

Carnegie Corporation of New York

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David A. Hamburg, M.D.
President

June 3, 1997

Ms. Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to the First Lady
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Melanne:

I am delighted that you will be able to join us on June 11 at the Cosmos Club to discuss renewal of the democracy agenda. I have prepared a short paper that I hope will stimulate our thinking about the issues to be explored. Also enclosed is an agenda and list of participants.

We will meet at the Cosmos Club in Washington, DC from 12:00 - 5:00 p.m. We will gather in the National Geographic room for a working lunch. For your information, I have attached a participants list and the tentative topics.

I look forward with pleasure to seeing you on June 11.

With very best regards,

Sincerely,



enclosure

RENEWING THE AGENDA FOR DEMOCRACY

Wednesday, June 11, 1997
12:00 - 5:00 p.m.

AGENDA

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| 12:00 - 12:15 | Gather at the Cosmos Club (working lunch) |
| 12:15 - 12:30 | Technological Changes and Globalization of the Economy
Robert White |
| 12:30 - 12:45 | Discussion |
| 12:45 - 1:00 | Economic Ramifications of Globalization and Broadly Shared Prosperity
Ray Marshall |
| 1:00 - 1:15 | Discussion |
| 1:15 - 1:30 | Powerful Demographic Trends: Growing Diversity in an Aging Society
Marta Tienda |
| 1:30 - 1:45 | Discussion |
| 1:45 - 2:00 | Fundamental Challenge of Our Cities and Policy Options
William Julius Wilson |
| 2:00 - 2:15 | Discussion |
| 2:15 - 2:30 | Governance in the Next Century
Joseph Nye |
| 2:30 - 2:45 | Discussion |
| 2:45 - 3:00 | Child Development and Education in a Transforming World
Vivien Stewart |
| 3:00 - 3:15 | Discussion |
| 3:15 - 3:30 | Break |
| 3:30 - 5:00 | General Discussion and Possible Next Steps |

RENEWING THE AGENDA FOR DEMOCRACY

Wednesday, June 11, 1997

12:00 - 5:00 p.m.

Location: Cosmos Club, National Geographic Room
2121 Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20008
Phone: 202-797-6449 (Sandy Hutter, Catering Coordinator)

Participants

Robert White
President Emeritus
National Academy of Engineering

Ray Marshall
Audre & Bernard Rapoport Centennial
Chair in Economics and Public Affairs
L.B.J. School of Public Affairs
University of Texas at Austin

Marta Tienda
Chair
Department of Sociology
University of Chicago

William Julius Wilson
Malcolm Wiener Professor of Social Policy
The Malcolm Wiener Center
for Social Policy
John F. Kennedy School of Government
Harvard University

Joseph Nye
Dean
John F. Kennedy School of Government
Harvard University

Vivien Stewart
Program Chair
Education and Healthy Development
of Children and Youth
Carnegie Corporation of New York

Discussion Topic

Technological Changes and Globalization of
the Economy

Economic Ramifications of Globalization and
Broadly Shared Prosperity

Powerful Demographic Trends: Growing
Diversity in an Aging Society

Fundamental Challenge of Our Cities and
Policy Options

Governance in the Next Century

Child Development and Education in a
Transforming World

General Discussants

Hillary Rodham Clinton

Thomas Kean
President
Drew University

James Chace
Henry Luce Professor in Freedom of
Expression and Inquiry
Bard College

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to the First Lady

David Hamburg
President
Carnegie Corporation of New York

Kathleen Hall Jamieson
Professor and Dean
The Annenberg School for Communication
University of Pennsylvania

Sidney Blumenthal
Assistant to the President

Others in Attendance

Jeanne D'Onofrio
Assistant to David Hamburg

RENEWING THE AGENDA FOR DEMOCRACY

The stimulus for this meeting involves the renewal of fundamental democratic values in a time of world transformation. These values include the fundamental freedoms, broad participation, pluralistic tolerance, community, justice, fairness, equality of opportunity for all, widely shared prosperity, decent constraints on economic and political power.

American democracy began not only with a revolutionary war, but with some revolutionary concepts such as consent of the governed and inalienable rights. For more than two centuries, this very large and complicated democracy has been an evolving process without end. It is now in the midst of adapting to drastic technological, economic, and social changes. Fundamental to the American experience historically has been a core of democratic values and institutions to implement those values.

Carnegie's grantmaking over the past 14 years has sought to strengthen these values and institutions in a variety of ways. There have been manifestations of this in virtually every program, e.g., strengthening the public education system; enhancing participation in elections; campaign finance reform; congressional reform; the role of universities in tackling serious social problems; media and democracy.

One major thrust was manifested in the Carnegie Commission on Science, Technology and Government. The nation needs effective mechanisms, both governmental and nongovernmental, for analyzing thoroughly and objectively what science can do for society and how society can make sure that scientific and technological capabilities are humanely used. Our future depends heavily on science

and technology, and the government must systematically take into account science and technology in its decision-making processes. Therefore, the commission scrutinized fundamental patterns of organization and institutional arrangements of both federal and state governments, asking whether they are adequate to this task and if not, how they could be strengthened.

The power of technological advance and global economic integration to change social conditions is a critical issue for the democracy agenda. The economic and social changes fostered by global technological developments in information and telecommunications--combined with parallel developments in research and development on space, energy, materials, and biotechnology--are likely to be profound and pervasive. These problems have been studied by the National Academy of Engineering with the leadership of its former president, Robert White.

Historically, adjustments to technological advances over long periods result in social and economic transformations on a vast scale. This is especially likely when fundamental new technologies are unfolding across the entire frontier of scientific and engineering research and rapidly being disseminated throughout the world.

The impacts over the long term have historically been mainly positive. Along the way, there have been massive dislocations. In this context, it is worth recalling the severe disruptions of the industrial revolution; they had much to do with the emergence of communism, fascism, and the Nazi catastrophe.

Now there are great new world-wide opportunities, yet profound stresses that will affect human development in ways so hard to foresee; therefore, this is a crucial subject for monitoring, assessment, research, and education.

Today there are growing disparities in the opportunities and effects of technological change--and growing discrepancy of income and wealth within and among nations. Several characteristics of the work force--such as job security, two-tier compensation systems, and the migration of jobs between nations-- are linked to the global spread of new technologies. In many cases, fewer workers are required. Indeed, it may well be that fewer workers will be able to produce more goods and services over the next several decades. Overall, the employment situation in the global, highly technological economy is different from anything seen since the invention of the factory 200 years ago.

Developments of this sort raise an important question: how to understand the long-term relationship of such changes to personal economic insecurity and the public's distrust of government as well as declining civic participation.

Ray Marshall of the University of Texas is leading a multi-faceted examination of the factual and analytical bases for understanding the changing world economy. This project's primary hypothesis is that many of the nation's most serious social problems are either caused or exacerbated by some fundamental economic trends. The most important of these are complications of technological change, especially information technology; important demographic and labor market trends; and the intensification of competition facilitated by technology (information and transportation), which has caused markets to be both more competitive and more global in scope.

These changes have eroded the effectiveness of the policies, institutions, and economic arrangements that helped the United States to have the longest period of broadly shared prosperity in history, from the late 1930s until the early 1970s. During

this period, Americans with limited levels of formal education who were willing to work hard could earn middle-class incomes and acquire the financial means to provide more education and the promise of a better future for their children. In addition, during the 1950s and 1960s families could be supported by only one wage earner and most mothers could stay home with their children if they wished.

The frustrations and uncertainties in a complex, rapidly changing world can trigger scapegoating of highly visible groups such as minorities, immigrants, and government officials, who then become targets of irrational, hateful or extremist responses. These challenges have serious implications for democratic societies throughout the world. It is crucial to seek factual and analytical bases for policies and practices that could help us to cope with such problems and take advantage of the immense, emerging opportunities in an equitable way.

Is all this too much for today's democratic governments? The tasks are difficult, yet surely there is reason for hope. In his 1997 inaugural address, President Clinton said, "Along the way, Americans produced the great middle class and security in old age, built unrivaled centers of learning and opened public schools to all, split the atom and explored the heavens, invented the computer and the microchip, and deepened the wellspring of justice by making a revolution in civil rights for African-Americans and all minorities and extending the circle of citizenship, opportunity and dignity to women."

A popular perception today holds that government is somewhere between inept and evil. Are there some minimal, essential functions that government must perform -- functions about which there is broad agreement? On the one hand, pragmatism identifies and takes for granted minimum essential functions of government and

provides a basis for action when people feel specific pains. On the other hand, a historically ingrained skepticism about concentrations of power leads people to view government as a threat, perhaps a necessary evil.

Dean Joseph Nye of Harvard's Kennedy School of Government is leading a multi-faceted effort to rethink democratic governance. Public opinion research provides evidence of a loss of confidence in government. Confidence in government has been shaken in many countries, and the phenomenon is complex.

The concepts of governance appropriate to the mid-twentieth century are not easily adapted to ongoing sociotechnical transformation. Old notions of governance are widely challenged. Political orientations are evolving in ways that often transcend the traditional boundaries of the nation-state--yet also elicit reactions against the contemporary changes. The internationalization of information, capital, and labor create new questions about public action.

The Harvard project addresses hard questions. What is necessary and appropriate for governments now? What will citizenship mean in the twenty-first century? How should a government organized around prior industrial conditions try to balance social and economic power in a different age, one in which private labor is less organized and corporate power reaches new heights? What can governments do, or not do, better than for-profit and non-profit private organizations? Where government does have a crucial role in providing public goods or protecting individual rights, what level or nature of involvement is most appropriate? How should power be distributed among the levels of government?

The reshaping of the world economy requires steadily increasing skill requirements; improvements in productivity are increasingly dependent on improvements in people's knowledge and abilities. How can we give all our children, regardless of social background, a good opportunity to participate in the modern technical world? What constitutes a decent minimum of literacy in science and technology that should be part of everyone's educational heritage? Given the rapidity of sociotechnical change, how can we make lifelong learning a reality so that people can adjust their knowledge and skills to new circumstances? Since educational institutions will more than ever be trying to hit a moving target as they prepare people for unpredictable circumstances, how can we prepare for change itself? How can we enlarge that talent pool so that we can develop promising people for technically competent careers, regardless of their socioeconomic background? How can we broaden the spectrum of knowledge so that modern education will become increasingly informative with respect to the human experience? How can the education system foster problem-solving attitudes and skills throughout the society. How can we achieve an informed worldwide perspective in an era of profound interdependence?

Pluralism is at the heart of democracy; it permits and fosters the dynamic interplay of ideas, enterprises, parties, and a great variety of nongovernmental groups on the basis of reasonably clear, agreed-upon rules -- reflecting an attitude of tolerance, mutual respect, and sensitivity to fundamental human rights.

The building of democratic institutions is certainly one crucial, albeit complicated and frustratingly slow, component of helping people live together peacefully over the long term. In a world full of ethnocentrism, prejudice, and violent conflict, there is a vital

need for core democratic values in helping to resolve ethnic and religious conflicts, and preventing their escalation to violence.

We Americans are of course a nation of immigrants. And that is one of the central facts of our history. Today, it is one of our greatest strengths as a nation--yet it is also a source of tension. A decade ago we refurbished the Statue of Liberty as our enduring symbol of openness, pluralism, opportunity, and compassion. Most of our ancestors came here past the great old lady of New York Harbor from European countries. But a great many came by other routes from other parts of the world--Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Like it or not, we in this nation are already highly interdependent here in all our diversity--difficult enough throughout our history. Learning to live intimately involved with the whole wide world of the 21st century will be more difficult still.

Today, the United States is more diverse than ever before. We need to understand the demographic facts of our emerging social conditions and address them constructively. We must learn how to live together amicably in ways that respect differences and identify with shared national values and a sense of common humanity.

Melann - Let's Discuss

Office of the
Prime Minister



Cabinet du
Premier ministre

Ottawa, Canada K1A 0A2

Room 129
Langevin Block

JUL - 7 1995

*What should
I see them?
Greenberg*

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
First Lady of the United States of America
The White House
Old Executive Office Building, Room 100
Washington, D.C.
20500 USA

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

It was a pleasure to talk with you at the time of the G-7 Summit.

During your visit to Halifax, we discussed the electoral problems of liberal progressive politics at the present time. You suggested to us the possibility of arranging a behind-the-scenes discussion between a small group of people from our party, and a similar group of your choice in which we could share problems and possible strategies that might advance our respective political goals. You also suggested the possibility of including a group from the British Labour Party.

We would be very interested in participating in such a discussion quite soon, and would be happy to come to Washington as you suggested. We would propose to bring five or six people in our group.

We look forward with great anticipation to continuing our discussion.

Sincerely,

The Hon. David C. Dingwall
Minister of Public Works and
Government Services

Chaviva Hošek
Director
Policy and Research

Canada

29-JAN-1996 14:52 FROM JONATHAN POWELL

TO

P.02

TB -> Clinton 29/1/95

There are three problems all left of centre or centre parties face in the democratic world. If they don't solve them, then the risk is that even if we are in Government, we are not in control.

The problems are:

1) Definition. The era of big government is over. The labels the left of centre attached to themselves or had attached to them - big Government, tax and spend, liberal on social issues, indifference to the family - are discredited.

Here it is essential we return to first principles - what we stand for - which is a set of values. The values are still resonant and popular: community, justice, fairness, matching ambition with compassion, one-nation politics (i.e. a unified and cohesive society), people vs privilege, equality of opportunity for all, for the ordinary person against the big interest groups, internationalist in outlook. We have to find radically different means of meeting traditional ends. A coherent policy agenda needs to be built around the values.

2. Differentiation. The truth is the era of grand ideologies is over. The danger is the right simply says 'We've won'. That makes us look weak and hesitant. We need a new set of dividing lines - defining the right and differentiating ourselves both from new right and old left. We also need to colonise certain key issues as ours (eg education, technology, a modern labour market, welfare, outward looking foreign policy). The right need to be painted back in to the corner where they belong: narrow, sectarian, selfish and, in a sense, anti-patriotic, anti-one-nation.

3. Dissemination. The left of centre suffers from a chronic lack of confidence. One part is seen as pragmatic, out to win but unprincipled; the other just longs for the past to come back again.

There is a dire lack of academic and intellectual backbone to sustain a modern left-of-centre project. The commentators often don't understand it. There is no sense of an intellectual movement for change. This feeds a cynicism and disillusion that is wholly unjustified.

There needs to be built up a range of writing and theory around the project. It requires organisation and engagement between the intellectual and political community.

Proposal.

These problems are faced, without exception, all over the

world by left of centre or centre parties. There needs to be a mechanism for learning and exchange between them. We can gain by each other. It shouldn't be left to ad hoc groups, often at a low level, but organised from the top. We should examine how.

TOTAL P.02

File Carnegie Project

TO: DAVID HAMBURG

FROM: SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL

RE: PROPOSAL FOR A CONVENING ON "DEFINING PROGRESSIVE
CHANGE"

I can think of few projects more important than establishing the thought and the reality that positive change in America is not isolated in the world.

If there were a set framework through which progressives could define social problems in the past, it no longer exists. At the same time, the right-wing has developed a comprehensive ideology, the result of a long, deliberate project with roots going back to the early 1950's. Today the right flourishes through a host of institutions, a vast political structure, a Counter-Establishment, that simply was not in place as recently as the 1970's. Against that formidable force, with a demonstrated ability for dominating political debate, progressives here and social democrats abroad, struggle with how to redefine themselves and their goals. In the new world in which they find themselves, they lack the intellectual underpinnings essential to political advance.

This new period is marked by classic tensions that demand redefinition, between freedom and equality, markets and government, individualism and community. A further difficulty is that a progressive domestic policy and politics cannot succeed without an international outlook. In a global economy and environment, the interrelations between domestic and foreign policies are indissolubly linked, though in new, largely undefined ways after the Cold War. These are the central questions for those here and abroad who find themselves at the center of an unresolved political transition at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st. Creating an ongoing discussion and bonds among people coping with common challenges are not parochial, but international, and would go far to tearing down the sense of constricting isolation aggravated by the incessant pressures of the right. Such a project would fill the vacuum partly left by the atrophy of the old "special relationship", which has lost much of its substance. Most of the institutions devoted to perpetuating it, while essential in the creation of the postwar world, increasingly operate mainly on inertia.

I understand that leaders of the British Labour Party are already committed to a new trans-Atlantic project. They are eager to meet discreetly with American counterparts and key political figures, thinkers and writers. Funding from the British side will be arranged through the Joseph Rowntree Trust and the Ashburton Foundation. The gathering should be intimate,

number around twenty-five or so, and should include a few figures involved in the same quandaries from Australia and Canada. (Including continental Europeans complicates matters exponentially and also expands the focus to the degree that it will be blurred.) Two private meetings, without any public notice, should be scheduled, perhaps one in the Washington area, and one in London. The first might take place over a weekend in the fall, or shortly after the U.S. election, the second might happen in the spring before the British election. We can discuss a list of participants later, although Jonathan Powell, Tony Blair's chief of Staff, and I have played with tentative lists, which we are happy to share with you.

The issues I would see being fruitfully discussed would include the following: the relationship between a progressive politics of values and national renewal; one-nation (or as we say, one America) politics, dealing with the need for social cohesion and how the need to combat the socially divisive politics of the right; stakeholding economics, dealing with the issues of equity, opportunity, globalism, and community; the need for internationalism and for fending off isolationism; and how to generate a political/intellectual movement for change. The agenda, as you can see, would be quite full.

I've enclosed a copy of the memo that Tony Blair gave to President Clinton in their meeting in London. It makes the case for a project of this kind strongly and succinctly.

Once again, I believe that such a project would be a significant impetus for defining progressive change on a trans-Atlantic basis. Establishing an international effort would become an energizing political factor itself, just as it was for the previous generation.

Melanne Verveer

file Carnegie
project



HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

The Office of the
Leader of The Opposition

14 November 1996

Dear Sidney,

Anglo-American Seminar

Congratulations on the election result - it must already seem a long time ago! The coverage here has been muted - emphasis on congressional result, general feeling that Dole clawed back in the last two weeks, lack of clarity about what happens next. Anyway, the ball seems to be as much in your court as theirs, so it is all to play for.

We have been giving some thought to the seminar idea. As far as the agenda goes, we pulled out the note that Tony gave to the President when they met in London. It provides a useful template for discussion, viz.

1. Definition

How to define the left of centre project, core values given modern meaning in a rapidly changing world. We need to make our objectives clear and credible. Let's discuss how to do so.

2. Differentiation

The key dividing lines on the issues that matter - economic security in an era of global markets, social cohesion and the new welfare state, political reform after big Government.

3. Dissemination

How we join the political and academic/intellectual community.

We could structure the discussion under these three headings, and commission people to introduce discussion on well-focussed questions (which we would need to set in advance). At each stage, we would need to look at the policy and political aspects: what the message is and how to deliver it.

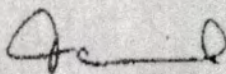
In terms of personnel, I guess you are not too worried who we bring. The obvious politicians from our side are Gordon and Peter, though we could also think about Frank Field who is iconoclastic and impressive. Patricia Hewitt is now at Andersen Consulting and will be an MP after the election. Geoff Mulgan runs the think-tank DEMOS and is first-rate. We could also think about Anthony Giddens (Professor of Sociology at Cambridge) and/or Will Hutton. Then there are backroom people. I don't want our party to be just lots of men and we will have to see what we can do about that.

Let me know your latest thinking.

I met your friend from Time magazine yesterday, Nina Planck. She seems very bright and on the ball. I am dropping a note to Tom Friedman; can you let me have a current address for him.

Many thanks.

Wen,



David Miliband

file Carnegie project / c e : Melanne

Carnegie Corporation of New York

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David A. Hamburg, M.D.
President

July 22, 1996

Hillary Rodham Clinton
First Lady
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Hillary

This is just a note in undue haste to say how deeply I appreciate our meeting last week. I found the discussion extremely stimulating and encouraging.

I have talked with Vivien Stewart, who is Chair of our program Education and Healthy Development of Children and Youth, and also with Jane Holl, Executive Director of the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, about the democracy project. We are all impressed with the potential significance of the task and will move ahead with it as briskly as we can. We will be in touch with your colleagues as we go along.

I was fascinated with the observations you made in your recent trip to Eastern Europe. Thank you so much for taking the time to share them with me.

With every good wish,

As always,

