said. They're still here.

The more useless they get, the more extreme they get.

In the last few months alone, I've been compared to Hitler, Mussolini and Milosevic. Maybe they think I should be indicted for war crimes – the crime of leading the Labour Party into government, and disturbing the natural order of things.

By convention, Prime Ministers start with all the good things their Government has done. I want to start where the British people start: with all we have still to do.

More than 1 million still unemployed.

Schools and hospitals still needing investment.

Pensioners still living in hardship.

People still petrified by crime and drugs.

3 million children still in poverty.

A century of decline, 20 years of Conservative Government still not put to rights. Do you think I don't feel this, in every fibre of my being?

The frustration, the impatience, the urgency, the anger at the waste of lives unfulfilled, hopes never achieved, dreams never realised. And whilst there is one child still in poverty in Britain today, one pensioner in poverty, one person denied their chance in life, there is one Prime Minister and one Party that will have no rest, no vanity in achievement, no sense of mission completed, until they too are free.

So I do not claim Britain is transformed. I do say the foundations of a New Britain are being laid.

After decades of Tory boom and bust, it is New Labour which is the party of economic competence today and for that we can be proud; and proud of our Chancellor too.

Indeed, I can stand here today, leader of the Labour Party, Prime Minister, and say to the British people: you have never had it so prudent.

As we think back to 1985, and to Neil Kinnock, wasn't it brilliant yesterday, in this hall of all places, to see a Labour Chancellor, "scuttling" back from Washington to hand out the best economic news in a generation, to his own party's Conference.

650,000 more jobs in the economy, long-term youth unemployment halved and – here's one for us to put back down a few Tory throats – fewer days lost in strikes than any of the 18 years of Tory Government. Who says Labour's not working now?

All employees with the right to a paid holiday.

Leave for parents to take time off work for a family crisis.

And after 100 years of trying, the right for union members to have their union recognised, not on the whim of an employer, but as a democratic right in a fair and free society.

Maternity grant doubled.

7 million families with the largest ever rise in Child Benefit Britain has seen.

And I say to Britain's pensioners: I know when you get an extra £100 for every pensioner household this November - not just those on benefits, everyone - it's not the end of your worries, but it's £100 more than you got under any Conservative Government; and they'd take the £100 back off you if they were ever elected again.

Half-way through one Parliament. Nothing like half-way towards meeting all our goals.

And all around us the challenge of change.

A spectre haunts the world: technological revolution.

10 years ago, a fifteen year old probably couldn't work a computer.

Now he's in danger of living on it.

Over a trillion dollars traded every day in currency markets and with them the fate of nations.

Global finance and Communications and Media. Electronic commerce. The Internet. The science of genetics. Every year a new revolution scattering in its wake, security, and ways of living for millions of people.

These forces of change driving the future:

Don't stop at national boundaries.

Don't respect tradition.

They wait for no-one and no nation.

They are universal.

We know what a 21st century nation needs.

A knowledge-based economy. A strong civic society. A confident place in the world.

Do that and a nation masters the future. Fail and it is the future's victim.

The challenge is how?

The answer is people.

The future is people.

The liberation of human potential not just as workers but as citizens.

Not power to the people but power to each person to make the most of what is within them.

People are born with talent and everywhere it is in chains.

Look at Britain. Great strengths. Great history. English, the language of the new technology. The national creative genius of the British people. But wasted.

The country run for far too long on the talents of the few, when the genius of the many lies uncared for, and ignored.

Fail to develop the talents of any one person, we fail Britain. Talent is 21st century wealth.

Every person liberated to fulfil their potential adds to our wealth.

Every person denied opportunity takes our wealth away.

In the 18th century land was our resource.

In the 19th and 20th century it was plant and capital.

Today it is people.

The cause we have fought for, these 100 years, is no longer simply our cause of social justice.

It is the nation's only hope of salvation.

For how do you develop the talent of all, unless in a society that treats us all equally, where the closed doors of snobbery and prejudice, ignorance and poverty, fear and injustice no longer bar our way to fulfilment.

Not equal incomes. Not uniform lifestyles or taste or culture.

But true equality: equal worth, an equal chance of fulfilment, equal access to knowledge and opportunity.

Equal rights. Equal responsibilities.

The class war is over.

But the struggle for true equality has only just begun.

To the child who goes to school hungry for food, but thirsting for knowledge, I know the talent you were born with, and the frustration you feel that it's trapped inside. We will set your potential free.

To the women free to work, but because they are also mothers, carers, helpers barely know how to get through the day, we will give you the support to set your potential free.

To the 45 year old who came to my surgery a few months ago, scared he'll never work again, I say: you didn't become useless at 45. You deserve the chance to start afresh and we will set your potential free.

And to those who have wealth, but who say that none of it means anything if my children can't play in the park, and my mother daren't go out at night. We share your belief in a strong community. We will set your potential free.

And it is us, the new radicals, the Labour Party modernised, that must undertake this historic mission. To liberate Britain from the old class divisions, old structures, old prejudices, old ways of working and of doing things, that will not do in this world of change.

To be the progressive force that defeats the forces of conservatism.

For the 21st century will not be about the battle between capitalism and socialism but between the forces of progress and the forces of conservatism.

They are what hold our nation back. Not just in the Conservative Party but within us, within our nation.

The forces that do not understand that creating a new Britain of true equality is no more a betrayal of Britain's history than New Labour is of Labour's values.

The old prejudices, where foreign means bad.

Where multi-culturalism is not something to celebrate, but a left-wing conspiracy to destroy their way of life.

Where women shouldn't work and those who do are responsible for the breakdown of the family.

The old elites, establishments that have run our professions and our country too long. Who have kept women and black and Asian talent out of our top jobs and senior parts of Government and the Services. Who keep our bright inner city kids from our best universities. And who still think the House of Lords should be run by hereditary peers in the

interests of the Tory Party.

The old order, those forces of conservatism, for all their language about promoting the individual, and freedom and liberty, they held people back. They kept people down. They stunted people's potential. Year after year. Decade after decade.

Think back on some of the great achievements of this century.

To us today, it almost defies belief that people had to die to win the fight for the vote for women. But they did. That battle was a massive, heroic struggle. But why did it need such a fight? Because Tory MPs stood up in the House of Commons and said: "voting is a man's business". And that is why we can be so proud that it is this Labour Party that has more women MPs and more women Ministers than any Government before us until our record is bettered by a future Labour Government.

Look at this Party's greatest achievement. The forces of conservatism, and the force of the Conservative Party, pulled every trick in the book – voting 51 times, yes 51 times, against the creation of the NHS. One leading Tory, Mr Henry Willink, said at the time that the NHS "will destroy so much in this country that we value", when we knew human potential can never be realised when whether you are well or ill depends on wealth not need.

The forces of conservatism allied to racism are why one of the heroes of the 20th Century, Martin Luther King, is dead.

It's why another, Nelson Mandela, spent the best years of his life in a cell the size of a bed.

And though the fact that Mandela is alive, free and became President, is a sign of the progress we have made; the fact that Stephen Lawrence is dead, for no other reason than he was born black, is a sign of how far we still have to go.

And they still keep opposing progress and justice.

What did they say about the minimum wage? The same as they said right through this century.

They tried the employment argument – it would cost jobs.

They tried the business argument – it would make them bankrupt.

They then used the economic argument – it would cause inflation.

They then resorted to the selfish argument – businesses wouldn't want to pay it.

Well, businesses are paying it. Inflation is low. Unemployment is falling. There are one million job vacancies in the country.

And two million people have had a pay rise because we believe they are worth more than poverty pay.

These forces of conservatism chain us not only to an outdated view of our people's potential but of our nation's potential. What threatens the nation-state today is not change, but the refusal to change in a world opening up, becoming ever more interdependent.

The old air of superiority based on past glory must give way to the ambition to succeed, based on the merit of what Britain stands for today.

For the last half century, we have been torn between Europe and the United States, searching for our identity in the post-Empire world.

I pose this simple question: is our destiny with Europe or not?

If the answer is no, then we should leave. But we would leave an economic union in which 50 per cent of our trade is done, on which millions of British jobs depend. Our economic future would be uncertain.

But what is certain is that we would not be a power.

Britain would no longer play a determining part in the future of the continent to which we belong. That would be the real end of one thousand years of history.

We can choose this destiny. But we should do it with our eyes open and our senses alert, not blindfold and dulled by the incessant propaganda of Europhobes.

The single currency is, of course, a decision that must be dependent on the economic conditions; and on the consent of the British people in a referendum.

If we believe our destiny is with Europe, then let us leave behind the muddling through, the hesitation, the half-heartedness which has characterised British relations with Europe for forty years and play our part with confidence and pride giving us the chance to defeat the forces of conservatism, economic and political, that hold Europe back too.

There is no choice between Europe and America.

Britain is stronger with the US today because we are strong in Europe.

Britain has the potential to be the bridge between Europe and America and for the 21st century the narrow-minded isolationism of right-wing Tories should not block our path to fulfilling it.

The nation-state is changing.

The Tory policy on devolution left them without a single seat anywhere in Scotland and Wales. Delivering our promise of a Scottish Parliament and Welsh Assembly has strengthened the UK not weakened it, and now having defeated the force of conservatism in granting devolution, let us continue to defeat the separatism which is just the forces of conservatism by another name.

And don't let the forces of conservatism stop devolution in Northern Ireland too.

Those who are addicted to violence. Those who confuse any progress with selling out. They shouldn't determine Northern Ireland's future.

Walk through Belfast. No armed soldiers.

Drive through it. No road blocks.

In the last year, the first time in 30 years, not a single member of the security forces killed. 1996, 8,000 plastic bullets fired. This year 99.

Yes, there is violence and any violence is unacceptable.

But don't throw away all that has been achieved.

And I ask the Conservative Party: we supported you when you were in Government; don't make our task harder now because that would be the real betrayal of the children of Northern Ireland.

It would be comforting to think the forces of conservatism were only Tories. But wrong.

There were forces of conservatism who said changing Clause 4 would destroy the Labour Party, when in truth it was critical to our renewal.

Who said a referendum on devolution was a ploy to stop it happening, when I knew it was the only way to make it happen.

Who said that making young people take a job that was offered to them was a denial of social justice, when our attack on youth unemployment is the route to social justice.

The Third Way is not a new way between progressive and conservative politics.

It is progressive politics distinguishing itself from conservatism of left or right.

New Labour must be the new radicals who take on both of them, not just on election day but every day.

People say in our first two years we ran a Tory economic policy. Nonsense. If we had run a Tory economic policy Britain would be in recession by now which is no doubt why they predicted it.

We gave the Bank of England independence.

We cut the borrowing.

We cut unemployment. We are at long last reforming welfare, making work pay more than benefit for hard-working families through the Working Families Tax Credit.

They would scrap each and every one of these reforms.

Slowly the Tory general election strategy is emerging.

To 2 million people given a pay rise through the minimum wage. Tory pledge 1: we'll cut it.

To 1.5 million families helped by the working families tax credit. Tory pledge 2: we'll scrap it.

To 250,000 young people getting through the New Deal, Tory pledge 3: you'll go back on the dole.

I say: roll on the next General Election.

Our reforms are why we are spending £4bn less on interest payments this year.

Saving £2bn by cutting unemployment.

Why, thanks to economic growth, billions of pounds of wealth has been created, not lost in Tory boom and bust.

And as a result, the next three years show the biggest ever investment in schools and hospitals. Not just one year. But the year after and the year after that.

And, if we carry on running this New Labour economic policy I can tell you today we will continue to get more money into schools and hospitals in a way we can sustain year on year on year. We are rewriting some of the traditional rules of politics.

Now after a century of antagonism, economic efficiency and social justice are finally working in partnership together. We are demonstrating that it is possible to cut poverty and run the economy well. At last our historic reputation for compassion is being matched with a hard won reputation for economic competence. From now on people will vote Labour with their head as well as their heart.

The political landscape of Britain has changed forever.

That's why Prudence's chastity belt stays on, even for the Liberal Democrats.

And then we open up the UK economy.

Open it up to electronic commerce, so we cut the cost of buying and selling.

Open it up to competition so we can stop the consumer being ripped off.

And private capital alongside public investment. In transport, to read some of the papers you would think John Prescott had created Britain's transport problems. Thanks to him, and the new Strategic Rail Authority, the next 10 years will see the largest investment in the railways for 100 years. Let's be honest. When it comes to transport we are all the forces of conservatism. But the real anti-car policy is staying as we are.

Let us take on the forces of conservatism in education, too, the greatest liberator of human potential there is.

No more nursery vouchers.

No return to 11+.

No freeze on student numbers in our universities.

No more Assisted Places Scheme.

Not the right. But not the old Left either: no tolerance of failing LEAs.

No truce on failing schools.

No pupils condemned to failure.

We owe it to every child to unleash their potential. They are of equal worth. They deserve an equal chance.

A failed education is a life sentence on a child.

If we are to succeed in the knowledge economy, we need – as parents, as teachers, as a country – to get a whole new attitude to learning.

What other country in the world sees being "too clever by half" as a fault?

In today's world, there is no such thing as too clever. The more you know, the further you'll go.

The forces of conservatism, the elite, have held us back for too long.

Why is it only now that we are getting nursery places for all three and four year olds?

Why has it taken this government to realise that 5, 6 and 7 year olds need that extra attention that smaller classes give them?

Why, when we have known all our lives the importance of the 3 Rs, is it only now that we have put in place the literacy and numeracy strategies to get those basics taught properly? And look at the results for 11 year olds: maths up 10 per cent, reading up five per cent, a tribute to our children, to their teachers and to David Blunkett.

Why has it taken this government to set about ending the culture of failure in our inner city comprehensives? Doubling the number of specialist schools; creating 1,000 beacon schools; every run down school getting help with buildings, equipment, facilities from the £5bn modernisation programme; LEAs with a track record of failure taken over and run by people with a track record of success.

Why is it only now, we have lifted the cap on student numbers and 100,000 more will go to university in the next 2 years, 700,000 more to further education. So today I set a target of 50 per cent of young adults going into higher education in the next century.

Why if education is the key to success do we allow so many children to leave school at 16 when we should be doing all we can to get them to stay on. Today we are announcing a smartcard to offer all 16-18 year olds who stay in education cut price deals at shops, in theatres and cinemas and on trains and buses.

Only now can this happen because there is a Labour Government that cares about educating the many and a Labour Party with the courage to reform the system to do it.

And critical to reform are our teachers. I appeal to them.

You do a great job in our schools. We know how important it is for you to work as a team. But if we are to get the real step change in your pay you and we both want, we have to link it to performance. We have to raise standards, and we have to remove those who really cannot do the job.

And if a Head Teacher transforms a school and so transforms the life chances of our children, aren't they worth as much as a good doctor, banker or lawyer?

In 10 years we will have transformed our schools. And our NHS too.

And I know the impatience here is at its highest. After all, we created the NHS. It has to be us that rebuilds it.

And yes it needs money. And yes, the first two years were tough.

But the money is now starting. And money is not all it needs.

A predecessor of mine famously said she wanted to be able to go into the hospital of her choice, "on the day I want, at the time I want, with the doctor I want".

That was Margaret Thatcher's argument for going private.

I want to go to the hospital of my choice, on the day I want, at the time I want. And I want it on the NHS.

I say in all frankness to the BMA. You want our reforms to slow down. I want them to speed up.

Already: 4,000 more student nurses and midwives.

4,000 more nurses returning to nursing.

27 new hospitals being built.

20 million people now covered by NHS Direct.

And the dreaded Tory internal market finally banished for good.

And over the next 3 years:

There will be 7000 more doctors 15,000 more nurses 37 hospitals built

The whole country covered by NHS Direct.

Every casualty department that needs it refurbished.

And waiting times and waiting lists lower at the end of our time in Government than at the beginning.

And will that be enough?

No. But in time, if we are returned to power:

We will have booked appointments for everyone.

Walk-in NHS centres in all our major towns and cities.

Primary care surgeries that offer you all services on one site.

And everyone with the chance to go back on the NHS to see their dentist.

And just to show you it's not impossible. Today I can tell you: we will start next year with booked appointments for cancer and cataract patients.

And working with the British Dental Association, everyone within the next 2 years will be able once again to see an NHS dentist just by phoning NHS Direct.

So much more to do. But it will be done.

We aren't just workers. We are citizens proud to say there is such a thing as society and proud to be part of it.

Yet, today, we feel our social fabric torn.

Respect for law and order broken.

My grandfather's generation was strong on values. Respect for people. Good manners. Horror of crime. But it was a generation also of deference and of prejudices: racial, sexual, social.

The modern world is different. There is less prejudice, less deference, but also less respect.

It is time to move beyond the social indifference of right and left, libertarian nonsense masquerading as freedom.

This generation wants a society free from prejudice, but not from rules, from order.

A common duty to provide opportunity for all.

An individual duty to be responsible towards all.

There will be a new Crime Bill in The Queen's Speech.

With the new DNA technology we have the chance to match any DNA at any scene of crime with those on police records. Already thousands of criminals are being caught that way. But less than a fifth are on record.

I can announce we will provide the extra resources for a database where every known offender will have their DNA recorded, and evidence from any scene of crime will be matched with it.

And I saw that we said on drugs and new powers was attacked by civil liberties groups.

I believe in civil liberties too:

The liberty of parents to drop their kids off at school, without worrying they're dropping them straight into the arms of drug dealers.

The liberty of pensioners to live without fear of getting their door kicked in by someone thieving to pay for their habit.

The liberty of young people to live a full life, not die young, the victim of the most chilling, evil industry the world has to confront.

Civil liberty to me means just that: the liberty to live in a civil society founded on rights and responsibilities, and in dealing with the drugs menace, that is the society we can help to build.

So when I speak of the need for a new moral purpose and some on the right and left rise up and say this is nothing to do with politics, leave it all to the bishops, I tell you these people know exactly what I'm talking about.

That's what I mean by fulfilling our potential as citizens as well as workers.

We don't live by material goods alone.

That's why today we set out more plans to boost arts, culture, competitive sports in schools. It's why John Prescott puts his heart and soul in the battle to protect our environment, so we leave to our children a safer, healthier planet than the one into which they were born.

Yes we are three times richer than our grandparents. But are we three times happier?

Ours is a moral cause, best expressed through how we see our families and our children.

To our children, we are irreplaceable.

If anything happened to me, you'd soon find a new leader. But my kids wouldn't find a new Dad.

There is no more powerful symbol of our politics than the experience of being on a maternity ward.

Seeing two babies side by side. Delivered by the same doctors and midwives. Yet two totally different lives ahead of them.

One returns with his mother to a bed and breakfast that is cold, damp, cramped. A mother who has no job, no family to support her, sadder still – no-one to share the joy and triumph of the new baby ... a father nowhere to be seen. That mother loves her child like any other mother. But her life and her baby's life is a long, hard struggle. For this child, individual potential hangs by a thread.

The second child returns to a prosperous home, grandparents desperate to share the caring, and a father with a decent income and an even larger sense of pride. They're already thinking about schools, friends she can make, new toys they can buy. Expectations are sky high, opportunities truly limitless.

A child is a vulnerable witness on life.

A child sees her father hit her mother.

A child runs away from home. A child takes drugs. A child gives birth at 12.

If we are in politics for one thing – it is to make sure that all children are given the best chance in life. That the moment they are born, their potential and individuality can sparkle.

That every child can grow up with high hopes, certainty, love, security and the attention of their parents.

Strong families cherished by a strong community.

That is our national moral purpose. So when I pledge to end child poverty in 20 years, I do so not just as a politician, but as a father.

Can I tell you something? And there are only four other people alive who know this – it's actually a bit odd being Prime Minister.

Everyone has views about you, and no hesitation giving them to you.

You read things about yourself, on a daily basis, that are a complete mystery.

And you find that a lot of strange new people want to be your friend, and lots of other strange people want to be your enemy.

We're only flesh and blood in the end. Sometimes can't sleep. Worry about the job. Worry about the kids. Worry about growing old. Worry about interest rates going up. Worry about Newcastle going down.

Then you've got these big worries – when's the health money really going to make a difference? Why are there still people sleeping in doorways? Can't we turn round failing schools more quickly? How many of our pensioners will go cold this winter?

It's a big job. A lonely job. The red boxes really do come at you day and night, papers to read, decisions to make. Sometimes life and death decisions. Often decisions, after all the advice and the consultation, that only the Prime Minister can make.

So it's a pressure. But it's a privilege too. There is no greater privilege than serving your country. And there is no greater purpose than realising your potential.

I was lucky. A good education, a loving home, a great family, strong beliefs, a great Party in which to give them expression.

Everyone has talent. Everyone has something to offer. And this country needs everyone to make a contribution.

You'll see me on the TV, getting on and off planes, meeting Presidents and Prime Ministers, Kings and Queens.

It's all part of the job. But the part that matters most to me is getting my sleeves rolled up and pushing through the changes to our country that will give to others by right, what I achieved by good fortune.

Let me read to you the words of someone else who thought ours was a moral purpose, and said this about the people in our Party.

"The men and women who are in it are not working for themselves; they know perfectly well that all they can do is but to create the beginning of a condition of things which will one day bring peace and happiness and freedom and a fuller life for those who are to come after us."

Our very first leader, Keir Hardie.

But 100 years ago, the circumstances of our birth and our political childhood was such we never realised our potential.

Born in separation from other progressive forces in British politics, out of the visceral need to represent the interests of an exploited workforce, our base, our appeal, our ideology was too narrow.

People were made to feel we wanted to hold them back, limit their aspirations, when in truth the very opposite was our goal.

We were chained by our ideology.

We thought we had eternal doctrines.

When they are in truth eternal values.

Solidarity, social justice, the belief not that society comes before

individual fulfilment but that it is only in a strong society of others that the individual will be fulfilled. That it is these bonds of connection that make us not citizens of one nation but members of one human race.

And wouldn't Keir Hardie have been proud when under Britain's leadership, this week we cancelled the debt of those African nations deep in poverty so that their people too can realise their potential, have the hopes and dreams for their children we want for ours?

And wouldn't Clem Attlee and Ernie Bevin have applauded when in Kosovo, faced with racial genocide in Europe for the first time since they fought fascism in the Second World War, it was Britain and this Government that helped defeat it and set one million people free back to their homeland?

And wouldn't it bring a smile to the faces of all Labour leaders to see how confident our Party is today?

Today we stand here, more confident than at any time during our 100 years, more confident because we are winning the battle of ideas; we are putting our values into practice; we are the only political force capable of liberating the potential of our people.

Knowing what we have to do and knowing how to do it.

Arrayed against us: the forces of conservatism, the cynics, the elites, the establishment. Those who will live with decline.

Those who yearn for yesteryear.

Those who just can't be bothered.

Those who prefer to criticise rather than do.

On our side, the forces of modernity and justice. Those who believe in a Britain for all the people. Those who fight social injustice, because they know it harms our nation.

Those who believe in a society of equality, of opportunity and responsibility. Those who have the courage to change. Those who have confidence in the future.

The battleground, the new Millennium.

Our values are our guide.

Our job is to serve.

Our workplace, the future.

Let us step up the pace. Be confident. Be radical.

To every nation a purpose.

To every Party a cause.

And now, at last, Party and nation joined in the same cause for the same purpose: to set our people free.

--- CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY --- CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY ---

 [Back to top](#)



Speech by Alistair Darling, Social Security Secretary

Bournemouth, Monday 27th September 1999

--- CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY --- CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY ---

Introduction

Today, I want to set out our vision for a new Welfare State.

How we are making a difference.

How we are already delivering. For families, for the disabled, for pensioners.

How we are tackling poverty and the causes of poverty for millions of people.

How we're already taking nearly a million children out of poverty.

But I also want to set out why we are making changes.

For me, it's quite simple. In the 1980s I saw poor people get poorer while the country got richer.

I saw children who were never going to get the start in life they needed.

And why? Not because they weren't the children of hard-working, caring parents.

But because they were born in the wrong place. At the wrong time. Under a Tory Government.

And in the 1990s, I saw the same people. Who by then believed that change could never come.

Well now we are making changes. For them, and millions like them.

And you know what makes me most proud?

Not that my Department will - from next April - be paying out a record increase in Child Benefit.

Though I am proud of that.

But that my Department is now part of a Government wide strategy to heal the scars of a nation divided for too long.

Child Benefit. Sure Start. New Deal. The Working Families Tax Credit - amounting to the most complete assault on poverty and exclusion in a generation.

That's a Labour Government delivering.

And last week, we launched our strategy to tackle poverty and promote opportunity for all.

The most radical and far-reaching campaign against poverty since Beveridge.

For the first time a government standing up to be counted.

Setting standards against which we'll be judged.

Confronting poverty. Promoting opportunity.

Because opportunity for all is at the very heart of our values.

Labour Values

Our enduring values. Labour values. Of decency, merit, rights matched by responsibilities. Community. Fairness.

The same values that underpinned the founding of the Welfare State fifty years ago.

Without doubt; one of the greatest achievements of the 20th century.

We are proud of it and we are proud of what it's done.

It lifted millions out of poverty.

The Tory legacy

We're fighting a war against poverty. For 18 years, the Tories fought a war against the poor.

Ten years ago, the Tories claimed that poverty didn't exist. Last week, their spokesman, a man with two brains we're told, said it was too complex.

There's a clear difference between us and the Tories.

The Tories tell you why you can't tackle poverty. We'll tell you how we can.

Look at what they left.

1 in 5 people living in a household where no one worked. Twice what it was in 1979.

Nearly a million children living on benefits for more than 5 years.

Low skills. Poor housing. Rising crime. Mass unemployment.

It is morally wrong. It's socially divisive. And it's economically foolish to write off generation after generation.

And the Tories have learnt nothing.

Given a chance, they'd do it all again.

Even now the Tories are opposing every single step we are taking to confront poverty.

These Tories are the same people who left us, in the final years of the 20th century, a shameful legacy of poverty. A scar upon our country.

By the time they left office, 1 in 3 children were living in poverty. Three times more than in 1979.

Those were Thatcher's children.

Never again. We owe it to our children and the generations to come.

That's why we are the first Government ever to promise to eradicate child poverty in 20 years. And we will.

Today, as every day, 2000 children will be born.

But in these, the last few months of the 20th century, a third of them will be born into poverty.

And if we do nothing, these children will not only be born poor.

They will live poor. And die poor.

In a poverty of opportunity and in a poverty of expectation.

2000 children born. 2000 reasons why welfare reform is essential.

Supporting families

That's why we're supporting families. The largest ever rise in Child Benefit. Helping 12 million children.

And one million more children getting extra help through reform of the CSA. With mothers keeping more of the money they get.

And from next week, nearly £5 more for lone parents with young children.

Already, families with children are on average £740 a year better off.

Increasing opportunity

But fighting poverty isn't just about cash. It's about housing. It's about skills. It's about increasing opportunity for our children.

That's why we're investing an extra £19 billion in education

That's why we're supporting children in their early years.

Take Sure Start. Bringing healthcare, early education and childcare services together. To help support young children and their families. Tackling the root causes of poverty.

That's a Labour Government delivering for children.

Helping people into work

We also know that for families work is the best way out of poverty.

But for two decades millions of people were denied the opportunity to work.

In many areas we saw a second or third generation of people who have never known work.

Where people came to believe that their children would do no better than themselves.

That's why we've introduced the New Deal.

And it is working. Over 120,000 young people have found jobs.

The New Deal for Lone Parents. Who wanted to work but didn't believe they could. And 21,000 now in work.

The New Deal for Disabled People. For the million disabled people who want to work.

The new Disability Rights Commission.

Up and down the country, people getting the help to help themselves.

Making work pay

We're making work pay. The first ever National Minimum Wage.

From next week, the Working Families Tax Credit.

And from next week. Lone parents who get a job can keep their benefits for the first two weeks in a job. Helping bridge the gap between benefits and work.

Making sure that people are better off in work than they are on benefit.

Making work possible

And not only making work pay. But making work possible.

The first ever National Child Care Strategy.

And, for the first time, parents rights to time off to care for their children.

And I can announce today that we will help low-income parents take up these rights. By giving them access to benefits.

We're getting people into work. Making work pay. Making work possible.

Security for those who can't

But we're also providing security for those who can't work.

That's why we're introducing the new Disability income guarantee.

And security for today's pensioners too. Too many of them poor. Too many of them in cold houses. Too many of them worrying about their health. That's the Tory legacy.

That's why we've increased the Winter Fuel Payment five-fold this year. £100. Paid in time for Christmas.

We've restored free eye-tests. Cut VAT on fuel. Invested £21 billion more in the NHS.

The challenge ahead

We're meeting the challenges of today. And we've shown we can take difficult decisions.

Break new ground. Take on sometimes entrenched attitudes.

But there is still much more to do.

Take work. We are determined to break the spiral of despair, of a world where people were trapped on benefit. Trapped in poverty.

When we set up the New Deal, we said there could be no fifth option to stay at home when you could work.

People said that was harsh. It isn't. We've cut youth unemployment by 60%.

Now we're going further. For the first time we are bringing together the Employment Service and the Benefits Agency in the new ONE service.

Help to get a job. To get skills. Advice. But in return we are saying you need to come in for interview to see what's available.

A new culture. New rights. New responsibilities.

Some people say it's a tough approach. I don't. It's the right thing to do.

It's easy to send out a Giro. But a Giro won't get you a job. Or improve your skills. So we need to do more. We are doing more.

We are helping people to help themselves. Help that was never there before.

That's what people want. Their government working for them.

Take disability.

I know reform of Incapacity Benefit is difficult. But it's got to be done.

And let's nail this lie that we're cutting spending on disabled people. We're not.

The truth is we're spending two billion pounds more this Parliament.

And two billion pounds on top of that - because for the first time ever we're providing pensions for disabled workers and carers.

We're bringing the benefits system up to date. We're helping the very people who need that help most.

That's why we've raised the benefits paid to people disabled from birth by up to £26 a week. For life.

And we're tackling pensioner poverty.

Some pensioners' incomes have risen dramatically thanks to occupational pensions.

Pensions you fought for.

But the tragedy is that too many pensioners still face poverty in old age.

How dare the Tories criticise our pension reforms when they allowed hard-working people to work throughout their lives only to retire dependent on benefits from Day One.

That's why we introduced a minimum income guarantee. To help those who lost most.

After 18 years of Tory Government, one in three people working today will retire dependent on Income Support.

So we're making the changes we need.

Improving SERPS. A new State Second Pension.

Under SERPS if you don't earn much. You don't get much.

Under SERPS someone on £6,000 a year gets £13 a week.

Under the new State Second Pension, they get £46.

No-one is going to tell me that isn't an improvement.

And millions of hard-working people had no way to save for their pensions. So we filled that gap.

New Stakeholder Pensions. Helping up to 5 million people save for their retirement.

And we're making sure it's easier for pensioners to take up their

entitlement.

Using modern technology to make sure people get easy access to the help they are entitled to.

We're making the system efficient, lacking Tory waste.

When we came into office two out of every five Income Support cases was wrong.

Now we're saving a billion pounds just by getting claims right. Helping to pay for more Child Benefit.

Under the Tories, the benefit system was part of the problem, when it should have been part of the solution.

Labour is delivering: the Tories still opposing

Labour is delivering. And we'll continue to deliver.

Just like the Tories will continue to oppose.

Like they opposed the New Deal. They're still calling it "expensive". "Unnecessary." "A colossal failure." Tell that to the 150,000 people who found jobs through the New Deal.

And they opposed the National Minimum Wage. They've always opposed it. And if they ever get into power, they'll abolish it. Two million people will lose out.

And they're pledged to abolish the new Working Families Tax Credit. An instant tax rise for the lowest paid families of £24 a week.

So don't imagine that what we have achieved is safe.

The Tories haven't changed. They're still stuck in the past.

But we are looking to the future. We're already modernising Britain. And it's already working.

Debate

We cannot predict the future any more than Beveridge could fifty years ago.

The principles and values that underpin the welfare state will endure.

But what it does and how it does it must change to meet the needs of the world of the 21st century.

We live in a changing world. And the welfare state must change with it. There are difficult decisions. And we've got to face up to them.

Not to do so would be to abandon the very people who trusted us to make a difference.

Our commitment is not in doubt.

In Durham, in July, the National Policy Forum showed that our Party is ready to face up to these problems.

And the policy forum called for a national debate.

Because if we're to make the welfare state as popular today as it was when it was set up, we've got to win the support of the people - not just here in this Conference Hall.

Not just in the Party. Or in Parliament. But in the whole country.

I intend to engage in that debate over the next few weeks and months. Which will be grounded in our fundamental values.

Let's discuss how we get a fair deal for people in retirement. How we tackle pensioner poverty. How we help carers. How we tackle exclusion. Just as we say in the Conference document.

But one thing is certain. We cannot stop and stand still.

For eighteen years, people waited for a Labour Government.

They trust us to deliver now. And we will.

We want to be remembered because we had the courage to change what needs to be changed.

Last week marked the beginning of a crusade against poverty.

Governments can make a difference. In 20 years the Tories tripled child poverty. We'll abolish it.

We always knew that welfare reform was going to be difficult. It will be controversial. But we have a clear sense of purpose and direction.

We've made a strong start. We're not complacent. We've only just begun. We're building a new Welfare State for the 21st century.

That's what we promised to do and that's what we'll deliver.

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Monday, May 24, 1999

WASHINGTON OUTLOOK

Davis Becomes Democrat to Watch as He Tries to Walk a Centrist Line

By RONALD BROWNSTEIN



- [MAIN POLITICS PAGE](#)
- [NATIONAL COVERAGE](#)
- [STATE COVERAGE](#)
- [LOCAL COVERAGE](#)
- [POLITICAL MULTIMEDIA](#)
- [NEWSWIRES](#)
- COLUMNISTS**
 - [Ron Brownstein:
Washington Outlook](#)
 - [George Skelton:
Capitol Journal](#)
 - [Jim Mann:
International Outlook](#)
- [AUDIO ANALYSIS](#)
- [SPECIAL REPORTS](#)
- [EDITORIALS & OPINION](#)
- [TIMES POLL](#)
- [POLITICAL DISCUSSION](#)
- [YOUR COMMENTS](#)

When Bill Clinton took office as president, he quickly learned that friendly fire posed as great a danger as flak from his enemies. Accustomed to setting their own course under Republican presidents, congressional Democrats resisted Clinton's efforts to steer them in the centrist direction he promised in his 1992 campaign. Clinton was too deferential, and he compounded his problems by his own miscalculations on issues such as health care. The resulting chaos undermined the president's first two years--and precipitated the GOP landslide of 1994.

California Gov. Gray Davis is too polite--or politic--to say he's worried that his Democratic allies could drag him into the same ditch. But he is clearly focused on the challenge of imposing executive leadership, and a centrist direction, on a party that had been denied the governorship for 16 years before he took office.

"First of all, the party is not used to having a governor," he said in a Washington interview the other day. "For 16 years, the Democrats have been a bunch of independent contractors, advancing the interests of their separate constituencies without a leader around which to rally."

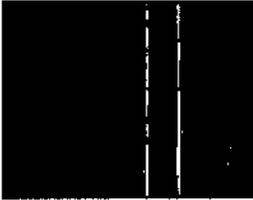
So far, Davis says, he's "pleasantly surprised" at the state Legislature's willingness "to give me the benefit of the doubt" on his proposals, particularly the education reform package passed earlier this year. But he also recognizes that it requires "an act of will" to keep his administration from being slowly tugged to the left when all the institutional pressures in the party flow that way. "I don't want to mislead you: It's not easy to govern from the center."

Davis' determination to "govern from the center" has made his governorship an intriguing test case for Democrats nationwide. Democrats hold just 17 governorships, and Davis is the only Democratic governor in the nine largest states. For New Democrats eager to prove that Clinton's centrist approach can bring meaningful change and build a lasting coalition at the state level, Davis has become the most important game on the board.

"When the Republicans have not only New York state but New York City and Florida and Texas, California really becomes a tremendously important proving ground for the new politics for Democrats," said Will Marshall, executive director of the centrist Progressive Policy Institute.

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of the centrist Progressive Policy Institute.

Davis is not necessarily the first state politician one might have predicted for this role. During his long ascent, he was marked more by his persistence than his creativity. Close to organized labor and Hollywood, he was, as he puts it himself, known best as "the man who's been to more bar mitzvahs than anybody on the planet Earth."

But he ran a disciplined, resolutely centrist campaign through the primaries and general election last year. And in office, he "has not deviated one centimeter from the political 50-yard line," said GOP consultant Dan Schnur.

In that process, Davis is unambiguously identifying with Clinton's new synthesis. Without defending Clinton's personal behavior, Davis said: "I wouldn't be sitting here today without President Clinton. If people weren't persuaded that a Democrat could be tough on crime, supportive of economic growth and a protector of the environment, I wouldn't have had the chance."

In his own agenda, Davis echoes many of the new themes that Clinton has made popular at the national level. On education, Davis so far has emphasized accountability--new tests for students, new rankings for schools, new reviews for teachers--over new spending. During his four-year term, he said, "more money will be spent on education." But he quickly added: "At least as important . . . is a different attitude. . . . I want to change the culture of education from excuses for poor performance to higher expectations and higher performance."

On social policy, Davis identifies with the movement gaining momentum in both parties to increase the role of neighborhood groups, including religiously based charities, in delivering social services. "I believe there are many solutions that are best found in places other than government: the family, the neighborhood, the community, churches, synagogues, boys and girls clubs," he said. "I think churches, particularly in the black community, are the center of the community, and all kinds of services to seniors and children and literacy programs could easily be run through [them]."

On spending, Davis is seeking a Clintonesque balance: He's championing overall restraint while defending an activist role for government in targeted areas. He's displayed the first instinct in his frugal proposals for the \$4.3-billion surplus discovered in the latest state budget estimates. He shows the second when he says that over time he would like to expand the state program that provides health insurance for the uninsured children of working families to the adults in those same families.

In the meantime, though, Davis has focused on the unglamorous work of increasing enrollment in the existing health care program for children. That reflects his step-by-step approach to politics--an instinct that should help him avoid some of the pratfalls Clinton took early on.

But, like any virtue, Davis' discipline can become a vice if taken too far. Republicans are already trying to portray him as a split-the-difference triangulator who doesn't offend because he doesn't inspire. Some liberals, grouching about Davis' budget and his refusal to abandon the legal defense of Proposition 187, privately echo the charge. Even some California New Democrats, though encouraged by his overall start, felt his

education package wasn't ambitious enough.

To blunt those criticisms, Davis doesn't have to move left or right. But he does have to be bold. For a politician who has promised reform, caution is the greatest risk. Clinton learned that during his chaotic first two years when he alienated voters by delivering too little of the centrist change--on everything from welfare reform to campaign finance reform--that he campaigned on. Davis insists he understands he is operating "on a short-term lease" that voters can quickly revoke if Democrats don't "govern responsibly." But with some in his party already grumbling, Davis' challenge will be to remember that avoiding waves is not the same as turning the tide:

* * *

Ronald Brownstein's column appears in this space every Monday.

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News	▼ GO	Site Index	▼ GO
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AT PLAY ON CL

They're running against his character, but the candidates can't

By NANCY GIBBS

ASITTING PRESIDENT MUST HATE WATCHING THE CANDIDATES who are trying to take his job as they signal all the ways in which they are better men than he. John Kennedy promised vigor, after eight years of footage of Ike on the golf course; Jimmy Carter promised he would never lie to us; George Bush promised a kinder, gentler nation, which prompted Nancy Reagan to mutter, "Kinder and gentler than who?" Bill Clinton promised to feel our pain, unlike the Preppie President who had never appeared to suffer so much as a toothache. And so the candidates in both parties take the field in the year 2000 carrying banners that proclaim, in a variety of codes and scripts, that **THEY ARE NOT BILL CLINTON**, defining themselves by who they are not before they can tell us who they are.

George W. Bush, out to avenge a heroic father who did indeed know something about suffering, denounces the baby-boom gospel of "If it feels good, do it." Bill Bradley preaches the Politics of Moral Superiority and grand crusades, the complete inversion of the pragmatic Clinton micropolitics of 1996. John McCain markets fearlessness and honor, not the kind of guy who would do absolutely anything to hang onto his job. And even Al Gore, lashed to Clinton's mast these past seven years, could stand up in a debate last week and act as though he would turn to dust if he so much as mentioned Bill Clinton's name.

If there is any satisfaction for Clinton, watching this spectacle of renunciation, it might come from this: they all, one way or another, may have come to do battle with him, but they all have to play by his rules and fight on his field. The economy is too sound, the public too content, for any leading candidate to write off the centrist politics that prevailed throughout the '90s. A TIME/CNN poll last week found that even Democrats aren't looking for "big, bold" ideas from their leaders: only 14% say they are, in contrast to 81% who prefer "steady progress." The number of voters of all kinds who think things are going well in the country, 80%, is the highest in 25 years of polling. Ever since Clinton changed the rules of the war and mastered the Politics of Infiltration, in which you can pluck your enemies' agenda and use it against them, the candidates who hope to succeed him can't afford to ignore him.

Clinton was a reluctant convert to balancing the budget, but that hasn't stopped him from taking credit for it. And even as he was morphing into a fiscal conservative, he was luring his opponents onto his turf. He has maneuvered the Republican Congress into arguing over which party is more devoted to defending Social Security. He is pushing C.O.P. lawmakers to soften their stand on gun control and HMO reform, and last week to abandon their \$792 billion tax-cut plan in favor of an alternative that is one-sixth the size. When Trent Lott boasts that Republicans, who once vowed to abolish the Education Depart-

ment, actually put more money for education into the budget than Clinton requested, you have to ask, Did God really put Republicans on earth to outbid Democrats on domestic-spending programs?

Meanwhile, out on the campaign trail, despite the flames and sparks, all four leading candidates have a way of sounding a lot like Clinton as they leave ideological purity to Gary Bauer and Alan Keyes and trundle down the center of the field. Bush and Gore both call for the deployment of faith-based organizations to backstop government; Bradley and McCain share examples of campaign-finance abominations. By last week, McCain was even borrowing Gore's class-war vocabulary to attack Bush's tax plan. Both sides have ceded ground: the Democrats are each pushing health-care plans that, in their level of ambition, do not come close to matching what Bush's father proposed back in 1992. The leading Republicans, while denouncing the Democrats' proposal



INTON'S FIELD

escape the President's masterly post-ideological politics

that gays be allowed to serve openly in the military, settle on Clinton's compromise of "Don't ask, don't tell," rather than calling for a return to an outright ban.

Now that Clinton has made Social Security the Holy Grail, everyone has to sip from his cup. McCain spent last week denouncing Bush's "fiscally irresponsible" tax-cut plan for threatening Social Security while returning 60% of the surplus to the top 10% of wage earners, "like most of his top contributors." Said McCain: "I don't believe rich Americans need tax breaks." His plan, which he intends to unveil this week, would cost about \$600 billion over 10 years, or 40% less than Bush's, and focus on Social Security protection and on propping up lower-income Americans. McCain's campaign chairman, Rick Davis, admits that the plan sounds a lot like what Clinton has said over the years. "Maybe Bill Clinton stole these concepts and made good use of them," he said. "But we're going to take them back."

Bush's plan gives a nod to the tee-time-and-ionic-water Republicans who like cuts in the top marginal rate. But he broadens it by slicing rates for the working class too and jabs McCain for caring more about paying down the debt than providing relief to a single mother earning \$25,000 a year. While Bush is positioning himself to McCain's right, he still ignored a major, long-standing G.O.P. priority: his plan leaves capital-gains-tax rates untouched. And all through his speeches and policy positions are signals that he is the kind of Republican who cares about "those who live on the outskirts of poverty" and vows to "leave no child behind"—postideological promises that, during primary season at least, would once have been uttered only by a liberal Democrat.

When Bush extols the "men and women who work hard, dream big, love their family, serve their neighbor," it brings tears to the eyes of New Democrat guru and Clinton friend Al From. A wonderful speech, he says. "I wish I'd written it. In fact I had, several years earlier." Bush gave three education speeches last fall, compared with just one on foreign policy and tax reform. With the exception of a provision for school vouchers, Bush's education plan was shamelessly similar to one the Democratic-leaning Progressive Policy Institute published in its journal.

Democrats boast—and Republicans fear—that Clinton will have a chance to set the agenda for the campaign through his State of the Union speech, which falls neatly between the Iowa caucuses and the New Hampshire primary. His approval ratings remain high for a once impeached lame duck, as he presides over Middle East peace talks and millennial revelry and the longest expansion in America's history. This week he plans to call for major new funding for charter schools—the Democrats' answer to school vouchers. "Two months ago, people thought George W. Bush would be setting the agenda," gloats White House spokesman Joe Lockhart, but "the reality is, it's going to be the President."

And yet the issue that may truly dominate this race is by no means Clinton's—except in the negative sense—and that is the issue of character. All the candidates are reflecting this reality: with the world changing so fast, it is impossible to predict what challenges the next President will confront—and so it is all the more important that voters find someone whose instincts and experience and value system they trust. A large majority of voters say they want a President with vision and character and experience; many fewer say they care whether they agree with him on the issues. So even as they broadly embrace an agenda of opportunity and fiscal responsibility, the candidates fight over who can restore the public's faith in our leaders, soothe our souls and burnish the dignity of the office. There is a reason this race has focused so much on biography and character, even amid the flurry of debates and policy papers. That too is Bill Clinton's legacy.

—Reported by James Carney with Bush, John F. Dickerson with McCain and Jay Byrnes with Washington



PHOTOGRAPH BY AP/WIDEWORLD; CLINTON: GREGG DEGUZMAN/REUTERS; BUSH: AP/WIDEWORLD

BRITAIN

Labour's crusade

Tony Blair's government has declared war on poverty, especially among children. But poverty is almost as hard to define as it will be to eradicate

DELIVERING the annual Beveridge Lecture in March this year, Tony Blair set out the "historic aim" of his government's welfare reforms: that "ours is the first generation to end child poverty for ever... It is a 20-year mission but I believe it can be done." This week, the man Mr Blair describes as "a quiet revolutionary"—Alistair Darling, the social-security secretary—produced the government's first annual report on poverty and social exclusion.

This 168-page document sets out what the government thinks needs to be done, and what its approach will be. There are, in fact, no new policies in the document: the "key initiatives" listed in it (all 49 of them) have been announced before. What is new is that Mr Darling has set out 40 indicators of poverty against which the government says it will measure its progress.

The sheer number of indicators demonstrates the difficulty of answering an apparently simple question: how many Britons live in poverty? Researchers have used a host of definitions. The most cited, by both academics and politicians, is the number of people living on less than half average income. This yields figures that are alarming to some and incredible to others. On this measure, almost one quarter of Britons were poor in 1995-96, the latest period for which data are available. No fewer than 4.6m children, or 34% of the total, lived below the poverty line. And far more Britons are poor, on this definition, than in 1979: then, only 9% of households and 10% of children lived on less than half average incomes.

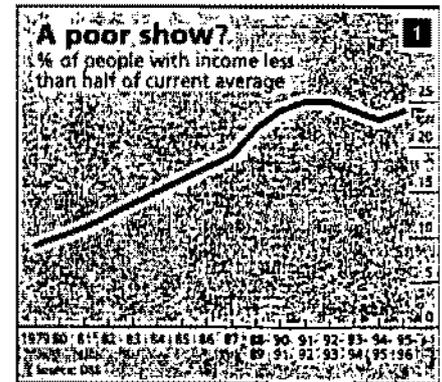
Ministers are fond of this measure: Mr Darling said yet again this week that one child in three was living in poverty. The comparison with 1979—the year when Margaret Thatcher became prime minister—is especially convenient.

Nonetheless, many Britons find it hard to believe that so many peo-

ple are truly poor, and that poverty has increased so dramatically. Even some eminent New Labour academics think the notion that one in four Britons is living in poverty is so counter-intuitive that it discredits the very notion of poverty. The doubters have a point. The definition measures inequality, which has certainly increased, rather than poverty. If someone on above average income gets more money, pushing the average up, "poverty" rises even if the real incomes of the poor are unchanged. This, in essence, was what happened in the economic boom of the late 1980s, when most of the rise in relative poverty under the Conservatives took place. Similarly, if a rich person loses some income, "poverty" falls.



Absolutely relative

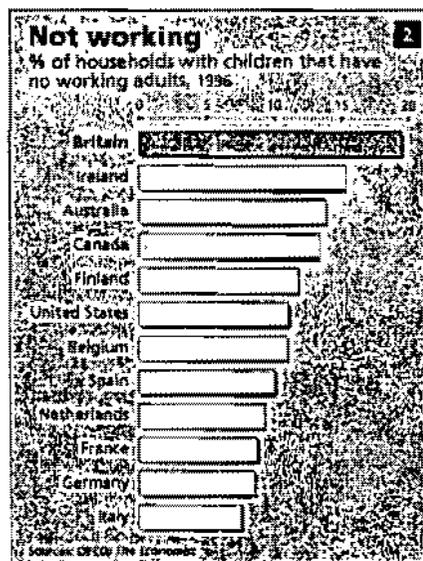


An alternative is to try and fix a poverty line which does not change as economies get richer—enough to meet a generally acceptable definition of basic necessities, say. However, the only survey to measure poverty in this way has not been updated since 1990. But it is possible to look at the real (inflation-adjusted) incomes of the bottom 10% of the population in 1979 and now.

These figures paint a less dramatic picture. Still, they scarcely justify complacency. The incomes of the poorest 10% of the population in 1995-96 were slightly lower, after housing costs, than those of their counterparts in 1979; their income before housing costs rose a bit. "During the 1980s, despite a 40% overall increase in living standards, the absolute standards [of poverty] didn't fall," asserts John Hills, director of the Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion at the London School of Economics (LSE). "Compare that with the 70s, the 60s, the 50s and the 40s."

In its report, the government promises to be assessed on both relative and absolute measures. Its own rhetoric and the practice of the anti-poverty campaigners mean that the more demanding relative measures are likely to be given more prominence. However, the government's 40 indicators include much more than just income levels. Ministers expect to be judged on, among other things, the length of time that households spend on low incomes, the proportion of children living in poor housing, educational standards, babies' birth weights, the numbers sleeping rough and suicide rates.

This splurge of measures reflects two things. The first is that it is impossible to find a single measure of poverty. It has many facets, and so it makes sense to collect plenty of in-



formation, most of which will be relevant most of the time. "The search for the definition of poverty is missing the point," says Andrew Dilnot, director of the Institute for Fiscal Studies, a research body. "Just as a rough index of price changes isn't going to tell you everything about inflation, a single measure isn't going to tell you everything about poverty."

Second, the government is concerned as much with future levels of poverty as with current ones. So although it is redistributing money from rich to poor, through measures such as the Working Families Tax Credit (wftc)—due to be introduced next month—and some increases in pensioners' benefits, it is setting more store by policies which, it thinks, will have long-term effects. In particular, it emphasises the importance of work as a route out of poverty, both for parents on low incomes and for their children once they leave school.

The link between worklessness and poverty, say ministers, is clear. Since 1979, the proportion of the poor who live in households containing children and no working adults, especially one-parent families, has climbed. Persistent poverty is most acute among single-parent households: 29% of those in the bottom 30% of the income distribution in 1991 stayed there for the next five years, a higher proportion than for any other household type. The proportion of children in workless households has risen from one in 14 in 1975 to one in five now. And Britain tops the league for the share of households with children in which no one works.

According to Paul Gregg, an economist at Bristol University, the rise of the workless household is the product of a "polarisation of work" in the past 20 years. It is increasingly likely that households have either two working adults or none. Since 1975, the proportion of workless households has risen from 6% to 18%. Meanwhile, the share of households in which all adults work has also risen, from

56% to 63%.

How can this blight of worklessness be squared with Britain's much-trumpeted low rate of unemployment? Part of the answer is that the proportion of working-age men actually in work is lower than it was ten or 20 years ago, thanks to a drop in the demand for unskilled labour. Many such men do not show up in the unemployment figures, because they are not even looking for work. They may, for example, be registered as disabled—or be working in the black economy. This translates into a rise in the proportion of workless households because their wives are unlikely to work either. More than 75% of mothers of children over five years of age whose partners are in work also have jobs. Fewer than 45% of mothers with unemployed partners work.

To this must be added the effects of the rising number of single parents, among whom employment rates are especially low. Fewer than 50% of single mothers of children aged five to 11 have jobs; among mothers of those aged 12–18, the figure rises to only 60%. Again, many of those not working are not officially unemployed, because they are not looking for work.

Hence, ministers say, the wftc, which will give more money to parents on low pay, and the New Deal, a scheme for helping the long-term unemployed into work, are at the heart of their anti-poverty strategy. For the children of the poor, education is emphasised: the poorer your family, the worse, on average, you do at school, and the worse your chances of getting a good job, or any job at all. Social policy is another strand: fewer teenage pregnancies, of which Britain has the highest rate in Western Europe, would mean fewer young, unqualified single mothers struggling to make ends meet.

Will the government succeed in eradicating poverty—however it is measured? It is worth bearing the scale of the task in mind. Although ministers are right to say that work is the key to an exit from poverty, to stay out of poverty people have to stay in work. Plenty of people move off the bottom rungs of the income ladder, only to slip back again when they lose their job or the economy turns down: to succeed, ministers will have to break this "low pay, no pay" cycle.

Furthermore, it will be many years before anyone knows whether the government's extra spending on education bears any fruit in improving work opportunities for the poorest children. And with so many measures, what will count as success? Different measures may point in different ways. It is quite likely that in the past couple of years absolute levels of poverty have decreased, simply because employment has risen, while relative poverty has not, because economic growth has meant big increases in income for some at the top.

And now that it has placed so much importance on measurement, says the LSE's Mr

Hills, the government ought to brush up the quality of its data. The latest information, used in this week's report, covers a period before Labour came to office. "I don't think they'd put up with two-and-a-half-year-old information on the inflation rate." There may be time for only one more poverty report before the next election. At the current rate, it will not include the effects of Labour's flagship anti-poverty policies: the wftc and the minimum wage, introduced in April.

Another year's data are due in the next few weeks. It is baffling that ministers did not wait to include them in this report; had they done so, the document would have been much improved. Could it be that they preferred to have a hefty document to wave at next week's Labour Party conference?

London's mayor Archer's aim

"IF YOU'RE looking for a saint, I won't be your first choice," is one of Jeffrey Archer's favourite lines in his campaign to be mayor of London. Unkind critics (another favourite Archer phrase) might say that that was a bit of an understatement.

Although no stranger to the libel courts, the millionaire novelist is still seeking to silence charges that he lied about his academic record, fiddled his expenses as an official of the United Nations Association and improperly dealt in shares in a company in which his wife was a director. Quite apart from these matters which could be described charitably as in dispute, some of the things he has admitted to doing or happening include paying £2,000 to a prostitute he never met and being arrested on suspicion of shop-



The party likes his parties

POLITICS

Civil Campaign

Gore Forced to Defend Voting Record on Abortion

Despite Vice President Gore's best efforts to stay on the offensive in New Hampshire, Gore was defending his own voting record on abortion yesterday to an unhappy caller on local public radio.

A woman who identified herself as Sarah from Nashua said after watching the debate: "I don't know how I can support your candidacy if you're abstained about such an important subject and especially on national television. I'm afraid this dish really really deserves its year."

Gore said the caller was referring to votes he cast early in his career on federal funding for abortions, not a woman's fundamental right to the procedure. "I've said throughout this campaign and always, yes, earlier in my

career I wrestled with the nature of the exceptions to that general rule and sometimes early in my career I voted to restrict federal funding of abortions," he continued. "But there's a big difference between having a disagreement on federal funding of abortions and taking a position that all of the Republican candidates have taken, which is we ought to make it illegal for a woman to have an abortion."

Nebraska Coach Gets Into the Game

House Republicans scored a recruiting coup as former University of Nebraska football coach Tom Osborne—one of the most popular figures in the state—announced he would run to succeed retiring Rep. Bill Barrett (R-Neb.).

Declaring his intentions in his hometown of Hastings, Osborne, 62, emphasized that his wide name recognition would not guarantee victory. "When I was a coach and lost a game, it was a bad thing to have name recognition," he said. "We are not going to take anything for granted."

The former Cornhusker coach said he decided not to run for the seat of Sen. Bob Kerrey (D-Neb.), who announced his retirement last week, because he did not want to commit to six years in Washington.

Letting Bygoness Be Bygoness for Bradley

Kerrey and Miki Tsongas, wife of the late presidential candidate Paul Tsongas, teamed up in New Hampshire in

behalf of Bill Bradley. Both have senator, with Tsongas campaigning just like her husband's, has been

What a difference eight years make! Tsongas's husband, "Paul" Miki Tsongas's husband, "Paul" plan doesn't even mention agriculture. Tsongas supported the Soviet plan to raise gas taxes 3 to 5 cents a gallon. . . . Bob Kerrey. One of

Staff writers *Juliet Eilperin* and *contributed to this report.*

GOP Debate Continues the Day After

Bush Hits McCain's 'Clinton' Tax Plan as Governor Wins Kemp Endorsement

By **TERRY M. NEAL**
and **DAVID VON DREHLE**
Washington Post Staff Writers

NASHUA, N.H., Jan. 27—George W. Bush was not in the mood to forgive or forget today—at least not when it came to rival John McCain.

The Texas governor renewed the charge he made during Wednesday night's GOP debate—that McCain's proposed tax cuts could easily have come from the Democratic administration.

"I thought one of the telling points in the debate last night was when John said his tax plan was like Clinton's tax plan," Bush told the Nashua Chamber of Commerce at breakfast. "Clinton copied his tax plan, he said. . . . So I think when the Republicans go to the booths in New Hampshire and around the country, it's important to reemphasize somebody who like the candidate the Democratic nominee on key issues, not mimic them."

The Bush campaign feels so strongly that McCain hacked it a huge political freebie that aides were discussing whether to produce a "trash ad"—a quickly put-together television spot that could be aired almost immediately—using footage of McCain at the debate making the statement. Either way, the Bush camp would try to remind voters at every turn of McCain's words.

All this did not seem to trouble the Arizona senator, who robed happily from one parked house to another across southern New Hampshire today, cracking jokes, punning, hawking and brushing aside punches from his leading competitor in next week's Republican presidential primary.

"He's spinning like Clinton," McCain said, repeating his own debate retort. Chatting with reporters around his bus, McCain renewed his claim—also first served up at the debate—that he would be the best person to lead the party because of his record on campaign finance reform.

"I'm attacking President Clinton and Vice President Gore on their absolute obsolescence of the institutions of government," McCain said, referring to the fund-raising scandals of 1996. "Governor Bush can't do that because he stands mute on campaign finance reform. . . . It's much easier for me to attack Clinton and Gore, because I have the high ground."

But attacking wasn't really in McCain's heart today. With the primary nearing and with a slim lead in the polls, McCain stalked with his New Hampshire game plan. He fielded questions at four town meetings and toured a fiber-optic cable factory. At each stop it was clear he is excited by the idea that he could win in the Granite State.

In the same spirit, his campaign debuted a television ad—an upbeat call to turnout at the polls and "send a powerful message to America."

The spot is pieced together from footage recorded at McCain events across the state during the past three months. As crowds cheer and candidates talk, the words "character," "courage" and "tenacity" flash on the screen. "You have had your representation in Washington," McCain says in the ad. "It's been taken over by the special interests. I run for president of the United States because I want to return the government to whom it belongs—the people."

Although Bush repeatedly tries to paint

McCain as the Washington insider, it was Bush who today trotted out one of Washington's genuine insiders, Jack Kemp, who ran for president a couple of times before becoming Robert J. Dole's running mate in 1996, endorsed Bush at an event today at the Larkhool Sanders place in Nashua. Kemp immediately picked up the Bush strategy, blasting McCain for his comments at the debate.

Kemp's endorsement is significant because it underscores the extent to which establishment Republicans have lined up behind Bush despite philosophical differences. Not only is Kemp personally close to GOP candidate Steve Forbes, for years both men have been committed to repealing the tax code with a flat tax. But Kemp said the Texas governor offers more potential to unite the party and attract nontraditional conservative than any other GOP candidate.

At a midday news conference in Manchester, Forbes renewed his criticism of Bush's record on schools and taxes in Texas. "But Forbes was clearly thrown on the defensive by questions about the administration that his longtime partner in Empower America and fellow flat-tax advocate had thrown his support behind Bush."

"Jack is a very nice fellow," Forbes said, "and we've worked together many times over the years on tax issues and other issues. But he is part of the establishment, and it is no surprise that the establishment rallies around their own, especially when they realize that the establishment has met its match."

Forbes said he could not understand why

Kemp would back away from his advocacy of a flat tax and endorse the Bush tax plan, which Forbes termed "a weak compromise, which you might accept after a very hard session of Congress. . . . I'm sad to see he's given up that fight before it's begun."

In Concord, reporters crowded into the back of the House chamber as Alan Keyes strode to the podium to cheer to address the New Hampshire legislature. Keyes began on a somber note, saying he had spent a lot of time thinking about the role New Hampshire played in defeating the South and slavery in the Civil War. "It is with an enormous sense of that history that I stand to address all of you," he said. "We are in the midst today of a struggle just as momentous as we have a choice just as profound on the question of abortion."

Campaigning at a school in Bedford later, Keyes attacked McCain, as he had at the debate, for saying that it would be a family decision about his teenage daughter become pregnant and want an abortion. "No pro-life Republican can support McCain with any kind of confidence. I'll tell you right now, pro-life people who support McCain are throwing away their votes on someone who will betray us. He does not have this conviction in his heart," Keyes said.

"It's a little painful when your family is brought up," McCain responded. But he said a candidate "can't get angry" about it. "Our party's going to have that debate. As I said, good people can disagree on that issue."

Von Drehle reported from Portsmouth, N.H. Staff writers David S. Broder and Ben White contributed to this report.

Richard Cohen

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

Clinton's True Legacy

NEW YORK—If President Clinton wants to find his legacy, all he has to do is disguise himself, sneak out of the White House and go to a George W. Bush campaign event. There he will see a man young like him, southern like him, attractive like him, emphasizing education as he once did and prodding his party to the center. For the GOP, always a bit late, it's still 1992.

That was the year Clinton ran for the presidency and also the year he stood before Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition and took a whack at the rap singer Sister Souljah. She had distinguished herself after the Los Angeles riots with ugly language—"If black people kill black people every day, why not have a week and kill white people?"—that seemed to appall almost everyone but Jackson.

He asked her to speak, and Clinton, who followed the next day, said what he thought. He simply and accurately suggested that if the words white and black were transposed, it would sound like something David Duke might say. Jackson, the very personification of a left-wing Democrat, was not pleased.

Now it is the turn of the Republican Party's congressional leadership not to be pleased. Twice in recent weeks, Bush has taken them to task, characterizing the congressional wing of his own party with such precision that his trait is virtually a photograph.

"Too often, on social issues, my party has painted an image of America slouching toward Gomorrah," the candidate said here earlier this week. A bit later he added,

"Too often my party has confused the need for limited government with a disdain for government itself." He spoke, as he always does, of the need for compassion, racial justice and quality education—and not, pointedly, like the congressional scolds who don't see red lies and synthetic smiles to suggest they will, in Bush's own words, "balance the budget on the backs of the poor."

Standing in the back of the room, a disguised Clinton could only smile at all that. He could recall how he, too, took on his own party and how he also made a name for himself as a southern governor who emphasized education. In fact, the very school Bush visited here—the Sisulu Children's Academy—was just the sort of Harlem stop that Clinton used to make as a campaigner and which so impressed the traveling press corps. He was great with the kids and the parents as well—although he did not favor school vouchers.

But Clinton might take even more pleasure from the stock speech Bush delivered later that day. In it, he said he would be tough on criminals, tough on deadbeat dads, tough on tariffs and other trade barriers, tough on mediocrity in education. It is the Clinton program, not down to the last detail, but close enough. In fact, when Bush spoke of personal responsibility—of what a man owes the children he fathers—I could close my eyes and hear Clinton saying the exact same thing. Maybe the audience could as well. Much of it was inattentive.

Bush is being compared to William McKinley, the ob-

scure Republican president who transformed and made it dominant until FDR and the New Deal. But the novelty of Bush is not that a self-proclaimed Republican is doing it. The issues he enumerated—crime, crime, not only echo Clinton but no longer have the once had.

Who can talk about crime without noting: crime rate alone has dropped by about 35 percent and Hillary moved into the White House? So can anyone talk of reducing welfare rolls without that they too have been reduced? Only when accord the presidency the dignity it deserved something that Clinton could not—no longer.

No, it's Clinton who is the McKinleyesque occupies the middle of the road with such effort has little choice but to join him. That explains the campaign video, which is not about what Bush is about how popular he is. It uses newspaper blurbs—"George W. Bush is the GOP's pick for 2000," said Fortune—as if he were a Broadway show, he's popular because he's popular. Ceding thin ice indeed, a campaign for class.

I pity this crop of presidential candidates. Prosperous. It is at peace. Crime is down, but crises do not. Bill Clinton has an opposition and ensured his legacy. The next time will be like his—even if it's a Republican.

Charles Krauthammer

Slouching Toward The Center

There are a lot of ways to say "becoming decadent" or "losing our moral moorings" or "in steep social decline." "Slouching toward Gomorrah" is not the one that comes most readily to mind.

But that was precisely the way George W. Bush phrased it in his speech to the Manhattan Institute in New York last Tuesday. "Too often, on social issues, my party has painted an image of America slouching toward Gomorrah."

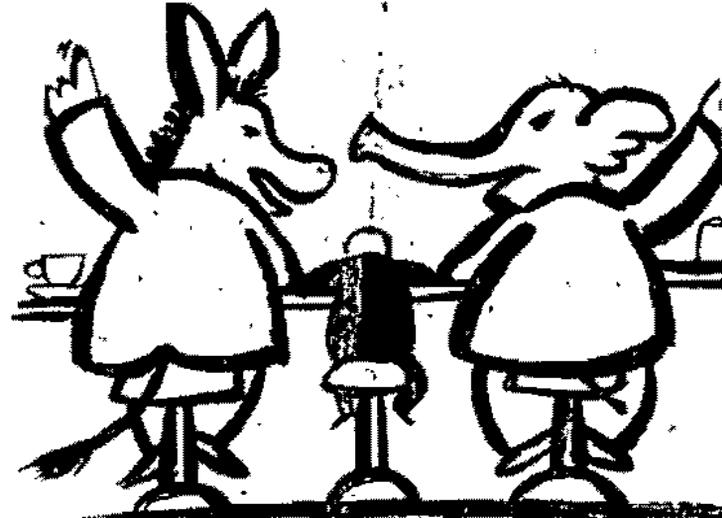
Interesting locution. "Slouching Toward Gomorrah" happens to be the title of Robert Bork's bestseller decrying American cultural decline. And Bush did not just allude to the title. He took exception to Bork's very premise when he said: "Something unexpected happened on the way to cultural decline. Problems that seemed inevitable

ideas, although none of them varied greatly from the general conservative approach of testing, excellence and vouchers—or last-resort "scholarships" as Bush delicately calls them—when the public schools utterly fail.

But Bush's "slouching" speech will no more be remembered for its content than will Clinton's Sister Souljah speech.

In the 2000 campaign, issuelessness reigns. Positioning is everything. Indeed, the main function of "issues"—education, health care, Medicare—is not to provide governing programs or even debating fodder. It is to serve as a vehicle for political positioning.

What, after all, are the issues in a time of amazing prosperity at home and tranquility abroad? The traditional cutting-edge issues of taxes and abortion are both being finessed. Taxes died after the Republican Congress went



William Raspberry

Compassion Confusion

It was all perfectly clear to me 11 months ago. Vice President Al Gore would breeze to the Democratic nomination to succeed President Clinton. The only interesting element left for Election 2000 was whether the Republicans would show the good sense to nominate their brightest star. There was

"balance the budget on the backs of the poor."

Meanwhile, Gore was trying to spruce up his campaign and spruce up his headquarters in Washington to Nashville (thereby distancing himself from what should be his

dissing William Butler Yeats. Bush was doing an ever so subtle Sister Souljah on Robert Bork.

You remember Sister Souljah. She is the black rap artist known for inflammatory racial rhetoric whom President Clinton pointedly denounced in a 1992 campaign speech before Jesse Jackson and the Rainbow Coalition. It helped define Clinton as a Democrat who was not a captive of his party's staunchest constituency, and helped position him as a centrist in the general election.

Bush's Manhattan Institute speech was clearly meant to distance him from his party's extremes and position him as a centrist too. Not content just to define his own conservatism as "the creed of social progress" concerned with "human problems" and not "CBO and GNP," he conjured up a foil with his veiled reproach to Bork and Borkian pessimism.

Just when we thought W. was struggling to get out from under the shadow of dad, it turns out he's trying to get out from under the cloud of Robert Bork. Bork is a central figure among social conservatives, not just for the valiant way he soldiered through his failed confirmation to the Supreme Court in 1987, but even more so for the moral passion of his subsequent writings exhorting every manifestation of American decline from euthanasia to abortion.

To be sure, the Bush speech was full of specifics and programs on how to improve education. Some very sound

the vast number of Republicans who do not want it barring their road back to the White House. (Invaluable aid is provided by Pat Buchanan's imminent defection to the Reform Party, which is indifferent to abortion—making the point that even a pro-life totem such as Buchanan will play down abortion in order to fight for bigger prizes.)

And what, on the Democratic side, are the real issue differences between Al Gore and Bill Bradley?

There is but one overriding issue in this campaign season: electability. Bradley is rising largely because Gore looks—as Pat Moynihan so rudely pointed out—like a loser. And George W. continues his high-wire act—fantastic fund-raising and runaway poll numbers—because he looks like a winner.

How to keep looking like a winner? Slouch toward the center. With electability next November being the main campaign issue, the major candidates are not playing to their extremes—as they traditionally do to win their hardcore party primary voters—later to tack back. They are straddling the center now.

George W. begins by attacking his own party in Congress for a budgetary device that would have delayed paying income support to the working poor. "Balancing the budget on the backs of the poor," he said with Gephardtian flourish.

Then he triangulates off Robert Bork.

Next thing you know he'll say he loves the Edmund Morris book.

And where are we now? Gore is hanging on for dear life, on the verge of being out-charisma-ed by (of all people!) Bill Bradley. Whichever of these two soporific Democrats survives to nomination could be a sitting duck for a strong GOP challenger. George W., meanwhile, is busily confounding the Republicans by forcing them to meet his standards of "compassionate conservatism."

I still don't know why Gore can't get his campaign off the ground. He had all the advantages of incumbency—the early money, his pick of the issues and a still-rosy economy—without the moral and political baggage of impeachment.

Sure, he's less than scintillating, but we've known that forever. Indeed, his best shows have come when he's mocking his own congenital stiffness. Sort of like Dan Quayle making potatoe jokes.

Put him up against a smooth-talking, personable charmer like Clinton, and Gore is a goner. But losing virtually all of his lead (and money-raising advantage) to Bradley? Reminds me of the summer my father used to talk about when it was so hot he saw a dog chasing a rabbit—and both were walking.

Bush is letting them walk, turning his attention to his own party, which, he said the other day at the Manhattan Institute, has "focused on the national economy, to the exclusion of all else—speaking a sterile language of rates and numbers, CBO and GNP," too often "painted an image of America slouching toward Gomorrah" and—perhaps most stinging to congressional Republicans—"confused the need for limited government with a disdain for government itself."

The speech came just days after he criticized a Republican tax plan as an attempt to

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E. J. Dionne Jr.

The Learning Issue

If you ask average voters—they run the country, remember?—you'll find one of the handful of public issues they truly care about is education. Nobody, even voucher advocates, claims government should get out of the business of helping students learn. And everybody thinks government could do better than it's doing now.

At a moment when Congress is in justifiable disrepute because it can't even pass a basic budget, you'd think politicians would be looking for some achievement to rescue their reputations. If not education, what?

But Washington is gridlocked on education too. Why? "The quick take on the education debate," says Sen. John Kerry (D-Mass.), "is that Republicans are supporting alternatives to the system, namely vouchers, and that Democrats are ready to support the status quo with more money." The problem, says Kerry, is that Democrats are right when they say the system needs more money, and Republicans are right to demand more accountability.

Those are not contradictory goals. But as Kerry likes to say, "we are stuck in ideological cement of our own mixing." So he's teamed with Sen. Gordon Smith (R-Ore.) to push Congress to break free and seek both objectives at once.

The idea, says Smith, is to give states "maximum money, maximum flexibility, but with accountability." The federal government would spend an additional \$25 billion over the next five years to push for educational reforms. Both Kerry and Smith would like to spend more—Kerry favors \$100 billion over a decade—but they're trying to be realistic. In exchange for the money, they'd demand rigor-

ous evaluation of schools and require those that fail in their mission to students to be shaken up and reorganized.

Kerry is careful to say that the reorganizing, including the firing of failed principals and administrators, would be done at the state and local level, not by federal interlopers. "The federal government would be there only as an adviser/partner," says Kerry. But neither Kerry nor Smith shies away from the imperative of using federal money—and the threat to withdraw it—as a prod to reform, and both insist that extra federal money shouldn't be used to subsidize failure.

Their ideas bear some similarities to proposals being pushed by Texas Gov. George W. Bush, the Republican front-runner, but with a big difference: Bush would take money away from failing schools to finance voucher programs. Kerry and Smith avoid vouchers—"our approach doesn't jump on the hot buttons of either side," says Smith. But they would push for more charter schools, new and often experimental schools within the public system.

Bush made headlines this week when he said his party too often "confused the need for limited government with a disdain for government itself." He might back up his critique of dogmatism by embracing what Kerry and Smith are trying to do.

They are pushing other innovative ideas. Private and religious schools enjoy success in part because of their ability to expel disruptive students. Most teachers will tell you an orderly classroom is a prerequisite to all other

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

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Probably none of it means much, Gore is
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(he's also been reaching out to labor, even
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Smith is relying on that most reliable of forces, naked
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educational pelt on our political belts," he says. But can
self-interest, rightly understood, prevail in this Congress?
Unlikely. But not impossible.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Profiles in Courage and Cowardice

By Michael Beschloss

W

ASHINGTON hile agonizing over whether to challenge President Lyndon Johnson in 1968, Robert Kennedy was advised by a friend to stay out of the race but to demand an antiwar plank in the Democratic platform. R.F.K. scoffed. "When was the last time millions of people rallied behind a plank?"

When Franklin Roosevelt pushed through the New Deal, he flagrantly ignored his 1932 Democratic platform, which plodged a balanced budget and smaller government.

"All platforms are meaningless," said Theodore White, the presidential campaign chronicler. "The program of either party is what lies in the vision and conscience of the candidate."

Party platforms have long been seen as pro forma documents, dutifully listing the party's stance on any number of issues. But, in fact, as the first details of the 2000 Republican and Democratic pronouncements emerge, we should remember that the platform can provide spectacular insight into a candidate's character: his vision, his shortcomings and, in many cases, his potential to win.

For instance, the opportunistic approach of Wendell Willkie, the 1940 Republican presidential nominee, to his party's platform exposed crucial weaknesses that would almost certainly have flawed a Willkie presidency.

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After the Philadelphia convention, Willkie felt he had no choice but to endorse a plank denouncing President Roosevelt for seeking to drag the nation into war—even though he generally agreed with the president.

By October, Willkie, desperate for victory, was throwing his arm around die-hard isolationists like Charles Lindbergh and Col. Robert R. McCormick, the publisher of The Chicago Tribune.

Many of Willkie's original interna-

For insight into a candidate, look at his party platform.

nationalist champions felt betrayed. The publisher Henry Luce carped that his man should have "told the truth and gone down with greater honor in a far greater defeat."

In 1960, the same appearance of cynical capitulation weakened the Republican nominee, Richard Nixon. Nelson Rockefeller, the mahatma of the then-potent Northeast wing, demanded that his party reject President Dwight Eisenhower's wish to limit defense spending and to go slow on civil rights.

Nixon thought Rockefeller was committing blackmail, but played ball. Without informing his staff, Nixon met Rockefeller at the governor's Fifth Avenue apartment and caved in to his chief platform de-

fractures in the party. In Chicago, Nixon found, as he later wrote, that "angry and rebellious" delegates thought he should have given Rockefeller the "back of my hand."

Eisenhower was furious when he heard about the "treaty of Fifth Avenue," and threatened to sit on his hands that fall. Barry Goldwater denounced Nixon's secret pact as the "Munich of the Republican Party."

Just as platforms can undo a candidate, they can also give him a solid rocket-fuel boost. In 1980, Ronald Reagan used his Republican platform to pledge, in unmistakable terms, to cut taxes, deficits and the size of government, and to try for victory against the Soviet Union. Mr. Reagan's supporters that November included not only conservatives who felt exuberantly certain that he would fight for their agenda, but others impressed by his specificity and boldness.

In 1992, Bill Clinton used the Democratic platform to eich what he called his "profile." His "New Covenant" borrowed from ancient Republican platforms, exalting small government, the middle class and free markets. The manifesto did much to establish the nominee as what his aides called a "different kind of Democrat" from the Mondales and Dukakis.

In retrospect, the Clinton platform is startling in its accurate forecast of programs like welfare reform and trade expansion that have proven hallmarks of the Clinton presidency.

It would be marvelous to see both George W. Bush and Al Gore follow the Reagan and Clinton examples. But they may not find that easy.

As a political heir, Al Gore would be hard pressed to produce a plat-

the left of the Clinton administration. For example, the 1992 platform emphasized the wonder of world trade; the 2000 draft emphasizes protecting American jobs.

Pundits have chalked this up to Mr. Gore's need to lasso disgruntled liberals threatening to vote for Ralph Nader, the Green Party candidate.

This fall's campaign should show us whether Mr. Gore's evolution was an act of political positioning or conscience.

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George W. Bush's draft platform will almost certainly try to placate the Republican right while reaching out to disaffected moderates. Just as Mr. Clinton borrowed from earlier Republicans, Mr. Bush may find himself consulting the president's 1992 playbook for hints on how to move the Republican image toward the center.

But Governor Bush can find an even more irresistible model in his own family history. When Eisenhower ran for re-election in 1956, he asked his platform committee chairman to engineer a centrist document. Ike wanted to banish the memory of the hard-right platform of 1952, demanded by his rival, Robert Taft, which had embarrassed him.

Eisenhower also wished to counter what he privately considered to be the troglodyte Republican leaders of Congress.

Ike did not call his doctrine "compassionate conservatism." He called it "modern Republicanism." But the idea was roughly the same. The platform chairman Eisenhower put on the

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Labour's new prudence

Third Way



Tony Blair's search for a new centre-left philosophy has given way to an old-fashioned faith in the virtues of public spending

EVER since he came to office Tony Blair has struggled to define a new form of centre-left politics. At seminars in New York, roundtables in Downing Street and lectures in France and Germany, the British prime minister has wrestled with his creed. His "third way" aims to combine a left-wing commitment to compassion and equality with a conservative belief in traditional morals and fiscal rectitude. No circle is left un-squared.

In Britain, however, the public is increasingly sceptical. Mr Blair is still favourite to win the next election but for the first time since he entered government in 1997 he is losing ground in the polls. Internal memorandums from Downing Street, leaked to the press, show a government in disarray. Mr Blair himself frets that his government is seen as "out of touch", and calls for "eye-catching initiatives". His pollster, Philip Gould, worries that New Labour "is the object of constant criticism and, even worse, ridicule."

Politically, Labour's new public-spending review was therefore crucial. Mr Blair has committed his government to some very big increases. Over the next three years expenditure will rise by more than 3% a year in real terms. Favoured public services—in particular, education and the National Health Service—will get rises of more than 5% a year.

Coming from such a self-consciously "modern" government, this is a strikingly traditional departure. All that "third way" stuff comes down to a centre-left faith in public spending. The let-down is all the more telling given that Gerhard Schröder, the German chancellor—often portrayed in Britain as a muddled thinker, with much to learn from Mr Blair—has just pushed through some genuinely bold tax cuts.

Do two News make an Old?

Mr Blair's justification for sharp increases in public spending is simple. He argues that Britain has "under-invested" in key services. Britain undeniably spends less than other developed countries. In 1997 it spent 6.8% of GDP on health, compared to 9.6% in France and almost 14% in the United States. Germany spends 50% more as a proportion of GDP on public transport than Britain, and France spends 33% more. Britain also lags behind the OECD average on education spending, although the gap has been narrowing. The results are visible in increasing levels of public dissatisfaction in Britain with waiting lists in the health service, congested roads and trains, over-crowded classrooms and an under-educated population.

If Mr Blair's spending spree does remedy all these ills, he will be applauded and deservedly so. He will also have demonstrated that there is a distinctive centre-left programme for Britain, albeit one of a rather old-fashioned sort. But three big doubts hang over Labour's plans.

The first concerns the abruptness of the government's change of course. New Labour makes much of its determination to avoid "boom and bust" in the economy. But its approach to the public finances is hardly one of "steady as she goes". For its first three years in office, the government

squeezed expenditure ferociously. Last year, public spending as a proportion of GDP sank to its lowest since the mid-1960s. This may have served its purpose of convincing financial markets that this is not just another spendthrift Labour government. But it means that public services have had three very thin years, obliging false economies to be made, followed now by four very fat ones, causing money to be wasted. That is no way to conduct an investment programme.

The second doubt concerns New Labour's other economic watchword—prudence. Mr Blair and his chancellor, Gordon Brown, clearly feel that they have earned the confidence of the financial markets. The public finances look in good shape. The budget is in surplus; an extra £1 billion a year has been found for public spending, because the national debt is falling so fast. After all these spending increases the state's share of GDP will still be no higher than when Labour entered office.

But much of this is due to good economic times. The snag is that in projecting big spending increases for the next three years, Mr Blair is assuming that the good times will keep on rolling. But history suggests that it is unwise to bet on a 12-year economic expansion. If the economy slows, Mr Blair will discover that financial-market credibility is never granted to any government in perpetuity.

The third doubt is the most fundamental. Mr Blair believes that Britain's deepest economic problem is "under-investment", and that the remedy is more money combined with a complicated and demanding regime of public-sector performance targets. This is too narrow a conception both of the problem and of its solution. The public sector, as decades of experience show, is a bottomless pit: more money does not guarantee better services. Performance targets may be better than no controls at all, and the desire of the Treasury to get value for money is sincere, but remember that if central planning and targets worked, the Soviet economy would by now have left the United States far behind.

Targets distort. One sort of medical waiting list can be cut by making another longer (leading to worse health outcomes); class sizes in schools can be reduced by mixing children of different ages and abilities together (leading to worse educational outcomes); and so on. If need be, the producers will simply cheat—and the government will help them to, of course, because it has promised the targets will be met.

Better public services require both more money and new structures of supply and financing. The structural changes matter more than the cash. The keys to better quality are competition wherever possible, and private money alongside public money. There is great scope for structural innovation guided by these principles in health and education. The government could have used its billions of extra spending to smooth the transition to new methods of supply and financing. It has set its face against such a strategy. New Labour (if the economy plays along) can be judged more prudent than old Labour, but not much more imaginative.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Third Way

Clinton's 'Third Way' to Beat Poverty

President Touts Blend of Left and Right in Tour of Poor Areas

By CHARLES BABINGTON
Washington Post Staff Writer

LOS ANGELES, July 8—In stumping the nation this week to bring jobs and hope to impoverished regions, President Clinton has mixed a dash of liberalism's old War on Poverty with a pinch of conservatism's laissez-faire philosophy, yielding his latest recipe for centrist solutions to society's challenges.

At all six stops on his "New Markets" tour, which ended today with visits to job-training programs in this city's Watts and South Central neighborhoods, Clinton has flanked himself with corporate titans and staunch social liberals. His message: Hard-pressed areas need private investments to recover economically, but corporations won't spend their money there without increased government incentives, such as tax credits and loan guarantees.

The president calls it a classic example of the "Third Way" approach. The touchstone of "New Democrats," it holds that neither solidly liberal nor solidly conservative strategies will work, but a politically massaged blend of the two can.

Not surprisingly, some critics from the left and right deride the Third Way as wishy-washy compromise. Clinton, however, has ridden the philosophy from the Arkansas statehouse to the White House, convincing millions of voters that the smartest path lies somewhere between Ronald Reagan's tax breaks for the wealthy and Lyndon B. Johnson's government-driven Great Society.

The president summarized his thoughts in a speech Tuesday in economically depressed East St. Louis, Ill., at the midpoint of his four-day tour. In the 1992 campaign, he began, "I said that we ought to have a new role for government, that government couldn't solve all the problems, but walking away from them did not work very well, either. . . . In the inner cities and the rural areas of our country, lines have divided those who worked hard (but) had no money, and those who had plenty of money but didn't believe it could be very well spent in the inner city or in rural areas."

He underscored his message today in a round-table discussion on

youth training at Southwest College in Los Angeles. Those sharing the stage included the chief executives of United Parcel Service Inc. and Toyota Motor Sales USA as well as Rep. Maxine Waters (D-Calif.), an outspoken liberal. It was typical of the entourage Clinton brought to Appalachia, the Mississippi Delta and the other stops on his tour.

Every event featured announcements of government incentives and corporate pledges meant to create jobs, improve housing, stimulate investment or boost employee training. Today's announcements included \$250 million in Labor Department grants for the "Youth Opportunities" program, which targets low-income, out-of-school youths for job training. Also, Lucent Technologies and other corporations pledged \$8 million to create "information technology academies" to provide computer training that could help such youths launch careers.

Many advocates for the poor have saluted Clinton's trip, even if they privately complain that it has come late in his administration. Some conservatives, meanwhile, say that pumping more money into deeply depressed areas—even if it is both public and private funds—won't overcome entrenched behavioral patterns that tie people to poverty.

"The general rule in the United States is that people move to economic success, economic success doesn't move to them," said Robert Rector of the Heritage Foundation. Pouring investments into the Mississippi Delta, he said, will not dramatically increase jobs there because "that's not a good industrial area, it's a good cotton area"—and cotton no longer requires many workers.

Even though Congress and Clinton have reduced welfare benefits, Rector said, the government continues to "reward non-work and non-marriage." Until that changes, he said, high rates of joblessness, crime and illegitimacy will prevail in the areas Clinton visited this week.

But the more liberal Joint Center for Political and Economic Study praises Clinton's approach on poverty. "I think the general idea is certainly a useful combination of public and private partnership," said Margaret Simms, the

center's vice president for economic research. She added, however, that declaring a depressed area as an "empowerment zone" can backfire if businesses need to expand and relocate to suburban areas for transportation purposes. Such firms would lose their tax benefits, she said, even though research shows they still would hire mostly minority employees.

Al From, head of the Democratic Leadership Council and a champion of Third Way thinking, joined Clinton for most of this week's tour. He said the "New Markets" program "isn't a government solution."

"It's a way to use government resources effectively to leverage capital investment in these markets that have been left behind," From said.

Clinton summed up his thinking in an interview with CNBC during Tuesday's stop in Clarkdale, Miss. "This is a classic example, this approach to new markets, of the New Democratic or Third Way philosophy that I articulated back in 1991 and 1992," he said. "That is, government's role is to create the conditions for success, give people the tools they need to succeed and then, in effect, empower people to make the most of it."

In an interview published last Friday in the Los Angeles Times, Clinton suggested that Texas Gov. George W. Bush—the leading GOP candidate for president—is copying Clinton-Gore administration policies, especially in Third Way areas.

He said Bush's campaign is "very flattering in a way because it replicates the rhetoric" that Clinton has used in emphasizing themes such as linking opportunity and responsibility. He said Bush's "compassionate conservatism" might be a ruse to allow congressional Republicans to pursue a more conservative agenda if Bush gets elected in November 2000.

Asked whether Bush's lead in the polls over Vice President Gore indicates a public desire for change, the president said: "I think there is a constant desire for change. But I think what you will see by next year is that the vice president will be the candidate of change. People will have to decide if they want the change going on [now]."

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 9, 1999

Taliban Says Bin Laden in Its Sector

Admission Comes Days After U.S. Sanctions

By THOMAS W. LIPPMAN
Washington Post Staff Writer

After denying for months that they knew the whereabouts of fugitive terrorist suspect Osama bin Laden, leaders of the Taliban militia acknowledged yesterday that he is living in the portion of Afghanistan under their control.

News agencies in Islamabad, Pakistan, quoted Taliban spokesman Wakil Ahmed Muttawakil as saying that bin Laden is living in Afghanistan "under the protection of a special commission and that only the unnamed members of that commission know his exact location."

The statement came two days after President Clinton banned all commerce with the Taliban and froze its assets in the United States to force Afghanistan to turn over bin Laden. It was not clear, however, whether the sanctions led to Muttawakil's statement or what else might have prompted the Taliban's admission.

The Taliban, militant Islamic fighters who enforce a rigid social code, control about 85 percent of Afghanistan, including an area hit last year by U.S. cruise missiles. The United States fired the missiles at remote bases allegedly used by bin Laden's organization, which Washington accused of carrying out the bombings last August of the U.S. embassies in Tanzania and Kenya. The twin blasts killed 224 people.

Bin Laden was born in Saudi Arabia but has been stripped of his citizenship by the Saudi government. He recently was placed on the FBI's "10 Most Wanted" list, and the State Department has offered a \$5 million reward for his capture.

One U.S. official said bin Laden moves frequently from camp to camp in Afghanistan and maintains a very close relationship with the Taliban's leader, Mullah Omar. According to unconfirmed press accounts, Mullah Omar is married to one of bin Laden's daughters.

"We know where he is," State Department spokesman James Foley said. "He is in Taliban-controlled parts of Afghanistan."

Foley added that the United States would be prepared to revoke economic sanctions if the Taliban surrendered bin Laden, which he called the "first essential step" toward the diplomatic recognition that the Taliban craves. Other issues blocking international recognition include the Taliban's denial of education to girls.

U.S. officials confirmed a report in yesterday's New York Times that bin Laden, who is believed to control a substantial inheritance from his family, has a construction company in Saudi Arabia, has laundered money through the Dubai Islamic Bank.

Foley said the government of the United Arab Emirates, which effectively controls Dubai, "has told us that the Dubai Emirate government has taken steps to clean up the bank."

Clinton says Bush is a copy of him

By Andrew Cain
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

AI

He claims credit for '92 rhetoric

ANAHEIM, Calif. — President Clinton accused Texas Gov. George W. Bush yesterday of lifting his trademark "compassionate conservatism" from the president's New Democrat philosophy.

"The rhetoric of compassionate conservatism — half those speeches sound like I gave them in '92," Mr. Clinton said in an interview with the Los Angeles Times.

Levyng his harshest criticism of Mr. Bush to date, Mr. Clinton called the Republican front-runner's message "very flattering in a

way" because it "replicates the rhetoric" of Clinton themes.

The president's remarks recall similar charges made by Republicans that Mr. Clinton stole their ideas and repackaged them as his own.

"Al Gore and Bill Clinton have consistently wrapped liberal philosophies with conservative rhetoric," said Michael Collins, spokesman for the Republican National Committee. "But talk is cheap.

The policies, he said, are what is really at stake.

"In Al Gore's case, policies that would tell us what kind of job we can have, what kind of house we can live in, how big our back yard can be, what kind of car we can have in the garage and how many miles we can drive it."

He said: "Under Al Gore, some things are mandatory, but everything else will be illegal. That's

what being a New Democrat is all about. That's neither compassionate, nor conservative, nor smart."

Mr. Clinton said the Texas governor "seems to have discarded some of the harsher aspects of the Republican revolution of the last five years," particularly on immigration. He said Mr. Bush appears to be blurring his positions on affirmative action and abortion. Mr. Clinton called the governor's opposition to hate-crimes legislation, the patients' bill of rights and new gun control "downright hostile" to the centrist, "Third Way" position.

Mr. Clinton said the key question is whether Mr. Bush's "compassionate conservatism" is an umbrella under which Republicans in Congress, "the architects of the revolution in 1995, the Contract on America, the heirs of Newt Gingrich" can be "protected from the rainstorm of public opinion until they get to where they can do what they want."

The president's remarks set off a round of bipartisan credit-claiming, with both the president's men and Bush backers arguing that their man was compassionate and conservative first. At stake is

California, crucial to Democratic hopes next year.

Bush backers note the vice president's recent speaking in Spanish to address Hispanic voters, which Mr. Bush had done first.

They said Mr. Gore's call for public funding of church initiatives to help the poor was a response to Mr. Bush's proposal to ease government restrictions on faith-based groups aimed at the poor.

Mr. Bush's spokesman David Beckwith rejected the president's suggestion that the Texas governor is recycling centrist positions espoused by Mr. Clinton.

"Governor Bush's approach is new, both in terms of leadership and philosophy," Mr. Beckwith said. "He's spoken of a fresh start for the country after a season of cynicism. There's a fundamental difference in philosophy between Mr. Bush and the administration. Clinton-Gore believes in a large bureaucracy that dictates solutions from Washington. Governor Bush believes in people and solutions that are found in local communities."

The Texas governor capped a recent fund-raising swing through California with the announcement that he had raised a record-shattering \$36 million through the first two quarters of the year —

nearly double Mr. Gore's total.

Mr. Bush said the previous two Republican presidential nominees — his father in 1992 and Bob Dole in 1996 — essentially wrote off California but he expects to win the state. California, with 54 electoral votes, has brought Mr. Gore to California more than 50 times during Mr. Clinton's presidency.

Mr. Clinton, noting that Vice President George Bush initially lagged in national polls in 1988, said Mr. Gore's poll numbers will improve.

"I think there's a constant desire for change," Mr. Clinton said. "But I think what you'll see by next year is that the vice president will be the candidate of change."

Earlier this summer, Mr. Clinton angered the vice president by remarking that he was concerned about the stumbling start of Mr. Gore's campaign.

The vice president then pointedly distanced himself from the president, announcing his candidacy for president June 16 with a vow to bring "my own values of faith and family to the presidency."

Mr. Clinton yesterday wrapped up a four-day tour of some of America's poorest communities in the Watts precincts of south Los Angeles. Accompanied by retired basketball star Magic Johnson, he visited a training center in a high

school named for Alain Leroy Locke, the first black Rhodes scholar.

In Anaheim, Mr. Clinton announced an \$8 million plan to create "information technology academies" in urban and rural schools.

Mr. Clinton wants Congress to approve a package of tax credits and loan guarantees meant to spur investment in communities with intractable poverty. He called his trip "a trade mission to America," intended to boost investment in communities that have missed the nation's economic boom, from Appalachia to East St. Louis, from the Pine Ridge Indian reservation in South Dakota to Watts.

The president will remain in Southern California through tomorrow, when he will attend the contest between the United States and China in the Rose Bowl in Pasadena for the Women's World Cup, emblematic of soccer supremacy.

Mr. Clinton said that he would make another tour of poor communities, beginning in Newark, N.J. He said he would challenge the owners of professional sports franchises to follow the example of the New Jersey Nets basketball team, who invest 35 percent of the team's profits in projects there.

• White House correspondent Bill Samman contributed to this report.

Handwritten signature: Bill Samman

Chung warned to shield companies

By Jerry Saper
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A1

Loral and Hughes were 'untouchables'

A California businessman suspected by the FBI of trying to coerce Democratic fund-raiser Johnny Chung's cooperation in a probe of campaign finance abuses warned Chung against pulling two U.S. aerospace firms helpful to China's missile program into the scandal.

Robert Luu, who met Chung 20 times during a four-month period in 1998, told Chung that Chinese intelligence officers in Beijing regarded Loral Space & Communications Ltd. and Hughes Electronics as "untouchables," and strongly suggested he not give up any information that would be "disadvantageous" to the two firms.

Mr. Luu, under investigation on charges of witness tampering and making false statements, told Chung that Chinese agents had been in contact with the two firms and that any accusations of wrongdoing would not be helpful.

"They are making contacts with these two major companies," Mr.

Luu said during a June 24, 1998, meeting with Chung at his Torrance, Calif., office. "They are working, helping you. They don't want to have any conflicts with the other side. ... They are talking long-term business relations."

Loral and Hughes were named in a House report in May as having given key missile-related expertise to China that proved damaging to U.S. national security interests.

Chung also was warned not to discuss any possible connection between the two companies and Liu Chao-ying, a lieutenant colonel

in the People's Liberation Army and a Chinese aerospace company executive with whom Chung had a business relationship. Federal authorities and House investigators have identified Miss Liu as a key player in illegal campaign activities in the United States.

"Don't mention about these two companies and their relationship with her," Mr. Luu said, using Miss Liu's nickname, "Guniang." "Don't do something disadvantageous to Guniang, it wouldn't be good for you either. As long as it would be helpful for getting you out of it, then it is helpful. Then you protect Guniang. Isn't that the best way to survive?"

Miss Liu's company, China Resources, has been described by U.S. authorities as a front for top PLA officers who assumed key positions with the firm to continue their efforts to influence U.S. policy. Of particular concern is a connection between China Resources and Gen. Ji Shengde, the PLA's chief military intelligence officer, who — according to Chung — ordered that \$300,000 be transferred to Chung for donations to the Democratic Party.

The cash eventually was telegraphed to Chung's account at the Overseas Trust Bank in Hong Kong, then transferred to a California bank. Miss Liu, whose father is Gen. Liu Huaqing, a member of the Communist Party leadership, had her picture taken with President Clinton at a fundraiser she attended with Chung.

Mr. Luu, when he first ap-

proached Chung, told him he had been in contact with Gen. Ji and Miss Liu.

Chung and Mr. Luu spoke on 11 occasions by telephone and met nine other times, all of which were secretly recorded or videotaped by the FBI. Copies of transcripts of those sessions were obtained by The Washington Times. Mr. Luu is suspected of warning Chung against cooperating in the FBI's campaign finance probe and of promising him "hush money" for his legal defense in return.

The transcripts detail a suspected scheme by Chinese intelligence officers to influence Chung's testimony, using Mr. Luu as their messenger. Chung, who admitted last year to making illegal donations to the Democratic Party, has since agreed to cooperate in the FBI's campaign finance probe.

Loral and Hughes were singled out in the report by a select House committee that concluded China had stolen secrets on every deployed U.S. nuclear missile warhead and had 20 long-range missiles aimed at the United States.

The report said the two companies supplied key missile-related expertise that damaged U.S. national security, including rocket guidance technology and nose cones that could be used on a future Chinese multiple-warhead missile.

The report said Loral and Hughes, in the aftermath of three failed satellite launches by Chinese rockets, conducted launch-failure reviews in which they offered recommendations that enabled China to improve the reliability of its rockets.

The report said the advice was

not only illegal but deliberate.

"Loral and Hughes deliberately acted without the legally required license, and violated U.S. export laws," the report concludes in one of many references to illegal actions.

Moreover, the report said, Loral and Hughes disclosed their unlicensed activities to export-control officers only after they were contacted by U.S. government licensing officials who demanded an explanation for their conduct.

Officials at Loral and Hughes have denied any wrongdoing.

Bernard L. Schwartz, chief executive officer at Loral, was the Democratic Party's largest single donor in the 1996 election cycle. He personally persuaded Mr. Clinton to relax export controls on goods likely to advance China's nuclear missile force.

Chung, who visited the White House 50 times, gave \$366,000 to the Democratic Party between 1994 and 1996. He told the House Government Reform Committee in May that Mr. Luu said he was in contact with "some people from Beijing."

He said Mr. Luu told him he had received money from Chinese officials "to take care" of Chung's legal expenses.

He told the committee he "never acted as an agent for the Chinese government" and believed he was free to do with Gen. Ji's money anything he wanted.

He said he gave \$35,000 to the Democratic Party, using much of the rest for business purposes and to take care of Gen. Ji's son, who worked for Chung in California.

Safety and Crime Are at Heart of Talks on Cities' Suits Against Gun Makers

Continued From Page A1

cases against the industry, did not attend.

But one reason for optimism, some participants said, is that Robert DeLoach, president of the National Shooting Sports Foundation, the industry's major trade organization, was behind a carefully developed framework that provided common ground for both sides in the talks.

Mr. DeLoach, who has close ties to the National Rifle Association, stressed that the discussions should focus on ways to reduce accidental shootings and curb the flow of guns to criminals. Agreement on that part of most cities led one industry lawyer to remark, "I don't think I've ever been at such a meeting where both sides want the same thing."

The municipalities' demands were presented by Jim Hahn, the City Attorney of Los Angeles, an easygoing man who is said to have made a good impression on the industry officials. Perhaps the most important and far-reaching of the demands was that the gun companies establish higher contractual control over their chain of distribution to wholesalers and then retailers, and so curb the supply of handguns to criminals and juveniles through corrupt dealers. Any dealer who was found by Federal tracing to be providing a sizable

number of guns used in crimes would lose his supply of products from the manufacturer. Until now, the gun makers have denied that they bear any responsibility for what happens to a gun after it leaves the factory.

To enforce the agreement, the cities would require that if he entered as a consent decree by courts in the states where the cities suing the gun industry are situated. An independent monitor, picked by the cities and approved by the gun makers, would be appointed with authority to oversee the agreement. The gun companies would pay for the monitor, who could be removed only for serious breach of duties, lawyers involved in the talks said.

The idea for the monitor came from Eliot J. Spitzer, New York State's Attorney General, who helped get the talks started by threatening to file the first state suit against the gun makers but then negotiated it to give them a chance to negotiate. Mr. Spitzer attended the Washington meeting, as did Richard Blumenthal, Connecticut's Attorney General, who has also threatened to sue.

The most prominent gun company executive in attendance was Ed Shultz, the chief executive of Smith & Wesson, the nation's largest firearms manufacturer. Also present were officials from Sturm, Ruger & Company, Colt's Manufacturing Co. P. Messberg & Sons, Taurus, Glock and Beretta. Among other steps that the com-

panies would have to take under the demands put forward by Mr. Hahn would be agreement to stop selling handguns at gun shows or on the Internet, a halt to advertisements claiming that handguns increase safety in homes and support for limiting customers to one handgun purchase a month, a way to try to stop illegal traffickers and straw purchasers who buy guns to resell to criminals or juveniles.

The one-gun-a-month idea, which is now law in Virginia and California, has been strongly opposed in the past by industry executives, who describe it as profit-compromising interference that will do little to stop crime. Gun executives at the Washington meeting asked the cities instead to agree to lobby Congress for an increase in the budget of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms so that the agency can better monitor dealers and trace more guns used in crimes, and to push the Justice Department to get United States attorneys to prosecute gun traffickers more vigorously. The cities are happy to support those proposals but hardly find them sufficient.

As for gun safety, the cities said the companies should be required to provide by next year external locks on all guns and to incorporate by 2004 new technology, still under development, that would personalize a gun so that only the owner could fire it. One city attorney who took part said Mr. Hahn had presented the

proposal as a wish list but had told the gun companies that if they did not agree to almost everything on the list, the cities would go ahead with their lawsuits.

"We regard this as a sweet deal" for the gun makers, this lawyer said, because the cities would be giving up the potential for hundreds of millions of dollars in claims.

Detroit and Chicago did not take part, a lawyer familiar with their thinking said, "because the tobacco

Long resistant to negotiating, the firearms industry agrees to do so.

companies only made concessions when they realized they could lose, and the gun companies don't yet believe they will lose."

"Right now," the lawyer said, "they are just putting up a smoke-screen."

Mr. Coile, whose group of lawyers represents New Orleans, Atlanta, Cleveland, Cincinnati and Newark, said he too felt that the gun companies were not yet ready to negotiate seriously. He held earlier talks with Robert Ricker of the American

Shooting Sports Council, another industry group, only to see Mr. Ricker fired for daring to meet with him. "I think Spitzer and Blumenthal are being used," Mr. Coile said, "to make it look like the gun industry is reasonable."

On the other side, Bruce Jennings, who owns B. I. Jennings Inc., a large gun wholesaler in Nevada, said he has close ties to the group of handgun makers around Los Angeles, said none of these California companies had been invited to attend, or even informed about the talks by Mr. DeLoach, breeding suspicion that any agreement would be reached at their expense.

The exclusion of the California companies from the talks underscores one of the major differences between this latest development and the negotiations that eventually produced a settlement between the states and the tobacco industry. There are only a handful of cigarette companies, and, while competitive, they had a largely unified negotiating stance. But the gun industry is made up of many small, often barely profitable companies that are characterized by different cultures and dislike one another.

One of the California gun makers, Davis Industries, in part to avoid the municipal suits, has filed for Federal bankruptcy protection, a tactic that the others in the Ring of Fire group may copy.

SAFETY AND CRIME AT HEART OF TALKS ON GUN LAWSUITS

MAKERS AND CITIES MEET

Efforts for a Settlement Turn on Protective Devices and Crackdown on Dealers

By FOX BUTTERFIELD

In their first major meeting with officials from cities that are suing the firearms industry, the nation's leading gun manufacturers, trying to get the suits dropped, have agreed to begin negotiations to improve gun safety and reduce the flow of weapons to criminals.

Gun executives who attended the meeting said they would quickly respond to a list of the cities' demands, including mandatory safety devices on weapons and a crackdown on corrupt gun retailers.

If an agreement can be reached, municipal officials said, they will withdraw their suits, which demand hundreds of millions of dollars in compensation for the cost of gun violence on their streets.

The firearms industry had previously resisted talks with its opponents, insisting that it could prevail in court against any lawsuits, as it almost always has. So the very meeting of the two sides, which was held in Washington on Monday, was seen as highly significant by the participants.

"There were some manufacturers on our side," one industry executive said, "who two or three months ago would never have expected to go to such a meeting."

Pressure had been growing on the gun makers, however, as the first several of the lawsuits filed by 28 cities and counties moved into or near the discovery phase, which the plaintiffs maintained might well uncover damaging corporate documents. Such documents proved crucial in producing settlements between the states and the tobacco industry last year.

More pressure came later this week, as a California appeals court cleared the way for a trial in which a gun maker, Navegar Inc., could be held liable for a murderer's use of its product. In addition, the Colt's Manufacturing Company, one of the nation's oldest gun makers, trying to lessen its own risk from litigation, acted this week to reduce its role in producing handguns for the consumer market.

The participants at the Washington meeting cautioned that the talks were preliminary and that many obstacles to a settlement remained. Some gun makers, most notably the so-called Ring of Fire companies that encircle Los Angeles and produce cheap guns favored by criminals, were not invited. Also uninvited was a leading opponent of the industry, John Coile, a Washington

Crime - Gun Industry

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Third Way

Michael Kelly

The Clinton Syndrome

The lawyers, flacks, hacks and good Democrats who assured us that it didn't really matter that the president was a pathologically dedicated liar—because, you will recall, he only lied about that which gentlemen should lie about—might now wish, in light of the Cox Report on Chinese espionage, to revisit their position.

On March 19, in the wake of press reports disclosing an ongoing campaign by the People's Republic of China to steal America's nuclear secrets, the president held a news conference. He carefully characterized China's espionage as occurring "in the mid-'80s, not in the 1990s"—not, in other words, during the years in which China was funneling cash into Clinton's campaign coffers and Clinton was hailing China as America's "strategic partner."

ABC's Sam Donaldson asked the obvious question: "Can you assure the American people that, under your watch, no valuable nuclear secrets were lost?" Clinton was unequivocal in his answer.

"You asked me [a] question, which is: Can I tell you that there has been no espionage at the labs since I have been president?" Clinton said. "I can tell you that no one has reported to me that they suspect such a thing has occurred."

Later another reporter returned to the subject. This time, Clinton prefaced his denial with a bit of his patented wessel talk: "To the best of my knowledge no one has said anything to me about any espionage, which occurred by the Chinese against the labs, during my presidency."

At this time, Clinton had already been briefed by his national security adviser, Samuel R. Berger, about Department of Energy and FBI investigations into ongoing Chinese espionage at the laboratories. The Cox Report, released yesterday, states that Berger informed the committee that he had briefed Clinton "about the theft of U.S. nuclear information in early 1998." A last-minute footnote reports that Berger changed his story in recent weeks, and "advised the Select Committee that the president was briefed in July 1997, although no written record of this meeting exists."

What is more, Clinton had received, in January 1999, a written executive summary of the classified version of the Cox Report, prepared by the president's national security staff. Again, such a summary surely included the report's conclusion, as written in the declassified version, that "the People's Republic of China has stolen classified information on all of the United States' most advanced thermonuclear warheads, and several of the associated re-entry vehicles [in] an intelligence collection program spanning two decades, and continuing to the present. The PRC intelligence program included espionage ... and extensive interactions with scientists from the ... national weapons laboratories."

Indeed, any competent summary must have gone into some detail on the subject of continuing Chinese espionage in the Clinton years. In the declassified version, the Cox Report states that "in the mid-1990s, the PRC stole from a U.S. national weapons laboratory classified U.S. thermonuclear weapons information"; that "significant secrets are known to have been stolen as recently as the mid-1990s"; that Lawrence Livermore scientist Peter Lee had in 1997 passed to Chinese weapons scientists classified research on submarine detection; that intelligence agencies had reported in 1996 the Chinese theft of neutron bomb technology from a U.S. lab.

So, on the day before the release of the declassified Cox Report, White House Press Secretary Joe Lockhart faced a press corps that wanted to know why the president, on March 19, had asserted that no one had reported to him, ever, even suspicions of "espionage at the labs since I have been president." Clearly incredulous reporters spent 57 questions trying to worm the truth out of Lockhart. The president's man evaded, obfuscated and retreated on occasion into outright misstatements of fact.

Asked about the case of Peter Lee, Lockhart pretended that Clinton had been speaking in his March 19 statements only to the issue of nuclear espionage at the labs, not espionage in general. (Cute, huh?) Asked about Clinton's briefing by Berger, and about the January summary of the Cox Report, Lockhart again hid behind the pathetic claim that Clinton's March 19 statements had been "accurate" because Clinton had been asserting ignorance of specific acts of espionage, not of a general knowledge that espionage might have occurred on his watch.

On March 19, President Clinton lied, not about private acts—not about sexually exploiting or harassing, or assaulting this or that unfortunate woman—but about the gravest issue of national security imaginable. Congress should force Berger to testify as to what precisely he told Clinton, and when. Congress should also subpoena the written summary of the Cox Report Clinton received in January. Congress should not let this lie pass.

Michael Kelly is the editor of National Journal.

David S. Broder

Blair Hits a Bump

LONDON.—At the beginning of his third year in office, British Prime Minister Tony Blair faces nowhere near the serious problems his friend President Clinton experienced at the same juncture, when Republicans had just recaptured Congress and Dick Morris had yet to introduce Clinton to the tranquilizing effects of "triangulation." But the honeymoon is ending for New Labor and its charismatic leader.

Last week, in the biggest backbench rebellion since the election of 1997, 67 Labor members of Parliament defied the party whips and voted against a government bill tightening eligibility requirements and requiring means-testing for disability benefits.

Another 15 abstained, reducing Labor's nominal majority of 176 votes to barely 40.

The rebellion against this relatively modest abridgement in the welfare state had echoes of the congressional Democrats' unhappiness in 1996 when Clinton signed the welfare reform bill sent to him by the Republican Congress. Traditionalists such as Roy Hattersley, who have little sympathy for Blair's "Third Way" revisionism, said, "We can rejoice that the principles [of the Labor Party] are not dead but sleeping."

Blair now faces the necessity of scaling back his reforms in order to get the bill through the House of Lords, where, as one government insider disgustingly told me, "hereditary Tory lords will ride in from the countryside to save the same poor their party did nothing to help during its decades in power."

Even though his party rebels have lodged similar complaints against pending moves to restrict housing allowances and benefits to refugees, this power play by the Labor left and the Tory right is probably no more than a temporary setback to Blair's ambitious agenda. But it comes at a time when his government is enduring a variety of embarrassments:

It faces mounting criticism over its slow response to leaked reports from within the government that genetically modified plants and foods may pose a threat to the environment and public health.

Press reports have zeroed in on the behind-the-scenes role of Blair's policy and political consultants, who are viewed as suspiciously by cabinet ministers and Labor members of Parliament as Dick Morris, James Carville and Paul Begala were by Democrats on Capitol Hill. News that the costs of

staffing the prime minister's office have risen 56 percent since Blair's election drew scorn in Parliament.

The elections held earlier this month for the newly created Scottish and Welsh Parliaments, both landmarks of Blair's devolution policy, were less than glorious victories for the Labor Party, which has traditionally been dominant in those lands. Stronger than expected showings by nationalist parties, combined with the system of proportional representation Blair had introduced, forced Labor into a coalition with the Liberal Democrats in Scotland and required it to form a minority government in Wales.

A Blair adviser told me the Welsh results, which were particularly disappointing, came because "we have taken our supporters for granted." The Economist noted, "This electoral conviction is likely to have far-reaching consequences. It will put the strength of Britain as a coherent political unit under more constant and more severe test; it will cause the English and not just the Scots, Welsh and Northern Irish to question their position in the British political union; and it will strain to the utmost the capacity of politicians running the British government to acknowledge that there are now other centers of power which will lock against attempts to make them toe a Westminster line."

The saving grace for Blair in all of this is the weakness and ineptitude of the Conservative opposition, which ran even worse in the Scottish and Welsh voting than it had in the 1997 general election. The Tory leader, William Hague, was described to me by a leading official in Margaret Thatcher's government as "the wrong man at the wrong time," a relative youngster who, he said, should have been saved to fight another day, and not be thrown up against an agile and popular prime minister in a booming economy.

The Conservatives remain deeply divided on the question of Britain's relationship with Europe; a splinter group of pro-European Tories is challenging the endorsed candidates in next month's European Parliament elections.

The Blair adviser I interviewed seemed confident that by 2002, when New Labor will go to the polls for a second-term mandate, the tribulations of the moment will be forgotten in a panorama of broad social and economic reform. But, as with Clinton, Blair's greatest asset may well be the recklessness of his opposition.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, MAY 26, 1999

Jim Hoagland

Here's the Deal, Sloba

President Clinton is using heavy diplomatic and military pressure on Serbia to get a message to Slobodan Milosevic: Now is the last best hope for a deal. You still have interests in Kosovo I can protect in a settlement. But that train leaves soon. Not even I know what will happen after it leaves.

This assessment does not come from a White House leak. I would place little faith in one right now. In war, politicians, diplomats and generals see the media as one more tool to mislead and pressure foes abroad and keep opinion supportive at home.

Watch the pattern of leaders' statements rather than their increasingly spongy individual words at this point. When that pattern overlaps with the military facts on the ground, as it did this week, trust the overlap, not the verbal hopscotch.

The politics, military strategy and diplomacy of the moment point to Clinton's surreptitiously offering a deal to the man he has denounced as a modern Hitler. Less clear is whether Milosevic, seeing disagreement in NATO ranks on ground troops, will agree now to any settlement that Clinton could then present as honorable and likely to resolve the conflict's basic causes.

Politically, the sudden talk of ground troops at the White House has a mystifying quality to it. But it makes sense as a last-ditch pressure tactic on Milosevic. It is a trial balloon a bureaucracy at war sends up rather than launch a truly divisive debate. Read my lips, Sloba: Save yourself—and me—from this terrible alternative.

Militarily, this week's bombing of Serbia's civilian water pumps and electricity grid fits the "now or never" pattern. This is serious state terrorism. It is not as wanton or cruel as Milosevic's barbaric assault on the unarmed Albanians of Kosovo. But it is still a deliberate targeting of national will and survival instinct rather than a dictator's fighting machine. It is not a tactic NATO, a democratically governed alliance, can pursue for very long in this war.

The punishing attacks on civilian targets could be effective, however, in focusing Milosevic's mind on what he is due to hear in Belgrade later this week from Russian envoy Viktor Chernomyrdin and Finnish President Martti Ahtisaari. They will convey Clinton's terms for halting the two disconnected wars—NATO's air attack against Serbia and Milosevic's ground assault on Kosovo—and then relay Belgrade's answer to Washington.

Ahtisaari's involvement as European Union representative is significant. He is an experienced negotiator who achieved an unexpected diplomatic triumph in winning Namibia's independence from South Africa a decade ago. He is also personally trusted by Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott, Clinton's point man on ending the war.

Clinton's decision to center the diplomacy of the conflict on Russia is also a telling signal of his



BY GREGG

willingness to live with Milosevic rather than go to a full-scale war. The president simultaneously avoids having to negotiate directly with the Serbian monster he has denounced and bolsters Boris Yeltsin's shaky regime in Moscow.

The stage has been set. But for this week's talks to produce a sustainable outcome, Clinton must draw red lines around these essential points:

(1) Milosevic cannot be seen to benefit from just agreeing to end the slaughter he began. Lifting existing economic sanctions or providing future reconstruction aid to Serbia from any NATO member while Milosevic is still in power are unacceptable rewards.

(2) NATO must command and control the international peacekeeping force that will deploy into Kosovo. The number of symbolic Serb troops left on the ground there cannot exceed a few thousand, as suggested in the Rambouillet framework. The departing Serb forces should be required to leave their tanks and artillery behind, for destruction by NATO, rather than being pulled back into Serbia for future use.

(3) There must be no agreement that gives Serb civilians in Kosovo veto rights or parliamentary blocking mechanisms over the Kosovar self-government Clinton has promised. Only by negating in practice Serbia's nominal sovereignty over Kosovo can NATO fulfill its promise to create conditions that will allow all Kosovar refugees to return to their homes.

Anything less would be a betrayal of the Kosovars, of the European and American publics that have supported this war and of the NATO aviators who have fought it. Their interests must count for more than Milosevic's in any settlement Clinton accepts.

President Calls Bush Too Silent on Issues

Third Way

Clinton Cites Gun Control as Example

By CHARLES BARRINGTON
Washington Post Staff Writer

COLOGNE, Germany, June 20—President Clinton accused Republican presidential front-runner George W. Bush today of having little to say on major issues such as gun control, and he predicted that Vice President Gore will rise in the polls when voters start demanding more details from candidates.

In his most extensive public comments to date on Bush, Clinton said the Texas governor has been largely silent while congressional Republicans blocked the administration's efforts to tighten restrictions on gun sales. Clinton also said the first lady may obtain a home in New York and run for the open Senate seat there like "an incumbent member of Congress running for reelection," a notion he says is to Republican characterizations of Hillary Rodham Clinton as an opportunistic outsider.

The president made the remarks in a CNN interview in Germany, where he met with Russian President Boris Yeltsin and six other leaders at the wrap-up of the four-day summit of the group of seven major industrial democracies and Russia.

Asked by CNN's Wolf Blitzer about Bush, who is well ahead of Gore in opinion polls, Clinton said: "We've got to see where he stands on the issues. So far we know almost nothing of that except what we know from his record as governor." He said Bush's announcement speech "was very well-crafted and was strikingly reminiscent of what those of us who call ourselves 'New Democrats' have been saying since 1991."

But Bush has offered few specifics, Clinton said. "For example, he said nothing about this gun battle going on in the House. He signed the concealed weapons bill in his Texas legislature, but that's just been one example."

Clinton praised Gore's experience, saying the vice president has detailed his position on many key issues. Playing down the significance of the early polling data, Clinton said he was encouraged that two-thirds of American voters say they "want to know more about all the candidates, including the vice president. I believe when they look at experience, proven success and the program for the future... he's going to do very well."

Clinton said he took "no offense" when Gore declared the president's behavior in the Monica S. Lewinsky affair "indefensible."

"He didn't say anything that I hadn't said in much starker terms a long time ago, so there was nothing inappropriate about it," he said.

As for his wife's likely Senate bid, Clinton denied a magazine

report that the first lady would leave Washington this fall and move to New York.

"It's not true that she's going to move out of the White House," he said. "If she runs for the Senate, she'll obviously have to spend a lot more time there. But it will be more like an incumbent member of Congress running for reelection. That is, she's not going to stop being first lady and doing her other responsibilities."

Clinton's comments on domestic politics were sandwiched into a day devoted mainly to international economics and diplomacy. His hour-long meeting with Yeltsin—the 17th such event of his presidency—was "quite a good meeting," he said, and he predicted closer U.S.-Russia cooperation on arms control and other issues.

Turning to the Balkans, Clinton said, "It's a very happy day," because all Serbian forces reportedly had left Kosovo on schedule.

Later in Bonn, the president said the United States and Russia are "committed to implementing this peace together in a way that will strengthen our relationship, reassure the security of innocent civilians—both ethnic Serb and Albanian—in Kosovo, and preserve the unity of NATO."

In the CNN interview, Clinton said that when he approved the airstrikes on Yugoslavia on March 24, "I thought that there was maybe a 50 percent chance it would be over in a week because once he knew we would do it, I thought [Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic] would remember Bosnia, and I thought he would understand what we could do. But I knew that if he decided to take the punishment of the air campaign, it could go on quite a long while."

Clinton travels Monday to Slovenia, then to Macedonia and Italy's Aviano Air Base on Tuesday. He returns to Washington early Wednesday.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, JUNE 21, 1999

33rd percentile on the tests, 22 points below the average for Alexandria elementary schools.

As requested, she wrote a memo for the board describing the school's problems. One of every four Mount Vernon students was classified as having "limited English proficiency," and many came from immigrant families that were as illiterate in Spanish as in English.

But Smith, who had been at Mount Vernon three years, wanted to move beyond excuses and look for solutions.

She burrowed into the research on Success for All and came away impressed. In a study commissioned by five education reform models, including the country's two largest teachers unions, the American Institutes of Research had given the Slavin-Madden curriculum its top rating among 24 education reform models, saying that it had improved reading scores significantly in school after school. At Pineloch Elementary School in Orlando County, Fla., for example, the portion of third-graders reading at or above grade level had climbed from 4 percent to 44 percent in 10 months.

Although some educators were bothered by the rapid pace of the lessons, the program's supporters said this kept children alert and increased the material covered.

Its admirers also stressed the extra tutoring and home visits that Success for All provided. Smith appreciated the value of tutoring. She and other non-classroom staff members at Mount Vernon already spent 30 minutes a day, three days a week with children who needed extra help.

Smith called Success for All headquarters and received a starter kit—50 pages of checklists, time lines and advice on how to finance the program.

As school began in September, she called a meeting of her leadership team, which included the elected representatives of teachers at each grade level. She told them she wanted to bring Success for All to Mount Vernon and planned a vote by all the teachers later in the school year.

First she would send out teams of Mount Vernon teachers to visit schools that already were using the curriculum, part of an orientation program Slavin and Madden insisted upon before a single vote was cast. She also urged teachers to research Success for All and any other models they thought might work.

The group was enthusiastic. Teachers shared Smith's worries about the school's bad reputation. Here was a chance to do something about it.

Ken King, the representative of

the Mount Vernon kindergarten teachers, dove into his research on reform models. Slender, cerebral and 29, he was an energetic teacher who seemed destined to be a principal himself one day. He had attended an inner-city elementary school in Camden, N.J., and was lured back there to teach by a principal who wanted a young male role model.

King spent several nights scouring the Internet, examining all he could find on Success for All. Like Smith, he was impressed with researchers' findings.

But when he drove to Richmond with three other Mount Vernon teachers to see how Success for All worked at Overby-Sheppard Elementary School, he did not like what he saw.

The reading books, he thought, were drab and unappealing. In many classes, a few of the children were not paying attention. The Overby-Sheppard principal described increases in the number of children reading at grade level, but King was not convinced.

The four Mount Vernon teachers went to a hamburger restaurant in Richmond to share their thoughts before going home. Some of them liked the way Success for All unified the school, so that every teacher and administrator knew what everyone else was doing. But they had seen other outside reforms come and go, and they were worried about putting in the effort to learn a new system only to drop it later.

Some schools in Baltimore and Miami, they knew, had not had success with Success for All. Slavin and Madden argued that in many of those cases, the program had not been implemented correctly, but the failures still raised doubts.

Did the rigid schedule provide enough time to help struggling students? Although the 90-minute lessons were supplemented by 20-minute daily tutoring sessions for the weakest students, the tutors might not always be as well trained as classroom teachers.

Toward the end of the lunch, King confessed what bothered him most. "I wouldn't be comfortable teaching against the clock," he said. "I wouldn't be comfortable not being able to teach one particular tangent, something that relates to a kid's personal experience and allows me to teach from that experience."

One hundred miles north, music teacher Kathleen Baker and four other Mount Vernon staff members visited Fairfax County's Hybla Valley Elementary, the only Success for All school in Northern Virginia.

Hybla Valley, two blocks off Route

1 in a neighborhood full of small garden apartments, had just begun to use the program, but the principal, Torrony Thompson, was very enthusiastic.

Always suspicious of guided tours, Baker, 47, pulled some teachers aside for a private word. They insisted their support for the program was genuine. Some teachers told Baker that once they became accustomed to the rapid march of exercises, they had found time to inject their own ideas.

The teams reported back to Mount Vernon the next day. Baker's group was upbeat. King's group was mostly negative. A third group that had gone to Westhaven Elementary in Portsmouth had a mixed reaction.

For several more weeks, with a break for the holidays, the Mount Vernon staff talked it over, in the school's bright beige hallways, on the phone and at meetings. Should teachers be denied the right to set their own pace and address their students' individual differences?

At one of the schools visited, a teacher had said she liked to stand near the door of her classroom so she could hear whether her class was on the same page as the class next door. Some Mount Vernon teachers considered this robo-teaching.

Broader issues eventually surfaced. Some teachers said privately that Smith was serving as a front for a School Board that cared only about test scores.

As the debate reached a climax, the views of Mount Vernon reading specialist Sigrid Ryberg, 48, became very influential. Ryberg had trained many teachers in a program called Balanced Literacy. At a teachers meeting in December, Ryberg said that her method depended on children having a choice in what they read, and there seemed little time for that in the Slavin-Madden program.

In late January, Smith distributed the ballots at a faculty meeting. Each voter circled one of two sentences: "I would like our school to adopt Success for All," or "I am not interested in adopting Success for All."

King and Ryberg voted no, decisions they had made long before. Baker voted yes, mostly because she liked what she saw at Hybla Valley and thought a principal like Smith deserved faculty support. Holly Hill, a 28-year-old kindergarten teacher, decided at the last minute to vote yes, even though she had been with the team that went to Richmond and came away disappointed. "I thought it was worth a try," she said.

Each ballot was folded, stapled and placed in an envelope addressed to Success for All headquarters. Three days later, Smith's telephone rang.

"I am sorry," said the Success for

All staff member on the line. "I am afraid you didn't get the votes."

The final result was 55 percent against Success for All, 45 percent for it—far short of the required 80 percent support.

Smith sighed. "That's too bad," she said.

The outcome was unusual. Only about 10 percent of the schools that vote on Success for All turn it down, according to Madden. But on another level, it was not very surprising. The number of schools that drop the idea before even voting on it is probably larger than the number that accept it, Madden said.

It is hard to introduce change at an American public school, and sometimes even harder to make it last.

The cycle is a familiar one at many struggling schools. Parents and politicians demand improvements, prompting the principal to announce reforms. The new program does not yield quick results, leading to a debate over whether the plan is flawed, the execution is faulty or the public is too impatient. The pressure to make changes returns, and the old plan is abandoned in favor of a new one.

At Mount Vernon, Smith thought that Success for All's record made it as close to a sure thing as she would ever find in education. Now she is looking for another strategy, knowing that she does not have much time. "The new academic expectations are so broad and the results expected so quickly that we begin to feel disoriented," she said.

This spring, she called in her leadership team, and they agreed on some modest changes for this fall. They decided to reorganize class schedules so that every student will get at least 90 uninterrupted minutes of reading instruction per day. Each teacher, however, will continue to handle students as he or she sees fit.

Mount Vernon teachers say they have worked hard on their children's test-taking skills this year and assume the scores will improve. Smith says she sometimes wonders whether she lacked the political skill to win faculty support for such a sharp change in teaching methods. Looking ahead to the next school year, she says, she will miss the training and the focus that Success for All would have provided.

"I thought I knew what I was doing," she said, "and all of a sudden I know nothing and I am starting from scratch and trying to figure all this out."

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In Britain, who'll mind the kids?

Confronting a U.S.-style crisis in child care

By Tara Mack
Special for USA TODAY

LONDON — Ellie James is caught in a child-care bind.

First she lost her free child-care service: When she and her husband separated, James no longer could depend on her former mother-in-law. Then she lost her job at a rental car company because taking her 6-year-old daughter to school made her late for work.

She found a temporary job that pays \$30,000 a year and got a friend to take her daughter to and from school. But soon her friend is going on vacation, and school closes for the summer today.

James, 31, is trapped in a child-care dilemma that would make many U.S. parents nod in sympathy: She makes too much money to receive government help, but she earns too little to pay for the help she needs.

But this isn't America, it's Europe, where most countries usually provide much more help to parents when it comes to child care. Most European governments offer parents some mix of long-term parental leave and publicly funded child care.

When it comes to child care, however, Britain is more like the USA than its European neighbors. The British pay more for child care than do parents in any other country in Europe, according to a recent study. The average family with two children — one preschool age, one school age — shells out more than \$9,000 a year in child care, according to the Daycare Trust, a child-care advocacy group.

As more British mothers enter the workplace — the Department for Education and Employment says 66% of women with dependent children worked in 1998 compared with 61% in 1988 — they are demanding that the government help. In response, the government has taken a few tentative steps toward a more Continental approach. It has introduced a series of initiatives over the last two years as part of its National Childcare Strategy.

The initiatives include:

- ▶ Spending 300 million pounds (about \$453 million) over five years to set up out-of-school child-care centers.

- ▶ Setting up 25 Early Excellence Centers as examples of good child-care practices.

- ▶ Funding 32,000 free places in day-care centers for 3-year-olds in preschools and play groups. That's 16,000 more places than in 1999 and 40% of the 83,000 places being created this year.

- ▶ Establishing a child-care tax credit for low-income families. The government says the credit has helped 100,000 families so far. The tax credit, added into paychecks, pays up to 70 pounds (about \$105) a week for a family with one child and up to 105 pounds (\$159) a week for a two-child family.

Last month, the government an-

nounced plans to spend 4.5 million pounds (\$6.8 million) on start-up grants for at-home providers. The move came after researchers warned that the number of people providing in-home child care was dropping precipitously because of high costs and low pay. The National Childminding Association says there are about 85,000 at-home child-care providers in England and Wales.

The Department for Education and Employment, which oversees the Na-

tional Childcare Strategy, launched a recruitment drive July 4 for child-care workers. But some child-care activists say these measures nibble at the edges of the problem. The troubles British families face in finding child care are familiar to many Americans:

- ▶ Child-care workers are notoriously low-paid and underqualified; that creates an acute shortage of adequate care. Fewer than half of at-home providers and fewer than two-thirds of day-care staff have formal training.

- ▶ There is only one spot in child care available for every seven children under age 8, according to the Daycare Trust.

Those statistics look even bleaker when compared with the situation in other parts of Europe.

In Finland, all preschool children are entitled to care in a publicly funded place. In Sweden, parents are entitled to 360 days of leave at 80% of income. Germans get 36 months of leave and a flat-rate payment of about \$1,231 a month until the child is 2.

"In terms of the social priority and the financial support given to child care in, say, the Scandinavian countries, you can only look with envy," says Jan Crockett, a journalist and mother of three, who at one point was dedicating two-thirds of her salary to child care.

However, the trade-off for universal child care is high taxes. Britain, like America, traditionally has preferred to rely on market-based solutions.

In the USA, points out Helen Blank of the Washington, D.C.-based Children's Defense Fund, "We don't have a systemic approach to child care because the basic bottom-line belief here is that is a private responsibility."

Child-care advocates acknowledge that, despite its drawbacks, the British government's new strategy signals a major shift in attitudes.

"What we've achieved is a situation where it's now recognized by government that child care is a public good that it's OK to spend private money on," says Lucy Lloyd, head of policy and information for the Daycare Trust.

But the initiatives so far haven't done a thing for Ellie James. The government is "just leaving people in trouble, really," she says. "I can't afford to work because I don't have anyone to look after my daughter. They're encouraging people to go back to work, but they're not really helping you with that."

Letters

We need safe, inexpensive missile shield

Another missile-defense test carried out by the Pentagon has failed ("Play it safe," Editorial, Monday).

A procedure must be devised that will protect all people living in the USA from a missile attack.

However, this must be done at a cost that will not be astronomical.

Nothing is more important than the safety of the people living in America.

Therefore, the Department of Defense must continue to work to arrive at a national missile program that will accomplish safety and security while being financially reasonable.

Barry Jacobs
Philadelphia

Missile defenses useless

The idea that a missile-defense system will protect us from so-called rogue nations is patently ridiculous ("Missile failure brings renewed criticism," News, Monday).

If these countries develop the technology or gain access to the materials to build a nuclear bomb, then a long-range intercontinental ballistic missile would be the least likely delivery mechanism.

Not only would such a delivery system be expensive to build and launch, but it also would open that country up to direct and immediate attack by the United States, once the country of origin were determined.

More likely is delivery by boat or over our land borders by a small group of people with orders to detonate the bomb at a certain hour.

In case anyone is unaware of this fact, our borders are not exactly sealed. And if impoverished people from Latin America and the Caribbean can get in, most likely the governments of Iraq, Iran, Libya, North Korea and others can find a way also. Once they do, a nuclear device could be carried in a car or even inside a suitcase. Anyone who thinks that a modern version of the Strategic Defense Initiative will protect us from terrorist nuclear attack is mistaken.

Neal McMahon
Arlington, Va.

'Non-fiction TV' better describes it

Much of the concern over "reality" TV shows such as *Survivor*, *The Real World* and *Big Brother* has been the worry that these shows blur how people view the world ("Reality TV takes us too far from real life," Letters, Friday). I believe part of this problem occurs because these programs are mislabeled.

Reality TV is anything but reality. I would venture to guess that the world depicted on a show such as *Everybody Loves Raymond* is much closer to the lives we lead than watching people barbecue rats in Malaysia.

The media should instead label these programs as "non-fiction" television, because that gets to the heart of why we watch. People are enamored with these programs because they are scriptless and unstaged, not because people actually think they reflect reality.

Andrew C. Billings
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Clemson University, Clemson, S.C.

Let girl enjoy 'Harry Potter'

I've been enjoying the hoopla and hype surrounding the new Harry Potter book release ("Goblet of Fire" blazes a trail of record sales," News, Monday).

I suppose I shouldn't have been so surprised to read the comments by USA TODAY reader Michael Schubach ("Parents of reader ruin Potter magic," Letters, Friday).

He suggests that 8-year-old Laura Cantwell and her parents were behaving immorally and/or unethically by buying the — mistakenly — pre-released book. He goes on to say what a blatant violation that was against Scholastic Inc., the publisher of *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire*.

Really? I fail to see any economic impact.

In addition; since when did speaking to the media become such a bad thing? As if talking about a cute story and having 15 minutes in the spotlight somehow makes you self-serving, greedy publicity seekers.

I am happy there are people such as the Cantwells, whose kids like to read and who are kind enough not to name the store for fear of getting someone fired.

So, I would say to Schubach, save your ire and dismay for the real problems in the world, and let one little girl enjoy her book.

Jennifer Reed
Rockford, Ill.

Better a book than six-pack

My question to USA TODAY reader Michael Schubach is, so what?

So these parents got an early copy because some store made a mistake. What is the big deal?

You mean to tell me that if you could get advance tickets to a concert or sporting event prior to their "official" sell date, you wouldn't? I know I would!

With all of the evils that our children face every day, obtaining an advance copy of a Harry Potter book legally should not be such a big deal to anyone.



By Darrell Wong, AP

Fact: Charmaine Redellant helps son, Sekani, 8, with Harry Potter outfit Saturday at Fresno, Calif., bookstore.

Kudos to the parents for getting her the book instead of a six-pack!
Elery Savage
Cincinnati, Ohio

Adults like 'Harry Potter,' too

USA TODAY reporter Deirdre Donahue muses, "somehow, a stout-hearted, bespectacled orphan who exists only in print has become the soul mate of millions of children around the world." I would add, "and of millions of adults, too" ("Fire" sale casts a spell tonight," News, Friday).

For me, the "somehow" is simply this: Everyone likes a good story, and the Harry Potter books are good stories. Harry Potter is on the classic "hero's adventure" beautifully explored by the late Joseph Campbell in his classic, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*.

Let's not forget the other great stories in the sacred writings of all religions, those of William Shakespeare and thousands more.

To paraphrase Pogo, "We have met the story, and it is us!"

Gordon Hill
St. Petersburg, Fla.

THE PRESIDENT

A Passionate Sermon on Child Neglect

3rd Way

By MICHAEL WINES
Special to The New York Times

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M., Oct. 17 — President Clinton flew west today to give a speech to police chiefs about crime. But by its end, he had instead spun an angry sermon on the nation's duty to a generation of children whose hearts, he said, were being "turned to stone" by violence and neglect.

Asked if the President had strayed from his prepared text, the White House press secretary, Dee Dee Myers, replied, "He sure did."

But hardly anyone seemed displeased by the digression, which showcased Mr. Clinton in the role he plays best: a preacher, speaking with undisguised passion on an issue that engages him.

After concluding remarks devoted largely to the newly passed anti-crime legislation, Mr. Clinton finally said the words, "I'd like to end today." But he did not. Instead, expanding on a theme made early in his speech, that "random violence among young people, people under the age of 18, is going up dramatically in sickening ways," the President spoke without notes for perhaps 10 minutes more.

"You now have the tools to deal with this problem," Mr. Clinton said to the chiefs, referring to the anti-crime bill, "but you've got a whole country out there full of people who have to help. Parents have to recognize that the real war on crime begins at home. If the first responsibility of government is to provide law and order, the first responsibility of parents is to teach right from wrong."

Recalling recent news accounts of a 5-year-old boy in Chicago who was pushed to his death by two 10-year-

POLITICS IN METRO SECTION

An early surprise in Connecticut's race for governor is the fast fall in the polls of, Lieut. Gov. Eunice S. Groark, Gov. Lowell P. Weicher Jr.'s chosen successor. Page B1.

olds because he had refused to steal candy for them, the President wondered aloud how young children could become so cold-hearted, and then he answered his own question.

"Kids are going to look up to somebody, and it's up to the adults in this country to decide who they're going to look up to," he said. The 5-year-old looked up to parents who had taught him the difference between right and wrong, Mr. Clinton said, but "who did the other two kids look up to? Who did they come in contact with who could have taught them right from wrong and didn't?"

"What about that little kid who was set on fire?" he asked, referring to a report that two children, ages 10 and 11, were convicted of dousing a toddler with gasoline and setting him afire. "Who taught those children right from wrong?"

The President said children learned such horrible behavior from adults.

"These kids are looking up to somebody," he said. "Who are they going to look up to? How are they going to learn this? We can hire five million police officers. And if we keep losing the battle for what these kids think is right and wrong, we're going to be in a lot of trouble."

The nation need not worry if it rolls up its sleeves, Mr. Clinton said, and sets about saving its young people. "But what we must be worried about is wave upon wave upon wave

of these little children, who don't have somebody both good and strong to look up to, who are so vulnerable that their hearts can be turned to stone by the time they're 10 or 11 years old. And when there is a good one — a 5- or 10-year-old kid in difficult circumstances, blooming like a flower in the desert, knowing that it's wrong to steal candy — he actually has his life at risk."

The White House says that the issue of adults' responsibility to children is a favorite of the President's, and he has touched on it from time to time, most recently in speeches to black ministers in New Orleans last month and at a black church outside Washington this summer. But Mr. Clinton has been looking for a chance to emphasize that the issue is not confined to one slice of the population, and today he obviously found it.

Although crime is the top domestic issue in this campaign season, the White House officially called Mr. Clinton's appearance at the annual meeting of the International Association of Chiefs of Police nonpolitical. In his prepared remarks, the President talked about the \$30 billion anti-crime legislation's provisions to help finance the hiring of 100,000 new officers and the construction of 100,000 prison cells in the next six years; about its "three strikes" provision that imprisons some violent offenders for life after a third conviction, and about its bevy of new death-penalty offenses and prevention programs for young people at risk of becoming criminals.

He also mentioned that "in this election season there are many who are campaigning on a 'Contract with America,'" and they, he said, could "indirectly" derail his efforts against crime by rendering the Government too broke to pay for it. The many are about 300 Republican can-

didates for Congress whose self-described contract effectively pledges to return the nation to the economic policies of the Reagan Administration, like tax cuts, increased military spending and the balancing of the Federal budget.

And he reminded the police chiefs that he had cut the Federal work force, streamlined Federal purchasing rules, helped bring peace to Haiti, Northern Ireland, the Middle East and Eastern Europe and had persuaded the Russians to point their nuclear missiles somewhere other than the United States. These are all points he has made in several campaign speeches this fall.

Mr. Clinton's extemporaneous remarks were met with applause from the police chiefs, who, as he has noted, support many of the programs in the crime legislation that intended to keep youngsters out of trouble.

Mr. Clinton also brought the chiefs a present, a new \$226 million program that would help large departments start recruiting and hiring new officers before the bulk of the Federal grants under the crime bill begin flowing to them.

A related initiative announced today would allow small police departments to seek grants for new officers by way of a short form that asks only the most basic information about the department, like its size and the starting salary of an officer.

Police Report Recommends Older, Better Trained Force

By CLIFFORD KRAUSS

A1

A Police Department task force has recommended a sweeping reorganization of the force that would raise standards for recruitment and graduation from the police academy and require monthly performance evaluations of officers.

Taken together, the 100 recommendations — covering everything from transferring as many as 200 clerical and administrative workers from police headquarters to precincts to giving precinct commanders new authority to combat corruption — are designed to produce a more decentralized, more mature, better trained and better supervised police department that is more attuned to the needs of individual communities, particularly minority neighborhoods.

The recommendations include raising the minimum age of recruits from 20 to 22 and requiring that recruits have two years of college education or military service before enlistment.

Precinct station houses would also undergo a transformation to tie them more to their neighborhoods through everything from installing automatic bank teller machines in communities that have few of them to letting scout troops and elderly groups hold meetings there.

In an interview yesterday, Police Commissioner William J. Bratton said he was "extraordinarily happy" with the report, which he said would be the foundation of a plan of action he would prepare over the next several weeks.

Senior aides said that while Mr. Bratton objected to a few proposals, like one plan to privatize data processing, he agreed with the report's fundamental proposals for raising recruitment standards, tightening supervision and moving functions from headquarters to the precincts.

Mr. Bratton, who appointed the panel last summer, delivered the document to Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani late last week for his comments. With the Mayor's support, Mr. Bratton will be able to make many of the changes on his own. Several issues could be tested in court, like requiring higher educational requirements for recruits — a proposal that some minority representatives have warned could work

against diversifying the force.

And Mr. Bratton may need the support of the unions that represent sergeants and lieutenants for a proposal to create new ranks, like "master sergeant," that reward the best-performing supervisors.

The planning panel called for an "immediate 20 percent reduction of staff in support units," which police officials said could translate into a transfer of 200 uniformed and civilian employees from headquarters to the precincts. Such personnel would replace uniformed officers now at desk jobs in the precincts, enabling more officers and supervisors to patrol their beats.

Peter LaPorte, Mr. Bratton's chief of staff, said any civilian and uniformed openings at headquarters could eventually be filled by other personnel from the Housing and Transit police forces, which Mr. Giuliani hopes to merge into the police department early next year. Whether there is a net reduction in civilian employees could depend on future budget cuts and money provided by the \$30 billion crime package that recently passed Congress.

Independent from the panel's report, various police officials have been considering cuts in the number of civilian workers to alleviate pressures from City Hall to cut the department's budget. Police officials say they are not sure how much Mr. Giuliani will expect them to cut in the coming months.

The report comes amid a heightened sense of crisis in some quarters of the police department after a rash of suicides, the Mollen Commission's highly critical report finding fault with the department's training, screening and supervision, and the unfolding corruption scandal at the 30th precinct in Harlem.

The report includes many of the proposals urged by the Mollen Commission last July to improve the quality of recruits and supervision of patrol officers. But it made no mention of an independent monitor with subpoena powers, which the com-

mission said was necessary to prevent future scandals.

The report, which is at the core of Mr. Bratton's effort to "re-engineer" the department, as he has put it, has been in the works since early spring. Twelve internal committees developed several hundred ideas in July that were distilled into a single report by a 17-member panel led by Michael Julian, the departing Chief of Personnel, and Deputy Chief Patrick E. Kelleher, the executive officer of the Patrol Services Bureau.

The final report essentially refined the earlier committee reports, but it gave precinct commanders greater discretion in crime-fighting and corruption control.

Thomas Reppetto, president of the Citizens Crime Commission, offered support for the plan.

"It's similar to what has gone on in private business in the last 10 or 15 years in which there has been decentralization and a cutback on administrative staff and more emphasis on line operations," he said. "If carried out, it will create the kind of neighborhood precinct-centered management that is necessary for community policing to succeed."

The report acknowledged that previous efforts to re-invent the police department in its 150-year history had failed. Acknowledging that the department needed the support of the rank and file to reform itself, the report said that a crackdown on misconduct could adversely affect morale and productivity and that by promoting vigorous enforcement, "sensitivity and community relations may suffer."

Perhaps the greatest change to the average officer on the beat will come from the new monthly evaluation reports, in which precinct supervisors will grade appearance, problem-solving and respect shown to people in the community. The evaluations will become the basis for promotions and precinct assignments.

Up until now, Mr. Julian said, "The criteria for performance was ambiguous because people who did nothing were rewarded. There were no negative consequences for mediocrity. Mediocrity has been tolerated forever in this police department."

The report also includes several proposals to improve the technical resources of the force, such as purchasing an automated fingerprinting identification system and creating a computer training center at the Police Academy. But the Commissioner will have to wait for Mr. Giuliani to make final decisions on possible budget cuts before deciding what the department can purchase.

Continued on Page B3, Column 1

Only a third of delegates are self-described liberals

3/2/99

But constituencies still say they carry a lot of influence

By Dave Boyer
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Only about one-third of delegates to this year's Democratic National Convention consider themselves liberal, but delegate Rick Stafford of Minnesota doesn't notice any moderation from past conventions.

"Most of our delegates are liberal," said Mr. Stafford, a Minneapolis resident taking part in his eighth convention. "I'm not ashamed to call myself a liberal. I didn't buy the line that Bill Clinton was a moderate-centrist in 1992, and I still don't buy it."

The percentage of self-described liberals is down from nearly half who called themselves liberal at the 1992 Democratic convention, according to a survey of 1,058 delegates by CBS and the New York Times. Yet liberal constituencies within the party claim their influence is still strong, in some cases stronger.

For example, AFL-CIO President John Sweeney said that 30 percent of this year's 5,500 delegates and alternates are union members. A spokesman for the union said the AFL-CIO has 800 delegates and the National Education Association has 300, down only slightly from 811 and 400, respectively, in 1996.

But unlike the 1996 convention, when only Mr. Sweeney was given a speaking role, three AFL-CIO leaders and American Federation of Teachers President Sandra Feldman will speak this week.

And advocates for homosexual groups claim that more than 200 delegates this year are homosexual. The Democratic National Convention puts the number at 158, or 4 percent of delegates. Either way, advocates say, that is a record.

One of them is Mr. Stafford, 48, who said he has AIDS.

"A lot of states that had not elected an openly gay delegate have made more of an effort to be diverse," Mr. Stafford said. "I think that's healthy for our party."

Gwenn Baldwin, executive director of the Los Angeles Gay and Lesbian Center, said the increase in homosexual delegates "speaks to more and more gays and lesbians being comfortable being 'out' and being part of the political process."

"It's incredibly important to have delegates who are in the [homosexual] community," she said. "They are educating the other people in the political process."

The Republican National Convention gave a speaking slot to an openly homosexual congressman, Rep. Jim Kolbe of Arizona, who talked about trade. Some delegates

in the audience bowed their heads in prayer as he spoke.

Among the first-time delegates to this year's convention is James Jarrett of Martin County, Ky., who bills himself as the only coal miner-delegate in the state.

"We're worried about the Clean Air Act," Mr. Jarrett said of his fellow miners. "It's going to hurt coal miners. We know we need to clean up the air, but we don't want [Vice President Al Gore] to forget about us."

The DNC said half of its delegates are women, 20 percent are black, 10 percent are Hispanic and 3 percent are Asian-Americans. Fifteen percent are seniors.

Nearly two-thirds of Kansas' 51 delegates oppose the death penalty, according to a survey by the Wichita Eagle. Only 10 support it.

New Jersey's 124 delegates are fractured in allegiances as a result of the bitter Senate primary between winner Jon Corzine and loser Jim Florio, the ex-governor. Complicating matters is the feud between Woodbridge Mayor Jim McGreevey, who plans to run for governor next year, and Sen. Robert G. Torricelli, who briefly challenged Mr. McGreevey this summer before abandoning his own plans for the governor's office.

There are 55 Arab-American delegates this year. That's a record.

Robb claims his Senate record not indicative of liberal agenda

By Adrienne T. Washington
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

LOS ANGELES — Sen. Charles S. Robb of Virginia yesterday said his record does not reflect the liberal agenda his Republican challenger would like to run against.

Former Gov. George F. Allen will have to campaign against "the real me, my record and my priorities and not the candidate he'd love to run against," Mr. Robb said.

Further, he said he would be seeking an honest debate with his opponent.

Mr. Robb made his rallying comments during a breakfast he hosted for the Virginia delegation, here to kick off participation at the Democratic National Convention.

The convention "gives us a chance to bond with those who work in the trenches getting out the vote... and helps energize our folks who work long and hard," Mr. Robb said.

Mr. Robb, who is expected to speak Wednesday afternoon, is attempting to solicit support for his hotly contested race. His schedule this week includes being showcased with the New Democratic Network, a group of centrist Democrats, and a reception honoring him and his wife, Lynda, in Beverly Hills today.

Mr. Robb told the delegates that they must get out the message that there is a difference between Democrats and Republicans and that this election matters.

"To bring the country together for an agenda that will make a dif-



Sen. Charles S. Robb

ferentials," Mr. Robb said.

However, Mr. Robb, who is trailing behind Mr. Allen in fund raising, said he wasn't trying to increase his campaign coffers during his appearances this week. He will attend a fund-raiser in San Francisco before returning to Virginia.

According to the senatorial candidate's last financial reports in June, Mr. Robb has raised approximately \$4 million, compared with Mr. Allen, who had raised \$6.8 million. Mr. Robb had \$3.1 million cash on hand to Mr. Allen who had \$3.8 million cash on hand.

While Virginia Democrats said

delegation during the convention, they are also focused on soliciting support for Mr. Robb's campaign, recapturing the General Assembly, winning statewide offices as well as promoting the Gore-Lieberman ticket.

Bucking conventional wisdom, Mr. Robb and state party leaders contend they can win the state for Democrats although Virginians have not elected a Democratic president since Lyndon B. Johnson, Mr. Robb's father-in-law.

Mr. Robb said the delegation will try to persuade the Gore-Lieberman campaign to spend more time in Virginia. They say it would not be a waste to utilize the party's resources because President Clinton lost by less than three percent.

Virginia Democratic Party Chairman Kenneth R. Plum said that by the time the delegates returned from Los Angeles with their marching orders "Virginia is not going to know what hit it."

Rep. Robert C. Scott, Virginia Democrat, who was Mr. Gore's roommate at Yale University, said the challenge for the Democrats is to keep the public focused on the policies instead of the personalities and pageantry.

Mr. Scott drew comparisons between Republicans, who he said wanted a balanced-budget bill, while Democrats actually balanced the budget. And Mr. Robb, who was known as the "education governor" during his tenure, compared his policy to Mr. Allen, who would not accept federal education

GOP: Democrats hit by disagreement

'Truth squad' targets 'a convention of contradictions'

By Donald Lammie
The Washington Times

LOS ANGELES — Republicans yesterday accused Vice President Al Gore and the Democrats of holding "a convention of contradictions" whose presidential ticket is riddled with disagreement and looking for political cover from Bill Clinton's scandal-plagued presidency.

A squad of Republican governors, congressmen and other officials fired off a broadside attack on Mr. Gore as a politician who is without "core principles," who opposes real tax relief for working men and women, and who would continue the atmosphere of "fighting and gridlock in Washington" that has dominated the past eight years of the Clinton-Gore era.

Republican Govs. Paul Cellucci of Massachusetts and James S. Gilmore III of Virginia said that contrary to his media-fed image as a centrist, Mr. Gore's designated running mate, Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman of Connecticut, has a strong liberal voting record that has supported most of the policies of the Clinton-Gore administration.

"He's a liberal who has voted against tax cuts and for the policies of this administration," Mr. Cellucci said.

Both governors said that Mr. Gore chose Mr. Lieberman to be his running mate to "give him political cover" from Mr. Clinton's sex-and-lies scandal that led to his impeachment by the House. But they said that it may have the opposite effect on his candidacy because of the Connecticut lawmaker's national notoriety for being the first Democrat to condemn the president's behavior.

"When Gore chose Lieberman, everyone was reminded of what he [Mr. Clinton] did" in the scandal involving then-White House intern Monica Lewinsky, Mr. Cellucci told reporters.

At the same time, the Repub-



Virginia's Gov. James S. Gilmore III holds up a book written by Vice President Al Gore at a press conference in Los Angeles.

lican "truth squad" said that the wide disagreement between Mr. Gore and his running mate on issues ranging from the partial privatization of Social Security retirement plans to school-choice vouchers — which Mr. Lieberman supported until Mr. Gore picked him — showed that the vice president did not have a core set of convictions on policy.

"There is a credibility gap here," Mr. Gilmore said.

"Gore doesn't have any core principles," Mr. Cellucci said.

The Republican governors also said that Mr. Gore was attempting to "reinvent himself again" at this week's convention by selling himself as the candidate who is on the side of working Americans, even though he supported Mr. Clinton's recent veto of a bipartisan bill to give working couples marriage penalty tax relief.

"The Democrats will never cut a tax if they can possibly help it. The veto of the marriage-penalty tax is abominable," Mr. Gilmore said.

As the Democratic convention began its first day here, the Republicans let loose with a barrage of charges against the Gore-Lieber-

man ticket at a news conference near the convention hall.

"Al Gore is suffering from multiple-policy disorder," said Kenneth Blackwell, the Ohio secretary of state.

"Gore is trying to attach himself to the hip of Bill Clinton on some issues and then separate himself on other issues," Mr. Blackwell said. "He picked Lieberman to give himself cover" from Mr. Clinton.

"Now Lieberman is trying to distance himself from some issues he took a position on but on which he and Gore do not agree," Mr. Blackwell said. "We're saying free Joe Lieberman. Let Joe be Joe."

There was, however, one part of this Democratic convention that Republicans seemed to take great delight in, and that was the amount of time that Mr. Clinton has spent here and the way he has dominated the convention's news thus far in his interviews, fund raising and other activities.

"We hope Clinton will talk forever. If Al Gore wants to associate himself with Bill Clinton, that's fine with us," said Rep. Henry Bonilla, Texas Republican.

Democratic governors to target Bush's record as Texas governor

Thomas D. Elias
SPECIAL TO THE WASHINGTON TIMES

LOS ANGELES — The nation's Democratic governors vowed yesterday to expose the flaws in Republican nominee George W. Bush's record as governor of Texas.

"We see the situation as very similar to 12 years ago," said Kentucky Gov. Paul E. Patton, chairman of the Democratic Governors' Association. "We nominated a very articulate governor [Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts] then and he had a big lead after our convention, but when his record was examined, he lost a lot of ground. There are a lot of Boston Harbors and Willie Hortons out there in Texas."

Pollution in Boston Harbor and an early furlough granted rapist Willie Horton were two factors that dragged Mr. Dukakis down.

"I'm going to bring these things out, and so are my colleagues," Mr. Patton promised. "When you look at Governor Bush and Texas, the issue of [his] veracity becomes prominent."

Mr. Patton also said Democrats expect to win 10 of this year's 11 contested races for governor.

Noting that Mr. Bush often takes credit for educational gains in his state, Mr. Patton argued that any improvements were created by a reform program instituted by Democrats before Mr. Bush took office.

come under attack. And he said Democrats will attack Mr. Bush's tax-cut proposal — between \$1.3 trillion and \$2 trillion over the next 10 years — with the great majority going to the rich.

The Bush campaign immediately replied that "anybody who pays attention to Governor Bush's speeches knows [he] always says he's not the only one who deserves credit for the educational gains. The program started in 1991, and he has improved and refined it. He is not afraid to share credit from Democrats and independents."

Spokesman Ray Sullivan added that "the largest percentage of our tax cuts go to those in the bottom half of incomes in America. Those at \$100,000 or more will pay more than under the present system."

Before meeting reporters, the 18 Democratic governors heard what they described as a "very optimistic" report from Gore campaign manager William M. Daley. He told them private polls indicate voters are gradually getting beyond personalities and focusing on issues.

"The good thing about that is that we are right on the issues," said North Carolina Gov. James B. Hunt Jr. "We believe this election will be about continuing prosperity and improving the quality of American life."

Maryland Gov. Parris N. Glendening said the Clinton-Gore administration's success in balancing

the years we had massive deficits," he said. "Business could not expand, governments were struggling just to maintain existing programs. Now Bush wants to cut taxes by \$2 trillion. That would put us right back where we were."

"We now have the lowest unemployment in Maryland since they started keeping the statistic," he added. "We have the greatest prosperity ever. We are not doing it alone in Maryland; it is in the context of national policy."

Mr. Glendening added that he would be among those criticizing Mr. Bush for his environmental record.

"We keep hearing the Republicans say they are for improving the economy and the environment will have to wait. In Maryland, we have shown you can be aggressive on the environment and still have tremendous economic progress."

Vermont Gov. Howard Dean promised he and other governors will stress the Democrats' proposal for Medicare coverage of prescriptions.

"The Republicans are trying to put through a scam program that has already failed in Nevada," he said. "I know the Gore plan will work because it's modeled after what we've done in Vermont, where we cover every child under 18. Prescription drugs will be an absolute sentinel issue in this cam-

By Ronald Brownstein
Los Angeles Times

Forget Monday night's valedictory address and celebratory video at the Democratic convention. The real testament to President Clinton's impact on the past decade's political wars came at the GOP gathering earlier this month.

Sore, Republican speakers lashed Clinton as a moral reprobate whose administration had "coasted" through prosperity. But the message from the podium inadvertently testified to Clinton's success at changing the terms of the competition between the parties. That was as evident in what the speakers didn't say as what they did.

Sometimes the hardest thing in politics (or life, for that matter) is to envision the path not taken. But imagine for a moment how different this year's GOP convention might have looked if Clinton had not broken the momentum of the conservative ascendancy after the 1994 election gave Republicans control of Congress.

When they swept into power with Newt Gingrich at the lead, the "revolutionary" generation of young conservatives dreamed of closing the Education Department (among other Cabinet offices), repealing the ban on assault weapons, replacing the progressive income tax with a single-rate flat tax and lighting a bonfire under Federal Registers thick with environmental regulations.

House Majority Leader Dick Armey, R-Texas, set the goal of shrinking the size of the federal government by half over a generation. Much like their liberal counterparts in the 1930s and 1960s, conservatives on Capitol Hill buzzed with the belief that history was rolling in their direction; they envisioned a short sprint to the presidency in 1996 and then a long march to unwind a century of increasing Washington influence over American life.

And, in fact, conservatives had plenty of reason for optimism. Almost always in the past century, a party that lost as many congressional seats as the Democrats did in 1994 also surrendered the White House two years later. (You can look it up: Congressional blowouts in 1890, 1894, 1910, 1930, 1958, 1966 and 1974 all foreshadowed changes in White House control.) If Republicans had consolidated control of government by adding the White House to their congressional majority in 1996, even many of their most expansive ambitions might have tumbled within reach.

Instead, the GOP revolution hit the wall during the titanic budget fight of 1995. Clinton outmaneuvered Republicans by embracing a balanced budget himself but denouncing their means of achieving it as a threat to popular programs led by Medicare, Medicaid, education and the environment. When public opinion sided with Clinton during the government shutdowns in the winter of 1995-96, the die was cast: He surged into the lead over Republican presidential candidate Bob Dole and then coasted to reelection. Clinton and Congress finally reached agreement on balancing the budget in 1997, and even though Republicans won some of their favored tax cuts, Democrats achieved increased spending on party priorities such as education and health care for uninsured children.

Clinton's triumphs in the budget fight and the 1996 election didn't open an era of Democratic dominance: Republicans will control Congress, and they have blocked most of the president's second-term priorities. But Clinton's twin victories changed the parameters of the political debate.

Clinton's recovery shook the conviction among many conservatives that there was a natural majority for a hard-core anti-government agenda. That forced thoughtful Republicans to look for an equivalent to Clinton's "new Democrat" message: an approach that would balance the GOP's traditional appeals with moderate notes aimed at swing voters who had come to view the party as excessively ideological. Among the direct beneficiaries of that dynamic was George W. Bush: If Gingrich's revolutionary conservatism had not cratered, there might have been no demand for Bush's compassionate conservatism.

The point isn't that Bush is a closet new Democrat or even a neutered (Newtied?) Republican. On issues from abortion to taxes and Social Security, Bush stands squarely in the conservative mainstream. But Bush's approach also bears the mark of Clinton's progress in redefining the center. No one at the GOP convention promised to shutter the Education Department; instead they promised new federal efforts to ensure that "no child is left behind." No one pledged to repeal the assault-weapon ban. The few

speakers who denounced government in the ideological terms common in 1993 were allowed on the stage only in the afterhours, when most Americans were safely tuned to "Days of Our Lives."

This Republican evolution mirrors the changes Clinton forced on the Democrats. Clinton integrated into Democratic thinking traditionally conservative ideas such as demanding personal responsibility and fiscal discipline. In turn, Bush is grafting traditionally liberal ideas such as expanding opportunity onto the conservative priority of limited government. Each side now acknowledges the importance of borrowing from the other: a change reflecting the influence of Clinton's insistence that the political debate had been imprisoned in "false choices."

Impeachment and the fund-raising controversies that darkened Clinton's second term have enormously clouded his political legacy: His personal mistakes appear to be alienating many of the swing voters (married women, blue-collar men) earlier attracted by his policy successes. Liberals fret that Clinton has seized the center at the cost of shrinking the Democrats' ambitions. Yet without the retooled party agenda that Clinton constructed and his success at stemming the conservative tide after 1994, it's difficult to imagine that Democrats would be in the game at all this year.

Clinton thus arrives on stage Monday night as both creator and destroyer. He may be, at once, Gore's greatest asset and liability. Whatever happens in November, Clinton has already changed his party's direction (as Bill Bradley learned when his liberal challenge to Gore flat-lined during the Democratic primaries) and reshaped the debate between the parties. But those achievements may well be overshadowed by the president's failures unless Gore can defeat Bush and demonstrate the existence of a Clinton electoral coalition stable enough to survive the departure, and the transgressions, of its maker.

An Ominous Turn in Kashmir

The following editorial appeared in Monday's Los Angeles Times:

Chances always were slim that the cease-fire called by one rebel group in the Indian state of Kashmir would prompt other rebels to abandon arms. Nevertheless, the collapse of the truce and related peace talks is a worrisome development for the disputed territory.

The leader of the Kashmiri Hizbul Mujahadeen said his group broke off talks with Indian leaders because of their refusal to include the Pakistani government in the negotiations over the future of Kashmir. Announcement of the collapse of the talks was made last week in Islamabad, the Pakistani capital, and the language was unusually intemperate, calling for the Islamic guerrillas to proceed with "target-oriented missions." Days later Hizbul Mujahadeen claimed responsibility for a bomb explosion in Srinagar, the summer capital of Kashmir, that killed 14 people.

On Sunday, the guerrilla group claimed responsibility for attacks on a bus caravan carrying security forces in Kashmir. Six soldiers were killed. Elsewhere in the troubled state, security forces killed 10 guerrillas.

Considering that even during the cease-fire more than 100 Kashmiri civilians were massacred, most likely by rebel groups, the collapse of the talks is especially ominous.

If Pakistan continues to encourage Islamic rebels battling Indian forces, the tensions are bound to increase. That's especially dangerous now that both countries have tested nuclear weapons. India and Pakistan share a border and have fought three wars in half a century.

Hizbul Mujahadeen originally said the cease-fire would be in place for three months. Instead, it endured for a mere two weeks. That's far too little time for concrete results.

Kashmir has been claimed by both Pakistan and India for the last half-century and partially occupied by both. The insurgency has gone on for more than a decade, with Muslims from Afghanistan and Pakistan playing important roles in the fighting. Kashmir is the only predominantly Muslim state in India, whose population mostly is Hindu.

During his visit to India this year President Clinton proclaimed the subcontinent "the most dangerous place in the world" because of the nuclear face-off. India has to find some way to reach out to Pakistan to defuse tensions; it adamantly refuses to

only way this is ever going to change is if enough Democrats break ranks and scare the party into refining its message or if prominent Latino politicians challenge their party's position. Two years ago in Chicago, a cadre of young Mexican American advocates did just that. Convinced that the portrayal of Latinos as pawns in the hands of a hostile majority was more oppressive than empowering, three Latino advocacy organizations, with the support of leading Democratic Alderman Danny Solis, conspired to change the way Latinos were treated in Chicago politics. "This vicarious approach is not going to be healthy for the community in the long term," said Juan Rangel, who heads the United Neighborhood Organization of Chicago. "The old boogeyman strategy doesn't get us anywhere, anymore."

With any luck, as Latinos become a greater part of the national electorate and, presumably, a more indispensable partner in the Democratic coalition, they will begin to redefine their party more than it defines them. Perhaps then, Democrats will rediscover the indispensable ingredient in any successful strategy to forge equal opportunity: hope.

The Campaign of Narcissism

By David Brooks

Special to the Los Angeles Times

For more than two centuries, millions of Jews have tried to fit into the American mainstream by assimilating. Yet, after all that effort, the first Jew to be named to a major presidential ticket turns out to be Orthodox. Not only that, the Democratic Party leaders who embraced Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman last week made it perfectly clear that he was chosen in part because of his orthodox beliefs. Warren Christopher, who managed the selection process for Vice President Al Gore, called Lieberman "a symbol of rectitude" and Lieberman's yarmulke is the symbol of that symbol.

Democratic officials have repeated the stories of how Lieberman walks home from work on Friday nights so he won't violate the Sabbath. Gore gave ABC News a line-by-line recitation of the prayer he said with Lieberman during their phone call. Nor have the two candidates stunted when it comes to quoting scripture over the past few days. Lieberman mentioned God 12 times in their first joint appearance, which has to be some kind of record for a Democratic pol.

That's the great thing about elections: You never know beforehand which issues are going to dominate a race. But over the past two weeks it's become clear that this campaign is going to be steeped in religion and fought out over which party can ennoble the national character. When Texas Gov. George W. Bush says Jesus is his most important political philosopher, and when Gore picks an orthodox believer as his running mate, they are both offering faith as an antidote to scandal, trash culture and the corruptions of affluence.

And yet, while both campaigns preach the dignity of the pulpit, they do it while using the language of the TV studio. They are enmeshed in the cultural argot they say they are trying to rise above. The campaigns are running sentimental conventions in order to urge us to rise above self-indulgent sentimentality. The candidates call on us to renounce selfishness and serve causes larger than ourselves, and yet, like all political campaigns these days, their speeches are stuffed with self-worship.

In other words, this whole campaign is beginning to look like an unsuccessful meeting of Narcissists Anonymous: self-promoting leaders trying to promote themselves by summoning the armies of selfishness.

This isn't rank hypocrisy. This is an accurate reflection of where the country is now, and especially where the baby boomer center of gravity is now. The boomers are notoriously narcissistic, yet trying to rise above narcissism. This is a fat and happy country that fears it is getting too fat and happy. This is a country with nice kitchens and nice lawns, that somehow senses it should be paying attention to more important things. In short, many Americans are absorbed by the anxiety that they might be too self-absorbed.

Look at how the tortured boomer soul was revealed at Bush's convention. On the one hand, Bush forcefully and sincerely made the case that the boomers have been lulled by peace and prosperity and have, so far, squandered their chance to contribute to their country's greatness. He started by recalling the heroism of the World War II generation. That was the generation from which much was asked, he suggested. But then Bush pivoted and pointed

out that the boomer generation is the generation to which much was given. "This generation," he said, "was given the gift of the best education in American history."

"Our current president embodied the potential of a generation," he continued. "So many talents. So much charm. Such great skill. But, in the end, to what end?" President Clinton has squandered his gifts, Bush answered. All that potential was directed toward selfish ends.

Bush then called on the country to devote itself to service to others. America's greatness, he said in Philadelphia, was not based on money or military might "but in small unnumbered acts of caring and courage and self-denial." The convention was chock-a-block with uplifting stories of charity and caring.

But somehow the self-denial was missing. On the contrary, the whole thing was a mammoth testimonial to Bush's good heart. The Republican Party as an entity was scarcely mentioned. The congressional Republicans were largely ignored. The convention was about Bush's wonderful self—four days of celebration.

The Democratic campaign has a similar tension. Lieberman's life is dedicated to Jewish law, which is eternal and transcendent. He has crusaded against sleaze and morally corrosive popular culture.

Lieberman showed his sincere concern about public morality in the most important speech of his life, the speech that stands as precursor to his selection as Gore's running mate. On Sept. 8, 1998, amid the Monica S. Lewinsky scandal, Lieberman addressed his Senate colleagues: "I have come to this floor many times in the past to speak with my colleagues about my concerns, which are widely held in this chamber and throughout the nation, that our society's standards are sinking, that our common moral code is deteriorating and that our public life is coarsening."

Lieberman then went on to point out that the president is "the one-man distillation of the American people" and that Clinton had contributed to America's moral deterioration and fed popular cynicism about public service.

Lieberman offers a better alternative: a life devoted to God and public service. He published a book this year titled "In Praise of Public Life," which is a defense of politics as a noble calling. And for all the muck of politics, Lieberman still believes in political action as a cause greater than self-interest.

Yet, when Gore appeared on stage with Lieberman at their first joint appearance in Nashville, Tenn., the dominant message was self-worship. Gore gave a speech extolling the virtues of the Gore-Lieberman partnership. Then Lieberman gushed a stream of flattery that would have embarrassed a nonpolitician. It made Gore seem like one of those self-congratulatory white benefactors from the days of radical chic.

It's not only the language of aggrandizement that drowns out the message, is the whole Oprah ethos. Gore said that one the reason he chose Lieberman was because Lieberman has a good "comfort level." They feel good together. That's the language of the encounter group. Can you imagine Abraham Lincoln lauding Andrew Johnson because they had achieved a nice comfort level?

When Gore met with his team of advisers to make the final running-mate decision, it was Christopher, according to published reports, who made the climactic pitch. Christopher told Gore: "This choice says everything about you—what's in your heart, what's in your soul and what's in your mind." It's hard to know which is more embarrassing: that Christopher would talk that way; that Gore would respond to such talk; or that aides would leak that comment, thinking it reflected well on their candidate.

Again, this doesn't mean that the four candidates are rank hypocrites. They're not. It means that our entire politics and our entire popular culture is steeped in the language and mode of narcissism, and even when you desperately want to rise above narcissism, it is hard when that is your mother tongue.

Once presidential candidates stayed at home and were supposed to abstain from boasting, because it demeaned their dignity. Those were the days when there was a structure of etiquette and custom designed to promote self-denial and punish self-aggrandizement. But those days are long gone, and now, whether you wear a yarmulke or not, all must pay homage to the holy self.

BROWNSTEIN COMMENT: GOP Has Clinton to Thank for Its Compassion

Who'll Miss Clinton?

LOS ANGELES—So how much will we miss Bill Clinton? The politician who welcomed himself into American history as the Man from Hope eight years ago says goodbye as the Man of Hope Realized.

Republicans can't argue with the nation's achievements on his watch. The same people who said seven years ago that Clinton's economic plan would wreck the economy now fall back on saying that Clinton made no difference. Clinton loves to talk about this. There is no message he more wants to get across this week: Yes, I did make a difference.

Implausibly, Republicans vacillate between competing claims that the sweep of today's prosperity is (1) the result of Ronald Reagan's policies during the 1980s or (2) the work of the Republican Congress after 1994. Clinton, who, along with his party, suffered mightily for raising taxes right out of the box, is airbrushed out of the economic story.

Most of the country doesn't see things that way, as Clinton knew when he rose to tout his record and to push for four more years under Al Gore. It made you want to imagine a Clinton presidency in which he lets Monica Lewinsky just drop off the pizza and invites big donors to sleep at the Hay-Adams, instead of the Lincoln bedroom.

Clinton's achievement can be measured not only by the exhilarating economic numbers but also by the opportunities his presidency has made possible for his successor. Think of how his actions have changed political fashions.

Where once it was popular to bash "welfare cheats," it is now required of leaders in both parties to be "compassionate" and talk about lifting up the poor. Remember when "compassion" was dismissed as a weak, wimpy, *liberal* virtue?

There was a time when any new spending proposal could be swatted away as a "budget basting" monstrosity that would "swell the deficit." But with the small surplus, Clinton and Gore have the luxury of being attacked from the left for not spending enough and from the right for not supporting huge tax cuts. The attacks mean politicians no longer have deficits to kick around as an excuse for paralysis.

For 20 years after 1968, candidates sliced up the electorate with "wedge issues" and stoked resentments about crime and race. Clinton was far too conflict in the nation's now cooling love affair with the death penalty and with the slow erosion of protections for the accused.

But he was right that the crime issue was more than a code for race. Falling crime rates mean more safety, less fear and resentment. And when Republicans turn their convention into a "We Are the World" love fest while Pat Buchanan picks a black woman as his running mate, you know the era of Bull Connor is over. Don't snuff at this as empty symbolism. Symbols send messages about how we conceive the future.

All of which explains why Republicans keep coming back to sex and fundraising. Thanks to the record accumulated by the Man from Hope, they have little else to say. If a politician ever conscientiously applied the song "Let's Give Them Something to Talk About" to the task of helping the opposition, it's the man from Hot Springs.

The Democrats' choice of Los Angeles for this convention hardly buries the bad memories. "It's a sexy town," said Annette Bening, during the rare party here not devoted to fundraising, "and they're trying to get away from sex." Gore has to be wishing this were Cleveland or Detroit.

The result? Admonition: Everybody will miss Bill Clinton except Al Gore. Democrats will miss his political instincts and his powers of persuasion. Republicans will lose their only topic of conversation other than tax cuts. And at the first sign of recession, everybody else will wonder whether the country is missing Clinton's greatest gift, which is good luck.

The shame of it is that George W. Bush and Dick Cheney were right at their convention about one thing: The past seven years were also a lost opportunity.

They should feel fortunate for that because a Clinton without the scandals might have cemented a new majority. He could have inspired a generation of service-minded young people to see politics with excitement rather than disdain. He'd be going out on all these cheers with no undercurrent of impatience and frustration. He wouldn't have to apologize or explain himself incessantly. He really could have been the Man from Hope.

Political Brain Drain

LOS ANGELES—A couple of weeks ago in Washington, I had dinner with two Democratic Party notables—two of the usual sources quoted when usual sources are quoted—when the topic turned to whom Al Gore might pick as his running mate. This turned out to be Joseph Lieberman, of course—a wise and bold choice, in my view—but it was the others on the list that gave all of us pause. The bullpen was almost empty.

In the 40 years since the Democrats met here to nominate John F. Kennedy, the party—if not all of American politics—has suffered a precipitous brain drain. That year, Kennedy battled against Hubert H. Humphrey, a titan of the Democratic Party. This year, Gore battled Bill Bradley, a black hole of a politician who had once dropped out of politics only to lope back for reasons he never could quite explain.

Beyond Bradley, there was no one. The party of African Americans and women, of the trade unions and what were once derided as pointy-headed intellectuals, could field not a single person from any of these constituent groups. When it came to the vice presidency, not one woman came to mind—and not a black, either.

Things are no better in the GOP. Texas Gov. George Bush won his party's nomination after facing only one significant opponent, John McCain. The others in the field—Gary Bauer, Elizabeth Dole, Orrin Hatch, Lamar Alexander and the irrepressible Alan Keyes—represented almost no constituent group beyond their immediate families. Even Bush appeared to materialize out of nowhere, a governor chosen by other governors, yet nearly unknown to most Americans just a year ago.

You can scan the program of this convention to gauge what has happened to the Democratic Party. A host of female notables will mount the rostrum, but none of them has any national standing, and some are virtually unknown. Only Hillary Clinton stands out—and not, I say with some understatement, for her own accomplishments.

The program progresses through a list of special-interest spokesmen—Kate Michelman of the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League, Gerald McIntee of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and, of course, Jesse Jackson, who is sure to do yet another rendition of a Jesse Jackson speech. Then come more African Americans, a tribute to veterans, a Hispanic speaker and some Kennedys, Edward of the Senate and Caroline of her father's blessed memory. The past is well represented. The future ain't here.

Is it any wonder that Bill Clinton still dominates? There is no one of his star quality in either party—and no one on the horizon.

What's happened? How is it that the talent pool in both political parties is so shallow? The answer, for sure, has to do with the end of the Cold War and the blurring of ideological differences: Everyone loves Social Security, for instance. Both parties favor a missile defense system of some sort. The differences are not the stuff of crusades but a battle of competing spreadsheets. Only a lobbyist's heart beats faster.

But some of it, I just bet, has to do with the contemporary nature of politics itself. It has become a low-laugh, high-risk calling, little fun, much fundraising—an anxious walk through a minefield of countless ethical rules and expectations. It's a field where the rewards are few, the life can be hard and there's always the chance that your personal diary will wind up in the newspaper. Real authority—not to mention real money—has become the preserve of private enterprise. Little wonder the talent is going there.

Whatever the reason, the so-called short list of possible running mates for Gore shows what has happened. Sen. John Edwards of North Carolina was a finalist. A month earlier, no one outside his state had heard of him. Yet with a nod from Gore, a victory in November and the hideous incursion of fate, the presidency could have been his—whoever he is.

From 1960 to 1996, turnout in presidential elections went from 63 percent of registered voters to 49 percent. Many young voters are independents, and if the trend continues, America's majority party will soon be none at all. Nonetheless, the Democrats, like the Republicans two weeks ago, are throwing a huge bash. Much of the nation won't even watch, and a good thing, too. The public might notice the party's cupboards are full of special-interest cash—but starkly empty of talent.

The Aug. 10 op-ed by former defense secretary William Perry and former Joint Chiefs of Staff chairman John Shalikashvili argued correctly that America's military remains the best in the world, despite cries of a "hollow force." While it is true that the United States has the best armed forces in the world, two of their claims are erroneous.

They contend, "American defense spending is (in current dollars) about \$100 billion a year less than Cold War levels." In reality, the defense budget request for fiscal year 2001 was approximately \$310 billion, while the average from 1950 until 1989 (in current dollars) was \$325 billion. In other words, the Pentagon still receives—a decade after the collapse of the Soviet Union—95 percent of Cold War funding.

Additionally, the writers simply throw more money at the problem of military readiness. While readiness problems may exist, the solution is to prioritize current Pentagon spending, not pump an additional \$60 billion a year into a defense budget that already consumes more than half of Congress's annual discretionary spending. For instance, anachronistic, Cold War-designed weapons programs such as the F-22 fighter could be eliminated. Another solution would be to eliminate the \$7 billion in pork barrel spending that Sen. John McCain found in this year's Defense Authorization Act.

We should remember that when problems with readiness arise, it's more important to spend smarter than it is to impulsively spend more.

JEREMY BRATT
Washington

The writer is the Herbert Scoville Jr. Peace Fellow at the Council for a Livable World Education Fund.

Out of an Abusive Environment

Lauren Taylor's July 24 Style Plus article provided vital support for women who are fleeing abuse. But getting away from the abuser is only the first step. Many women find that even after they have fled, they are bound by court order to a violent man until their last child is 18 years old.

Research shows that 50 percent to 60 percent of batterers also abuse their children. But mothers reporting abuse are in a Catch-22 situation: If they don't report, they may be charged with failure to protect. If they do report, they risk being accused by

judges of trying to alienate the children from the other parent. Unbelievable? Hardly. We already know that judges return children to deadly environments, as in the case of Brianna Blackmond in the District.

I hope The Post will cover the problem of batterers with the same intensity it has given to other examples of system failure.

EILEEN KING
Washington

The writer is executive director of One Voice: The National Alliance for Abuse Awareness.

Biological Weapons: Check the Evidence

Stephen S. Rosenfeld's July 25 op-ed column said that we have "explaining to do" about 12 documents, allegedly from the Soviet archives, which he contends debunk the charge that the United States used biological weapons in the Korean War.

Our explanation is our book, "The United States and Biological Warfare: Secrets from the Early Cold War and Korea," based on materials from the Chinese, U.S. and Canadian archives. We also have

commented at length on the 12 documents and on their defense by scholar Milton Leitenberg referred to by Mr. Rosenfeld.

The 12 documents were passed by persons unknown to a journalist from the conservative Japanese newspaper Sankei Shinbun; they are neither referenced nor retrievable. If authenticated, they reveal a bizarre attempt to falsely contaminate two sites. If real, this incident doesn't disprove the evidence from the many other documented biological weapons sites.

What the documents do reveal is the power struggle following Stalin's death, in which the head of one Soviet police ministry used the alleged coverup of the incident by the head of the rival police ministry to bring his rival down. These documents do not outweigh extensive material (referenced and retrievable) from the Chinese archives relating medical evidence and top-level discussions that would not have taken place if the charges were fraudulent.

Those suspicious of this documentation can weigh it against our corroborating evidence from the U.S. and Canadian archives.

Mr. Rosenfeld ignores our theme on the scope of the crash program in biological weapons that the United States put in place from 1951 to 1953. The United States became the first nation to incorporate such

weapons in military doctrine, and it did so within a secret first-use strategy, subject to presidential approval. The larger picture reveals much about decision-making processes that knowingly evade the political and public consensus.

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Mr. Clinton's Valedictory

In an emotional farewell to the party that he reshaped and led for eight turbulent years and to the political arena he will clearly miss, President Clinton last night offered a passionate defense of his record and a firm argument that Vice President Al Gore is ready to take over. As students of convention staging will no doubt remember, the president chose an oddly hokey gladiatorial entrance. For fans of presidential oratory, the speech was a reminder of Mr. Clinton's skills as an advocate who can both speak from the heart and argue a case through a series of logical points. The Democrats' enthusiastic reception was testimony to their mixed feelings — an eagerness to move beyond Mr. Clinton and his outsized personal problems as well as genuine gratitude for his success in modernizing their party.

Mr. Clinton's valedictory appearance, on the first day of the convention, was aimed at letting the president make a best-case argument for his stewardship, before the party turns to the hard work of pushing Mr. Gore and his running mate, Senator Joseph Lieberman, across the finish line. Mr. Clinton paid tribute to Mr. Gore's steadiness under pressure and his knowledge of government in arguing that the vice president deserved considerable credit for the successes of the last eight years. He also portrayed Mr. Gore as the most future-oriented politician in the country in regard to science, technology and education issues.

Mr. Clinton dealt with his personal scandals by not mentioning them. He apparently decided that this was not going to be a moment of contrition or one when the headline writers and Republicans would have another mea culpa with which to work. Instead he dwelt on his gratitude to the voters for letting him serve in the White House.

As he did in recent interviews, Mr. Clinton also made it clear that Republican convention oratory about an era of accidental and purposeless prosperity had nettled him mightily. In response to recent sallies from the G.O.P. nominee, Gov. George W. Bush of Texas, Mr. Clinton pointed out that when the administration enacted its economic strategy of trying to close the budget deficit, even by raising taxes on the richest Americans, the Republican leadership in Congress voted uniformly against it and predicted it would bring about economic ruin. "Time has not been kind to those predictions," he declared. Indeed, as he pointed out, it was Mr. Gore who supplied the tie-breaking vote in the Senate.

The president's most explicit effort to sell Mr. Gore as a presidential-scale leader came in a personal testimony to him as "one strong leader" who is capable, indeed eager to make "tough choices." He also praised Mr. Lieberman, noting that he had known the Connecticut senator since working for his first state legislative campaign while a law student 30 years ago. And when Mr. Clinton reminded the audience of his own personal journey to the White House from a small-town boyhood, he seemed to be trying to contrast himself with the pampered upbringing of Governor Bush, who is seen by many Americans as a man they can empathize with more than Mr. Gore. In an emotional touch, he spoke of the gray hair and wrinkles that now mark his visage, but have not dimmed "optimism and hope I brought to the work I love eight years ago."

One of the strongest flashes of irritation from Mr. Clinton came when he defended his administration's record on military and preparedness issues. At the Philadelphia convention the Republicans charged relentlessly that American defenses had declined in the last eight years, ignoring the fact that military budgets had started to go down under President Bush and have gone back up in the last several years. Mr. Clinton boasted that the United States had expanded human rights in the tradition of former President Jimmy Carter, who was sitting in the audience, and then went on to suggest that the Republicans were inviting trouble from overseas with their accusations. Any foreign country inspired by the Republican to think that America is not ready to defend itself, he said, would be gravely mistaken.

In a sense, the last convention of any two-term president can be called the end of an era. But there is no doubt that this farewell will be remembered by every living Democrat as an unforgettable time. In party terms, Mr. Clinton's great accomplishment was to update the liberal policies that let the Democrats dominate midcentury politics but that became a straitjacket when Ronald Reagan arrived on the scene. There will always be the sadness that the Clinton record will forever be blotted because his leadership gifts were offset by a self-destructive streak at the center of his personality. For all that, Mr. Clinton will go into party history as the only politician of his decade with a personal magnetism and communicative skills to match those of Mr. Reagan and Mr. Clinton's own boyhood idol, John F. Kennedy.

A Reprehensible Whale Hunt

Over the years, Japanese whalers have killed thousands of whales in the name of scientific research. But this has merely been a cover for commercial whaling aimed at satisfying Japanese eating habits, in defiance of a 1986 moratorium on commercial whaling that Japan itself signed.

Japan is now using the same argument to justify its latest whale hunt, involving six whaling ships that are in the Northwestern Pacific to hunt minke, Bryde's and sperm whales. The hunt has stirred outrage among other signatories to the treaty. In recent days the State Department has threatened to block Japanese imports under an American law authorizing penalties against any

nation that violates a marine conservation treaty.

This will be the first time in 13 years that the Japanese have hunted sperm and Bryde's whales. Though minke whales are relatively plentiful, sperm and Bryde's whales were nearly wiped out in the 1980's, before they came under the protection of the moratorium. Japan's actions pose a major threat to their survival. The United States is justified in invoking the so-called Pelly Amendment, which authorizes trade sanctions. The rest of the international community should follow suit.

Whale meat is not a staple in Japan, only a luxury food. The Japanese can make a small culinary sacrifice to preserve these majestic animals.

Stuck in the Middle of the Road

Demise of Clinton's 'Vital Center' Threatens His Legacy

By JOHN F. HARRIS
Washington Post Staff Writer

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On the night he won reelection in 1996, President Clinton proclaimed his desire to transcend partisanship and govern from a "vital American center." Yesterday, he appeared at a news conference to decry months of "reckless partisanship" that he said "threatens America's economic well-being and now our national security."

The Senate's brusque dismissal this week of a treaty that Clinton had identified as a critical foreign policy priority was a stark reminder of how bereft of vitality Washington's governing center has become.

On issues from entitlements to free trade, this year represents a repudiation of the centrist governing model in which Clinton

once hoped to assemble majorities by challenging the orthodoxies of both parties.

The zeal with which Clinton made his case against Republicans yesterday, by contrast, reflected an entirely different strategy. Clinton has shown that he and his fellow Democrats can win the public relations battle by playing off the perceived intransigence of the GOP majority. Whatever the merits of this political calculation, however, the capital's atmosphere of confrontation is choking Clinton's hopes for ending his tenure with a string of large policy achievements.

An overhaul of Social Security is not happening. Nor is a comprehensive repair of the other big entitlement program, Medicare. Clinton's plan to give prescription drug cover-

age to seniors has been abandoned on Capitol Hill, and White House aides have begun crafting a fallback position aimed at eking out incremental reforms.

Republicans, meanwhile, are eviscerating many of Clinton's signature spending proposals and snubbing his ideas for education reform, such as providing federal aid to reduce class sizes and targeting poorly performing schools for extra help. And it is unlikely they will act on multibillion-dollar proposals he has laid out for raising taxes on cigarettes and giving tax credits to help low- and middle-income families with child care.

With 15 months left in his term, Clinton still holds some cards, as witnessed by last week's House victory on a bill expanding the rights of patients in health maintenance organizations. In recent years, moreover, the White House often has been able to make Republicans blink in the closing days of budget showdowns. But these flashes of strength have not altered the picture: Most of the expansive policy agenda Clinton laid out in his State of the Union address in January is languishing.

"Clinton's agenda has been just as centrist as he promised," said University of Illinois political scientist Paul J. Quirk. "The Congress is increasingly polarized and not receptive to that."

Republicans are thwarting Clinton's policy agenda, but it is not only them. Democrats have limited Clinton's flexibility—and robbed him of legacy-building achievements—on such issues as expanding his authority to negotiate "fast-track" trade agreements and reaching an accord admitting China into the World Trade Organization. Just last week, Clinton swallowed a transportation bill that included anti-clean air provisions he opposed, after Democrats told him they did not have the stomach for a veto fight.

The policy lassitude that has beset Washington results from two factors, according to many lawmakers. One is the hangover from last winter's impeachment trial, which left too many personal antagonisms to replicate bipartisan accords such as the 1997 balanced-budget agreement and the more grudging enactment of welfare reform in 1996. Second, many in both parties—including House Democratic leaders and even some strategists on Clinton's team—believe their political interests are better served through combat.

One person who does not believe in this strategy, for his party or himself, is Clinton, according to confidants. One former administration official who consults with Clinton said the president is dismayed by what he sees as the intransigence confronting him, a situation he blames on Republicans. "They choose to fight with him as a way of covering up their internal divisions, and their internal divisions are what make it impossible for them" to bargain with him on policy, said this adviser, describing Clinton's view of the GOP's approach.

But another former senior White House official, frustrated by Clinton's lack of policy progress, cited another obstacle: After Democrats came to Clinton's rescue in last year's scandal, he is much less inclined to run counter to their wishes, as he did on the budget in 1997 and on welfare in 1996. Some former aides said they have been dismayed by Clinton's passivity in accepting the political strategy of House Minority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (Mo.) and other Democratic leaders.

"It's horribly frustrating," said Sen. John Breaux (D-La.), a leader of his party's centrist wing, who had hoped this year would bring legislation putting Medicare on a sounder financial footing. While Clinton does not believe in the obstruction strategy of some House Democrats, Breaux said, "he does not want to step on the toes of members who think that."

A White House official involved in crafting Clinton's legislative strategy disputed this assessment. But he said there is no Republican willingness to work with Clinton, even though he is willing. "Tom DeLay has hijacked the Congress," this aide said, referring to the House majority whip from Texas, a

bitter Clinton foe.

With the environment so hostile for dealmaking, Clinton is pursuing a different strategy to maintain his relevance. Rather than the comprehensive overhaul of Medicare Clinton had proposed, White House officials now say they hope to pass a scaled-down measure increasing funding for nursing homes and rural and teaching hospitals—albeit with less money than many lawmakers want—and imposing efficiency reforms, such as competitive bidding for medical supplies purchased with Medicare funds.

Clinton's announcement this week designating millions of acres of national forest off limits to roads and logging echoes the robust use of executive orders that helped him preserve ciout in the months after the GOP won control of Congress in 1994.

Finally, aides note, Clinton has not given up trying to prod Democrats on issues where they have yet to embrace his brand of centrism. In a speech to the Democratic Leadership Council Wednesday night, for example, he laid out a case for how free trade can be expanded in ways that soften the economic dislocation labor unions warn against.

Mostly, though, Clinton will try to win showdowns with Republicans where he can, aides said. The next several weeks, White House aides say, will feature a barrage of White House rhetoric accusing Republicans of intransigence and extremism, especially on budget issues. The strategy is aimed at

making Republicans give in or pay a political price.

It is probably an effective strategy—but also a severely limited one, said George Edwards, a presidential scholar at Texas A&M University. "He's getting incremental and short-term gains, but he's not getting large bills," he said. If Clinton wanted to enact major policies in his limited time left in office, Edwards added, "he'd really have to focus on one or two things, and he'd have to make some concessions to the Republicans."

Clinton Uses Treaty Defeat To Fault GOP Partisanship

Test Ban Efforts Defended; Hill Leaders Also Rebuked For 'Budget Gimmicks'

By CHARLES BABINGTON
Washington Post Staff Writer

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President Clinton led a Democratic effort yesterday to turn a stinging policy defeat into a political advantage, vowing to keep fighting for the nuclear test ban treaty soundly rejected by the Senate and warning that voters may view Republican leaders as out of step with national priorities.

At an hour-long White House news conference, Clinton said his administration will continue to refrain from testing nuclear weapons, and he predicted the United States eventually will ratify the pact. But he also warned that if an anti-treaty president is elected, Russia, China, Pakistan and India will renew testing of nuclear bombs.

Texas Gov. George W. Bush and the other Republican presidential hopefuls have said they oppose the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, which the GOP-controlled Senate rejected Wednesday night mostly along party lines.

Despite their vote against the treaty, many Republican senators said yesterday they do not want the United States to resume nuclear testing.

Vice President Gore and other Democrats signaled they will try to turn the rejection of the treaty against GOP candidates next year, portraying them as isolationists and captives of a hard-right contingent that threw away a chance to promote a safer world.

"This vote goes against the tide of history," Gore said in the first television ads of his presidential campaign, to air this week in

Iowa, New Hampshire and nationally on CNN. Gore and Democratic rival Bill Bradley said that, if elected president, they would resubmit the treaty to the Senate.

Senate Minority Leader Thomas A. Daschle (D-S.D.) said: "We expect that this should be and will be a national issue next year in the presidential elections."

During the Senate's consideration of the test ban treaty, Clinton had said it should be decided on substantive, not political, grounds. Yesterday, however, the issue appeared almost completely politicized, as Clinton devoted much of his news conference to attacking Republicans for rejecting the pact.

"Hard-line Republicans irresponsibly forced a vote against the ... treaty," Clinton said, calling it "partisan politics of the worst kind." He acknowledged that nuclear disarmament is hardly a hot topic for most Americans, but warned that voters in the 2000 elections may take issue with the GOP's priorities.

"I did not expect that this would ever be such a big issue," the president said. "I think it might be now."

Republicans disputed Clinton's claims, saying they rejected the treaty for valid, nonpolitical reasons.

"Some of the most thoughtful senators that ever served in this body" agreed that compliance by other nations could not be adequately verified, Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott (R-Miss.) told reporters after the president's news conference. "This was a flawed treaty."

To bolster their claim of political motives by the GOP, Democrats cited a comment by Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) during Wednesday night's Senate debate. Helms, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, suggested that British Prime Minister Tony Blair might end a treaty-related phone call to Clinton by saying, "Give Monica my regards." He was referring to Monica S. Lewinsky, the White House intern whose liaison with Clinton prompted his 1998 impeachment.

Asked yesterday if such remarks suggested that Republicans used the treaty issue as a vendetta, Clinton replied: "It has been my experience that very often in politics when a person is taking a position that he simply cannot defend, the only defense is to attack the opponent. And that's what I took it as, a form of flattery."

Clinton, who appeared relaxed and occasionally joked with reporters, showed similar equanimity when asked why he hasn't denied that he "intentionally lied" in his deposition in Paula Jones' sexual harassment lawsuit. "When I am out of office, I will have a lot to say about this," Clinton said evenly. "Until then, I'm going to honor my commitment to all of you to go back to work."

The president also used the news conference to rebuke congressional Republicans for failing to enact all the appropriations bills to finance the federal government in the fiscal year that began Oct. 1. Clinton and Congress agreed to a

three-week extension, but lawmakers concede that further postponements, or "continuing resolutions," will be needed.

"When I signed the continuing resolution two weeks ago, I urged Congress to roll up its sleeves and finish the job the American people sent them here to do," Clinton said. "I said they should stop playing politics, stop playing games, start making the necessary tough choices. Instead, we had the Republicans lurching from one unworkable idea to the next." He accused GOP leaders of using "budget gimmicks to disguise the fact that they are spending the Social Security surplus."

House Majority Leader Richard K. Armey (R-Tex.) denied that GOP spending plans would "spend one penny of Social Security." He also said Clinton's proposal to

raise cigarette taxes "would fall most heavily on low-income Americans," Clinton said yesterday, "we know that raising the price of a pack of cigarettes is one of the best ways" to discourage teenage smoking.

On another topic, Clinton declined to echo Gore's portrayal of Bradley as a disloyal Democrat. But he praised Gore's performance as vice president. "I expect him to win," he said. "But I expect to support the nominee of my party, as I always have. And I think that I can serve no useful function by talking about anything other than issues."

Even though the test ban treaty fell far short of the two-thirds Senate majority needed for ratification, Clinton said, his administration "will not abandon the commitments inherent in the treaty and resume testing ourselves. I will not let yesterday's partisanship stand as our final word on the test ban treaty."

"I call on Russia, China, Britain, France and all other countries to continue to refrain from testing," he said, referring to the world's other major nuclear powers. "I call on nations that have not done so, to sign and ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. . . . When all is said and done, I have no doubt that the United States will ratify this treaty."

In a thinly veiled reference to the Republican presidential contenders, Clinton said: "Now, if we ever get a president that's against the test ban treaty, which we may get—I mean, there are plenty of people out there who say they're against it—then I think you might as well get ready for it. You'll have Russia testing, you'll have China testing, you'll have India testing, you'll have Pakistan testing. You'll have countries abandoning the Non-Proliferation Treaty."

Clinton rejected complaints that he and his staff didn't work hard enough to build Senate support for the treaty before Lott surprised them last month by scheduling a vote. "If we would have had a normal process, you would have seen a much more extensive public campaign," he said. "There was simply no time to put it together. But I talked about this over and over and over again in many different contexts, and I think that given the time we had, we did the best we could."

Israel's Leader Highly Praises Hillary Clinton

By AMY WALDMAN

Prime Minister Ehud Barak of Israel offered an unprompted defense of Hillary Rodham Clinton Sunday, telling a group of American Jewish leaders in New York that her recent trip to the Middle East had been "highly successful" and had advanced the peace process.

Mrs. Clinton had been criticized by some Jewish groups in the United States for her handling of the trip, particularly for sitting silently during a visit to the West Bank while Suha Arafat, the wife of the Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat, accused Israel of using toxic gas in the region.

Barak's comments came as he answered questions after a speech at the Helmsley Park Lane Hotel to an audience at the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, the largest umbrella organization of American Jewish groups. Barak volunteered that he had read "a lot of criticism" about Mrs. Clinton in the aftermath of her visit to the West Bank. He wanted to make clear, he said, that her trip to the Middle East was "a highly successful, highly moving visit."

"I believe the first lady's visit to Israel contributed to the peace process in spite of this incident," he said, and added, "May I tell you frankly as prime minister of Israel that myself and all my successors will always wish to have two such friends as the Clintons in the White House."

Mrs. Clinton, who has sometimes had disputes with American Jewish voters over her views, was roundly criticized by some Jewish groups in America for not immediately denouncing Mrs. Arafat's remarks about poison gas. The first lady did so later, but her delayed reaction prompted criticism, and a Republican Jewish group is planning to begin running a television advertisement this week criticizing Mrs. Clinton over the visit.

While Barak's statement of support yesterday was not surprising -- he has close ties to the Clintons and has shared campaign consultants, including James Carville, with them -- it came at an important period for Mrs. Clinton in her expected race for United States Senate against Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, the prospective Republican candidate, who has enjoyed popularity among Jewish voters.

Howard Wolfson, the spokesman for Mrs. Clinton's exploratory Senate campaign committee, said Sunday that he was gratified by Barak's statement. "We appreciate the prime minister's comments," he said. "It speaks volumes about the first lady's commitment to a safe and secure Israel."

Bruce Teitelbaum, the director of the mayor's Senate exploratory committee, declined last night to comment on Barak's remarks.

Barak is popular among New York Jews, and his speech, the second to Jewish leaders this weekend, was warmly received. As expected, he extensively discussed the peace process, reiterating his commitment to moving forward with negotiating a "final status" agreement with Israel's neighbors.

"Everything must be put on the table," he said. "Settlements, borders, refugees, the nature of the Palestinian entity, economic relations, security relations, everything."

But he said such an agreement could not be founded on documents alone, but "should be based on the military might of the Israeli Defense Force, our strategic capability, a unique alliance with the United States and a growing economy."

Apparently in an effort to broaden the dialogue with American Jews beyond the peace process, Barak dwelt at length on the need to strengthen Israel's economy, and on the country's socioeconomic stresses. Recent statistics revealed record unemployment in Israel, and a gap between the rich and poor second only to that in the United States in the developed world.

Noting that Israel had just been through a deep recession, Barak said that it needed to develop its high-technology sector to increase jobs. The country, he said, had to pursue both deregulation and privatization to allow economic growth and had to deal with "very urgent" social needs.

Barak also paid a visit to Cardinal John O'Connor at his residence Sunday afternoon, traveling eight blocks down Fifth Avenue in a security-laden motorcade that attracted several hundred onlookers.

The two met for about 45 minutes at the prime minister's request, according to a spokesman for the archdiocese, who declined to discuss their conversation. An Israeli official said the cardinal expressed support for the peace process, and that the two discussed the pope's planned visit to the Middle East next spring. The official said that a dispute in Nazareth, where the Israeli government recently gave permission to Muslim leaders to build a mosque next to the city's main Roman Catholic shrine, did not come up explicitly, but that the two did discuss ways to "minimize tensions."

The Prime Minister met with Gov. George E. Pataki as well, following on a meeting he had with Mayor Giuliani on his last trip to New York.

Pataki said they discussed the peace process and economic ties between New York and Israel. But if Barak began the day by defending Hillary Clinton, Pataki ended it by attacking her.

"Someone who has never lived here, never worked here, looking to represent us -- it's very difficult," he said. "I feel very optimistic about the mayor's prospects."

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brings interest rates down, creates jobs, lowers interest rates on mortgages and car loans, and so helps ordinary people."

The post-cold-war world of the left really has changed: fiscal tight-fistedness, the argument now goes, actually helps the poor. Turning to Cardoso, the president added, "If we all run a surplus, that makes it that much cheaper for Enrique to get money in Brazil."

Simple, really. If only everyone on the center-left understood. But, to judge by the meeting here, not everyone gets Clintonomics.

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3rd Way

Clinton, a Renaissance Guy, Paints the Globe Bright

By ROGER COHEN

FLORENCE, Italy -- It was a long wait, particularly long because the bathrooms were placed off limits for security reasons, long enough even for the Champagne and the caviar canapes to run out, but when President Clinton arrived he quickly wowed a glittering audience with visions of a juster world.

The setting was New York University's Florentine retreat, Villa La Pietra, complete with Donatellos. So it was perhaps inevitable that the president should turn to the fruitful ferment of the Renaissance to illustrate his conviction that a similar era of enriching inventiveness is now being driven by the Internet and a global economy.

It is late in the presidency, a time when history books come to mind. And it was clear throughout a two-day conference on "Progressive Governance" that began on Saturday night at the Villa La Pietra that he sees an important part of his legacy in the reinvention of center-left politics he has called the Third Way.

The central themes of Clintonian Third-Wayism have become familiar: fiscal discipline in the place of tax-and-spend profligacy; investment in education and new technologies; opportunity for all and responsibility from all.

The vindicating American statistics were liberally showered on Europeans still struggling to generate some growth: lowest unemployment in 30 years, lowest poverty rate in 20, first back-to-back budget surpluses for 40.

"We have, in addition, a much greater opportunity to spread the benefits of this renaissance more broadly than it could have been spread 500 years ago," Clinton said, adding that achieving this "requires us to go beyond the competing models of Industrial Age politics."

Lionel Jospin, the French prime minister who still has a penchant for the socialist ideas that grew out of the Industrial Age, among them the notion that socialism must be critical of capitalism, was not impressed.

Back resolutely turned, he declined even to look at Clinton, keeping his chair pointed in the other direction, toward the somewhat bemused visage of Chancellor Gerhard Schröder, who prefers to call his updated social democracy the New Middle.

Whatever you call the reinvented left, the French do not seem to like it much. Such newfangled gatherings as this Florentine get-together tend to be seen by French Socialists as an insidious trans-Atlantic attempt to take over their preferred global forum, the Socialist International, where Clinton's Democratic Party does not tread.

Roberto Benigni, the Oscar-winning director of "Life is Beautiful," had no such qualms. Celebrities, of course, are part of the new left's vote-winning package, not least in Hollywood, so Benigni was there to hear about social democracy's new politics of empowerment and opportunity.

To the evident astonishment of Blair, he leapt into Clinton's arms, showering the president with kisses. A slightly red-faced Clinton then introduced the British prime minister, who shook the Italian actor's hand. Life is indeed beautiful when the Third Way leads to Florence.

A Reticent First Lady

So beautiful that John Sexton, the dean of the New York University

School of Law, could not resist calling the dinner "a quintessentially global moment," before announcing that the "New York University Global Law School Leadership Award" would be presented to Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Mrs. Clinton rose, walked toward the podium, accepted a small plaque, smiled for the cameras -- and said nothing. A few words from the first lady had been anticipated, and in this land of graciousness, her silence did not go unremarked.

"She thought it would be presumptuous to say anything in front of so many world leaders, and also for her to be the only first lady to speak," said Sidney Blumenthal, an adviser to the president. But some present suggested that the fracas over her recent meeting in Israel with Mrs. Arafat had inclined Mrs. Clinton to see wisdom in silence.

Among the other first ladies present was Cherie Blair, whose unexpected pregnancy at the age of 45 has inspired the German popular press to urge the Chancellor -- childless despite four marriages -- to follow the Blairs' example. Doris Schroeder, who has opted not to move to Berlin from Hanover, was conspicuous by her absence.

At a meeting much concerned with the aging populations of Europe and the United States -- Clinton pointed out that during the next 30 years the number of people over 65 in America would double -- the Blairs were complimented by the European Union Commission president, Romano Prodi, for their "heroic efforts" to bolster the active population.

But while agreeing that many challenges like aging populations are shared ones, Europeans and Americans opted to differ over their models of society, with Prodi saying that Europe must reform but also defend "its social model" and what he called the greater justice and equity of the European welfare state.

Globalism Is Kicked Around

There is an optimistic view of globalization among center-left leaders and there is a pessimistic one. The optimists, and they include Clinton and Blair, say that if the opportunities created by a global economy are well managed, they will benefit mankind and eventually advance equality.

"If you give people access to technology, a lot of smart people figure out how to make a lot of money," Clinton said, adding that this would be just as true in Africa as it has been in the United States.

The pessimistic school, or at least the cautious one, was led here by Jospin, with some support from Massimo D'Alema, prime minister of Italy, and the Brazilian president, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, whose country suffered a battering from global financial panic too recently to feel confident.

"There are still huge divides within nations and among nations, and we have to meet this challenge of inequality," Jospin said today, arguing that modern global capitalism engendered more inequality than the capitalism of the early part of this century. "We have to accept a networked world, but not a world dominated by network because then it would be dominated by private interests."

It was Clinton's turn to look skeptical. Private interests, of course are what make America tick.

The president and Blair argued passionately that so long as work, rights, the environment, and ideals of inclusiveness are not forgotten while an open, global economy is promoted, the fruits of wealth will one day be spread wide.

So long, the president insisted, as fiscal conservatism prevails. "If of the liberal left program is now to balance the budget," Clinton said. "We are now the parties of fiscal discipline, because that

he writes, "the ascetic side of my personality, with its Westminster Catechism foundation and its sports discipline, had hardened into a steely conviction that only with hard work, complete self-control and careful study would I even have a chance of coming closer to the distant God that ruled the universe."

Until his near defeat in the 1990 Senate election in New Jersey, Bradley says, he had "not waded into turbulent waters by defining my views clearly, preferring instead the comfort of ambiguity or silence."

"Ambition had fueled a desire to please, and had choked my leadership impulses," he goes on. "For much of my career I had no authentic political voice. I had been campaigning all over the country not to change the world or shake up my audiences but to please the roomful of people to whom I was speaking." Not until 1991 did he begin "to speak from my gut as well as my head."

Gore writes of undergoing a midlife crisis around the same time. He says that in 1989, having just turned 40, lost a presidential campaign and seen his son, Albert, nearly die in an automobile accident, he became "impatient with my own tendency to put a finger to the political winds and proceed cautiously."

As a boy, he explains, he "learned many political skills simply by observing my parents" -- his father, Albert Gore Sr., was a congressman and senator from Tennessee for 32 years; his mother, a devoted campaign veteran. Later, he found himself "unconsciously practicing a new set of 'personality skills,'" based on the visual rhetoric of television. Although Gore writes that he became increasingly aware of how "easy it is for every politician -- myself included -- to get lost in the forms of personality traits designed to please and rhetoric designed to convey a tactical impression," this awareness does not seem to have dampened his enthusiasm for the sort of image-spinning represented by his recent efforts to act more relaxed and wear more casual, earth-toned clothes.

Reporters who have covered Gore have written that his genteel upbringing lacked only unconditional love: his father was frequently away from home, and was, by his own admission "an insistent taskmaster." And while Gore, who became involved in family therapy after his son's car accident, does not write directly about his parents in this book, he does talk in impersonal terms about dysfunctional families and psychological wounds, authentic and inauthentic selves.

"A developing child in a dysfunctional family searches his parent's face for signals that he is whole and all is right with the world," Gore writes. "When he finds no such approval, he begins to feel that something is wrong inside. And because he doubts his worth and authenticity, he begins controlling his inner experience -- smothering spontaneity, masking emotion, diverting creativity into robotic routine, and distracting an awareness of all he is missing with an unconvincing replica of what he might have been."

Gore, who has a penchant for extrapolating from the specific to the general, from the personal to the abstract, believes that such dysfunctional behavior is now being perpetuated on a global scale by cultures out of touch with the world of nature.

Relationships with their fathers -- in most cases, powerful, high-profile fathers -- figure so prominently in these candidates' careers that their biographies might well be taken as illustrations of the writer Susan Faludi's thesis about the primacy of the father-son bond. Gore's quest for the White House echoes his father's own unrealized dream of winning that prize, just as becoming president would represent his final emergence from the shadow of the two alpha males in his life, his father and Bill Clinton. Forbes' pursuit of the White House similarly mirrors the aspirations of his father -- the flamboyant publisher Malcolm Forbes -- who wanted to be president and twice ran unsuccessfully for governor of New Jersey.

McCain's decisions to join the military and go to Vietnam were part of a continuing effort to earn the respect of his father and grandfather -- both, four-star admirals in the Navy -- and to live his

life, as he writes in his book, "according to the terms of their approval." And Bradley's "obsession with rectitude," often assailed as sanctimony by his critics, stems in large measure from being programmed to become a gentleman by a father who believed that virtue could be measured by "a good credit rating, keeping your word, saving your money, and never, ever getting close to the 'unethical.'"

Bush, of course, has spent much of his life following in his famous father's footsteps: Andover, Yale, the Texas oil business. Though friends have talked about the hardships Bush suffered over the years in the constant comparisons with his father, the success he has recently enjoyed as governor of Texas seems to have erased such doubts. In "A Charge to Keep," he cheerfully points out that he is sometimes "too blunt for my own good," and that his father is "milder-mannered, more thoughtful" than he is. He also alludes to his concern that a run for the White House might put his father in a poor light. He quotes a letter from George the Elder telling him not to worry about stories that "contrast you favorably to a father who had no vision and who was but a place holder in the broader scheme of things" -- a worry, in light of the recent contretemps over George the Younger's lack of foreign policy expertise, that somehow seems beside the point.

So what else do these books tell us about the candidates? That McCain once contemplated joining the French Foreign Legion. That Bush, like a famous Seinfeld character, tends to violate other people's personal space, "leaning into them, touching, hugging, getting close." That Bradley used to listen to the Rolling Stones' "(I Can't Get No) Satisfaction" and "Honky Tonk Woman" to psyche himself up for Knicks games (before college games, the writer John McPhee has reported, the young Bradley would listen to "Climb Every Mountain" from "The Sound of Music"). That Gore, sounding a lot like Naomi Wolf (who once tried to draw parallels between the Holocaust and anorexia), likes to compare the world's worsening environmental problems to Hitler's rise in the 1930s.

As for books the candidates mention themselves: Bradley uses epigraphs from Fitzgerald, Eliot and Conrad, and refers to writers like Tolstoy, Brecht, John Updike, Richard Wright and Louise Erdrich along the way. McCain says he entertained his fellow POW's in Vietnam with memorized renditions of stories by Kipling, Hemingway and Maugham. Gore seasons the text of "Earth in the Balance" with allusions to writers as disparate as Descartes and John Bradshaw, Sir Francis Bacon and Buckminster Fuller. Bush, who repeatedly says he loves books, discusses only one title in his memoir -- the Bible, which he says he reads through every other year. And Forbes refers, in passing, to "The Federalist Papers," Paine's "Common Sense" and the best-seller, "The Seven Habits of Highly Effective People."

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Third Way

office. Rather, it was how easy they would be. Official returns Monday night showed that Chretien's party had increased its number of seats in Parliament from 153 to 177, quelling fears that it would lose control of Parliament and its ability to pass legislation.

Chretien was visibly tired but triumphant after defying predictions that his Liberals would have difficulty holding on to their power under his leadership.

"The people of Canada have shown their confidence in our team, in our program and in my leadership," he said in a midnight victory speech.

Helped by a strong economy and a large budget surplus, the Liberal leader who has headed the country for seven years won a place in history as the first Canadian prime minister since World War II to lead three consecutive majority governments. He also will become the longest-serving leader among the industrial powers after President Clinton steps down in January.

But Chretien's longevity also has led to voter exhaustion. The 66-year-old prime minister has been accused of arrogance, corruption and overstaying his welcome. But his experience paid off.

The flinty, no-nonsense politician campaigned until the last minute Monday to persuade Canada's approximately 20 million voters to stick with the Liberals. Failure to win a majority in the 301-seat House of Commons would have forced him to form an alliance with smaller parties to pass legislation and possibly turn over leadership of the party to his more popular finance minister, Paul Martin.

Chretien ended a five-week campaign Monday morning by marking an "X" next to his name on a paper ballot and slipping it into a white ballot box with a sigh of relief. "It's easier than in the United States," he joked as he voted in his working-class hometown of Shawinigan, Quebec.

Unlike in the United States, a Canadian prime minister can call an election any time before a full five-year term expires. Chretien decided in October against the advice of his own party to hold a vote, largely to head off the rise of rivals within the Liberal Party and a charismatic, conservative challenger outside the party, Stockwell Day.

Day's party, the Canadian Alliance, formed in March to unite Canada's fragmented conservatives into a bloc capable of challenging the Liberals. Offering an alternative of lower taxes, smaller government, and a fresh face to lead the country, it gained deep support in the western provinces.

But caught off-guard by the sudden election call, the Alliance wasn't able to pull together its platform, and Day himself became an issue in the campaign. The telegenic 50-year-old candidate sought to create a youthful, energetic image by campaigning on in-line skates, riding a self-propelled water ski and performing karate.

But voters dwelt on his right-wing politics and his evangelical Christian beliefs, and Chretien portrayed him as an extremist who would reverse course on issues that the liberal-leaning country holds dear: national health care, gun control and abortion rights.

While Day tried to keep his religious and personal beliefs out of the campaign, leaked position papers and gaffes by party candidates brought flocks of protesters to his campaign stops, chanting, "Sexist, racist, anti-gay; go away, Stockwell Day."

Nevertheless, the Canadian Alliance is expected to be the main opposition party in Parliament. It gained nine seats, bringing its total to 67. Day graciously conceded to Chretien but emphasized that his party had won seats in every region and should be recognized as a serious opponent.

"We are the federal alternative for those who would choose another form of government," Day said Monday night.

Canada's three other main parties battled to win protest votes against the Liberals and the Alliance, but each ended up losing seats. The three are the Bloc Quebecois, a Quebec separatist party, which for the first time since 1980, received fewer seats than the Liberals in the province; the leftist New Democratic Party; and the Progressive Conservatives, which won exactly the minimum 12 seats needed to maintain official party status.

The election ran relatively smoothly compared with the American race. Voters hand-marked their ballots, which were then counted manually. Just four minutes after the polls closed across

the country, television stations accurately called the elections for the Liberals.

Election Defines Not Just Future of the White House, but the Past By Bruce J. Schulman - "Special to the Los Angeles Times"

With an uncertain mandate and a divided Congress, the 2000 campaign will little alter the nation's near-term course. But this historic election will reshape the way Americans view the past. A clear win by George W. Bush would have ensured that the past 30 years entered the history books as an era of conservative political and cultural ascendancy: the gestation, triumph and consolidation of the Reagan revolution. But Al Gore's popular-vote victory suggests that Americans have crossed Bill Clinton's fabled bridge into the 21st century, that the past generation has ushered in a more cosmopolitan, more expansive Information Age.

Campaign 2000 was not the first presidential election to change the past. Consider the campaign of 1840, when the Whig candidate, William Henry Harrison, narrowly defeated President Martin Van Buren in the infamous "Log Cabin and Hard Cider" campaign. Textbooks portray the era from the late 1820s to the late 1840s as the age of Jacksonian democracy. It marks the origins of modern U.S. democracy: a vibrant two-party system, political nominating conventions and the right to vote for nearly all adult white males. Even voter participation in presidential elections took off during this period. By 1836, almost every state allowed voters, instead of state legislatures, to choose their representatives to the Electoral College.

But if Harrison had lost, the picture would look quite different. Until 1840, the United States possessed no functioning two-party system; there had never been real competition between candidates and parties throughout the country. Sure, Federalists and Democratic-Republicans contested elections in the early republic. But they were more regional and class organizations than genuine political parties. For a generation, during the era of good feelings, there was only one political party; Presidents James Madison and James Monroe ran basically unopposed.

Despite factional strife, there was no sense before Harrison's victory that Americans were witnessing the birth of modern politics. The Log Cabin and Hard Cider campaign allowed Whigs to gain mass support and to compete seriously in the North and the South, the old East and the new West. A different result in 1840 and Americans never would have seen this period as the crucible of the two-party system.

The remarkably close 1960 election also reshaped the past. Historians today view the period of unprecedented prosperity and unchallenged global supremacy that stretched from World War II until the end of the 1960s as the heyday of American liberalism: the era of big government par excellence. In those decades, the hand of the federal government reached into every nook and cranny of American life. The GI Bill helped veterans attend college and buy homes; Social Security and Medicare practically eliminated poverty among the elderly; civil-rights legislation ended the most odious instances of racial discrimination; and interstate highways made suburbs and rush-hour traffic possible.

Republican Dwight D. Eisenhower interrupted the progression from Harry S. Truman's Fair Deal to John F. Kennedy's New Frontier to Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society. But today we are most impressed with the essential liberalism of Eisenhower's presidency. Eisenhower embraced what he called "modern Republicanism," by which he meant a sober, moderate policy that promised to preserve New Deal programs and not roll them back as conservatives desired.

But imagine how the postwar era would look if Richard M. Nixon had triumphed. Might we not emphasize more the rumblings against liberalism among blue-collar white ethnics, the discontent that later created the Reagan Democrats? The postwar period might be remembered as the seedtime of conservatism instead of the heyday of idealistic, visionary liberalism.

Campaign 2000 will similarly rewrite history. A clear Republican triumph would have sharpened the dominant view of the past three decades as a conservative era. The conservative tide rolled in when Nixon defeated liberal standard-bearer Hubert H. Humphrey in 1968; the combined total of Nixon's vote with that of third-party candidate George C. Wallace, the segregationist Alabama governor, added up to a resounding defeat for liberalism. Four years later, an openly conservative Nixon, running on an

avowedly anti-government platform, won a monumental landslide. Watergate allowed the Democrats to break through in 1976, but Jimmy Carter represented the most conservative, Southern wing of his party. The original New Democrat, Carter favored a balanced budget, rebuked organized labor and criticized affirmative action. Then came Ronald Reagan and his understudy, George Bush.

But what about the past eight years? In light of a second Bush victory in 2000, Clinton would go down in history as the president who consolidated the Reagan revolution: the man who truly forged a kinder, gentler, more compassionate version of conservatism. The three major achievements of Clinton's presidency—welfare reform, the balanced budget, and free trade—would warm the cockles of any Reaganite heart. A clear mandate for Bush would also reinforce the nation's conservative cultural drift: America would look like the place where country and western is the most popular form of music, stock-car racing the biggest spectator sport and taxes the gravest threat to liberty.

But Gore's strong showing forces Americans to reconsider the period since 1968. After all, the famously stiff vice president won a bigger share of the popular vote than his politically gifted predecessor. The combined vote totals of Gore and Ralph Nader, 52 percent, was the best showing for liberal candidates since 1964. Whoever eventually occupies the Oval Office, these results suggest that Clinton's claim that the past generation marks America's transition into the Information Age should be more seriously considered.

In this revised view, the late 1960s and 1970s witnessed the collapse of the old industrial economy and the liberal welfare state that emerged along with it. Around the world, conservatives privatized and downsized the wreckage. But they, too, ran up against limits. Americans were willing to accept many of the great risks of the new post-industrial order: a brave new world without job security, strong labor unions or guaranteed health insurance. But they would not embrace an atomized, competitive nation with no safety net, no sense of collective responsibility that the most committed conservatives idealized.

Clinton's mission was to forge a "third way," allowing Americans to enjoy the innovation and entrepreneurial spirit of the global information economy, while retaining some bedrock sense of security and collective endeavor. Far more than Clinton, Gore's career embodies this idea that a technology-led, information society could provide a new blueprint for government. He may not have invented the Internet, but he did help develop a style of politics that sees technology as the key to unlocking the dilemmas of public life, providing both more efficient government services and abundant opportunity for all.

At the same time, the combined strength of Gore and Nader reveals a different kind of country: more cosmopolitan, more tolerant. The culture wars of the early '90s, the vicious battles over political correctness, have quieted. Most Americans seem comfortable with Gore's position that Americans need to acknowledge and appreciate cultural differences before trying to create areas of common ground. Sensing this new attitude, Bush largely dropped the coded racial appeals to white voters that featured prominently in every Republican presidential campaign since Nixon's and, instead, reached out to minority voters. A post-ethnic, post-industrial Information Age dawns: the America of Bill Gates and Tiger Woods instead of stock-car racing and country music.

Tyrant Gone, Peru Moves Toward Respectability and Independence By Michael Shifter—*Special to the Los Angeles Times*—

In the end, Peru's notorious strongman was scoured. During his decade-long presidency, Alberto Fujimori projected supreme confidence, bordering on invincibility. But mounting accusations of corruption and the rapid meltdown of his regime forced him to retreat to Japan, where he resigned with a whimper.

Although the full story of Fujimori's rule remains something of a mystery, it is increasingly clear that Vladimiro Montesinos, Fujimori's former head of the National Intelligence Service was an even stronger pillar of the regime. After Montesinos was accused of involvement in an arms-trafficking scandal and especially after he was caught on videotape bribing an opposition member of Congress

the machinery of control and authority that he and Fujimori built began to crumble, Fujimori tried to distance himself from

Montesinos, but he couldn't stop the hemorrhage. Japan must have seemed a safe distance from the intrigues.

Longtime critics of Fujimori's authoritarianism were vindicated in light of the relentless outpouring of reports of large-scale corruption and abuse. Overseas bank accounts in Montesinos' name totaling \$58 million may only be the tip of the iceberg. The Peruvian media have also reported that Fujimori may have transferred as much as \$18 million to Japanese bank accounts during a brief stop in Singapore. Even the most imaginative spy novels seem tame in comparison.

Fujimori and Montesinos have left many Peruvians with a profound sense of disillusionment and even betrayal. It is undeniable that Fujimori, having inherited a country in sheer chaos in 1990, succeeded in bringing both hyperinflation and political violence under control. Few believed he would be able to deliver on his promise of crippling Peru's two insurgencies by 1995. Although Fujimori supporters often acknowledged, and lamented, the increased authoritarianism that accompanied his achievements, they mistakenly believed that Fujimori would eventually pursue a more democratic course.

Valentin Paniagua, who took over after Congress deemed Fujimori "morally unfit" to lead and two of his vice presidents resigned, offers a refreshing contrast to the country's decidedly confrontational politics. A moderate of the Popular Action party who served in the administrations of former President Fernando Belaunde in the 1960s and 1980s, Paniagua was elected president of Peru's Congress on Nov. 16. So far, he has exhibited equanimity and, to add a measure of credibility and legitimacy to his interim government, brought in former U.N. Secretary-General and presidential candidate Javier Perez de Cuellar as prime minister. At his swearing in, Paniagua emphasized consensus and dialogue, two qualities that hardly distinguished the Fujimori era.

Since the unraveling of the Fujimori regime began, it is striking how rapidly Peru's political institutions have regained some respectability and independence. In one of its first moves last week, the new Congress reinstated the three judges on the Constitutional Tribunal who were dismissed in 1997 after refusing to accept the legality of Fujimori running for a third consecutive term. Peru's former chief public prosecutor, a close collaborator of Montesinos, has been replaced by a judge highly respected for her independence and professionalism. There has also been a discernible opening up of the country's media.

To be sure, the country's armed forces and intelligence community, Montesinos' strongholds, haven't changed much. That Montesinos remains at large complicates matters. But the Fujimori regime is history, and there is no support for or possibility of a military takeover. It is only a matter of time before Montesinos' allies are purged.

Paniagua's interim government faces two principal tasks until Peru has a new, elected president next July 28. The first is to carry out the essential business of governance, including economic management and instilling confidence among international investors and financial institutions. The second task is to define the rules of the presidential elections scheduled for April 8 and to ensure that the elections will be free and fair. The new Congress will, for example, need to work up measures regulating political parties and television coverage for the candidates. Revitalized Peruvian institutions will allow outside actors, including the Organization of American States, to gradually step aside and play a declining role in setting a reform agenda for a democratic transition.

The major question is whether Peru's political forces, including what has been a relatively weak and divided opposition, will be able to develop an agenda for moving the country forward. This will be a good test of Peru's political resourcefulness and shared commitment to reconstruct the country. Although the favorite candidate to win the presidency is Alejandro Toledo, who was set to finish second in last April's elections but withdrew in protest of continued irregularities, the election is more than four months away, and Peru's politics remain highly fluid and unpredictable. The final field may well be quite crowded.

Peru will also pose a test for the United States. U.S. support for democratic progress in Peru has been mixed. True, Washington took a strong and public stand in response to violations of press freedom (1996), judicial independence (1997) and election standards (2000). In addition, some programs under the Agency for International Development have sought to enhance

Clinton gives his last State of the Union address
By Naftali Bendavid
Chicago Tribune

WASHINGTON President Clinton, often criticized for small-scale politics, sought to rise above that image in his final State of the Union address Thursday, urging the nation to seize a uniquely prosperous moment and "set great goals for the nation."

Clinton cited the government's unprecedented budget bounty to propose a broad sweep of new programs, including a new education crusade. But he sought to tie those ideas to what he considers the grand themes of his centrist presidency: opportunity, responsibility and community.

"We must be, as we were in the beginning, a new nation," Clinton said. "Tonight let us take our look long ahead and set great goals for the nation... We will not reach them all this year, not even in this decade. But we will reach them."

In his final, and longest, State of the Union, Clinton more than ever was addressing multiple audiences, not just Congress and the public but also historians. He sought to shape his legacy by citing the vision he brought to the presidency seven years ago and insisting it has been resoundingly fulfilled.

"We are fortunate to be alive at this moment in history," Clinton told the joint session of Congress in the 90-minute address. "Never before has our nation enjoyed at once so much prosperity and social progress, with so little internal crisis and so few external threats... My fellow Americans, the state of our union is the strongest it has ever been."

Among the most notable proposals were spending \$4.5 billion on education over the next 10 years targeting "failing" schools in particular and a series of tax breaks aimed at child care, retirement savings and reduction of the tax code's "marriage penalty."

As he has taken to doing in recent years, Clinton tossed in a surprise, proposing that anyone buying a handgun must first get a license. Along with several other proposals Clinton outlined Thursday, this dovetailed with a similar proposal made by Vice President Al Gore, who is campaigning hard to succeed Clinton and was seated behind him.

It is unclear how much of this agenda can be accomplished in this political year, when neither Democrats nor Republicans want to let each other take credit for any accomplishments. But it is possible that because both parties want to claim some victories, they will work together in a limited way.

Clinton relishes the grandeur of the State of the Union address, aides say, when he is the focus of attention of the entire government, from members of Congress to cabinet secretaries to Supreme Court justices. This year, in a fluke, none of the justices attended.

Throughout his presidency, Clinton has almost always delivered virtuoso performances and long ones. Thursday was no exception on either count, as Clinton ad-libbed nimbly but did slip up once, speaking of making American communities more "liberal" rather than "livable," a comment greeted by raucous laughter from the Republicans.

Several of Clinton's State of the Union addresses have marked dramatic moments in his tenure. In 1995, following the Republican takeover of Congress, he declared famously that "the era of big government is over." In 1998 he spoke just days after the Monica Lewinsky scandal broke, delivering a steely performance, and last year he addressed the nation in the midst of his Senate impeachment trial.

That lent a certain resonance to this final State of the Union and perhaps some relief that it was not as overshadowed by scandal or partisanship as previous addresses. As always, lawmakers rose with jarring frequency to cheer the parts of the speech that comported with their own agenda; GOP leaders sat stonily when Clinton was urging actions they opposed.

Some of the suspense was drained because the White House had announced, or leaked, many of the proposals over the past several weeks.

Despite the lofty rhetoric, Clinton's speech as usual consisted mostly of dozens of scattershot proposals and even one cabinet official privately conceded later that there was no central theme. Many of them will be fleshed out in two weeks, when the president formally submits his 2001 budget proposal.

Most ambitiously, Clinton offered an array of education

proposals. He advocated spending \$1 billion, for example, on after-school and summer school.

He also proposed increasing funding for Head Start, the pre-school education program, from \$5.3 billion to \$6.3 billion. And he repeated his plans to hire 50,000 new teachers halfway to a goal of 100,000 and rebuild 5,000 dilapidated schools a year in need of urgent repairs.

Clinton also advocated expanding health care in various ways, including having Medicare cover prescription drugs, prompting a tart comment from Republican leaders in their response to the president's address.

"Each new program we heard about tonight and there were 11 of them in health care alone comes with its own massive bureaucracy," said Sen. Bill Frist, R-Tenn.

Clinton also trumpeted a series of old and new proposals designed for working families. One proposal would help put low-income fathers to work so they can pay child support, and another would provide tax breaks for child care.

Reprising a consistent theme of his presidency, Clinton appealed for stronger gun control measures, in addition to the new gun registration proposal.

To dramatize that appeal, Clinton used a tactic artfully employed by President Ronald Reagan as he invited Tom Mauser, the father of a student killed in the Columbine High School massacre, to the event and asked him to stand and be recognized.

Among other guests Clinton asked to stand were baseball legend Hank Aaron, to highlight racial unity, and decorated Air Force Capt. John Cherrey, who rescued a fellow pilot shot down during the bombing of Yugoslavia. Rev. Jesse Jackson was also in the audience, sitting near first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

House Speaker Dennis Hastert, D-Ill., for his part, invited Chicago Cardinal Francis George and former House Minority Leader Bob Michel, R-Ill.

Clinton thanked Hastert for joining him and Jackson in Chicago recently as the three promised to help spur investment in poorer communities. Clinton theatrically turned around and shook the hand of Hastert, who was seated behind him.

Perhaps the evening's most poignant moment came when Clinton honored his first treasury secretary, former Sen. Lloyd Bentsen, D-Texas. As Bentsen's former colleagues rose and applauded, the visibly feeble Bentsen acknowledged their tribute.

Clinton proposed, as he did last year, a series of tax cuts, roughly \$250 billion over 10 years. Last year, Clinton forcefully contrasted that with congressional Republicans' plan for a much larger tax cut. This year, the plan contrasts with a substantial tax cut proposed by Republican presidential frontrunner George Bush.

Among his tax breaks, Clinton advocated a "Retirement Savings Account" to encourage lower- and middle-income families to save for retirement. He proposed tax credits for small business that provide pensions for lower-paid employees. He urged cutting back on the marriage penalty, so a couple filing jointly would pay the same amount as if they filed individually.

Although he focused on domestic issues, as he has throughout his presidency, Clinton also spoke soaringly of the country's challenges overseas, stressing the need to expand trade, reduce poverty and fight AIDS around the world.

As he drew near the end of his eighth and final State of the Union, Clinton ended on a somewhat personal note.

"Each time I prepare for the State of the Union, I approach it with great hope and expectation for our nation," Clinton said. "But tonight is special, because we stand on the mountaintop of a new millennium."

Clinton seems to ask for third term he cannot have
By Michael Tackett
Chicago Tribune

NASHUA, N.H. Leave it to ever-nimble Bill Clinton, the presumed lame duck, to frame the debate for the next presidential election by seeming to ask for a third term he cannot have.

The president, who brought unwanted drama to his State of the Union address in the last two years, the one who harbors a unique capacity to inspire and infuriate, showed no sign of quiet exit from the public stage he has dominated the last seven years.

Laying out an ample buffet of proposals pretested to be popular with the people, Clinton inserted himself into the next presidential race by trying to ensure that the final page of his legacy

1/28/00

What Castro has torn asunder

In 1992 in Cuba, Luis Grave de Peralta was sentenced to 13 years in prison for "rebellion using peaceful means." His imprisonment and exile discredits Cuban dictator Fidel Castro's recent posturing as a defender of family unification. While in prison, he wrote "The Magic of Affection," a collection of short stories which he would write, hide, then send home for safekeeping. For years, Mr. de Peralta has had to keep faith in the message of his book. His story of loss and family separation deserves every bit as much attention as that of Elian Gonzalez.

In 1980, Mr. de Peralta graduated from the Universidad de Oriente, where he had a distinguished academic career in physics. He joined the Communist Party because he "truly believed there shouldn't be either very rich or very poor people," Mr. de Peralta told *The Washington Times*. In 1989, during the Perestroika era in Russia, Mr. de Peralta made a fateful trip to Italy.

There he had the opportunity to read what Russians said of their own country. He also saw reports on the massacre in Tiananmen Square. When he returned to Cuba, Mr. de Peralta noted the difference between what the official press said about Tiananmen and what he heard in Italy. He decided to drop out of the Communist Party.

Shortly after leaving the party, Mr. de Peralta was fired from his job teaching at the university. In the following months of idleness, he made frequent visits to his local library, where he reviewed the speeches of Cuban dictator Fidel Castro and official press reports from 1970 to 1990. He then decided to compile a book, about 80 percent of which consisted of Mr. Castro's words. "The smart reader can draw his own conclusion," Mr. de Peralta believed. What was revealed were falsehoods and contradictions.

The Cuban government drew its own conclusions and put Mr. de Peralta in prison. His colleagues, who had failed to report reading the book, were sentenced to 10 years in jail. Mr. de Peralta shared a cell of about 2 meters by 4 meters with a convicted murder and

thief who suffered from paranoid schizophrenia.

"I never received physical torture," said Mr. de Peralta in an interview. But he added, "you had to be careful in this jail because there were many cases of prisoners attacking each other."

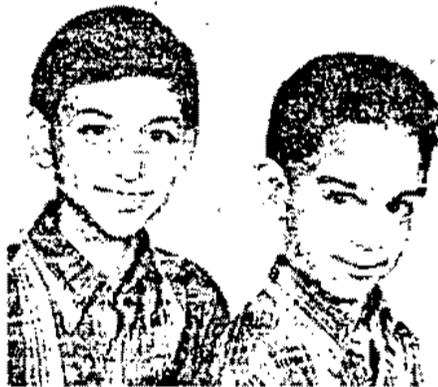
Hunger was a problem, however. "I was very, very thin," he said. "A little bit better than what you see in Ethiopia," he added. Mostly, prisoners were given rice with water and on special occasions, cooked cow blood, he said.

After four years in jail Mr. de Peralta was released from jail, thanks to the entreaties of Amnesty International and Bill Richardson, who was then a Democratic congressman from New Mexico. The condition was that he leave Cuba immediately. The U.S. government gave Mr. de Peralta and his family asylum in the United States, but the Cuban government would not let many of his family members join him. It still won't.

Mr. Castro, who vociferously advocates the return of Elian Gonzalez to Cuba, won't let Maria Bouza Fortes, the mother of Mr. de Peralta's two sons, leave Cuba with the children for unnamed security reasons. Mr. Castro's claim is rather curious, since Mrs. Fortes is an English teacher. Mr. de Peralta has been appealing to the Cuban government for four years to allow his family to be unified in the United States.

He now hopes that the publicity generated by the custody case of 6-year-old Elian Gonzalez will create interest in his plight. In the meantime, Mr. de Peralta thinks of "The Magic of Affection," the story that gave name to his book. In the story, a character in one of his son's drawings comes alive. "And now, charmed and sad, I look at your drawing that stays here, glued to the wall . . . I am thinking about you: my son and in the magic of affection and in those two figures that will always be together, like you and I," goes the story.

That wish should become reality. The idea of Fidel Castro as a family unifier ought to be held up to shame until such a time as Mr. de Peralta and his two little boys are reunited in freedom.



life of Social Security to 2050. (BEGIN OPTIONAL TRIM)

But Clinton went farther. In addition to laying out specific proposals certain to face opposition in a Republican-controlled Congress, Clinton painted something of a dream: a world in which every child can learn and every family can succeed, in which no child lives in poverty and no one is without health care, one in which the planet is safer and cleaner, all nations peaceful and prosperous.

"These are great goals, worthy of a great nation. We will not reach them all this year. Not even in this decade," he acknowledged. "But we will reach them. Let us remember that the first American revolution was not won with a single shot. The continent was not settled in a single year. The lesson of our history and the lesson of the last seven years is that great goals are reached step by step; always building on our progress, always gaining ground."

Free from the sex scandal that overshadowed his last two State of the Union speeches, Clinton and an anticipated audience of millions were free to focus on his blueprint for America in the early part of a new century. On the same date two years ago, a fatigued-looking Clinton pushed a balanced budget less than a week after the nation first heard the name Monica Lewinsky. Last year, his proposals were overshadowed by the need to save his presidency, just hours after his lawyers presented their opening arguments in his Senate impeachment trial.

This year, members of both chambers of Congress, particularly Clinton's own Democrats, offered loud, lengthy and repeated standing ovations to a president who appeared confident and in charge. He was at once critical and conciliatory, chastising Republicans for failing to pass the so-called patients' bill of rights, gun-safety legislation and campaign-finance reform and praising both parties for cooperating on a balanced budget.

At the beginning of Clinton's longest State of the Union speech, about a dozen seats in the House chamber were empty. By the time he finished speaking shortly after 10:45 p.m., about 50 more had been vacated.

Just how much Clinton can accomplish in his eighth year in office is questionable. The last year brought little progress, and many inside and outside the administration blamed the president and his affair with Lewinsky for frittering away his last opportunity to bring about major change.

But Thursday night, a rejuvenated president made clear that he is determined to keep pushing. And he will, said economic adviser Gene Sperling, "till the day we leave."

And there was some indication that, at least where tax cuts are concerned, Republicans would work with him.

"Taxes in general are simply too high," Sen. Susan Collins, R-Maine, said in the official Republican response to the president's address. "We will continue to fight for tax relief for American families so that they can keep more of what they earn."

Rep. J.C. Watts of Oklahoma, chairman of the Republican conference, also said Republicans are "poised to turn tonight's words into deeds," though he quibbled with specific spending proposals.

The tax cut, which will be released in greater detail Feb. 7 along with the budget, is similar in size to one Clinton proposed last year. At the time, congressional Republicans were pushing for tax decreases that were more than twice as costly, and no compromise was reached.

This year, Clinton would offset \$100 billion of the \$350 billion, 10-year tax cuts by closing loopholes and eliminating corporate tax havens.

In making tax cuts a focal point of his speech, the president reprised a tactic he has used successfully against Republicans on such issues as welfare reform, balancing the budget and crime reduction, issues Americans no longer identify exclusively with the GOP.

The two leading Republican presidential candidates Texas Gov. George W. Bush and Sen. John McCain of Arizona have proposed larger tax cuts and House Republicans also have crafted their own plan, scaled down from their proposal last year.

The newest of Clinton's tax proposals is a Retirement Savings Account similar to the private Individual Retirement Account targeted at low- and middle-income earners. At a 10-year cost of \$54 billion, the plan would provide a match of as much as two-to-one for the first \$100 of savings contributed to the account by an individual, \$200 by a married couple. The amount of the match

would phase out at income rates of \$12,500 to \$40,000 for a single taxpayer and \$25,000 to \$80,000 for a couple.

Taxpayers who meet the income requirements could earn smaller matches on contributions of up to \$1,000 apiece.

Stepping on another favorite Republican issue, Clinton planned to propose reducing the so-called marriage penalty for about 9 million two-income couples who pay more by filing their taxes together than they would if they filed separately. His plan would increase the standard deduction for couples by more than \$2,000, twice that for individuals.

Clinton left his audience with one last flight of optimism.

"After 224 years, the American Revolution continues," he said. "We remain a new nation. As long as our dreams outweigh our memories, America will be forever young. That is our destiny.

"And this is our moment."

Clinton's political legacy has changed the way campaigns evolve

By Dick Polman

Knight Ridder Newspapers

He dominated the political culture during the final decade of the 20th century, a paradoxical man of soaring talents and sordid habits who often mystified his friends and maddened his enemies.

It would be easy to say that Bill Clinton began his long goodbye last night as he delivered his final State of the Union address, but the truth is that he is likely to cast a giant shadow for years to come.

It's too early to take the objective measure of Clinton's policy record or to assign him a ranking within the roster of presidents, but there is little doubt about his impact on the electoral process. In a Herculean accomplishment, he has redirected the left-leaning Democratic Party toward the middle of the road. He has forced the Republican Party to feminize its politics and emulate his feel-your-pain approach. In short, he has framed the issues that dominate the national dialogue.

He is a potent player in the 2000 presidential race without even showing up. In the words of Al From, a longtime ally and president of the centrist Democratic Leadership Council: "Clinton's record has created a new baseline for this presidential campaign."

Last night, Clinton may have provided his understudy, Al Gore, with an artful campaign commercial. With Gore's face in the rear of the TV picture, the president unleashed his last laundry list of "New Democrat" initiatives: the kind of stuff most Americans have come to expect and applaud: a patient's bill of rights, steps toward gun control, expanded tax credits for the working poor, targeted tax cuts for the middle class, federal bucks for building schools.

These ideas, and dozens more, are fueling Gore's pitch for "continuity," for Clintonism without the personal baggage, for a fiscally prudent progressivism. And the latest polls suggest that a majority of New Hampshire Democrats are likely to endorse Gore for these reasons when they vote in Tuesday's primary.

Gore still trails the likely Republican nominee, George W. Bush, in national matchups, but those poll numbers are considered soft and susceptible to change. And analysts believe that Clinton's overhaul of the Democratic message, over the last eight years, has made his party far more attractive to the independent voters who usually sway national elections.

George Edwards, a political analyst at Texas A&M University, said Thursday: "What Clinton did for the Democrats, and for himself, was to inoculate them from the old Republican charge that they were soft on welfare and soft on crime."

Clinton had to show that Democrats were tough cookies, not bleeding hearts. Unlike Michael Dukakis in 1988, he supported the death penalty in 1992. And consider this shift in emphasis: The 1988 party platform devoted more space to police brutality than to stopping crime; today, with Clinton's support, the laws on prisoners' appeals have been toughened to the point that Rubin "Hurricane" Carter would still be in jail if he had filed today.

It was Clinton who promised in 1992 to "end welfare as we know it." Four years later he signed the bill that ended the automatic welfare entitlement, and he did so reluctantly, fearing (correctly) that his liberal allies would be apoplectic. But it proved to be a politically popular move. The booming economy has provided jobs to many former welfare recipients. And today, in the Democratic contest, not even Bill Bradley, who voted against

will be the election of his chosen successor, Vice President Al Gore.

They are joined in policy, and now, increasingly in political technique. Gore's campaign sounds very much like the one Clinton wishes he could have, taking an "until the last dog dies" approach to campaigning. The president even tailored some of his speech specifically to Gore's well-known strengths: the development of the Internet and the environment.

But in one of the few rhetorical mistakes he has made in eight state of the union addresses, Clinton twice called Gore's livability agenda "liberal," inviting howls from Republicans in the gallery, and probably writing a new laugh line for GOP presidential candidates in this state.

With this president, of course, there was more than one subplot. He also acknowledged his wife, Hillary, who happens to be the likely Democratic candidate for an open U.S. Senate seat in New York.

Rarely in a presidential campaign has a State of the Union address come so close to the New Hampshire Primary, and any goodwill engendered by Clinton's speech will likely be transferred to Gore. Their administration has an undeniable catalog of achievement: profound economic expansion, low unemployment, declining crime and welfare, and unprecedented budget surplus.

"The state of our union is the strongest it has ever been," Clinton said.

With numerous references to the vice president, who flew back from New Hampshire Thursday afternoon for his nationally televised perch behind the president, Clinton made sure Gore received a healthy dollop of the credit.

Clinton's speech also demonstrated how he had rewritten the long-standing definitions of the two major parties. Here was a Democrat trumpeting welfare reform, a balanced budget, a tax cut and a surplus. There were many other measures of how he had pulled his party toward the center as well.

"We restored the vital center, replacing outdated ideologies with a new vision anchored in basic, enduring values: opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and a community of all Americans," Clinton said.

Clinton has been confounding his legion of critics from the time he arrived in Washington, and he continued to do so in his final state of the union address. He offered not a word of contrition for any misdeeds.

He sketched the programs that dovetail neatly with Gore's campaign planks. He talked the language of Gore's lone challenger, Bill Bradley, when he spoke of a nation having the "confidence to dream big dreams" and having the "foresight" for a "long look ahead." But he framed it in terms of his and now Gore's approach, making progress step by step instead of by giant leaps.

Clinton has made a hallmark of describing a broad canvas, then painting by the numbers.

Other parts of his message, like a call for increased cooperation between government and faith-based institutions, or passing a patient's bill of rights, could have been heard any day in New Hampshire from Republicans Texas Gov. George W. Bush or Arizona Sen. John McCain.

Bush tried to hit on the issue of Gore's relationship with the president, saying "I don't think (Gore) can figure out how to handle his relationship with Clinton. He doesn't distance. He distances. He doesn't distance. And I think that is going to send confusing signals to the voters. I look forward to, if I'm the nominee, debating the vice president and talking about distancing and not distancing."

Gore does have a delicate dance to perform. He must take credit for the success without being linked to the president's personal baggage. That issue has yet to seem important to Democratic primary voters, but a general election could prove different.

In the general election climate, Clinton has commanded the agenda. Indeed, he has done so since 1995, following the Republicans' historic takeover of the House of Representatives. He outflanked them on their agenda of tax cuts and instead focused on issues that actually hit people where they lived.

On Thursday night, he largely argued for more of the same. He stressed education, raising the minimum wage, a patients' bill of rights, gun control and extending the solvency of Medicare and Social Security. He proposed more money for after-school programs and Head Start, and expansion of the earned income tax credit that helps the working poor. Even modest tax cuts were

sprinkled in.

It was a feel-good agenda and one clearly easy to deliver in a time of nearly unparalleled prosperity. It has been a stunningly successful formula that has held the political center, and in the process, revived a party that many had left for dead in presidential politics.

His critics have always seen Clinton as a cynical minimalist who always tries to make the small sound grand. His relentless polling to see what will sell with the American people has rewarded Clinton time and again with high approval ratings.

And, Clinton, the master politician of the age, seems to be turning the notion of lame duck status on its head.

"There is a stature enhancing element to being a sitting president in a presidential campaign year," David Axelrod, a Chicago-based Democratic consultant who has advised the White House and supports Gore, said. "While all these other guys are out there beating the hell out of each other in the campaign, he is the guy leading the country."

Clinton makes his final State of the Union address

By Jodi Enda

Knight Ridder Newspapers

WASHINGTON Blessed by a strong economy and unburdened by scandal, President Clinton used his final State of the Union address Thursday night to propose a \$350 billion tax cut and to urge Americans to make the most of what he depicted as a special moment in the nation's history.

With grand rhetoric and noble goals, Clinton seemed to marvel at his own accomplishments and to preach the kinds of sweeping changes that, if carried out, could improve his standing in history. At the same time, he managed to swipe ideas from his allies and adversaries, pushing many of the same notions already put forth by Vice President Al Gore and his rival for the Democratic nomination, Bill Bradley, as well as by congressional Republicans.

He kicked off the election year by proposing to cut taxes potentially robbing the GOP of its major campaign issue. And while he repeatedly praised Gore, his hand-picked successor, Clinton also borrowed freely from Bradley's high-minded call on Americans to use their prosperity to help the less fortunate.

"My fellow Americans, every time I prepare for the State of the Union, I approach it with hope and expectation and excitement for our nation," Clinton said at the ends of his 89-minute address. "But tonight is very special because we stand on the mountaintop of a new millennium. Behind us, we can look back and see the great expanse of American achievement, and before us we can see even greater, grander frontiers of possibility.

"We should, all of us, be filled with gratitude and humility for our present progress and prosperity; we should be filled with awe and joy at what lies over the horizon; and we should be filled with absolute determination to make the most of it."

Clinton will be out of office in just 51 weeks, but he laid out a vision not only for the remainder of his term but also for years down the road. He offered voters who have not yet tuned into the presidential race a glimpse of a potential Gore presidency, with its emphasis on maintaining the strong economy, helping working parents and their children, and providing a hand up to those who need it.

"In 1992, we just had a roadmap," he said, referring to the year of his own first election to the presidency. "Today, we have results. But even more important, America again has the confidence to dream big dreams. But we must not let this renewed confidence drift into complacency."

The president who four years ago declared the "era of big government" over and who successfully moved his party rightward now echoed the two Democrats who hope to succeed him by saying it was time to invest in domestic programs.

As he has in previous years, the president offered a seemingly endless list of proposals: tax incentives to save for retirement; tax credits to pay for college and to spur the development of vaccines against malaria, tuberculosis and AIDS; investment in low-income neighborhoods; a renewed effort to improve public schools and to hook them up to the Internet; prescription drug coverage for senior citizens; expanded health care; and increased trade agreements, particularly with China.

He also said he wants to dedicate nearly \$400 billion to make Medicare solvent through 2025. And he wants to extend the

welfare reform in the Senate, is daring to call for its reversal.

But the Clinton credo, now being adopted by Gore, is still faithful to the party's traditional "kitchen table" issues. Indeed, even while ending welfare and taking other steps that might seem to offend minority voters, Clinton retained their loyalty when he needed it most at the height of the impeachment crisis.

David Kusnet, a former Clinton speechwriter, argues that "Clintonism ... balances what Americans like best from both sides of the political spectrum. Clintonism is fiscally conservative, but invests in education and protects 'safety net' programs." (Clintonism is also about language. To "invest" in education sounds less liberal than "federal spending" in education.)

Conservatives complain that Clinton found his winning formula only after the failure of liberal initiatives, notably national health care, and the loss of Congress to the GOP in 1994. But they also grudgingly admire his tactical gifts, his unerring instinct for the center of gravity in public opinion.

In the recent words of conservative analyst Norman Podhoretz: "Clinton is a scoundrel and a perjurer and a disgrace to the office he has held. Yet it is this scoundrel, this perjurer, this disgrace to the presidency, who has pushed and pulled his party into moving in a healthier direction than it had been heading since its unconditional surrender to the left nearly 30 years ago."

The Republicans seem anxious to adopt the formula. Presidential historian Allan Lichtman said Thursday: "George W. Bush's 'compassionate conservative' slogan is classic Clintonism. Just as Clinton had to scrap the image of 'soft liberals,' Bush is trying to get rid of 'mean-spirited conservatives.' Clinton wanted to hold his base but also expand his appeal to the center. And Bush is trying to do the same thing, by stressing education, by signaling that he wants to embrace minorities. 'I'm a uniter, not a divider.'"

Al From, the Democratic Leadership Council president, argued that Bush has been borrowing Clintonisms for years. Two of the old Clinton buzzwords from 1992 "opportunity" and "responsibility" tumbled up on banners affixed to Bush's bus when he ran for reelection as Texas governor in 1998. From said: "The Republicans want to take over Clinton's turf, and you can't be more blatant than that."

Bush wants to use the presidency as a bully pulpit to foster education reform, to set accountability goals for school districts all right out of the New Democrat playbook, according to From. And Clintonisms abound elsewhere. John McCain is telling New Hampshire folks that the big Bush tax cut would be fiscally irresponsible, and that he would rather use most of the surplus to shore up Social Security the same arguments Clinton made last year when he vetoed a congressional Republican tax cut.

To be sure, Clinton's long shadow is not just grist for policy wonks. His personal habits resonate as well. His shaving of the truth while under oath, his quibbling over what the definition of "is" is, appears to be fueling the public's desire for a candidate of authenticity. A command performance during his final State of the Union isn't likely to douse that yearning.

Yet his legendary empathy may have profoundly influenced what Americans expect of a president.

Not even his detractors are immune. At a Bush rally last week in Iowa, Jim Walvoord, a retired basketball coach, fumed about how important it was for Republicans to win back the White House "after everything that Bill Clinton has done to it." But when asked about the crop of GOP candidates, he just shrugged.

"None of them really have it," Walvoord said. "None of them have the charisma of a Clinton."

Clinton praises Gore in speech Knight Ridder Newspapers

WASHINGTON In his 1999 State of the Union address, President Clinton praised his vice president, Al Gore, a mere two times. This year, in the midst of a presidential campaign, with Gore the front-runner for the Democratic nomination, Clinton was less restrained. On at least five occasions, the president found reason to tout Gore:

"In 1994, only 3 percent of our classrooms were connected. Today, with the help of the vice president's E-rate program, more than half of them are; and 90 percent of our schools have at least one connection to the Internet."

"Tonight I propose that we follow Vice President Gore's

suggestion to make low-income parents eligible for the insurance that covers their kids. Together with our children's initiative, we can cover nearly one-quarter of the uninsured in America."

"With courage and a tie-breaking vote by the vice president the Senate faced down the gun lobby, stood up for the American people and passed this legislation. But the House failed to follow suit."

"I am grateful for the opportunities the vice president and I have had to work hard to protect the environment and finally to put to rest the notion that you can't expand the economy while protecting the environment."

"Last year, the vice president launched a new effort to help make communities more livable so children will grow up next to parks, not parking lots, and parents can be home with their children instead of stuck in traffic."

Clinton, Gore speak with same voice on policy issues

By Jackie Koszczuk

Knight Ridder Newspapers

WASHINGTON When President Clinton delivered his swan song Thursday night, his speech was as much about the man sitting behind his right shoulder as it was about his own legacy.

In point after point, in proposal after proposal, on health care and taxes and education, it was impossible to distinguish the president's political vision from that of Vice President Al Gore, the loyal No. 2 man who is campaigning to succeed him. The subtext of Clinton's final State of the Union address was clear: If you liked me for eight years, you'll love Al Gore for the next four.

"I think Bill Clinton believes that the best way to ensure his own legacy is to help elect Al Gore," said Don Kettl, public affairs professor at the University of Wisconsin's LaFollette Institute of Public Affairs.

Although Gore has tried to distance himself from the president's personal transgressions, the two consistently have spoken with the same voice on issues.

"The president certainly has called the shots, but Al Gore throughout this presidency has had a strong influence on policy," said Sen. Max Baucus, a Montana Democrat. "It's really splitting hairs to try to find the differences between them."

Clinton, who made an anemic economy his central campaign issue in his first race for president, was generous in attempting to allow his vice president to share the glory of what he described as the biggest economic expansion in U.S. history. The country was enjoying a great moment of promise, Clinton said, with the implicit message that the economic future with Gore in the Oval Office would be just as bright.

"He said from the beginning of his presidency, 'It's the economy, stupid,' and it's the economy that saves this lucky man," said James Thurber, director of American University's Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies. "And that helps Gore."

Echoing Gore, Clinton said he would use the expected windfall of tax revenues produced by the booming economy to retire the national debt. With recent forecasts by the Congressional Budget Office showing the expected budget surplus possibly doubling to \$2 billion by 2010, Clinton said he would propose a long-range budget that would retire most of the \$3.5 billion national debt by 2013, two years earlier than originally promised.

Gore was the unnamed central character in the president's most dramatic point, one that, probably not coincidentally, blunts a central theme of Gore's challenger for the Democratic presidential nomination, former New Jersey Sen. Bill Bradley. America, Clinton said, must use its newfound prosperity to help those left out of the economic expansion.

The president called on Congress to raise the minimum wage, an action that both Gore and Bradley support. Like them, Clinton also called for a major expansion of the Earned Income Tax Credit, a program that entitles people who make too little to pay taxes or are owed taxes to apply for additional money from the federal government.

And, borrowing liberally from Bradley's campaign theme, the president emphasized the need to treat the era of surpluses as a historic opportunity to help those left behind.

Clinton outlined several new initiatives, so many that he will be lucky to achieve even a small fraction of them in his final year, especially with Congress under the control of the Republicans who tried to boot him from office a year ago.

The president's proposals were more a vision for the next decade and for Gore and Democratic congressional candidates than a legislative blueprint for the next year.

One of the costliest items was a 10-year, \$110 billion plan to bring 5 million uninsured Americans into Medicaid, the federally run health-care program for the poor—a proposal virtually identical to one prescribed by Gore.

Clinton said the money should be used to insure the parents of children who were brought under the Medicaid umbrella through an earlier program of his, the Children's Health Insurance Program.

The president also reiterated his call for several items Congress has refused to grant him in the past, and which also have been central to Gore's education platform.

Clinton called for money to hire 100,000 teachers with the aim of reducing elementary school class sizes from 22 to 18. Gore has gone a bit farther in his campaign proposal, saying he wanted to bring class sizes below 20 pupils for all grades.

Gore also has said he would create a \$115 billion Education Reform Trust Fund to pay for universal preschool, school building construction and fixes to failing schools.

The president and Gore are also inseparable on the issue of tax cuts. Gore has said on the stump that the president's targeted tax reduction of \$250 billion is in line with his own thinking. Both also would reduce the so-called marriage penalty by increasing the standard deduction for couples to twice that of single filers.

Protecting the environment is a longtime pet issue of Gore's, so Clinton did not fail to mention a \$50 million initiative to help clean up the Great Lakes, which would be important to major primary states such as New York, Ohio and Michigan. Gore has announced a nearly identical proposal.

Bradley fights back

By David Goldstein

Knight Ridder Newspapers

STRATHAM, N.H. Bill Bradley's decision to stop turning the other cheek in the face of Vice President Al Gore's persistent and by some accounts inaccurate criticism of his record has pumped a shot of adrenaline into his flagging presidential campaign.

Whether it can halt what the polls show is a slow slide in his popular support is unclear. But like the recent blizzard that suddenly blanketed the Granite State, his new strategy dramatically changed the political landscape overnight, six days before the pivotal New Hampshire primary.

The man derided by the Gore campaign as an ivory tower "philosopher-king" descended into the streets to match blows during Wednesday's debate with a vice president better-schooled in the arts of hand-to-hand political combat.

Bradley accused the vice president of "uncontrollably lying" about his campaign. He said Gore "knew better," as if he were scolding an errant child. In a particularly stinging rebuke, Bradley likened Gore to former President Richard Nixon, the worst thing one Democrat can say about another.

Gore has been a relentless critic of Bradley throughout the campaign. He has zeroed in on Bradley's comprehensive health care plan, attacking it in ways that Bradley's supporters say distorts the basic tenets of the proposal. Gore, for instance, has said Bradley would eliminate Medicaid. He doesn't mention that Bradley would replace it with a larger health insurance program intended to cover more people.

"Last night, I decided I'd had it," Bradley told a cheering crowd of supporters at a frigid rally Thursday morning in Concord. "I was going to call my opponent on what he was doing. I did it. We did it. And I think it went well."

But the fallout could be ominous. It could split the party, with consequences for the fall general elections. That happened in 1968, when the Democrats were divided over the Vietnam War and nominee Hubert Humphrey failed to carry the fractious party to victory. It happened again in 1980, when Massachusetts Sen. Edward Kennedy ran as an insurgent like Bradley against President Jimmy Carter, who lost his re-election bid to Ronald Reagan.

Perhaps more likely is the worrisome image of the Republicans using Bradley's criticisms of Gore, or Gore's of Bradley, in campaign ads next fall against the Democrats.

"It's good to be aggressive, but one of these guys is

going to be our nominee," said Kathy Sullivan, the New Hampshire state Democratic chairwoman and a neutral observer. "We have to worry about November 2000."

Doug Hattaway, Gore's New Hampshire spokesman, said Bradley's new style was "not an unusual tactic for campaigns in dire straits. He's been whining about negative campaigning for months. Now he undercuts himself by going into a debate to slash and burn."

As the Bradley campaign caravan wound toward the seacoast Thursday, he continued to hammer the vice president. "There's consequence to not telling the truth in the campaign, and that is that it's difficult to get trust if you're president of the United States," he said during a call-in to a Manchester radio station.

Dick Bennett, director of the New Hampshire Poll, wondered whether Bradley was lured by Gore to undercut his reformer image.

"What attracted voters to him was that he was special. He was petty last night and he acted just like any other politician. He went down to Gore's level, which Gore wanted him to do. By the look on Gore's face, he knew he had him."

Bradley's aides acknowledged the new strategy is a risk, but said it was one they had to take to shake up the terrain.

"It's really a fine line to walk," Sullivan said. "If you cross a certain line, it starts to turn voters off."

Indeed, 37-year-old Laura Davis, who saw Bradley during a brief stop at a shopping plaza here, said, "I don't like confrontational stuff." Davis is registered independent, like a third of New Hampshire voters, a group whose support is crucial to Bradley's success.

But supporter Richard Phelps of Chichester, waiting for the candidate in the cold of the Concord morning, said he was heartened to see him come out with a "two-fisted" attack on the vice president.

A retired teacher, Phelps said he did not think Bradley's image would suffer. "People need to see the multidimensional Bill Bradley, not just a fresh face," he said. "I think he needs to respond in kind. I think he kept his aura being a nice guy, but showed that he can fight back when he needs to."

Warring sides of family pitch cases to Washington

By Carol Rosenberg

Knight Ridder Newspapers

WASHINGTON Elian Gonzalez's grandmothers and Little Havana family crisscrossed Capitol Hill on Thursday, waging conflicting campaigns for and against awarding the child American citizenship, even as the future of proposed legislation appeared increasingly uncertain.

"He doesn't want to go back," cousin Marisleysis Gonzalez said soon after arriving in town on a MasTech Learjet to take part in a Cuban American National Foundation-sponsored pro-citizenship blitz. Of the child's Miami Beach visit with the grandmothers a day earlier, she added: "I saw him approach his grandmothers and ... it was still the face of fear."

Countered paternal grandmother Mariela Quintana, whose schedule and security were being run by Havana's diplomatic mission in Washington: "My grandson is different, he's changed completely. He must be saved urgently."

During their Miami Beach visit, she said, he showed little expression and didn't cry. "Before, he would spend the whole day hugging and kissing us."

But the grandmothers also told the press that the child warmed up to them once they produced a family photo album and spoke about people back home in Cardenas, Cuba. "We told him we wanted to bring him back to Cuba. He nodded his head, yes," Quintana said.

The family feud was staged amid a day of news conferences—always separate, at times almost simultaneous in nearby corridors of the Cannon House Office Building—while Senate and House leaders haggled behind the scenes about bringing competing bills on the boy's future to the floor.

Strategists have decided to let a Senate citizenship bill come first. But the Republican leadership said the timetable for a vote was uncertain, as senators returning to town for President Clinton's State of the Union address increasingly expressed distaste