

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. letter	Melanne Verveer to Earvin Johnson re invitation (partial) (1 page)	03/11/1999	P6/b(6)
002a. letter	Gwyneth Williams to FLOTUS re invitation (partial) (1 page)	11/10/1998	P6/b(6)
002b. letter	Gwyneth Williams to FLOTUS re invitation (partial) (1 page)	11/10/1998	P6/b(6)
003. resume	Anthony Giddens (partial) (1 page)	nd	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Speechwriting (Noa Meyer Subject Files)
OA/Box Number: 17211

FOLDER TITLE:

Videos 4/13/99

2012-0869-S

kc928

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
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b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

VIDEOS 4/18/99

PHOTOCOPY

PRESERVATION

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

225-5974
Cong. Wicks

7/6
8/21/03



9/24/94

9/19/94

1. Jacqui
2. Laver 263-6056
3. Lisa Myers

THE BBC REITH LECTURES

The Reith Lectures celebrated their 50th anniversary in 1998. They were inaugurated in 1948 by the BBC to mark the historic contribution made to public service broadcasting by Sir John (later Lord) Reith, the corporation's first Director-General.

John Reith established the foundations and values of the BBC by insisting from the start that broadcasting should be a public service designed to inform, educate and entertain all those who paid for it. In doing that he believed it would enrich the intellectual and cultural life of the nation.

It is in this spirit that the BBC annually invites a leading figure – in 1998 John Keegan – to deliver a series of lectures in his memory using the medium of radio to advance greater public understanding of their field. The aim is always to promote national discussion and debate about significant issues of contemporary interest. In 1998 for the first time the BBC extended John Reith's philosophy to the internet with this website in order to build on his legacy of public service and stimulate understanding more widely still.

The first Reith lecturer was Bertrand Russell (1948) 'Authority and the Individual', and subsequent lecturers include Jean Aitchison (1996) 'The Language Web', Colin Blakemore (1976) 'Mechanics of the Mind', Ralf Dahrendorf (1974) 'The New Liberty', Richard Hoggart (1971) 'Only Connect', Ian Kennedy (1980) 'Unmasking Medicine', Bernard Lovell (1958) 'The Individual and the Universe', Richard Rogers (1995) 'Cities for a Small Planet' and Marina Warner (1994) 'Managing Monsters – Six Myths of Our Time'. (from the BBC Website)

This year's lectures are being presented by Professor Tony Giddens, Director of the London School of Economics, whose title will be 'The Runaway World'. The lectures will be held in London, Delhi, Hong Kong and Washington, and to mark them various other events will take place, both for invited guests only and for all LSE alumni.

- | | |
|-------------------|--|
| Monday 22 March | Lecture "Globalisation"
Drinks reception, Lecture and Debate
at Royal Institution, London |
| Thursday 25 March | Lecture "Tradition"
Drinks reception, Lecture and Dinner at the Nehru Memorial Hall
Delhi, India |
| Monday 29 March | Lecture "Risk"
Drinks reception, Lecture and Debate at New Convention Centre
Hong Kong |
| Tuesday 20 April | Lecture "Family"
Drinks reception, Lecture and Debate
at National Press Club, Washington, USA |
| Monday 26 April | Lecture "Democracy"
Drinks reception, Lecture and Debate
at Royal Institution, London |

*Dinner afterwards
hosted by
Pres of BBC*

yes

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 11, 1999

Mr. Earvin "Magic" Johnson
Founder
Magic Johnson Foundation, Inc.
Suite 1080
600 Corporate Pointe
Culver City, California 90230

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Thank you very much for your kind letter inviting the First Lady to serve as the honorary chair of the Salute to African American Designers Fashion Show to kick-off the Magic Johnson Foundation's National Breast Cancer Awareness Initiative. Mrs. Clinton is pleased to accept your gracious invitation.

Although the upcoming official schedule will not permit Mrs. Clinton to attend the fashion gala on April 24, 1999, she appreciates your thoughtfulness and sends her best wishes for a successful event.

Because White House policy restricts the use of the First Lady's name, it is necessary that we review any printed materials, including press releases, which mention the First Lady's participation. My office can assure prompt review, but please allow two weeks prior to press time. All materials for review should be sent by mail or facsimile to Alice Pushkar, Director of First Lady's Correspondence. You may contact Ms. Pushkar at the White House by phone at (202) 456-2941 or facsimile at (202) 456-5199.

The First Lady's agreement to serve is extended for this purpose only and is not transferable to other functions or bodies.

Please do not hesitate to contact our office if we can be of further assistance to you.

Sincerely yours,



Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff
to the First Lady

Magic
Admin
hope
note down

Exan- yes
Patti told
Alice that
we should do
a video for
the event on
4-24.
-Jody

Request for the First Lady's Honorary Participation

Today's Date: March 3, 1999

Type of Request: honorary chair

Organization: Magic Johnson Foundation, Inc.

Requestor's Name: Magic Johnson

Contact and Phone #: 310-338-8110

Event Date: April 24, 1999

Event Description: Salute to African American Designers Fashion Show - kick-off event of the Magic Johnson Foundation's National Breast Cancer Awareness Initiative in partnership with the National Medical Association. The initiative will benefit community-based organizations who have an emphasis on prevention of breast cancer for African-American women who are residing in ten target urban communities.

Event Location: Regent Beverly Wilshire Hotel
Beverly Hills, CA

Notes: A video for the event is also requested if HRC is unable to attend.

Recommendation: AJP and PSD - accept, offer video

< Nina Hyde
Oberstar

- Hope - war against breast cancer

MAGICJOHNSON FOUNDATION, INC.

February 25, 1999

Mrs. Hillary Rodham-Clinton
First Lady
Office of Correspondence, Room 18
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mrs. Rodham-Clinton:

The Magic Johnson Foundation has partnered with the National Medical Association (NMA) to promote the National Breast Cancer Awareness Initiative. To create maximum visibility for this national initiative we have combined the kick-off event with an existing successful Foundation event – our annual “Salute to African American Designers Fashion Show” scheduled for Saturday evening, April 24, 1999 at the Regent Beverly Wilshire Hotel, Beverly Hills. We expect an audience of approximately 1000 people. **We are asking you to serve as Honorary Chair for this prestigious event.**

The fashion gala will benefit the MJF National Breast Cancer Initiative with a strong emphasis on prevention for African-American women specifically and women of color in general who are residing in ten target urban communities. Funds will go directly to community-based organizations serving this target audience. The NBCI program calls for distribution of breast cancer awareness kits that are culturally sensitive to provide information concerning breast cancer. Included will be a risk assessment, an inspirational compact disc, and a list of NMA physicians who will provide free mammograms. Mobile mammography units will roll out to Magic Johnson Theatre venues in Los Angeles, Cleveland, Houston, and Atlanta in year 1; to Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., New York, Dallas in year 2; and, New Orleans and Detroit in year 3. An independent committee will be established to disburse grant funds to worthy community-based organizations with capabilities to expand and advance the National Breast Cancer Awareness Initiative. In the end, we hope to increase the number of mammograms annually, increase awareness of the predisposition towards an elevated risk of breast cancer diagnosis in women of color, and educate women in our targeted population about preventative methods, regular mammography screening and proven preventative treatments.

We are asking you to be a part of this initiative process. Our efforts will be enhanced by your participation. We would be most appreciative if you would schedule this event in your important agenda of activities. It would be our honor for you to participate in person at this NBCI kick-off. However, if you are precluded from attending we would like to arrange for a video statement to be shown on April 24 at the event! Since this event is rapidly approaching we would appreciate an extremely timely response to this request. We know quick replies are difficult considering the volume of requests you receive; however this is an important event and we wish to disseminate information as soon as possible.

**MAGIC JOHNSON FOUNDATION
NATIONAL BREAST CANCER INITIATIVE**

Page 2

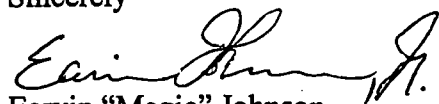
The Magic Johnson Foundation was established in 1991 as a single-disease organization that worked to raise funds for community-based organization dealing with HIV/AIDS education and prevention programs. The Foundation has since responded to growing community needs. The expanded mission emphasizes the Foundation's focus on supporting organizations and programs that serve the health, educational and social needs of minorities, especially children, who reside in inner-city communities. We have made a commitment to raise awareness about several health and social concerns that threaten all underserved communities. Cut backs in government funding to some very vital and worthwhile community organizations has made it incumbent upon the private sector, new and existing foundations, churches and concerned individuals to step in and fill the void. The Magic Johnson Foundation is committed to helping non-profit organizations by awarding grants to them and helping them gain exposure to their causes. Our purpose is to allocate grants to, and partner with, non-profit groups for the good of our children and our future by raising funds and/or awareness through corporate, foundation, and individual support.

The MJF Program Components consist of: the MJF Taylor Michaels Scholarship Program which includes the Youth Entrepreneurial Project and the Mentoring Program; Direct funding of community-based organizations; the BREATHE Program (Bringing Education on Asthma to Homes Everywhere); Educational and tutoring programs; Social and Cultural Programs which exposes young people to the arts and culture outside their immediate environment; and the International Summit in partnership with the Black Leadership Commission on AIDS formed to develop a comprehensive plan that addresses the needs of children orphaned by AIDS.

The Magic Johnson Foundation is indeed busy. Our commitment to health and social issues runs deep. Our concern for the children in our inner cities is uppermost in our hearts and minds. We want to help as much as we possibly can and as the old saying goes, "If not us, who; and if not now, when?" As a caring and concerned person we know that you understand our mission.

Please join us for what will be a spectacular event encompassing a very important cause, The National Breast Cancer Initiative.

Sincerely



Earvin "Magic" Johnson
Founder

California State Senate
(Retired)

DIANE E. WATSON, Ph.D.
TWENTY-SIXTH SENATORIAL DISTRICT

CHAIRPERSON

Senate Committee on Health and Human Services

WENSHAW BLVD
SUNLAND, CA 90043
TEL (213) 295-6888
FAX (213) 295-0910
Suite 314



FAX SHEET

DATE: 3-8-99

TO: Ignacio Moore

FAX NUMBER: (202) 783-0007

FROM: Diane E. Watson

OFFICE NO.: (213) 295-6655

FAX NO.: (213) 295-0910

SUBJECT: Hillary Clinton request

COMMENTS: Thanks for following up.

I've called her scheduling office
to no avail. Time is running
out so we need to hear something
soon!

TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES, INCLUDING COVER SHEET: 3

PS:6/95

CC:
Melanne
Patti
Your help in
bringing this
to closure
would
be
appreciated
Thank

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

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b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

[001]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 11, 1999

Mr. Earvin "Magic" Johnson
Founder
Magic Johnson Foundation, Inc.
Suite 1080
600 Corporate Pointe
Culver City, California 90230

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Thank you very much for your kind letter inviting the First Lady to serve as the honorary chair of the Salute to African American Designers Fashion Show to kick-off the Magic Johnson Foundation's National Breast Cancer Awareness Initiative. Mrs. Clinton is pleased to accept your gracious invitation.

Although the upcoming official schedule will not permit Mrs. Clinton to attend the fashion gala on April 24, 1999, she appreciates your thoughtfulness and sends her best wishes for a successful event.

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Please do not hesitate to contact our office if we can be of further assistance to you.

Sincerely yours,



Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff
to the First Lady

Evan -

This is the info
about the Magic Johnson
Foundation event on 4-24.

The contact is Elisha
Bufford:

818 - 998 - 0545 (office)

P6/(b)(6)

(home)

They are very interested in
a video.

-Jody

Magic Johnson Foundation

9100 Wilshire Blvd.

Suite 700, East Tower

Beverly Hills, CA 90212

lisam@magicjnt.com

facsimile transmittal

To: Noah Meyer

Fax: 202-456-2581

From: Lisa Meyers @ 310-247-2033

Date: 4-7

Re: Magic Johnson Foundation Pages: 11

CC: Cookie Johnson, Kawanna Myers,
Greg Roberts

☐ Urgent

☒ For Review

☐ Please Comment

☐ Please Reply

☐ Please Recycle

Notes

Memorandum

To: Noah Meyer

CC: Cookie Johnson, Greg Roberts, Kawanna Meyers

From: Lisa Meyers *lm*

Date: April 7, 1999

Re: National Breast Cancer Awareness Initiative Information

As requested following is information about the Magic Johnson Foundation's new initiative, the National Breast Cancer Awareness Initiative, as well as an overall production rundown for the fundraiser and general information about the Foundation that might be useful. I look forward to working with you and to further discussing the First Lady's video message.

About the National Breast Cancer Awareness Initiative

- The National Breast Cancer Awareness Initiative is a three-year nationwide program designed to educate women, particularly African-American women, about breast cancer prevention, detection and treatment. Established by the Magic Johnson Foundation, the initiative will work with several prominent professional medical and public health organizations to fund community-based organizations that focus on breast cancer and African-American women.
- The National Breast Cancer Awareness Initiative is designed to help women in urban communities, especially women of color, obtain breast cancer education, screening and treatment services.
- The National Breast Cancer Awareness Initiative will be launched on Saturday, April 24 at a celebrity fashion show – a fundraiser for the initiative featuring several African-American designers called "A Salute to African American Designers."
- Specific goals of the three-year campaign include: increasing the number of minorities that have screening mammograms annually; increasing awareness of the elevated risk of breast cancer diagnosis in women of color; educating women about the importance of preventive care and early detection; and helping to dispel common inaccuracies and misconceptions surrounding breast cancer prevention, detection and treatment.
- To achieve these goals, the Foundation will disperse monetary grants to community based organizations that focus on African-American women and breast cancer education, prevention and treatment. The Foundation will also hold regional special events designed to raise awareness about the illness as well as become a resource to African-Americans who want to learn more about breast cancer.
- The initiative is sponsored by an educational grant from Zeneca Pharmaceuticals.

About the Magic Johnson Foundation

- The Magic Johnson Foundation (MJF) is a non-profit organization that focuses on improving and addressing the health, educational and social needs of inner-city youth and community-based organizations. In addition, the Foundation has a strong commitment to raise awareness about several health and social concerns that threaten under served communities. Founded in 1991 by basketball legend Earvin "Magic" Johnson, MJF has raised more than 15-million dollars for charity.
- The Foundation was formed in December 1991 as a single-disease organization. Currently, through an expanded mission, the Foundation's addresses not only issues related to HIV/AIDS, but also the overall health, educational and social needs of those residing in the inner-city.
- The Magic Johnson Foundation Grant Committee receives and reviews over 1,000 applications per year. The Foundation diligently works to support community-based organizations that focus on the health, education and/or social welfare of children. Organizations must be based within one of the Magic Johnson Foundation target cities (Atlanta, GA; Cleveland, OH; Chicago, IL; Baltimore, MD; Washington, DC; Houston, TX; New York, NY; and Northern & Southern California). The grant committee, comprised of a diverse group of community activists, corporate executives and community leaders considers grants. Grants, awarded twice a year, are given in \$5,000 - \$25,000 increments.
- Among the Foundation's other programs include: The BREATHE Program (Bringing Education on Asthma to Homes Everywhere). A national asthma education campaign that recently kicked off in November 1999, the BREATHE program works to educate families about the impact of asthma in urban areas. The program stresses the importance of prevention and treatment of this chronic condition. Components of the program include bilingual educational materials, an interactive website (www.breatheinfo.com), provision of education grants to help fund local health initiatives, regional and community-based events, an art competition, and an asthma display that will visit health fairs. In addition, thousands of peak flow meters are being donated and distributed to local health organizations for distribution to inner-city schools.

Production Schedule

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| 6 p.m. | Pre-show reception & photo opportunity (Foyer of the Grand Ballroom) |
| 6:50 p.m. | Guests move into the Grand Ballroom for dinner |
| 7 p.m. | Dinner salads served |
| 7:15 p.m. | Greg Roberts (CEO of the Magic Johnson Foundation, announces the National Breast Cancer Awareness Initiative and introduces Mr. & Mrs. Earvin Johnson |
| 7:17 p.m. | Mr. Johnson welcomes guest & honorees and introduces First Lady's video message |
| 7:18 p.m. | First Lady's video message |
| 7:21 p.m. | Mr. Johnson honors Diahann Carroll, Pam Grier and Zora Brown with the Gift of Life Award |
| 7:35 p.m. | Dinner served & Mr. & Mrs. Johnson thank corporate sponsors and guests for their support |

April 7, 1999

8:45 p.m. Fashion show introduction
9 p.m. Fashion show begins
10:30 p.m. Dessert Reception in Le Grand Trianon Room

Please let me know what format the First Lady will be using to tape her message so that we can have the proper equipment on hand. If there is no preference on your end, our production consultant prefers you use beta.

Also, please let me know if we will be able to distribute the text of the First Lady's message to media in attendance.

Thank you for all of your help in making our event a success. Please do not hesitate to call me with any questions at 310-247-2033.



For Immediate Release
April 6, 1999

Contact: Lisa Meyers
Magic Johnson Foundation
310-247-2033

The Magic Johnson Foundation Launches National Breast Cancer Awareness Initiative Targeting African-American Women

Los Angeles, CA – Although fewer African-American women are diagnosed with breast cancer, they are more likely to die than whites and other minority groups according to the National Cancer Institute. The alarming imbalance between the low incidence rate and high mortality rate has lead the Magic Johnson Foundation to launch a National Breast Cancer Awareness Initiative (NBCAI) designed to help women in urban communities, especially women of color, obtain breast cancer education, screening and treatment services.

The campaign will be launched on Saturday, April 24 at a celebrity fashion show – a fundraiser for the NBCAI featuring several African-American designers called “A Salute to African American Designers.” Designers including CD Greene, Dada, Karl Kani, Perry White, FUBU, Dion Scott, DeanZign, Teres McClen, Reggie J, Woody Wilson, Gigi Hunter, R&B songstress and fashion designer newcomer Kelly Price, and a host of celebrity models such as Loretta Devine, Tia & Tamera Mowry, Deborah Cox, Shemar Moore, Beverly Peele, Tichina Arnold, Garcelle Beauvais, Alexis Fields, Warren G, MASE, Chante Moore, Wendy Raquel Robinson and Elise Neal will participate in the fashion extravaganza.

“African-American women – our own mothers, siblings, daughters and friends – are dying from an illness that when detected very early, is often very treatable, and yet we are still dying more often than any other ethnic group,” said Cookie Johnson, Vice President of the Board of Directors for the Magic Johnson Foundation. “For that reason, I wanted the Foundation to get involved in this ongoing fight against breast cancer. With the expertise of organizations like the National Cancer Institute and with the Foundations ability to reach urban communities, we can begin to make a difference in our own neighborhoods and hopefully save some lives.”

“Because African-American women have the highest mortality and lowest survival rates for breast cancer, it’s especially important that they are diagnosed at a time when it can have the most impact in saving their life – in the early stages of the disease,” said Earvin “Magic” Johnson. “We hope our new effort, the National Breast Cancer Awareness Initiative, will help educate women in urban communities that otherwise might not know the prevention, detection, and treatment options available.”

Goals of the three-year campaign include: increasing the number of minorities that have screening mammograms annually; increasing awareness of the elevated risk of breast cancer diagnosis in women of color; educating women about the importance of preventive care and early detection; and helping to dispel common inaccuracies and misconceptions surrounding breast cancer prevention, detection and treatment.

-more-

To achieve these goals, the Foundation will disperse monetary grants to community-based organizations that focus on African-American women and breast cancer education, prevention and treatment. The Foundation will also hold regional special events designed to raise awareness about the illness as well as become a resource to African-Americans who want to learn more about breast cancer.

Professional medical and public health organizations including the National Medical Association (NMA), the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, and the Breast Cancer Resource Committee will work closely with the Foundation to develop the programs and overall effort of the NBCAI. These organizations will critique, validate and guide the educational approach of NBCAI and the program's supporting components.

Corporate tables and individual tickets for the fashion show fundraiser can be purchased through the Magic Johnson Foundation at 310-338-8110, or for more information call 888-MAGIC-05 or visit www.magicjohnson.org. This event has been underwritten by an educational grant from Zeneca Pharmaceuticals. All proceeds will directly benefit NBCAI.

The National Breast Cancer Awareness Initiative (NBCAI) is a three-year nationwide program designed to educate women, particularly African-American women, about breast cancer prevention, detection and treatment. Established by the Magic Johnson Foundation, NBCAI will work with several prominent professional medical and public health organizations to fund community-based organizations that focus on breast cancer and African-American women.

The Magic Johnson Foundation (MJF) is a non-profit organization that focuses on improving and addressing the health, educational and social needs of inner-city youth and community-based organizations. In addition, the Foundation has a strong commitment to raise awareness about several health and social concerns that threaten underserved communities. Founded in 1991 by basketball legend Earvin "Magic" Johnson, MJF has raised more than 15 million dollars for charity.

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DRAFT (updated on 4-6)
For Immediate Release
April 12, 1999

DRAFT

Contact: Lisa Meyers
Magic Johnson Foundation
310-247-2033

Diahann Carroll, Pam Grier & Zora Brown To Be Honored With The Magic Johnson Foundation Gift of Life Award

Los Angeles, CA – Actresses Diahann Carroll and Pam Grier, as well as Breast Cancer Resource Committee Founder Zora Brown will be honored with the Magic Johnson Foundation Gift of Life Award during "A Salute to African-American Designers" fashion show. Carroll, Grier and Brown were selected because of their continued effort in fighting breast cancer and for their commitment to help educate women of color. The award presentation, part of a larger celebration launching the Foundation's newest program, the National Breast Cancer Awareness Initiative (NBCAI), will be held on Saturday, April 24 at the Regent Beverly Wilshire Hotel in Los Angeles, CA.

"Diahann Carroll, Pam Grier and Zora Brown are women with incredible strength, character and energy and they are women who have unselfishly dedicated themselves to the fight against breast cancer," said Cookie Johnson, Vice President of the Board of Directors for the Magic Johnson Foundation. "They are also women that other African-American women listen to and respect, and we not only hope to pay tribute to their effort but also their ability to help other African-American women become educated about the importance of early detection and available treatment options."

The Gift of Life Awards will be presented by Earvin and Cookie Johnson during the celebrity fashion show, which is also a fundraiser for the NBCAI. African-American designers including CD Greene, Dada, Karl Kani, Perry White, FUBU, Dion Scott, Dean Zign, Teres McClen, Reggie J, Woody Wilson, Gigi Hunter, R&B songstress and fashion designer newcomer Kelly Price, and a host of celebrity models such as Loretta Devine, Tia & Tamera Mowry, Deborah Cox, Shemar Moore, Beverly Peele, Tichina Arnold, Garcelle Beauvais, Alexis Fields, Warren G, MASE, Chante Moore, Wendy Raquel Robinson and Elise Neal will participate in the fashion extravaganza.

Corporate tables and individual tickets for the fundraiser can be purchased through the Magic Johnson Foundation at 310-338-8110, or for more information call 888-MAGIC-05 or visit www.magicjohnson.org. This event has been underwritten by an educational grant from Zeneca Pharmaceuticals. All proceeds will directly benefit NBCAI.

The National Breast Cancer Awareness Initiative (NBCAI) is a three-year nationwide program designed to educate women, particularly African-American women, about breast cancer prevention, detection and treatment. Established by the Magic Johnson Foundation, NBCAI will work with several prominent professional medical and public health organizations to fund community-based organizations that focus on breast cancer and African-American women.

The Magic Johnson Foundation (MJF) is a non-profit organization that focuses on improving and addressing the health, educational and social needs of inner-city youth and organizations. In addition, the Foundation has made a strong commitment to raise awareness about several health and social concerns that threaten underserved communities. Founded in 1991 by basketball legend Earvin "Magic" Johnson, MJF has raised more than 15 million dollars for charity.

###

DRAFT

DRAFT 4-6 (EMBARGOED UNTIL 4-14-99)

For Immediate Release
April 19, 1999

DRAFT

Contact:

Lisa Meyers
Magic Johnson Foundation
310-247-2033

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton Lends Support to The Magic Johnson Foundation National Breast Cancer Awareness Initiative

Los Angeles, CA – First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton will serve as honorary chair for the Magic Johnson Foundation "A Salute to African-American Designers" fashion show on Saturday, April 24. A fundraiser for the newly established National Breast Cancer Awareness Initiative (NBCAI), the fashion extravaganza will feature designers including FUBU, Karl Kani, and CD Greene, as well as honor the ongoing efforts in fighting the disease of Diahann Carroll, Pam Grier and Breast Cancer Resource Committee Founder Zora Brown.

The First Lady joins event host committee members Senator Barbara Boxer, Senator Diane Feinstein, Congresswoman Maxine Waters, Congresswoman Lucille Roybal-Allard and Congresswoman Loretta Sanchez in support of the NBCAI.

"Insert Quote Here," said First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton of the Magic Johnson Foundation initiative and the fight against breast cancer.

"Unfortunately there are few people who have not been affected in some way by breast cancer – we've all known someone battling the disease and for women of color, we aren't winning that fight as often as we should for a number of reasons" said Cookie Johnson, Vice President of the Board of Directors for the Magic Johnson Foundation. "Having the support of the First Lady, the senators and congresswomen further validates the importance of this fight and with women like these advocating for all of us, we will continue to increase public awareness and save lives."

Designed to help women in urban communities, especially women of color, obtain breast cancer education, screening and treatment services, the NBCAI will specifically work to: increase the number of minorities that have screening mammograms annually; increase awareness of the elevated risk of breast cancer diagnosis in women of color; educate women about the importance of preventive care and early detection; and help dispel common inaccuracies and misconceptions surrounding breast cancer prevention, detection and treatment.

To achieve these goals, the Foundation will disperse monetary grants to community-based organizations that focus on African-American women and breast cancer education, prevention and treatment. The Foundation will also hold regional special events designed to raise awareness about the illness as well as become a resource to African-Americans who want to learn more about breast cancer.

Additional designers participating in the show include Dada, Perry White, Dion Scott, DeanZign, Teres McClen, Reggie J, Woody Wilson, Gigi Hunter, R&B songstress and fashion designer newcomer Kelly Price, and a host of celebrity models such as Loretta Devine, Tia & Tamera Mowry, Deborah Cox, Shemar Moore, Beverly Peele, Tichina Arnold, Garcelle Beauvais, Alexis Fields, Warren G, MASE, Chante Moore, Wendy Raquel Robinson and Elise Neal will participate in the fashion extravaganza. This event has been underwritten by an educational grant from Zeneca Pharmaceuticals.

-more-

DRAFT

breast cancer and African-American women.

The Magic Johnson Foundation (MJF) is a non-profit organization that focuses on improving and addressing the health, educational and social needs of inner-city youth and organizations. In addition, the Foundation has made a strong commitment to raise awareness about several health and social concerns that threaten underserved communities. Founded in 1991 by basketball legend Earvin "Magic" Johnson, MJF has raised more than 15 million dollars for charity.

###

increased research, expanded
availability & quality of prevention tools

like mammograms
improve access to treatment
and quality of care for women with
breast cancer

together we've brought b.c. mortality
rates down in the US

historic investment in cancer research

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
VIDEOTAPED QUESTION FOR
LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS REITH LECTURE SERIES
APRIL 13, 1999**

I am so pleased that Professor Giddens decided to deliver the Reith [Reeth] Lecture here in Washington, DC, and I only wish I could be there with all of you in person. I do appreciate the opportunity to ask the first question -- and look forward to seeing the transcript of the lecture.

I have long admired Professor Giddens for the enormous contribution that the Third Way has made to international discourse. His ideas have had a profound impact on leaders around the world who are struggling to forge a new social contract for this modern age. As the President said in his State of the Union Address last year, we need an economy that offers opportunity, a society rooted in responsibility, and a nation that lives by community. Professor Giddens reminds us that we can balance the inescapable power of competitive markets with policies that achieve social justice.

Here is my question. Tony, you and I have talked before about the nature of the family and the way it is being affected by the pressures of modern life.

In my travels across this country and around the world, I have seen the positive effects that globalization is having on many families, offering them unprecedented economic opportunity and the security that comes with it. But I've also seen too many families who are unable to take advantage of these opportunities, trapped at the margins of society with poor education, poor health, and poor housing. These conditions put unbearable stress on families, and especially on the children whose life chances are cut off at an early age.

So the question I'd like to ask is: In this new world that you've just outlined, how can we make sure that no family is left behind?

OR

Tony, one of the important tenets of the Clinton Administration is to link opportunity with responsibility. One area that we have struggled with in this country is welfare reform. We all know the importance of encouraging and enabling every person to earn a living, and of discouraging prolonged dependence on welfare. Nor can we afford to have this spirit of dependence passed on to children, who repeat the cycle.

But we also recognize we need a safety net, and that for many people, getting and keeping a job requires supports like good public transportation, child care, and job training.

If we don't get this balance between opportunity and responsibility right, the people who will suffer most are children. My question for you: What is the right balance, and how do we protect the children in families where the adults face so many challenges when it comes to sustaining regular employment?

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
VIDEOTAPED REMARKS TO
SALUTE TO AFRICAN AMERICAN DESIGNERS AND
KICK-OFF EVENT OF THE MAGIC JOHNSON FOUNDATION'S
NATIONAL BREAST CANCER AWARENESS INITIATIVE
BEVERLY HILLS, CA
APRIL 13, 1999**

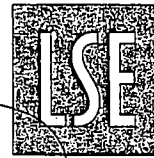
Good evening everyone. As Honorary Chair of this event, I am very pleased to join you at your annual Salute to African American Designers -- as you launch the National Breast Cancer Awareness Initiative. I only wish I could be there in person to thank each and every one of you for the important work you are doing in Beverly Hills and throughout the country to strengthen communities and keep our families healthy.

There is one person in particular who deserves special recognition. With his genuine love of life and tireless service to the community, Magic Johnson continues to lift up the lives and spirits of us all. He embraces every cause, every project, every person with the same enthusiasm and commitment as the games he played in the NBA. Magic, you've always given us "Showtime" -- both on and off the court.

And it's with this same spirit that the Magic Johnson Foundation is going to help minority communities tackle breast cancer. By distributing breast cancer awareness kits, and providing information about free mammograms, you will ensure that more minority women have access to the preventative care they need -- and deserve. And by giving grants to grass-roots organizations, you will help get the word out so more lives can be saved.

As with any team, we each have a role to play in making sure that African American and minority women stop suffering and dying from breast cancer. With your help, I know we can succeed.

So thank you for all you have done and continue to do -- every single day -- to promote both hope and health in our communities. I hope you have a wonderful evening.



THE LONDON SCHOOL
OF ECONOMICS AND
POLITICAL SCIENCE

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fax: 0171 955 7567
0171 955 7567

Office of Development
and Alumni Relations

24 February 1999

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to the First Lady
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington
DC 20500
U.S.A.

Dear Melanne,

It was lovely to see you and Shirley last week. I know Mary Kaldor found the discussion as exhilarating as I did. When "kindred spirits" get together, the result is electric!

I told Tony Giddens about your idea to video the First Lady's response and questions at the Reith Lecture in D.C., and he was very pleased. We will send you a transcript of the lecture for her review.

When I am back in London, I will send a letter spelling out the Global Civil Society Centre concept and asking for the First Lady's agreement to lend her name to the first endowed chair. We will then ask Ron Burkle to fund it. Once these steps have been accomplished, we can begin to plan for a possible visit to LSE by the First Lady, to celebrate the Centre and her chair.

I will be in touch with you soon. Thanks for all your support.

Yours truly,

Fiona

Fiona Hodgson
Director

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002a. letter	Gwyneth Williams to FLOTUS re invitation (partial) (1 page)	11/10/1998	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Speechwriting (Noa Meyer Subject Files)
OA/Box Number: 17211

FOLDER TITLE:

Videos 4/13/99

2012-0869-S

kc928

RESTRICTION CODES

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- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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[002a]

BBC News

Current Affairs, Home Programmes

0181 752 6287 / 7303

h:

P6/(b)(6)

Tuesday 10th November
1998

Dear Hillary Clinton,

I write to invite you to attend the Reith lectures which are being given by Tony Giddens next year. The lectures are among the most prestigious programmes broadcast by the BBC and were initiated by the founder of the BBC, Lord Reith. The subject next year is globalisation and the lectures will be given in different countries. The programmes will be an hour long with the lecture followed by discussion. The broadcast will be to a British and a World Service audience.

I gather that Tony Giddens has discussed the possibility of your attending the Washington lecture with Melanne Verveer and Shirley Sagawa. We would be delighted if you could come and, if you are interested, put a question to Professor Giddens.

The plan is to hold the Washington lecture during the week of the 19th-23rd April, possibly on Wednesday 21st. I gather from Shirley Sagawa that you are not away that week and so might be able to attend.

I should be most grateful if you would consider the invitation; we would be honoured to have you as a participant.

Yours sincerely,

Gwyneth Williams

Gwyneth Williams
Current Affairs Editorcc Patti Solis-dayle,
Melanne Verveer,
Shirley Sagawa.



BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION

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FAX COVER SHEET

To: **Evan Ryan,
Office of the First Lady
The White House**

Phone: 202 456 5309
Fax: 202 456 5340

From: **Joshua Weinberg,
BBC News**

Phone: 202.223.2050, ext. 725
Fax: 202.331.4028
E-mail: josh.weinberg@bbc.co.uk

Date: **10 March 1999**

Page(s) including this cover page: 2

Urgent ☐

Please Reply ☐

Private and Confidential ☐

Hi Evan -

I spoke with my colleagues in London and it would seem that tomorrow's taping with the First Lady is a GO.

Attached, you will find a script that was drafted with London School of Economics Director Anthony Giddens, this year's lecturer for the Reith Lectures on Tuesday, April 20.

I will call you later today to follow-up and confirm our plans.

Thank you for all your assistance.

Josh

1. Thank you for the opportunity to ask a question at this Reith lecture here in Washington.

Professor Giddens, you and I have talked before about the nature of the family and the way it is being affected by the pressures of modern life.

I agree with you completely that nothing is more important than getting our policies right in this area. In my view the role of women is crucial. And not just here in the United States but around the world. As I've seen for myself, women in less developed countries are facing even bigger changes and challenges.

So the question I'd like to ask is this: In the new, "runaway world" that you've just outlined, how can we make sure that women play a full part in economic development?

or:

2. Thank you for the opportunity to ask a question at this Reith lecture here in Washington.

Professor Giddens, you and I have talked before about the nature of the family and the way it is being affected by the pressures of modern life.

I agree with you completely that nothing is more important than getting our policies right in this area. In my view, the impact on children is crucial.

So the question I'd like to ask is this: Against the backdrop of the massive changes affecting the family, how should we best protect the interests of children?

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002b. letter	Gwyneth Williams to FLOTUS re invitation (partial) (1 page)	11/10/1998	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Speechwriting (Noa Meyer Subject Files)
OA/Box Number: 17211

FOLDER TITLE:

Videos 4/13/99

2012-0869-S

kc928

RESTRICTION CODES

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[0026]

BBC News

Current Affairs, Home Programmes

h:

0181 752 6287 / 7303

P6(b)(6)

Tuesday 10th November
1998

Dear Hillary Clinton,

I write to invite you to attend the Reith lectures which are being given by Tony Giddens next year. The lectures are among the most prestigious programmes broadcast by the BBC and were initiated by the founder of the BBC, Lord Reith. The subject next year is globalisation and the lectures will be given in different countries. The programmes will be an hour long with the lecture followed by discussion. The broadcast will be to a British and a World Service audience.

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The plan is to hold the Washington lecture during the week of the 19th-23rd April, possibly on Wednesday 21st. I gather from Shirley Sagawa that you are not away that week and so might be able to attend.

I should be most grateful if you would consider the invitation; we would be honoured to have you as a participant.

Yours sincerely,

Gwyneth Williams

Gwyneth Williams
Current Affairs Editorcc Patti Solis-dayle,
Melanne Verveer,
Shirley Sagawa.

1

TOTAL P.01

Office of First Lady Scheduling

Scheduling Request

Organization: BBC		yes	
Requesting:		☐ Speaker	☐ Meet/Greet
Other:		☒ Video	☐ Letter (Greeting)
Event: BBC Reith Lectures			
Date of Event: Apr. 20		Location: DC	
Contact:			
Recommended By: note attached from Shirley			

Delivery and Notes

1 <u>Deliver To:</u> Influenced my thinking From: _____ Date: _____	2 <u>Deliver To:</u> From: _____ Date: _____
3 <u>Deliver To:</u> From: _____ Date: _____	4 <u>Deliver To:</u> From: _____ Date: _____
Status: ☐ Regret ☐ Pending ☐ Accept ☐ Letter (Greeting) ☐ Video	

THE BBC REITH LECTURES

The Reith Lectures celebrated their 50th anniversary in 1998. They were inaugurated in 1948 by the BBC to mark the historic contribution made to public service broadcasting by Sir John (later Lord) Reith, the corporation's first Director-General.

John Reith established the foundations and values of the BBC by insisting from the start that broadcasting should be a public service designed to inform, educate and entertain all those who paid for it. In doing that he believed it would enrich the intellectual and cultural life of the nation.

It is in this spirit that the BBC annually invites a leading figure – in 1998 John Keegan – to deliver a series of lectures in his memory using the medium of radio to advance greater public understanding of their field. The aim is always to promote national discussion and debate about significant issues of contemporary interest. In 1998 for the first time the BBC extended John Reith's philosophy to the internet with this website in order to build on his legacy of public service and stimulate understanding more widely still.

The first Reith lecturer was Bertrand Russell (1948) 'Authority and the Individual', and subsequent lecturers include Jean Aitchison (1996) 'The Language Web', Colin Blakemore (1976) 'Mechanics of the Mind', Ralf Dahrendorf (1974) 'The New Liberty', Richard Hoggart (1971) 'Only Connect', Ian Kennedy (1980) 'Unmasking Medicine', Bernard Lovell (1958) 'The Individual and the Universe', Richard Rogers (1995) 'Myths of Our Time'.

This year's lectures are
Economics, whose title
Kong and Washington
and for all LSE alumni

Monday 22 March

Thursday 25 March

Monday 29 March

Tuesday 20 April

Lecture "Family"
Drinks reception, Lecture and Debate
at National Press Club, Washington, USA

Monday 26 April

Lecture "Democracy"
Drinks reception, Lecture and Debate
at Royal Institution, London

Drinks afterwards
hosted by
Pres of BBC

Patti -

Melanie thinks HEC should

do a video for this - can you
put on list?

Scwley



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FAX COVER SHEET

To: **Evan Ryan,
Office of the First Lady
The White House**

Phone: 202 456 5309
Fax: 202 456 5340

From: **Joshua Weinberg,
BBC News**

Phone: 202.223.2050, ext. 725
Fax: 202.331.4028
E-mail: josh.weinberg@bbc.co.uk

Date: **3 March 1999**

Page(s) including this cover page: 7

Urgent ☐

Please Reply ☐

Private and Confidential ☐

Hi Evan -

It was good to speak with you today.

As I said the 1999 Reith Lectures will have its Washington installment, Tuesday, April 20 at the National Press Club 6:30 - 7:30 PM. Anthony Giddens, Director of the London School of Economics & Political Science will lecture on *Runway World: Globalization and the Family*.

The First Lady has agreed to ask Giddens the first question via videotape. I have attached further information on the Reith Lectures in the way of a link to the BBC website.

I look forward to speaking with you soon. Thank you for your time.

- Josh


BBC**REITH****LECTURES 1999****Professor Anthony Giddens****RUNAWAY WORLD**

The director of the London School of Economics speaks to audiences around the world on the theme of globalisation. Click in the yellow box to take part in the debate or click on a destination below to discover more about the lectures.


BBC RADIO 4 92-95FM 81951w**BBC WORLD SERVICE**

**Join in the
debate. Prof.
Giddens wants to
hear your views.**

.1**LONDON
WEEK ONE**

"We are the first
generation of a
global
cosmopolitan
society"

.5**LONDON
WEEK FIVE**

"For democratic
government to
recover its
legitimacy we
need to
democratise
democracy"

.3**DELHI
WEEK THREE**

"Everyday life is opening up
from the hold of tradition
and custom"

.2**HONG KONG
WEEK TWO**

"We simply don't
know what the level
of risk is. In many
cases we won't
know until it is too
late"

.4**WASHINGTON DC
WEEK FOUR**

"Among the changes
going on in the world,
none are more important
than in sexuality,
relationships, marriage
and the family."

The Reith Lectures mark the historic contribution made to public service broadcasting by the BBC's first Director General
[Click here to find out more, including programme times>](#)

[1999 Reith Lectures Home](#) | **[BBC Radio 4 Home](#)** | **[BBC Homepage](#)**



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FORWARD: BBC NEWS - DEVELOPMENT - BBC WORLD SERVICE

BBC REITH
LECTURES 1999

HOME | RUNAWAY WORLD

SHORT SUMMARY OF LECTURE 4 - WASHINGTON DC

PROFESSOR
ANTHONY
GIDDENS

4.

The full lecture will be published here after
broadcast

FAMILY

EMAIL THE
DEBATE

READ THE
DEBATE

WATCH
GIDDENS

LISTEN TO
GIDDENS

READ OUR
INTERVIEW

MORE ON
GIDDENS

Among the changes going on in the world, none are more important than those happening in our personal lives - in sexuality, relationships, marriage and the family. There is a global revolution going on in how we think of ourselves and in how we form ties and connections with others. It is a revolution advancing unevenly in different regions and cultures, with many resistances.

What most defenders in Western countries call the traditional family was in fact a passing phase in family development in the 1950s. This was a time when the proportion of women at work was relatively low and when it was difficult, especially for women, to obtain divorce without stigma. Men and women however by this time were more equal than they had been previously. The family had ceased to be an economic entity and the idea of romantic love as a basis for marriage had replaced marriage as an economic contract.

Now family life in the west has been transformed by the rise of the couple. In the traditional family, the married couple was only one part - and often not the main part - of the family system. Ties with children or other relatives were equally or more important in day to day social life. Today the couple, married or unmarried, is at the centre of family life. The couple came to be at the centre of family life as the economic role of the family dwindled and love - or love plus sexual attraction - became the basis of forming marriage ties.

A couple once formed has its own exclusive history. It is based upon emotional communication or intimacy. Marriage was never in the past based upon intimacy. No doubt this was important to a good marriage but it was not the foundation of it.

To analyse the changes that have transformed our personal lives I want to use the idea of the 'pure relationship'. I mean by this a relationship based upon emotional communication, where rewards from such communication are the main basis for the relationship to continue.

The pure relationship had quite different dynamics from more traditional kinds of social ties. It depends upon processes of active trust - opening oneself up to the other. Disclosure is the basic condition of intimacy. The pure relationship is implicitly democratic. Each person has respect for and wants the best for the other.

BBC News | Reith-99

Page 2 of 2

We are talking of something very important - the possible emergence of a democracy of the emotions in everyday life.

[1999 Reith Lectures Home](#) | [BBC Radio 4 Home](#) | [BBC Homepage](#)



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HOMEPAGE | BBC NEWS | BBC EDUCATION | BBC WORLD SERVICE

BBC REITH
LECTURES 1999HOME | RUNAWAY WORLD
PROFESSOR ANTHONY GIDDENSPROFESSOR
ANTHONY
GIDDENSBACK TO
REITH
HOMEPAGE

The 1999 Reith lecturer is Professor Anthony Giddens, director of the London School of Economics.

His writings have been used by world leaders - including Tony Blair and Bill Clinton - to develop ideas on what has become known as The Third Way in politics. He has helped to lead brain-storming seminars on the subject in both Downing Street and the White House.

Anthony Giddens was born in London in 1938 and educated at Minchenden School, Southgate. He studied sociology and psychology at the University of Hull, and gained post-graduate degrees from the LSE and the University of Cambridge.

He was Professor of Sociology at the University of Cambridge from 1986-96 and took up his current post as Director of the London School of Economics in 1997.

He is a passionate supporter of Tottenham Hotspur (his MA thesis at the LSE was on Sport and Society in Contemporary England). He has been described as "Britain's best-known social scientist since Keynes". As Director of the LSE, he still delivers regular lectures for students. One commentator wrote recently: "With his cordless mic and no notes, he is a star turn as he paces up and down explaining complex ideas with fluency and wit".

Among Anthony Giddens's published works are:

- Social Theory and Modern Sociology, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987; Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.
- The Consequences of Modernity, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990; Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.
- The Transformation of Intimacy, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992; Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.
- Beyond Left and Right, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994; Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.
- Making Sense of Modernity. Conversations with Anthony Giddens, Polity Press, 1988.
- The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy, Polity Press, 1998.

[1999 Reith Lectures Home](#) | [BBC Radio 4 Home](#) | [BBC Homepage](#)

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**BBC REITH
LECTURES 1999**

HOME | RUNAWAY WORLD
The Reith Lectures

PROFESSOR
ANTHONY
GIDDENS

BACK TO
REITH
HOMEPAGE

The programmes will be broadcast both on BBC Radio 4 and the BBC World Service. They will go out over a period of five weeks, starting on 7 April ([details below](#)).

This year's lectures are also the first to be carried on a dedicated website. People around the world can join in the debate on the impact of globalisation by e-mailing their comments.

Nineteen ninety-eight was the 50th anniversary year of the Reith Lectures. In a break with tradition they were recorded in different venues around Britain before an invited audience. Members of the audience were given an opportunity to ask questions, which were included as part of the broadcast programmes. That formula will be repeated this year. But - in keeping with the theme of globalisation - for the first time some of the Reith Lectures are being delivered outside the UK to audiences in New Delhi, Hong Kong and Washington. The Reith Lectures were inaugurated in 1948 by the BBC to mark the historic contribution made to public service broadcasting by Sir John (later Lord) Reith, the corporation's first director-general.



John Reith maintained that broadcasting should be a public service which enriches the intellectual and cultural life of the nation. It is in this spirit that the BBC each year invites a leading figure to deliver a series of lectures on radio. The aim is to advance public understanding and debate about significant issues of contemporary interest.

The very first Reith lecturer was the philosopher, Bertrand Russell who spoke on "Authority and the Individual". Among his successors were Arnold Toynbee (The World and the West, 1952), Robert Oppenheimer (Science and the Common Understanding, 1953) and J.K. Galbraith (The New Industrial State, 1966).

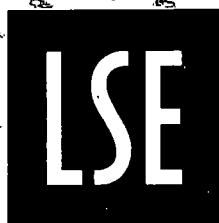
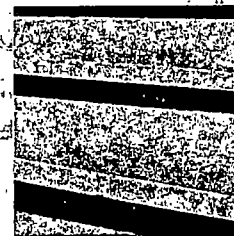
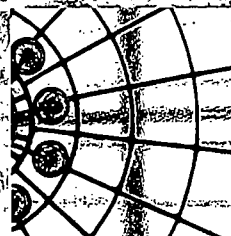
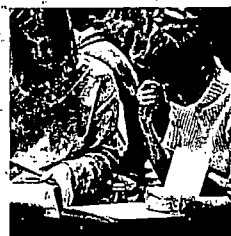
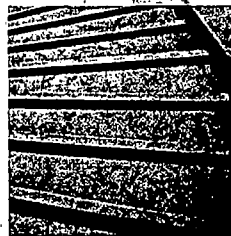
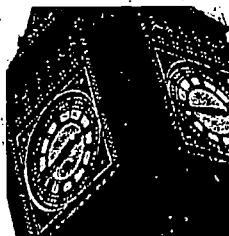
More recently, the Reith lectures have been delivered by the Chief Rabbi, Dr Jonathan Sacks (The Persistence of Faith, 1990) and Dr Steve Jones (The Language of the Genes, 1991).

The three most recent Reith lecturers were Jean Althison (The Language Web, 1996), Patricia J. Williams (Race and Race Relations, 1997) and John Keegan (War and Our World, 1998).

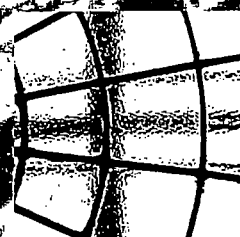
Dates and Times of the 1999 Reith Lecture Broadcasts:

BBC Radio Four:

1 (Globalisation) Weds April 7 20.02 Repeat Sat April 10 22.15



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LETTER FROM LONDON

THE TWO TONYS

Why is the Prime Minister so interested in what Anthony Giddens thinks?

BY ROBERT S. BOYNTON

PERHAPS the most unlikely hit of this past season in London's West End was "Tom & Clem," by Stephen Churchett, an ensemble piece about a fictional encounter between Prime Minister Clement Attlee and the left-wing journalist Tom Driberg during the 1945 Potsdam Conference. In the play's opening scene, a soldier enters the conference room, takes down a portrait of Winston Churchill, and hangs one of a dour-looking Attlee in its place. With the Allies victorious in Europe, Labour has just won an unprecedented landslide, ushering the leonine Churchill out of office and the considerably less imposing Attlee in. Despite the gratitude that Britain feels for its larger-than-life wartime leader, it has decided that it wants a meeker man to win the peace.

The play is a sort of "My Dinner with Attlee," exploring the nature of political and personal compromise, and the conflict between democracy and totalitarianism against the backdrop of the geopolitical maneuverings that would dominate the world for the next fifty years. Driberg, pressing his case with invocations of Marx and Lenin, is dismayed to discover that Attlee doesn't subscribe to his radical socialist vision.

"We'll have a revolution, but in our own way," Attlee says. "Unextravagant. Without tears."

"A revolution without tears?" Driberg moans.

"They blur the vision," Attlee answers.

Much of the play's popularity is due to the fact that, following the Labour Party's greatest triumph since Attlee's, Britain is again on the brink of a profound social transformation—a "revolution without tears," but one in reverse, in which the future of the welfare state, or whatever remains of it after eighteen years of Tory rule, is coming under scrutiny by the party that invented it. Indeed, Tony Blair's most popular campaign promise was that he would modernize Britain's unwieldy state bureaucracy, which owes

its existence to the work of such social scientists as Richard Titmuss, T. H. Marshall, and Lord William Beveridge. It was Beveridge's 1942 report, "Social Insurance and Allied Services," that established universal entitlements as the modern citizen's statutory right.

The Aldwych Theatre, where "Tom & Clem" was playing, is just down the street



Giddens popularized the "radical center"—Tony Blair's favorite phrase.

from the London School of Economics—once home to Marshall, Titmuss, Beveridge, and even Attlee, who taught there between the wars and later drew much of his Cabinet from the ranks of its faculty. The connection between Labour and L.S.E. dates back a hundred years, to the university's founding by Beatrice and Sidney Webb—Fabians who not only started the school but also helped build the Labour Party, with the explicit goal of promoting the cause of socialism. Today's L.S.E. is a less partisan and more conventionally prominent university than the Webbs originally envisioned. (It has,

in the past, served as a source of free-market policy, and the Higher Education Funding Council recently ranked it the second-best university in the country, just below Cambridge but above Oxford.) But its administration has now been invaded by a cadre of New Labour's new élite: "Tonymcrats" who, according to London's *Sunday Times*, have made it the "mecca for Blairite businessmen and left-wing luvvies."

Chief among the Tonymcrats is L.S.E.'s new director, Anthony Giddens, the distinguished Cambridge sociologist whom the policy journal *Prospect* calls "the key intellectual figure of New Labour." The author of some thirty dense theoretical tomes, Giddens gained new prominence with his recent book "Beyond Left and Right," in which he argues that both sides of the political spectrum have exhausted themselves, leaving a "radical center" (Blair's favorite phrase) from which to reconfigure the foundations of politics and society. Ian Hargreaves, the editor of the *New Statesman*, calls the book "the text of Blairism," adding, "In Giddens you have somebody whose intellectual and political journey is ideally made for the circumstances of Blair and New Labour."

Like the new Prime Minister, Giddens is a man of the sixties who has retooled himself to confront the complexities of the post-Cold War world of the nineties. In the months leading up to May's general election, he was frequently asked to address New Labour's private strategy sessions as well as its public rallies. And although Giddens is not a member of Blair's inner circle, his work has helped define the theoretical context for many of the reforms that are being debated in Britain today. As the *Sunday Times* reported, "Whenever Blair is accused of intellectual vacuity, he cites Giddens as 'the guy who thinks like me.'" An adviser to the Prime Minister says, "Giddens has a strong sense of the role of ideas in political change and is therefore an important part of developing a sustainable New Labour program. We don't pretend to have all the answers, but he is helping us define some of the questions." The leadership's enthusiasm for the post-partisan nature of Giddens's work, especially his rethinking of the future of the welfare state, does have its critics—inside the party and out—who wonder whether his philosophy isn't little more than the "mood music" of

JAMES FERGUSON

New Labour, providing an intellectual cover behind which to hide a conservative agenda. It is unclear how Giddens's ideas will ultimately be used, but it is instantly apparent why he has been so assiduously courted by both the party and L.S.E.

Previously the holder of the first permanent chair in sociology at Cambridge, Giddens, who is fifty-nine, is an intellectual powerhouse—"simply the most important English social philosopher of our time," the New York University sociologist Richard Sennett says. Giddens's books cover everything from historical materialism to the West's notions of intimacy and the self. His work has been the subject of twelve books, and Routledge has just published a four-volume collection of "critical assessments" of it—an honor previously bestowed upon such luminaries as Max Weber, Émile Durkheim, and Michel Foucault. This past January, the same month in which Giddens became the director of L.S.E., the political implications of his œuvre were appraised by some of Britain's most distinguished intellectuals and journalists at a conference at the Institute of Contemporary Arts.

Giddens is often described by colleagues as "clever" or "ambitious," because of his worldly interests as well as his unusually broad intellectual scope—a backhanded compliment in the staid world of British academe. After parsing theories of power for the first half of his career, he discovered that he had a flair for actually wielding it. In 1983, he co-founded Polity Press, in order to publish European social thinkers like Jürgen Habermas, Pierre Bourdieu, and Jean Baudrillard, who were then largely neglected. In 1985, he bulldozed his way through Cambridge's byzantine bureaucracy to establish the Social and Political Sciences Faculty and became its first chairman.

As L.S.E.'s director, Giddens has brought a renewed sense of excitement to the university. He is currently wooing a number of world-class scholars to join the faculty. And he has made several high-profile appointments to the Court of Governors, among them the cultural broadcaster and author Melvyn Bragg, the movie producer David Puttnam, and the publisher Robert Gavron. "It is once again a great pleasure to go there," the sociologist Lord Ralf Dahrendorf, who is



"Fred is heterosexual, but I wish he'd be a little more blatant about it."

himself a former L.S.E. director, says. "Giddens is creating an L.S.E. that is very much his own by introducing a new intellectual dynamic rather than fitting into an existing pattern." Lord Meghnad Desai, an L.S.E. professor of economics, underscores the importance of the director's impeccable intellectual credentials. "At Oxford and Cambridge, they are snobs about food and wine. At L.S.E., we are snobs only about intellect," he says.

THE anonymous, ramshackle buildings that constitute L.S.E.'s Houghton Street "campus" barely stand out from the sombre banks and law offices that surround them. It is a perfect ambience for the decidedly undonnish Giddens. "Call me Tony," he says in a soft North London accent as he greets me, using the same phrase with which Blair opened his first Cabinet meeting only a few weeks earlier. A sprite of a man who appears fifteen years younger than his age, Giddens is completely different from the mental image I had constructed while

struggling through page after page of his authoritative, unforgiving prose; it is hard to imagine him reading his books, much less writing them. As he jokes about L.S.E.'s typically British lack of air-conditioning, and brushes a lock of dark hair from his face, I begin to understand why the newspapers have taken to calling him "laddish." He is more likely to answer a complex question with a casual shrug than with a discourse on the nature of society. When I ask whether his early work owed something to the philosopher Paul Ricœur's notion of "the hermeneutics of suspicion," Giddens replies dismissively, "Nah, as a young bloke I was just bloody-minded." While such a low-key manner might once have hindered an ambitious academic in class-conscious Britain, it is perfectly in tune with the studied informality of the Blair era.

After showing me a copy of a new German edition of "Beyond Left and Right," Giddens suggests that we escape the interruptions of his busy office and

talk in the school's dingy coffee shop. Running L.S.E. has taxed his managerial skills, yet this past semester he did find time to give a weekly lecture course on interpretations of modernity which was seen by at least a thousand students. (Hundreds watched by video from an adjacent hall.) Giddens is famous for his well-organized talks, which he delivers entirely from memory. "Tony is a brilliant lecturer," the sociologist Steven Lukes says. "The only person who compares was the Oxford historian A. J. P. Taylor, who spoke without notes and would hold us spellbound for hours."

Now, with an audience of one, Giddens shares his vision for L.S.E., New Labour, and the country. "L.S.E. has a great opportunity to become an intellectual beacon again," he says. "We're getting back to our roots, to when L.S.E. guided the fate of the nation. The Webbs founded an institution that wasn't a cloister, that had real purchase on the world—a place for deep structural analysis which also communicated with the wider public. With Titmuss, and Beveridge, and Marshall, and Attlee, L.S.E. was the launching pad for the welfare state. Later, it was the center for the free-market counter-revolution, with Friedrich von Hayek and Karl Popper, both of whom greatly influenced Thatcher. Now I want L.S.E. to be at the center of the third phase—rethinking what politics and the state should be in a globalized, post-traditional world. This is the one place where leading politicians and businessmen meet with intellectuals on a regular basis. We are a bridge between the City and Westminster."

Giddens doesn't conceal his admiration for Blair, but he has no desire to transform L.S.E. into a New Labour think tank. Rather, he believes that the university can best serve the nation by alternately supporting and criticizing Blair's agenda, certain aspects of which—family values, communitarianism, and Christian moralism, for example—make him uncomfortable. Giddens believes that modernization should take place at every level, from state bureaucracies to moral attitudes. He is in complete agreement with Blair, however, that the welfare state as we know it is over. "The welfare state is a passive-risk system—it isn't designed to encourage people to make

active investment decisions with their lives," he explains. "It only reacts to things when they go wrong: it takes care of you when you are ill, it puts you on the dole when you're unemployed. But it has been ineffective in actually countering poverty or redistributing wealth in the long term." Unlike the Thatcherites, Giddens doesn't want to dismantle the welfare state; he wants to reconceive it. "Think of the welfare state not as the left traditionally has thought of it—as a mechanism to alleviate inequality—but as a kind of insurance system that allows people to take risks. We must provide people with the resources they require to be active investors, as it were, but at the same time we must provide security mechanisms which protect them."

Giddens calls this concept of welfare-as-social-insurance "positive welfare," a scheme according to which the state would play a more proactive yet less intrusive role in its citizens' lives. By emphasizing greater job stability over increased income, for example, the state might broaden its concern to encompass the psychological, and not just the economic, well-being of its citizens. Giddens offers a series of suggestions, ranging from a tax system that assesses income in three-year periods, in order to benefit those who lose their jobs or experience a sudden drop in income in any given year, to a way of redistributing work which decreases the gap between society's haves and its have-nots. Since "the possession of wealth doesn't necessarily make one happy, any more than poverty as such is a source of misery," he writes, "why not, therefore, attempt to bring the

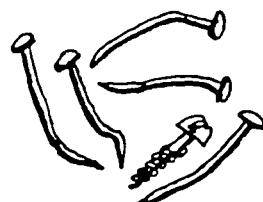
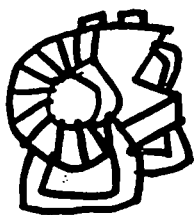
conditions of life of rich and poor closer together, even if this isn't done through wealth or income transfers?" To this end, he suggests, the state might give tax incentives to corporations that "gear recruitment and job stability to wider social needs" or to those that break down the division between "men's" and "women's" jobs, thereby helping to modernize the family. Under positive welfare, Giddens sees a potential for diminishing social inequality while simultaneously encouraging personal responsibility—a scheme whose indebtedness to both conservative and liberal traditions places it, he claims, "beyond left and right."

These proposals are sketchy, to be

sure, and Giddens has been criticized for proffering utopian solutions to all-too-real dilemmas. He responds to such accusations by saying that his vision is informed by the principle of "utopian realism"—an approach that joins utopian ideals with empirically observable trends. The way we anticipate the future helps shape it, he argues, and therefore, by deriving seemingly utopian solutions from existing progressive social movements, we might eventually bring about the kinds of changes which were once thought to be impossible. Writing in *Prospect*, the political journalist John Lloyd suggests that New Labour's ambitious agenda is itself operating in this way. "The most radical and ambitious part of the programme is utopian in the depth of change it will usher in," he writes. Even the possibility of expunging Labour's socialist tendencies, Lloyd adds, "seemed utopian until a few years ago."

As the express train from King's Cross station to Cambridge hurtles down the tracks through North London, Giddens points out Alexandra Palace, with its spiralling forest of BBC antennas, where he played as a child. He is on his way to a Polity Press editorial meeting, and as we talk he flips through a stack of book proposals. Giddens grew up in the working-class suburb of Edmonton, where his father had a job with the London Underground ordering fabric for train seats. The elder of two boys (his brother now directs television commercials in Los Angeles), Giddens attended a local grammar school, where he was an indifferent student, more interested in soccer than in his studies. One of his schoolmates was David Puttnam, who is now a fellow New Labour supporter. Puttnam recalls, "If you were a bright kid in London in the late fifties, anything was possible. It was the Macmillan period, and we believed that the world was ours for the taking."

Giddens went on to the University of Hull, and he was graduated with honors in psychology and sociology. In 1961, he received a master's degree from L.S.E., having written a thesis on the social history of sports which brought together his love of soccer and a burgeoning in-



terest in the class system. "I looked at sport as the other side of industrialism and found some very strong class divisions," he says. "Most middle-class sports, like rugby, weren't originally competitive. You couldn't have leagues or become a professional—just playing the game was more important than winning. On the other hand, working-class sports, like soccer, were very competitive and were professionalized early on. Each was the product of very different work circumstances. Since the bourgeoisie were individualistic and competitive at work, they wanted the opposite in sports. Whereas the working classes were in collaborative environments where they couldn't advance as individuals. For them, sport had a more competitive ethos."

After L.S.E., Giddens taught sociology at the University of Leicester, and there he met the German scholar Norbert Elias. A Jewish refugee whose work on the sociology of manners wasn't noted until late in his life, Elias was possessed of a determination that impressed Giddens. "He was always working, and he behaved as if he were a world-famous scholar, when in fact he wasn't," Giddens says. "But then he eventually became as famous as he knew he should be." Taking Elias's example to heart, Giddens became a compulsive writer and churned out studies on the history of social theory at a furious pace. He has published a book (sometimes two) every year since 1970.

Giddens's interest in contemporary sociology was sparked during a year he lived in Venice, California, while teaching at U.C.L.A. "It was 1968, and when I went to the Pacific Ocean for the very first time in my life the coast was lined with armed cops, and there were thousands of hippies strewn along the beach wearing all sorts of strange clothes," he recalls. "It looked like the fall of the Roman Empire." Until then, he had been fairly apolitical, accepting the vaguely leftish attitudes that were de rigueur for sixties-social scientists. "In Europe, although you might be radical in your politics it wouldn't affect your life style, but in California people experimented with everything," he says. "If you were politically radical, you had to be sexually radical and all the rest of it. I'd

never seen an entirely experimental life style. It gave me a kick in the backside." The notion that modernity is "experimental to its core" soon began popping up in his writings.

WHEN Giddens looks at modernity, he sees a world in which the Enlightenment's dream of mastery over nature, as it was articulated by Kant and Marx, has turned on itself. Where once it was thought that technological innovation would increase man's leisure and beautify the world, we now have workaholics and ecological devastation. Giddens likens modernity to an enormous juggernaut, which crushes all those who resist it. "The ride is by no means wholly unpleasant or unrewarding; it can often be exhilarating and charged with hopeful anticipation," he writes. But "we shall never be able to control completely either the path or the pace of the journey. In turn, we shall never be able to feel entirely secure, because the terrain across which it runs is fraught with risks of high consequence."

Giddens argues that the concept of risk is a peculiarly modern one; in the Middle Ages, for instance, one simply believed that things "happened" according to the providence of God or nature. Modernity, in contrast, is characterized by the omnipresence of "manufactured risk," man-made hazards that are the result of what man has done to nature, rather than what nature does to man. The Frankenstein monsters of pollution, overcrowding, global warming, and techno-ennui—our creations, not nature's—are out of control.

Living in a world of manufactured risk makes us extremely self-conscious; life becomes a series of complex calculations in which we "establish a portfolio of risk assessment" as we try to construct a viable identity. The decision to get married, for example, is affected by our knowledge of divorce statistics; the decision not to smoke or not to eat certain foods reflects our knowledge of scientific studies on the danger each presents. In a couple of conversations that took place this spring between Giddens and the billionaire financier (and L.S.E. graduate) George Soros, the two agreed that the fluctuations of the financial markets are a paradigm for the reflexive nature of our risk calculations. If it sounds as if Giddens is saying that modern citizens are

amateur sociologists, he is. "Modernity is itself deeply and intrinsically sociological," he writes, and it leaves the professional sociologist in the awkward position of being "at most one step ahead of enlightened lay practitioners of the discipline."

IT is commencement day at Cambridge, and the grounds look even more pristine than usual. Couples punt lazily along the Cam, and the royal flag flaps against a cloudless sky. Giddens and I tour the campus and end up at the Social and Political Sciences (S.P.S.) Faculty, in the old Cavendish Laboratory, where Ernest Rutherford, the man who split the atom, once worked. Little about the building seems to have changed since Rutherford's time. The Maxwell Lecture Theatre, where Giddens taught, is a veritable church of science, its rows of hard, straight-backed wooden pews rising across from an experiment table encrusted with dials, fuses, switches, wheels, and buzzers. Even though the building is now the epicenter of social and political—not natural—science at Cambridge, members of the S.P.S. Faculty still have their urine checked regularly for traces of mercury.

Before Giddens joined L.S.E., he spent twenty-six years at Cambridge. His relationship to the class-bound university, like that of the social sciences in general, had always been somewhat ambivalent. Sociology didn't become a recognized discipline at Cambridge until 1969. When Giddens was hired, a year later, it was still a fledgling "committee." Yet it was an exciting time to be at a university whose staff included such scholars as Edward Shils, Raymond Williams, Quentin Skinner, and Frank Kermode. Giddens says he was never very attracted to the hallowed traditions of university life, preferring to spend his time writing. When he was not in his study, he might be spotted speeding about town in an Alfa Romeo. His disdain for Cambridge culture was not appreciated by some colleagues; they accused him of hypocritically snubbing the very system whose benefits he was enjoying. The political theorist John Dunn remembers that Giddens's class consciousness was always an issue. "One afternoon, we were going to a seminar at Christ's College, and as we walked through the entryway a porter turned to him and asked, 'Excuse me,

mate, are you making a delivery?' I think Tony rather liked that."

Giddens wrote most of his books while he was at Cambridge, including "The Constitution of Society" (1984), a methodological treatise in which he outlined his "structuration theory." In essence, he argued that individuals create their social contexts even while being constrained by them. With structuration, Giddens tried to resolve the debate over whether society or the individual is the appropriate unit of analysis. By focussing on the dynamic relationship between the two, structuration theory laid out an analytical compromise.

Giddens acquired an international reputation, but it took fourteen years for Cambridge to promote him from lecturer to reader. Some of his colleagues disliked the interdisciplinary nature of his work and thought it thin and unduly broad, while others resented what they perceived to be his undeserved renown. "Tony and I had a contest for who could be passed over the greater number of times," the economist Ajit Singh says. Giddens was finally promoted on his tenth consideration, in 1984. A year later, he edged out the presumed favorite candidate, Geoffrey Hawthorn, for the newly established permanent chair in sociology. Following Giddens's appointment, Hawthorn published an essay in the *London Review of Books* attacking his work as "a bland rehearsal of what others have been saying for twenty years." Another prominent sociologist accused Giddens of "purveying trendy waffle." Many speculated that part of Giddens's motivation in establishing the S.P.S. Faculty, which he did that same year, was a desire to find a more congenial base for himself at Cambridge. He spent the next twelve years reconciling the ancient institution to the new discipline. The skill with which he did so helped improve his relations with some of his colleagues. It also caught the eye of Labour Party leaders who were looking for pragmatic intellectuals.

RREADING the British newspapers over the past few months, one got a feel for the paradoxes that characterize the Blair era. Just as Britain was handing the Crown Colony of Hong Kong over to the Chinese, there was speculation on whether Tony Blair might usurp Helmut Kohl's role as the leader of the



"I mean, like, in painting, we'd be called a 'school.'"

European Union. After initiating the process of parliamentary independence for Scotland and Wales, Blair renewed his communitarian call for the diverse population of Britain to come together as "one nation." The first prime minister to address the Trades Union Congress in two decades, he started the membership by warning that it must rethink its policies if it is to survive. Expansion and consolidation, radicalism and conservatism—these seemingly contradictory developments, Giddens argues, are characteristic of the exhaustion of received ideologies in a globalized world: left and right, the global and the local, become intertwined to the point where they are nearly indistinguishable. "Distant events may become as familiar, or more so, than proximate influences, and integrated into the frameworks of personal experience," he writes. "The appearance, personality, and policies of a world political leader may be better known to a given individual than those of his next-door neighbour. A person may be more familiar with the debate over global warming than with why the tap in the kitchen leaks."

As further examples of globalization, Giddens cites Blair's support of the European Union's Social Chapter (a package of basic workers' rights), and the dynamics of Welsh and Scottish devolution. "Local nationalisms are a response

to a globalizing process that allows you to situate your identity elsewhere," he explains. "The Scots look to the E.U. in much the same way that the Catalonians do: they see themselves as part of the wider United Kingdom without restricting themselves to a single sovereignty. The result is a more cosmopolitan state, whose people have multiple identities. You will be able to be Scottish, British, and European."

Giddens is deeply engaged in the debate among British intellectuals over whether New Labour's openness to Europe, which he strongly supports, presages an enhanced global role for the country. "The United Kingdom has historically played a mediating role between Europe and the United States," he says, "and it is now more clear than ever that neither political model is satisfactory: it is no longer a choice between giving in to Europe or sticking to our origins. Blair understands that we are on the brink of a truly transnational, cosmopolitan society, which can simultaneously consolidate local democracies and produce a global order that is more than a mere free-trade bloc."

The modern world, according to Giddens, is not only fully global but also "post-traditional," a term he uses to mean that, though tradition endures in a society, it has lost the privileged status that once enabled it to trump all other contenders. Traditions must now justify

themselves in the same manner as any other points of view. Everything is "constructed" in a post-traditional society, and nothing is "given": one must choose every facet of one's life, from the nature of one's personal or sexual identity to one's profession or religion. The tradition-minded days when a woman's marriage prospects were calculated with an eye toward her family's finances, or a man was expected to take up his father's profession, are over. In a post-traditional world, men and women simply don't have pre-defined natures. Even the decision to forgo the dizzying collection of options afforded by the modern world, and conform to the status quo ante, is itself a decision. "Individuals have no choice but to make choices," he writes.

Politics is similarly redefined in a post-traditional society. According to Giddens, the ideological tenor of our times is as much a result of the collapse of conservative political thought as it is of the fall of Communism. The New Right ideology forged in the Reagan-Thatcher era has become internally contradictory by embracing the free-market capitalism that conservatism originally repudiated. On the one hand, the New Right is hostile to tradition, but "on the other, it *depends upon* the persistence of tradition for its legitimacy and its attachment to conservatism—in areas of the nation, religion, gender, and the family," he writes. In the meantime, socialists, once the mighty "vanguard of history," have been reduced to defending the bare bones of the welfare state. "Conservatism become radical here confronts socialism become conservative," he adds.

This simultaneous collapse of the right and the left clears the way, Giddens believes, for the resuscitation of what he calls "philosophic conservatism"—a tradition that he associates with the political theorist Michael Oakeshott, who taught at L.S.E. in the fifties and sixties. Now that conservatism has been shorn of its New Right trappings, the center-left can appropriate its concern for "conservation, restoration, and repair." Giddens points to Europe's Green movement as the prototype for the kind of post-ideological politics he advocates. By focussing on ecological issues of universal, transnational concern, the Greens have created a sustainable radical center, and whether their goals are achieved by way of left or right tactics doesn't matter. "We should all

become conservatives now," Giddens writes, "but not in the conservative way."

BACK at L.S.E., I ask Giddens what he thinks New Labour's legacy will be, and he answers that question by telling me about "The Two Tony Blairs"—a talk he gave recently at one of the stock-taking symposia that seem to punctuate the passing of every week in Britain. "On the one hand, you have the Tony Blair who occupies the center, steals conservative policies, and replaces the Labour Party's left-wing philosophy with a right-wing one—a more humane version of Thatcherism," Giddens says. In the days leading up to the election, many intellectuals saw New Labour in exactly this way—an attitude best captured by Stuart Hall and Martin Jacques in an essay in the *Observer* entitled, "Tony Blair: The Greatest Tory Since Thatcher?"

"Tony Blair II," Giddens continues, "is much more radical and free-thinking. He is genuinely working on the terrain that is beyond left and right, rather than opting for the right over the left. He is exploring the very question of what it means to be a radical modernizer who is concerned with social justice and equality but is mindful of the constraints placed on the state by a global market economy. The center-left doesn't preclude radicalism. The radical center is an oxymoron only if you believe that the left and right still define all the worthwhile ideas and policies. I don't, and I don't think Blair does." If Giddens's ideas are to leave their mark on Great Britain, it will be only if Blair II triumphs.

Giddens says that his next book will be about Britain and the global society, but in the meantime he is searching for a way to summarize the radical ideological changes that are taking place today. "We need a popular name for the kind of political theory that is emerging now," he says. "There was Communism, socialism, capitalism, Thatcherism, and we have something else now. It boils down to 'a theory of social justice and individualism in the context of the global market society,' but we need a shorter name. Perhaps an acronym? I'll have to think about that." ♦

"Art Safari: An Adventure in Looking for Children and Parents at the Museum of Modern Art."—Reference to a book title in the *Times*.

Over there! Isn't that Mom behind the Rodin?

INTERVIEW: ANTHONY GIDDENS

The LSE should be a powerhouse for a different kind of politics, addressing the crisis in conservatism and socialism, says its new director

"Swirling" is a word that Anthony Giddens employs a good deal. Often, he will pose the image of changes swirling about the individual, or the family, like whirlwinds pushing them here and there, in ways they cannot understand and cannot anticipate. But he appears more exhilarated than depressed by the prospect.

This may in part be a function of the post he assumed this week. He is, after years of hugely prolific work as professor of sociology at Cambridge where he became "the most cited sociologist in Britain", the new director of the London School of Economics, an institution he wishes to dedicate, even more than it presently is dedicated, to the study of the swirling world. "We live in a fantastic world now. We live in a world of the most incredible change. No one fully understands the consequences of the changes. So there is a big role for a social science university, which is what the LSE is, to be at the forefront of this."

On the eve of his takeover, Giddens sets out his vision of the LSE as both the weather vane and the weather station in the eye of the swirling storm – pointing to how the winds are blowing, and able, he hopes, to acquire knowledge and make conclusions as to the bad they will bring if they are ill winds, the good if they are benign.

His project will depend on an intellectual framework that has been constructed in his years of book writing, books which include the standard introduction to his discipline – *Sociology* – a number of studies of Émile Durkheim, volumes on class, status and power and, more lately, reflections on the nature of modernity (or "late modernity" as Giddens calls it), on the family and personal relations and on politics: his *Beyond Left and Right*, published in 1994, is one of the Blairite set texts.

The narrative that underpins his approach to what is still one of the great international academic institutions is – reshaped from a long talk – something like this. First, tradition no longer works. It can no longer be cited as a rationale for action. We no longer do things on the basis that it was always done like this in

our family, or our town, or our country. We do things from a complex of conscious and unconscious reasons, as the areas of traditional, or unreflective action are invaded by a series of external forces, many of them global. He has a striking image of this: anorexia. The fact of young women starving in the midst of cornucopia shows, he says, the invasion of the body by concerns of fashion and style more powerful than the natural urge to eat and live.

"I'm not," he insists, "talking about disintegration, though some take it up like that. I'm talking of the relative disappearance of tradition and nature, so that all of us have to take decisions in areas where we did not have to before. Things had been fixed in nature, or by custom. But now they are not. It is not just disintegration of society: it is also a world of possibilities. Look at how the position of women has been transformed. New worlds have opened for them which did not exist before. Any debate about the family, for example, has to be set against this background. The structural basis of society is shifting, not disintegrating."

Alarming phenomena are, however, part of this. One is that the old Enlightenment assumption that uncertainties were dissolved by the acquisition of knowledge is increasingly giving way to the realisation that the present production of knowledge produces uncertainty.

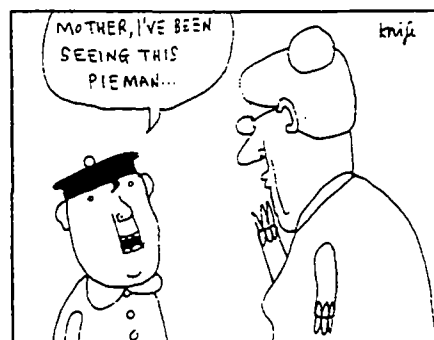
"A lot of the uncertainties of the world come not from ignorance, but from knowledge. If you consider the new risk environments, they come from scientific breakthroughs as much as from a lack of

them. See genetic medicine: it may be a huge boon to us, it may produce consequences which are malign and which we can't see. We do not know if global warming is happening – it probably is – but we certainly don't know what it will produce.

"There is a new period of risk in which it is very hard to calculate the nature of the risk. There are no historical parallels. Insurance companies know when you get into the car what the average risk is that you will not end your journey. But now that's not true. We don't know what is the risk of BSE. We don't know what the risk is of new products. We don't even know what the changes in the family and in marriage and in personal relationships will be. It is not that the world is more risky than it used to be: it is that the nature of the risk is harder to calculate."

Globalisation, which Giddens was among the first to describe (in *The Consequence of Modernity* in 1990) deepens and furthers this. Globalisation, he says, is almost not worth naming now: it is less a phenomenon, it is simply the way we live. The spread of instantaneous electronic communication over the past two decades underpins much of it – making possible the 24-hour global marketplace. "This is a global age: I cannot agree with those who say it is no different from the period of the early 20th century, when finance capital was global. It is much more intimately linked to our lives. It is a shift in relationships, where the global intersects with the private. What leads to an intensifying of global markets can also lead to an intensifying of local and regional cultures. There's an increasing connection between local life and global change. You can forget the word globalisation: it's what we are. One of the strange things in the debate about it in the UK is that it's often discussed as though it was a change in the external environment of our country. But it's a total change."

Fundamentalism is Giddens' largest concern: he does not define it conventionally. He sees fundamentalism not as a reversion to the past, but as a recasting of the past: a reinvention of a tradition that poses a supposed traditional society or series of practices to fill the yawning gulf



Simple Simon comes out

left by the disappearance of tradition. Fundamentalism says there is a given answer. The disappearance of tradition means that no answer can be given, but that all must be found through negotiation.

"I see the world as poised between fairly radical democratisations in both personal life and global decisions, and dangerous fundamentalisms in which answers are set down as absolutes. There are many sorts of fundamentalisms. One can say there is a gender fundamentalism – in which men insist on a way of doing things, and offer violence to women if they are not done. You can define fundamentalism as a refusal of dialogue.

"Yet we live in a world which is much more 'dialogic' than ever before. Indeed dialogue is the prime requirement of our world. The reason I don't think everything is falling to bits is that the world is much more cosmopolitan and open than ever before. It has its problems but it's more open. For example, you might have many more happy marriages now than before. It's not stupid to think so. Democracy in both public and private life is imperfect, but it is growing. I like to speak of emotional democracy in this context. This implies that the family is becoming more democratised. We should put our weight behind furthering that."

The collapse of both Marx and Keynes, he says, became evident in 1989, when organised Marxism collapsed. This he does not see as an isolated event, but part of the shifts caused by globalisation and the ending of tradition working its way through a sclerotic system – while they also worked their way through, and destroyed, the assumptions behind democratic socialism, specifically its demand management model of the economy derived from Keynes. The poignancy of the position of the post-communist reforms is that they hooked their wagons to the stars of western economies – just as these economies entered into a period of maximum uncertainty as to how to run themselves. Yet one lesson was common: that a centralised model could not work. The multiple and bottom-up signals of the marketplace had to replace it.

All of these issues will be – many already are – grist to the Giddens-LSE mill. One in particular speaks not just to the future of society, but to the future of the academy itself. It is the changing nature of work.

"Work is another area of unknowable risk. We don't know if full employment will exist again globally, or even in the west. It doesn't look like it: we should



assume it will not. There are many, many changes now swirling about the world of work – which include the way in which children are brought up, the position of women. The domain of the family, the relationship between the generations, the relationship between the sexes, all swirl about it at the same time and produce changes. For example, older people used to regard age as a fate. It happened to you. You lived through it. Now there is a much more active relationship to ageing. People retire in their fifties sometimes. They take on new responsibilities after retirement. Age is at once more active, and more problematic.

"So with the welfare state. It assumed that there were things which happened, like illness, age, unemployment, divorce – and the welfare state would step in and help. Now people are much more active. They realise that what they do affects their health: that ill health is not a fate, but to some extent a decision."

Work may be ending, or much of it. Thus, Giddens thinks, education and the academy will take on much more importance. Indeed, education has become something of a metaphor for change in society. "If you have the end of a period in which work has been the guiding theme for many people, and the whole motif of economic development itself comes into question, then you must think about things like social cohesion and divisiveness. And education thus becomes a way of thinking about that."

The resonance sounds with the new Labour project, crucially based round education and training as a way of improving the chances of those who are, or could become, the victims of late modernity and the diminution of work, or at least certain sorts of work.

"I've been an active supporter of the Blair programme. He is one of the few politicians in Europe who is prepared to take on board that there are massive changes going on in peoples' lives. I think, though, it should be a progressive project and not just an amalgam of issues.

"All parties have to rethink their stances. I would like the LSE to be a powerhouse for a new kind of politics, one available to all parties. It is clear that conservatism is in as much crisis as socialism. If you have a party which depended on mediating between tradition and the present and the future, then the collapse of tradition is bound to leave a party like that floundering. Now they are forced to create a tradition, which can become fundamentalist. They are riven between a version of tradition and a free-market individualism. The more you embrace one, the more you destroy the other. All parties are now trying to rethink the connection between cohesion and competitiveness."

Challenging on the world in general, he has not yet thought through his new world in particular. He does not know what he thinks about the need for fees at the LSE – about which there were protests at the end of last year – since he does not know what state the LSE finances are in. He instinctively distrusts the views of those university vice-chancellors who have mooted a "superleague" of academic institutions: he believes that supporting the whole system will keep the best the best, and that they can look after themselves well enough without preferential treatment. But he says his view is provisional. He wants to have a voice in a debate he sees as important, but he has not yet found it.

Giddens is a social scientist of world class – like a predecessor, Lord (Ralph) Dahrendorf, now retiring as warden of St Antony's College, Oxford. He thinks he can get others like him to the LSE – or retain those who are there – by keeping it at the centre, and the head, of the intellectual debates of our time. He has already mapped out the areas in which these debates will take place. If he can ensure the means to achieve his intellectual ends, the LSE could be an institution that defines our times.

WORLD AFFAIRS

EUROPEAN OF THE YEAR: A movement, not a person, mattered most in 1998. It's all about ideas, an informal vibe and—of course—the 'Third Way.' **BY STRYKER MCGUIRE**

Brave New Left World

THE BRAINSTORMING SESSIONS BEGAN SHORTLY AFTER Tony Blair's Labour Party trounced the Conservatives in May 1997. The three participants were diehard policy freaks: Anthony Giddens, director of the London School of Economics; Geoff Mulgan, director of the very en vogue think tank Demos and a special adviser to Blair, and Ian Hargreaves, editor of the *New Statesman*, a weekly magazine that doubled as a scratch pad for Labour modernizers. Once a month or so for nearly a

year, they met over takeout Thai or Indian food at Giddens's Islington town house or Hargreaves's place in Bermondsey to talk about how to reshape social democracy for a changing world.

As other work beckoned, the three men wound down their chats and went their separate ways. But not before the outlines of a "third way"—a navigable course between Thatcherism and old-style socialism—began to take shape. Hargreaves mused about it in a series of unsigned *New Statesman* editorials. Last September Giddens published

his prescription for modernization in "The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy." Mulgan helped shape a 20-page Fabian Society pamphlet by Blair, "The Third Way: New Politics for the New Century," which came out the same month.

This sort of policy wonkery usually sinks without a trace. Not this time. Since its publication, Giddens's book has been his instant entree into presidential and prime-ministerial offices around the world. (And it brings VIPs to him. While Giddens talked to NEWSWEEK in his office, George Soros, the



A MODERN STYLE
New center-left
leaders like
Schroder, Blair and
D'Alema (bottom)
are sharing ideas

billionaire financier, stopped by and joined the conversation.) Blair's pamphlet—which was in fact written mostly by Andrew Adonis, a colleague of Mulgan's at 10 Downing Street—has been published in more than 40 countries. Together, Giddens, Blair and Bill Clinton even managed (barely) to pierce the Monica fog that hung over a Third Way summit in New York on Sept. 21—the same day the world was watching the American president's videotaped grand-jury testimony about his relationship with Lewinsky.

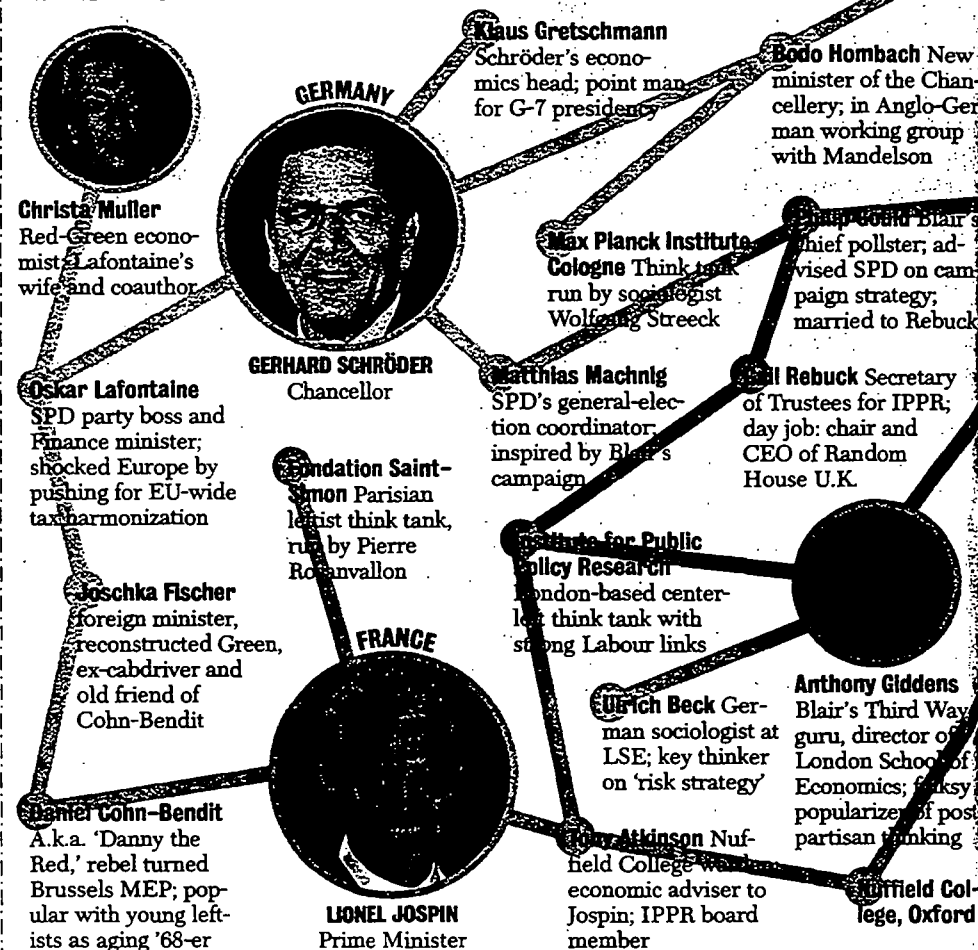
ALL THE COMMOTION ABOUT THE Third Way is just one sign among many of the vitality of the democratic left in Europe. The consolidation of power by the center-left is the signal event of 1998 in Europe, especially coming as it does on the eve of a single currency across much of the Continent. The rise of the new left, moreover, is not just about the triumph of ideology; it's also a generational change. Important differences will continue to divide Europeans, but the new left embodies in its style as well as its thinking the cultural shift that has seen borders melt away to give Europe a more open and free-wheeling feel.

As with the Third Way discussion, the new politics is characterized by loud and important arguments within the social democratic family. In moving toward the center and bowing to market economics, the social democratic parties are pursuing a wide range of divergent policies. For every Third Way, there are many others. If there is a common ground, it is the desire to reduce government intervention through such classic neoliberal measures as privatization and welfare reform—but not to yank the safety net out from under those who most need it. Arguments over how to do this will persist. For a change, however, the new left is arguing from a position of strength, not weakness. From Finland in 1995 to Germany three months ago, the democratic left has transformed Europe's political landscape. Of the 15 European Union countries, only two—Spain and Ireland—are still in the hands of center-right parties. For the first time ever, the center-left is in charge in all the big four European powers—Germany, Britain, France and Italy—at the same time. Says Johannes Kandel, director of a Social Democratic Party (SPD) think tank in Freudenberg, Germany: "We've ended the hegemony over intellectual discourse that the right enjoyed during the 1980s."

Across the breadth of Europe there has never been such intellectual ferment on the democratic left. "The landscape is always moving," says Laurent Bouvet, editor of the *Revue Socialiste* in Paris. It's also early days. "All successful, dynamic political proj-

Six Degrees of Leftist Separation

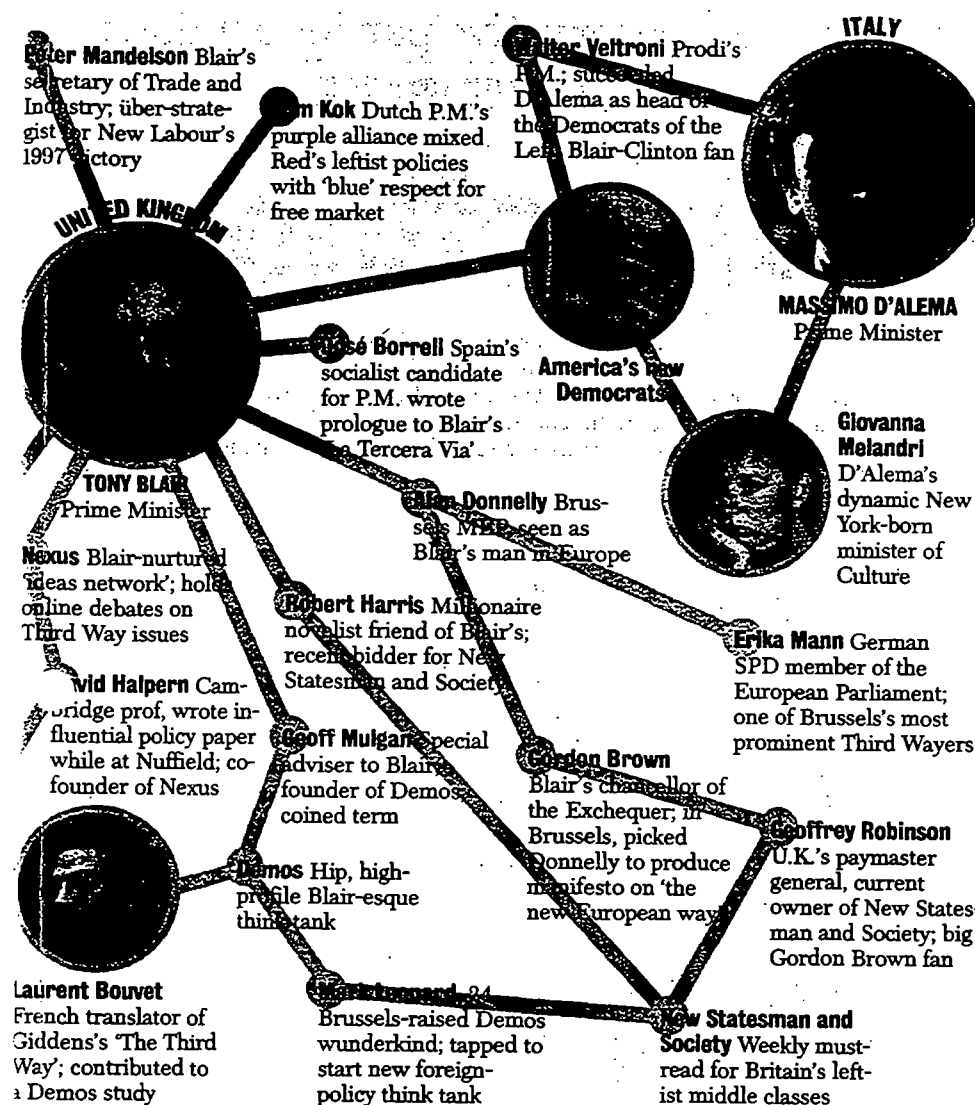
It's not a continent-wide political conspiracy. But an awful lot of Europe's center-leftists are members of a political interlocking directorship. Some strands in the skein of the new network:



ects are 'work in progress,' and our work is at an early stage," Blair wrote in his pamphlet. But the intellectual free-for-all is a real one—about how to modernize social democracy and keep its candidates electorally viable. The give and take is also very end-of-the-century European in its informality and borderlessness. For a change, says Italian Prime Minister Massimo D'Alema, intellectuals and politicians are "creating together." What's more, he told *NEWSWEEK* in an interview, the discussions have slipped the bonds of protocol-stiff meetings around huge conference tables set with pad, paper and Pellegrino. "This [conversation] is happening in front of a fireplace, not necessarily just in official meetings," he said.

The tone is set at the top. In the new politics, photos of Blair and French Prime Minister Lionel Jospin in shirt sleeves in the south of France have become as routine as the Gap ads they resemble. But it goes deeper and is hardly accidental. The Social Democratic Party of Europe,

an umbrella group led by German Defense Minister Rudolf Scharping, makes sure that key figures from national parties gather before EU meetings in order to plot strategy. Two years ago socialist Finance ministers—or shadow ministers in the case of out-of-power socialist parties, of which there used to be plenty—began getting together among themselves prior to regular meetings of European Union Economic and Finance ministers. According to Alan Donnelly, head of the British Labour group at the European Parliament, these meetings have been crucial in the forming and sharing of new-left ideas. Bernard Tutyens of the Party of European Socialists, which organizes the meetings, describes them as "intellectual Ping-Pong." In order to break down barriers, he says, he seats ministers as close as possible to one another—"so they are practically touching each other." This includes Gordon Brown of Britain and Oskar Lafontaine of Germany, whose countries are



frequently at odds over taxation policy. Says Tutyens: "They're there without civil servants, without papers. Brown has to say, 'Oskar, Oskar.'"

THAT'S "JUST THE BEGINNING," says Mark Leonard, a 24-year-old ex-Demos researcher. Last week Leonard, whom Blair has tapped to set up a new foreign-policy think tank called the Foreign Policy Centre, took the Eurostar to Paris, where he began making the rounds of his counterparts on the Continent. Sound-biting into his cell phone from Brussels, he told *Newsweek* he would like to see "an ideas Schengen." By that he means a Europe-wide dialogue in which ideas about politics and policy cross borders as freely as people have been able to do since the EU's Schengen agreement on immigration controls. To that end, he is plugging into a network of European think tanks and journals that Britons have for most part ignored in the past. "Being a good

European," says Leonard, "is not just rocketing off to conferences."

No amount of networking is going to eliminate the Anglo-French divide, of course. Unlike a few other European social democratic leaders, Jospin—viewed by the Blair crowd as too reluctant a modernizer—didn't get an invitation to the Clinton-Blair Third Way summit in New York at first. When it finally came (in a phone call from Blair) the gesture looked humiliatingly like an afterthought. Jospin declined. The orthodox French socialist view is that Blair, who at 45 is 16 years younger than Jospin, gets too much credit for leading European socialism out of the wilderness. "Blair tends to consider that before him nothing happened," says Axel Queval, head of the international department of the Fondation Jean Jaurès, the official Socialist Party think tank. Many French socialists also believe that Blair doesn't get enough blame—for selling out traditional, cradle-to-grave socialist programs or for borrow-

ing as heavily as he has from the suspect American welfare-to-work model.

German-Anglo relations are warmer. Blair deputies and Labour M.P.s logged countless frequent-flier miles over the past year to drop in on the SPD campaign that put Gerhard Schröder, or "Herr Blair," as he was called, in the chancellor's office in October. Labour M.P. Denis MacShane, a French- and German-speaking Europhile, made three such trips. The first was in January, when he was invited to speak alongside Lafontaine in Cologne. MacShane made a point of showing Lafontaine the wallet-size "five early pledges" card that Labour had used so effectively during their 1997 campaign. Lafontaine was enthusiastic and talked to MacShane about the Labour campaign over drinks afterward at a hotel bar. (Lafontaine, MacShane recalls, quickly switched from beer to his favorite red wine.) The SPD adopted the card—adding four extra pledges.

One of the forces behind the SPD victory was Matthias Machnig, a life-long party apparatchik who doesn't look it in his black Hugo Boss suit, gray shirt and gold tie. Now an under secretary in the Transportation Ministry, Machnig, 38, spent months sniffing around other campaigns: a couple of weeks on the Clinton '96 campaign, visits to Sweden and the Netherlands, three trips to Britain. He was a quick study. With campaign guru Bodo Hombach, Machnig, the election coordinator, made sure a third of the campaign workers at the Bonn headquarters were private-sector professionals. They focus-tested billboard language. They established opposition-research and media-monitoring units. They back-loaded the last five weeks of the campaign with 60 "made for TV" events whose purpose was simple, says Machnig: "to bring up brilliant pictures." It worked, and now Machnig is the one being visited by campaign strategists from Austria, Israel and elsewhere.

At the SPD think tank he directs in Freudenberg, Kandel now finds himself writing articles about the "amazing resurrection of social democracy." The language is not exactly academic, but then the renaissance of the democratic left was not always obvious. It was not so very long ago that the German-born British sociologist Ralf Dahrendorf wrote it off. Dahrendorf—who was, as it happens, a precursor of Tony Giddens's as director of the LSE (1974-1984)—declared "the end of the social democratic century." Now that social democracy has come back in different form, the task before Kandel and political thinkers like him across Europe is to see what they can do to keep the new model around. That buzz you hear is them hard at work.

With CARLA POWER in London, MARION KERR in Brussels, ANDREW NAGORSKI in Bonn, CHRISTOPHER DICKEY in Paris, and ROD NORDLAND in Rome

The Observer 13 September 1998

... FOCUS: THE THIRD WAY 27

'As an ethical principle no rights without responsibilities applies to all, not just the poor and needy'

BEYOND LEFT AND RIGHT



Blair and Clinton meet next week to discuss a new politics — the Third Way. Here, in an exclusive extract from his latest ground-breaking book, New Labour's favourite guru **Anthony Giddens** argues social democracy should take the radical route towards the centre

POLITICAL ideas today seem to have lost the capacity to inspire, and political leaders the ability to lead. Public debate is dominated by worries about declining moral values, growing divisions between rich and poor and the stresses of the welfare state.

If political thinking is going to recapture its inspirational qualities, it has to be neither simply reactive nor confined to the everyday and the parochial. Political life is nothing without ideals, but ideals are empty if they don't relate to real possibilities. We need to know what sort of society we would like to create and the concrete means of moving towards it. Here I seek to show how these aims can be achieved and political idealism revived.

Marx spoke of the disappearance of the state with the coming of a fully developed socialist society, in which 'the free development of each will be the condition of the free development of all'. In practice, socialism and Communism alike placed a firm emphasis upon the role of the state in generating both solidarity and equality. Collectivism became one of the most prominent traits distinguishing social democracy from conservatism, which ideologically placed a much stronger emphasis upon 'the individual'.

Much of this has been going into reverse since the late 1970s. Social democrats had to respond to the challenge of neo-liberalism, but more important were the changes going on that helped to give

Thatcherism its ideological purchase.

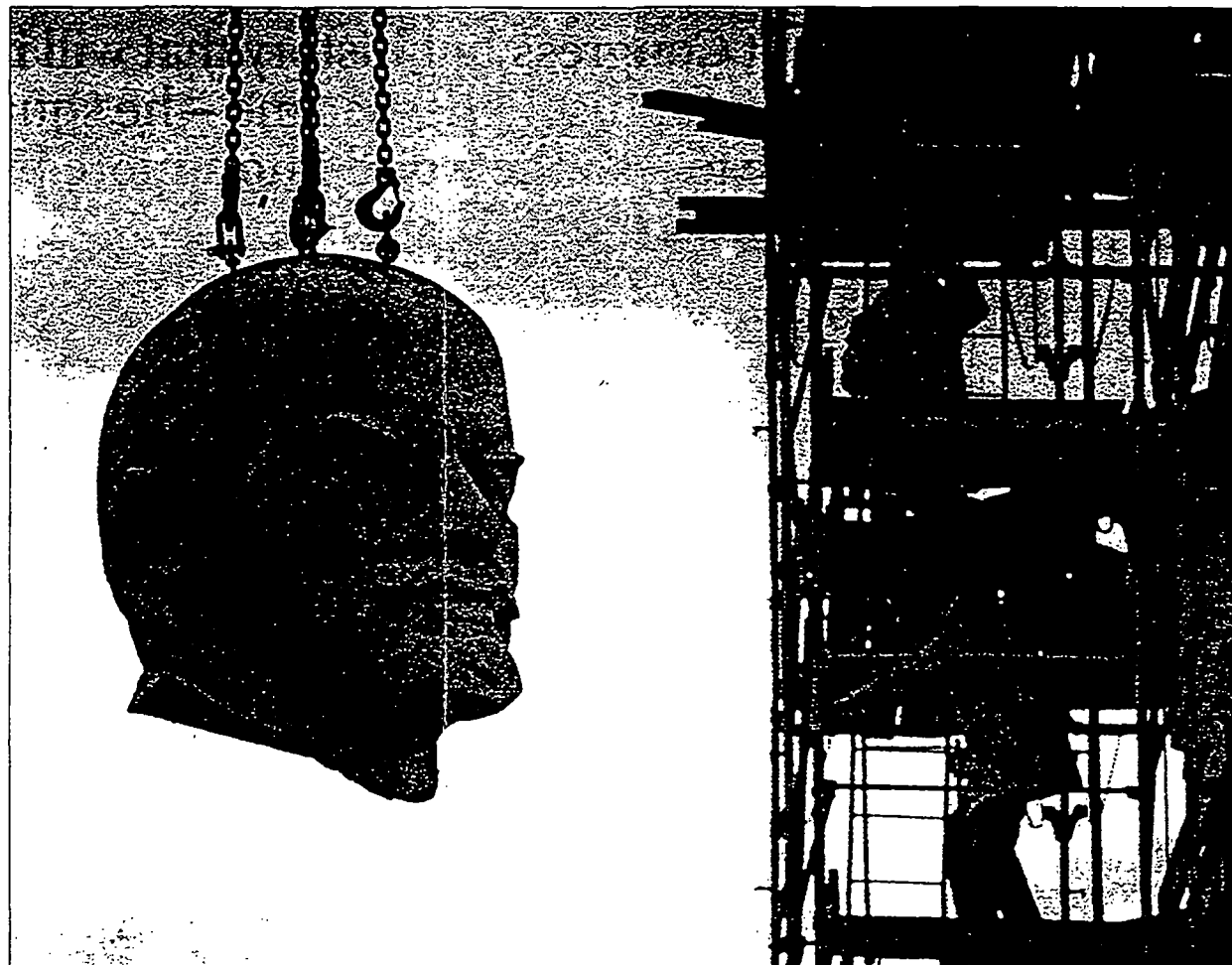
The new individualism is associated with the retreat of tradition and custom from our lives — through globalisation and the welfare state. Welfare institutions have helped liberate individuals from some of the fixities of the past. Rather than seeing ours as an age of moral decay, then, it makes sense to see it as an age of moral transition.

Social cohesion can't be guaranteed by the top-down action of the state or by appeal to tradition. We have to make our lives in a more active way than was true of previous generations, and we need more actively to accept responsibility for the consequences of what we do.

Anthony Giddens goes on to argue that the old Left/Right divide is unequal to the task of addressing modern problems. These include the globalisation of the economy, ecological questions and issues to do with the changing nature of family, work and personal and cultural identity.

How should we react to global warming? Should we accept nuclear energy? How far should work remain a central life value? Should we favour devolution? What should be the future of the European Union? None of these is a clear Left/Right issue, which suggests that the centre holds the key.

THE RADICAL CENTRE THE CENTRE, in the context of Left and Right, can only mean compromise, but if Left



Marx spoke of the disappearance of the state. In 1991 Berlin it was the granite head of Lenin that was removed.

and Right are less encompassing than they once were, this no longer follows. The idea of the 'active middle', or the 'radical centre', discussed quite widely among social democrats recently, should be taken seriously.

It implies that 'centre-left' isn't inevitably the same as 'moderate left'. Nearly all the questions mentioned above require radical solutions or suggest radical policies. All are potentially divisive, but the conditions and alliances required to cope with them don't necessarily follow those based upon divisions of economic interest.

Economist J.K. Galbraith suggested that in contemporary societies the affluent lose interest in the fate of the underprivileged. Yet European research shows that in many respects the opposite is the case. Alliances can be built, and can provide a basis for radical policies.

Tackling ecological problems, for instance, often de-

mands a radical outlook, but that radicalism can in principle command a widespread consensus. From responding to globalisation to family policy the same applies.

The term 'centre-left' thus isn't an innocent label. A renewed social democracy has to be left of centre, because social justice and emancipatory politics remain at its core. But the 'centre' shouldn't be regarded as empty of substance. Rather, we are talking of the alliances that social democrats can weave from the threads of lifestyle diversity.

THIRD WAY POLITICS THE OVERALL aim of third way politics should be to help citizens pilot their way through the major revolutions of our time: globalisation, transformations in personal life and our relationship to nature.

Third way politics should preserve a core concern with social justice, while accepting

that the range of questions which escape the Left/Right divide is greater than before. Freedom to social democrats should mean autonomy of action, which in turn demands the involvement of the wider social community.

Having abandoned collectivism, third way politics looks for a new relationship between the individual and the community, a redefinition of rights and obligations.

One might suggest as a prime motto for the new politics, *no rights without responsibilities*.

Government has a whole cluster of responsibilities for its citizens and others, including the protection of the vulnerable.

Old-style social democracy, however, was inclined to treat rights as unconditional claims. With expanding individualism should come an extension of individual obligations.

Unemployment benefits, for example, should carry the ob-

ligation actively to look for work, and it is up to governments to ensure that welfare systems do not discourage active search.

As an ethical principle, *no rights without responsibilities* must apply not only to welfare recipients, but to everyone — otherwise the precept can be held to apply only to the poor or the needy.

EXCLUSION EXCLUSION is not about gradations of inequality, but about mechanisms that detach people from the social mainstream. Limiting the voluntary exclusion of the elites is central to creating a more inclusive society at the bottom. Many suggest the accumulation of privilege at the top is unstoppable. Income inequalities seem to be rising across a wide front. In the US, for example, 60 per cent of income gains over the period from 1980 to 1990 went to the top 1 per cent of the population, while the

Photograph by Hansi Krauss/AP

real income of the poorest 25 per cent has remained static for 30 years. The UK shows similar trends in less extreme form. The gap between the highest-paid and lowest-paid workers is greater than it has been for at least 50 years. While the large majority of the working population are better off in real terms than 20 years ago, the poorest 10 per cent have seen their real incomes decline.

'Civic liberalism' — the recapturing of public space — must be a basic part of an inclusive society at the top. How can this liberalism be renewed or sustained? The successful cultivation of the cosmopolitan nation is one way. People who feel themselves members of a national community are likely to acknowledge a commitment to others within it.

In terms of social solidarity, the most important groups are not only the new corporate rich but also the members of the professional and moneyed

middle class, since they are closest to the dividing lines which threaten to pull away from public space. Improving the quality of public education, sustaining a well-resourced health service, promoting safe public amenities, and controlling levels of crime are all relevant.

Inclusion must stretch well beyond work, not only because there are many people at any one time not able to be in the labour force, but because a society too dominated by the work ethic would be a thoroughly unattractive place in which to live. An inclusive society must provide for the basic needs of those who can't work and must recognise the wider diversity of goals life has to offer.

POSITIVE WELFARE REFORM of the welfare state should not reduce it to a safety net. Only a welfare system that benefits most of the population will generate a common morality of citizenship. Where 'welfare' assumes only a negative connotation, and is targeted largely at the poor, as has tended to happen in the US, the results are divisive.

Our current welfare state isn't geared up to cover new-style risks such as technological change, social exclusion or the accelerating proportion of one-parent households. These mismatches are of two kinds: where risks covered don't fit with needs, and where the wrong groups are protected.

Welfare reform should recognise that effective risk management (individual or collective) doesn't just mean minimising or protecting against risks, it also means harnessing the positive or energetic side of risk and providing resources for risk-taking. Active risk-taking is recognised as inherent in entrepreneurial activity, but the same applies to the labour force. Deciding to go to work and give up benefits, or taking a job in a particular industry, are risk-infused activities — but such risk-taking is often beneficial both to the individual and the wider society.

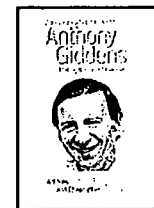
Although these propositions may sound remote from the down-to-earth concerns of welfare systems, there isn't a single area of welfare reform to which they aren't relevant or which they don't help illuminate.

The guideline is investment in human capital wherever possible, rather than the direct provision of economic maintenance. In place of the welfare state we should put the social investment state, operating in the context of a positive welfare society. *Extracted from 'The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy', published by Polity Press on Friday, £6.95*

Where society is not a dirty word

IF BLAIRISM is about anything, it is about saying – *contra* Thatcher – that there is such a thing as society. Which means that there must also be such things as sociologists. Indeed, New Labour seized Middle England by employing the essential tools of sociology. It used observational field-work (or “focus groups”). It crunched endless columns of attitudinal statistics. And it had a working hypothesis which presumed, at least, that there was a “social” to which “social-ism” could refer. Out of that came electoral victory – and victory, too, for an intellectual discipline that had been almost as much of a New Right folk devil as striking miners or sponging immigrants.

Yet it's still a slight surprise that, of all the sociological gurus who might have contended for the Prime Minister's attention, it was Anthony Giddens who got the airline ticket to go wonk-



ing with Tony in the White House a few months ago. The recent one-off edition of *Marrism Today* was almost entirely composed of those social thinkers – Hall, Hobsbawm, Held – whose long years of reformist speculation had been snubbed by No 10. Yet while these reborn socialists wait for the next totter of world capitalism to bring the party to its senses, Giddens is already in the thick of it, turning his prodigious learning into the common sense of a new political order.

Read this illuminating book of con-

versations with Giddens, and you realise exactly why he has succeeded. For his understanding of what constitutes the “social” is, to use his own terminology, well beyond left and right – and certainly beyond the sentimental collectivism of the old *Marrism Today* crowd. Society, in Giddens's view, is complex, tangled, seethingly unpredictable. We inhabit a “runaway world”, a “risk society”. If any government wanted a justification for the choice of nudging pragmatism over strict planning, then Giddens's thinking is ready-made for the task.

His interviewer, Christopher Pierson, is a dogged socialist of the old school. He spends most of this book trying to get Giddens to worry about problems – class struggle, welfare benefits, technological determinism – which the director of the LSE seems only too relieved to leave behind. Yet Giddens's confidence comes not just from his proximity to power, but from the prophetic nature of his writings.

A chapter entitled “Structuration Theory” – Giddens's big news of the Seventies – may not seem like the most promising ground. But there it is: an understanding of the relationship between individuals, and the conditions which bear upon them; which is so fiendishly difficult to grasp (particularly for his interviewer) that it's almost mystical. Giddens was talking about a Third Way, between individual “agency” and social “structure”, decades before Blair got round to it – and, one must say, before Giddens started turning his own

theories into rah-rah pamphlets. This book also shows that Giddens understood globalisation and the networked world much earlier than his contemporaries. What used to be regarded as his conceptual cloudiness on matters of power and money now turn out to be modest descriptions of reality. What else are our convulsive financial crises, or our remote-controlled Gulf Wars, other than the “disembedding” of social structures – as he puts it – from the constraints of time and space?

Giddens's diagnosis is sharp, but his remedies are still unconvincing. Will an idea of “positive welfare” link the contented middle classes to the poor who claim their taxes? Will we be able to rein in rampant markets and ecological disasters with “world governance”? Is the answer to a world endemic with risk and insecurity a turn towards “cosmopolitan democracy”? There's sometimes a sense that Giddens, self-confessedly a theoretician, is happy to keep minting bright new concepts, hopeful that politicians will eventually rally behind them.

Yet as structuration theory says – or is it Buddhism? – you make reality as it makes you. No wonder Giddens is interested in 12-step therapy plans.

After such diligence, it's mildly relieving to turn to a book of interviews with someone who “never” thought there was such a thing as society anyway. But if Giddens's star is rising in the can-do culture of Blairism, the French thinker Jean Baudrillard's star is shooting to earth. All that

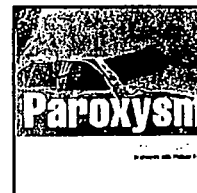
WEDNESDAY BOOKS

CONVERSATIONS WITH ANTHONY GIDDENS: MAKING SENSE OF MODERNITY

BY ANTHONY GIDDENS AND CHRISTOPHER PIERSON. POLITY PRESS. £12.95

PAROXYSM: INTERVIEWS WITH PHILIPPE PETIT

BY JACQUES BAUDRILLARD AND PHILIPPE PETIT, VERSO, £11



Giddens: talking about a Third Way decades ago Mykel Nicolaou

semiotic nihilism – all those shoulder-shrugs of blank despair at the way our sense of reality has evaporated behind a billion media moments – seem so very Eighties. Don't we have National Grids for Learning now – not to mention the Creative Industries Committee – in this best of all possible worlds?

Yet between the elegant ennui of Baudrillard (beautifully translated here by Chris Turner) and the cautious system-building of Giddens, the same void lies. Whether you constitute it anew, or lament its disappearance, it's still the case that “society” is surely the most unreliable and elusive of realities. If we wish to invoke it, we need our shamans to raise the vision. So bring on the sociologists – for as long as they're needed, of course.

PAT KANE

Portrait: Anthony Giddens

The new director of the LSE provides intellectual legitimacy for Tony Blair's pick and mix politics—both men are attempting to transcend left and right.

John Lloyd considers their respective journeys from the left to the radical centre

ANTHONY GIDDENS IS the key intellectual figure of New Labour. This does not mean he is a philosopher at the court of King Tony: there is no such figure, beside the homely wisdom of Peter Mandelson. Rather, it means that his themes set a context within which New Labour thinking can operate.

At the same time, the logic of many of Giddens' positions contradicts and runs against the practice of New Labour. In mapping out the new terrain, Giddens' work seeks to show New Labour where to go, reveals how much its adaptation of socialism to social-ism is inevitable for a party seeking power, and defines some of the limits of what it has identified as its most urgent, albeit imprecise, task: the modernisation of Britain.

Giddens has spent all of his working life in academia, mostly in Cambridge, where he became professor of sociology and a fellow of King's College. His output of books and articles has been immense: he has also founded and chaired Polity Press in association with the publishers Blackwell. Polity publishes

a range of authors who might be loosely defined as the new political and social theorists.

In December, he was appointed director of the London School of Economics—a post which carries

with it a heavy load of administrative work, which he attempts to minimise but which he already finds, three months into his tenure, is cutting into his own writing. As he began his new job, he received the accolade of a day-long conference at the Institute of Contemporary Arts dedicated to his work—a rare event for a living scholar. The choice of the venue shows how much his work is seen to intersect with a cultural agenda beyond academic sociology, more in tune with what remains of the new left, which itself intersects with New Labour, if uneasily.

He is a slightly built man with a mobile,

humorous face, a pronounced London accent and a casual conversational and public speaking style, which comes as a surprise after the density of his prose. He has none of the public gravitas of his best known predecessor at the LSE, Sir Ralf Dahrendorf, nor does he have the latter's slate of public positions, although he may acquire some of this when Labour is in office. He is self-deprecating, ironic and elusive: when I put to him that one of his major themes was the need for more dialogue among individuals and institutions, he said rather dismissively—"well, you don't want people to talk on all the bloody time, you have to get on with things"—leaving me feeling slightly foolish.

This article is neither a personal profile nor an appreciation of the totality of his work. Rather, it is an effort to place his more recent writing in the present political context: to support my opening gambit that Giddens' is at once an inspiration for New Labour and a critic.

GIDDENS HAS CLEARED a space in the ideological jungle for the politics of the "radical centre"—his phrase, and Blair's. He believes that there is no longer, in most areas of political life, a political left and right—if these are defined as coherent, inter-linked sets of beliefs. The title of his best known recent book, *Beyond Left and Right*, is so called because it does seek to explore terrain in which there are no presumptions about one source of ideas being untouchable or another automatically privileged. "Conservatism," he says "...can be drawn on positively, if critically, to help us shape a radical programme." The "us" in this is assumed to be the left to which Giddens addresses himself and in which he considers himself at home.

Yet, there is no longer a right and left largely because the left has failed. It can no longer give the world what it once could—the ideology and organisation for a "simple modernisation" in which production could develop and expand without too much concern for the varieties of individual human taste.

GIDDENS HAS CLEARED A SPACE IN THE IDEOLOGICAL JUNGLE FOR THE RADICAL CENTRE

In the period of "reflexive modernisation," in which demands become bewilderingly differentiated, socialism simply goes out of date. And this is the case not just for the dramatic failure of Soviet communism, but for revisionist socialism in various forms: Keynesianism is no more capable of coping than are the descendants of Stalinism. "Socialism," he writes, "was based on a cybernetic model of social life, one which strongly reflects the Enlightenment outlook. According to the cybernetic model, a system (in the case of socialism, the economy) can best be organised by being subordinated to a directive intelligence (the state, in one form or another). While such a set-up might work in a society of fairly fixed lifestyle habits—it does not work in a highly complex one."

In other words, modernity, or even post-modernity (Giddens uses "post-traditional," a rather different concept), favours much of what has been the economic pillar of the right—free markets. In several places in his work, and in conversation, Giddens is explicit that we are now on neo-liberal economic ground, and are unlikely to shift off it. In that sense the right has "won"—but in that sense only. For while the left has lost an economic case which was also a moral one—and that is a very large loss indeed—the right has now reached the limit of its own neo-liberal success. It is caught in the contradictions of a politics which celebrates the uprooting vigour of market radicalism while proclaiming a fidelity to institutions of state and private life—the monarchy, the constitution, the family, Victorian morality—which are most under siege from the markets and their appetite for new customers, products and images.

Conservatism must be distinguished from neo-liberalism: indeed, the Conservative party today is in crisis because conservatism is in such open warfare with market radicalism, and can no longer be reconciled through the charismatic medium of Margaret Thatcher. Philosophic conservatism, Giddens believes, with its themes of "conservation, restoration and repair" is now the kind of stream which can be diverted to the purposes of the left—even as the society created by the neo-liberals must be tolerated.

And the requirement to conserve connects to Giddens' belief that we live in a world full of a new sort of risk—"manufactured risk," where the problems we face come from what we have done to nature, rather than from nature itself. Manufactured risk is the Enlightenment project turning upon itself: in the exhaustion of the environment and in the perverse side effects which spin off from scientific or market advances, as BSE did from the faster processing of animals through abattoirs.

This cannot continue indefinitely. The assumptions of growth, built alike into socialism and capitalism, are probably no longer sustainable. The world may be warming dangerously. Its population may be increasing too rapidly for its resources and food

growing capacity to cope. We do not know these things, but we no longer trust the airy waving away of such fears with the assurance that science always turns up a solution.

GIDDENS' CENTRAL POLITICAL concept, and in many ways the most uncomfortable for New Labour, is the "post-traditional" society. For Giddens, this means a society in which the anchors of the past have been pulled up, and in which a new sort of decision making and a new sort of public and private morality must be practised in the absence of generally accepted truths. Post-traditional society is one in which tradition cannot be given any kind of privileged place whatsoever—something which is difficult for a political party to accept, whether New Labour or neo-liberal conservatism before it.

GIDDENS IS EXPLICIT THAT WE ARE NOW IRREVOCABLY ON NEO-LIBERAL ECONOMIC GROUND

Like Larkin with sex, so Giddens dates post-traditional society as beginning sometime in the 1960s. From then on, a "runaway world" as Edmund Leach put it, has run away from an order in which things were done in a certain way because they were always done in a certain way. It became a world of invention: from the invention of products for which no need had ever been felt, to the invention of relationships for which no previous social or religious sanction had been given in western society.

This meant that all decisions had to be conscious: that it could never be enough to say that an order was sanctioned by time, or that a state of affairs was sacrosanct because it had served a previous era well. It meant a world in which production techniques could come from Japan, marketing strategy from the US, equal opportunity codes from Scandinavia. Nothing was actually "British" any more, nor "German," nor "Russian"—everything was at least potentially open to being a palimpsest composed of everything else. "In many situations," he writes, "we cannot choose but to choose among alternatives—even if we should choose to remain traditional."

But if tradition is gone, and with it the guiding, if sometimes invisible hands of religion, or secular religions such as communism, on what can decisions be based? Why is one better than another? Indeed, in the former Soviet states, cast into a "post-traditional" world instantly, without the slow decompression of the western societies, we can see the political, philosophical and moral chaos which has erupted from the crash of old structures of belief. It is as if we had moved from puritanism to hedonism in a decade.

Giddens has a kind of answer. "Where the past has lost its hold," he writes, "we need to generate in its place active trust—trust in others or in institutions, including political institutions." Negotiation

and dialogue—another G-phrase is “dialogic democracy”—are the media through which trust is generated. If everything is subject to human reason and to consent, then the world must be composed of areas in which negotiation is carried out. And this must be done, as far as possible, on equal bases. Indeed, securing these equal bases, rather than an illusory search for equality itself, becomes a major task of post-traditional politics. This assumes devolution and decentralisation of political power, and the use of “top down” politics to bring about its own disappearance. “Top down” politics should increasingly be about creating spaces in which people “at the bottom” sort out things for themselves. This means that “they” get out of our hair, something to which most would assent. It also means that “they” cease to take responsibility for a variety of social crises.

The largest motor behind the creation and re-creation of post-traditional societies is globalisation—a process which Giddens sees as an omnipresent effect, infusing every part of our public and private lives. It is not some entity which can be embraced or refused: it is the social, economic and political air we breathe, even if we feel it is poisoning us.

Globalisation is a highly contested area—some of the arguments have been rehearsed in the pages of this magazine. Giddens is a leading figure in the group which thinks that globalisation is revolutionising our world, and is not merely a repeat of the expansion of trade seen before the first world war. There is an even more keenly felt dimension to globalisation: “My decision to purchase a particular article of clothing or a specific type of foodstuff, has global implications. It not only affects the livelihood of someone living on the other side of the world but may contribute to a process of ecological decay which itself has consequences for the whole of humanity. This extraordinary, and still accelerating, connectedness between everyday decisions and global outcomes, together with its reverse,

the influence of global orders over individual life, form the key subject matter of the new agenda. Intermediate collectivities and groupings of all sorts, including the state, do not disappear; but they do become reorganised or reshaped.”

Globalisation transfers to the global arena much of what had been captured by the state. It does not mean rule by global corporations—another comforting bugaboo of the left which Giddens casually knocks aside with the observation that “the celebrated propensity of capitalist production towards monopoly probably depended in fact upon collaborative connections between the state and capital which are now being undermined.” Global companies’ power can be awesome—it can also be fragile or at least reversible, given local mobilisation. Many of the parables of our time, which have provided the fodder for Hollywood sentimentalism over the past decade, concern the successful struggle of a threatened community against the mighty corporation, which hovers darkly over them like the alien spacecrafts do in

Independence Day—and then, with pluck, courage, humour and daring, are pushed back as the community and human life is saved.

At the symposium in his honour, Giddens was taken to respectful task by Will Hutton, editor of the *Observer* and a Savonarola against the right, for playing down the problem, which was, said Hutton, basically still capitalism. It is

easy to see Hutton’s point: the reconciliation to the liberal economic agenda, the puncturing of leftist beliefs, the straining to transcend leftist labels—all could be seen as adding up to a super-sophisticated sojourn to the right of the kind taken by many leftists. In fact, Giddens believes in much of what leftists have always believed: he believes that class distinctions are deepening not disappearing, although or a global rather than purely national basis; he believes that poverty is more difficult to eradicate in some ways, as the rich and the educated become one and the same class, globally organised and very powerful stratum which has less and less interest in their native countries, let alone the poor who were



once at the rich man's gate and thus got a few alms. As Zygmunt Baumann observed at the symposium, the poor are no longer needed for the good of the soul, nor indeed as a reserve army of labour—the roles which the two great western ideologies of the past century reserved for them. Giddens acknowledges the force of this, but has no belief in the competence of the old nostrums to do much about it, except cosmetically and temporarily.

THIS IS THE most stripped down version of a body of work which has matured over decades. It is clear, though, from even such a brief rehearsal how Blair-friendly much of it is. Both are searching for a rewriting of the old labels, not merely a representation of them. Both revel in invention, although the academic is much freer to do so than the politician, especially since the latter must take on established and entrenched interests in the course of the re-invention of his party. Giddens says that he was never a marxist—although he does say he wanted to place Marx alongside with Max Weber and Emile Durkheim, as a key social theorist and one whose analysis of class can still be fruitfully used and explored. In this sense, although not one of the New Left core group with Perry Anderson, Robin Blackburn, Anthony Barnett and others, Giddens was regarded as allied to them, sharing their academic and to some extent political space. His coming in to New Labour—and he heartily endorses “the project”—is thus a sign that part of that grouping does not dismiss Blairism as a fashionable heresy, as Eric Hobsbawm has done.

The usefulness of his work to New Labour lies in the cluster of insights around his concepts of globalisation and post-traditional society, but above all in his ideological brigandage—the transcendence of the old ideological categories and their replacement by a commitment to be “radical” in pursuit of both economic efficiency and greater social justice. Most commentators, and many politicians, see a yawning contradiction between these two aims: the adoption of neo-liberalism's main tenets, it is held, must cancel out any but rhetorical obeisance to “social-ism.” But Giddens' work says this is not necessarily so.

His resolution of the issue lies in another coinage—“utopian realism,” or the pursuit of realistic solutions through an apparently utopian vision. For example, if it is clear that the richer and more populous countries are being choked by cars to the point where car driving is slower than almost all forms of transport other than walking, then proposals thought utopian, such as the banning of cars from cities, become reasonable. Who is going to give up the luxury of a car? But if the present order is shown clearly to be no longer sustainable, and no longer part of what the modern world could aspire to, then both the practical and moral supports for it could be whittled away by a “dialogic politics.”

New Labour, at its best, operates in precisely this area. The constitutional change which constitutes the most radical and ambitious part of the programme is utopian in the depth of change it will usher in. To propose at least one separate parliament for the first time on the British mainland in nearly three centuries, an end to hereditary peers, a right to see information held on oneself, an incorporation of the European charter of human rights into British legal practice, as well as a revival of local government and education, is sweeping in its scope—even if this has been obscured by the inner party grumblings about the rightward drift of economic policy.

But one of the reasons why the Conservatives cannot get a proper handle on Labour is because the utopian has become, or could become, realistic:

**WE LEFT TRADITION
BEHIND IN OUR
QUEST FOR PROGRESS
AND IT WILL NOT
HAVE US BACK**

that which was deemed unpopular, or irrelevant to common concern, has become desired. Tradition, to which John Major has appealed and will again in the next two months, has lost its hold: it is seen as just one consideration among many, and often not a powerful one. The modernising politician, picking his moment and issue, can indeed be a utopian realist.

In a different sense, the New Labour leadership has overseen a change in the party constitution and practice which seemed utopian until a few years ago—and indeed, was pushed aside by John Smith, the leader before Blair, as a change too far (or even a change not wanted). Yet the rewriting of clause four to incorporate a commitment to free enterprise, the adoption of a centrist or even (in conventional terms) rightist economic programme and the progressive marginalising of the trade unions have been accomplished with a speed and determination which was realistic, given the need to modernise to win.

New Labour knows it operates in a post-traditional world. It knows this because the most tenaciously guarded tradition it has taken on and beaten was the Labour party itself. In carving away great chunks of it, New Labour has caused a deep grief, which is only partly allayed by its success in the opinion polls: the hunger for traditional ideological and moral comforts exists in a separate compartment from the desire for power, and may even be at war with it.

New Labour also knows it lives in a world already globalised, rather than one in which it can choose how globalised it wishes to be. Blair has reiterated the Thatcherite mantra of “there is no alternative”—one of the saddest political mottos of our times, but one of the most solid. The realisation allows New Labour to see Britain much more for what it is than previous administrations or oppositions, arguably

more than the present government. It is behind the much criticised modesty of the election promises. New Labour knows that globalisation means constraint, the acceptance of the outside world in every area of political life.

New Labour has also come to its own kind of dialogic democracy. It has extended open dialogue with groups and institutions which were assumed to be outside the Labour universe, at least in opposition—principally business leaders. It has in some ways extended dialogue with the general public: focus groups are a substitute for an impossible public conversation, clearly used for short run, even cynical motives but at the same time rather more respectful to real worries, desires and aspirations than either the hearty 40 seconds on the doorstep or

I ASKED GIDDENS WHAT HE THOUGHT OF BLAIR'S USE OF RELIGION—HE WAS NOT IMPRESSED

the curt yes/no responses of the opinion polls. The complaint that a great political party should not be driven by focus groups—by the carefully revealed thoughts of a range of people ordinarily not involved in the political process—is a strange one: is it *prima facie* better that it be driven simply by the driven people who are its active members?

BUT WHERE GIDDENS and New Labour part company is in those areas where the party has judged it best to stay with tradition, or to invoke it to cover its real or potential radicalism, or because it has nothing else but the traditional to say. I asked Giddens what he thought about the use of religion by Blair and others in Labour's leadership as a moral guide to society and as a symbol of his and their own probity and respectability. He replied—"I think that's no good. You can't use it in the way it is used in politics now, and I don't like to see it."

An adjunct to the delicate insertion of religious themes into the policy debate and into the leaders' profile is the lack of interest in constructing a basis for a new morality: the old one will do. The defence of the traditional family and of traditional discipline flies against Giddens' belief that relationships have moved beyond the traditional. In one of the most luminous sections in *Beyond Left and Right*, he slips into a discussion of personal relations. He posits the concept of a "pure" relationship which is, he says, characteristic of our times: a "pure" relationship is one entered into and sustained for its own sake—for love, for companionship, for sex. It undercuts the traditional relationship, in which marriage was seen as simply a state of nature, within which men and women had assigned roles. Marriage thus becomes identical with living together, and can be entered into (and left) for the same reasons.

New Labour is balanced between two eras in

politics—the modern and the post-traditional. It tries to pick and mix from both. It will invoke wholly new themes and propose solutions which are free floating, owing little or nothing to either British or Labour tradition because they are no longer judged to serve the purpose; it also often dives for cover into the traditional when threatened. Because the defence of the welfare state is so central to Labour's view of itself and its reason for existence, the shadow ministers often speak in terms of restoring it to a completeness which it never had. Giddens has called for a recasting of the welfare state to reflect both the need and the desire of people to shape their own insurance against the risks of the world; so, sometimes, does Labour, but it is mixed with the view that the state should still do these things for us.

The contradiction to which Giddens constantly returns in conservatism—between a neo-liberalism which demands constant upheaval and a desire to conserve, to protect and to cherish the traditional—runs through New Labour, too. By being more monetarist than thou—in aspiration at least—it puts in constant doubt those parts of its social justice agenda which call for significant spending. It has seen that there is no economic alternative presently available, but it has not been able to face the consequences in practical politics and is thus doomed to be battered by them in government.

Giddens thinks this inevitable. A purely post-traditional party, basing itself on the logical consequences of living after tradition is still impossible—certainly unelectable. New Labour has gone an impressive distance down the road. Government itself will be the test of how far it can cleave to a new politics, how far it takes refuge in old nostrums, much as the Conservatives now scurry for the cloak of the nation in their confusion over the country's European identity.

But, as Giddens insists, the old nostrums do not exist any more, neither does tradition. We left it behind at some point in our unceasing quest for progress, and it is unforgiving in abandonment: it will not have us back. The more it is used to wrap a political party or a politician, the more absurd it looks. Or, where not absurd, dangerous.

Thus New Labour may indeed be—as Blair says to his party—more radical in office than in opposition. He does not mean that it will hit the rich for whopping tax increases. He may mean that it will be post-traditionalist: that it will use power to devolve power, propose utopian solutions with the hard headed realism which has characterised Blair's reform of the party, and try to give people at least an equal footing on which to argue through the solutions to the world's inequalities. If so, New Labour would give the phrase "radical centre" some meaning—and put flesh on much else which now lies in the pages of Anthony Giddens' books. ■

The wonks at work in Blair's think-tank

A coterie of academics is advising Tony Blair. Lucy Hodges looks at who helps him with the vision thing

ONE OF the striking things about the United States is the way professors move from the lecture theatre to government to international institutions or think-tanks and back. They are worldly men – a few are women – who are parlaying their academic skills for a seat at the political high table.

America suddenly came alive again in 1992, when Bill Clinton became President, bringing with him a swarm of highly educated Democrats, known in US slang as "policy wonks". They were men and women of ideas, such as Robert Reich, from Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, who became Labour Secretary (he has now returned to academe) and Donna Shalala, former chancellor of the University of Wisconsin, who was appointed Secretary of State for Health and Social Services. Other academics advised behind the scenes.

Tony Blair is following in Mr Clinton's footsteps – above all, perhaps, because the US President is seen to have been successful politically. He has achieved two terms and Labour desperately wants to do the same.

Mr Blair and his team have hired academics such as Michael Barber, formerly a professor at the Institute of Education in London (now helping the Secretary of State for Education, David Blunkett, with standards), and Professor Richard Layard, an unemployment expert at the London School of Economics (advising the Department for Education and Employment on welfare-to-work). Both are working on the nuts and bolts of policy rather than the vision thing – as are many other academics who have been drafted in. Mr Blair's own contacts with academics are, however, more about the latter than the former.

"Given the importance, in this sound-bite age, of being seen to have a clear brand image, it's become all the more important to have people who help develop that image," says Peter Robinson, formerly an LSE researcher, now senior economist at the Institute of Public Policy Research, one of the think-tanks influencing the Labour Government.

In essence, there is nothing new in prime ministers seeking out intellectual help: the economist, Professor Nicholas Kaldor of Cambridge University, advised Harold Wilson; and Mrs Thatcher was assisted by new-right intellectuals such as Alan Walters, Alfred Sherman, Lord Griffiths and Arthur Seldon, as well as by the Policy Studies Institute and the Institute of Economic Affairs. John Major was more of an exception. He had very few intellectuals on whom he called. Mrs Thatcher, like Mr Blair, had seminars. She had meetings at Chequers,

notably the infamous one on the threat still posed by Germany, and after 1975 she had the kind of policy-forming gatherings that Mr Blair holds. "She was trying to find out what her ideology was, putting flesh on her instincts of free market economics in the same way as he's doing with his instincts," says Brian Brivati, reader in history at Kingston University. "Blair has less of a fixed set of principles. He wants a vision, and wants to articulate a vision."

One of the key people helping Mr Blair to shape this vision is the prolific sociologist Anthony Giddens, director of the LSE, who believes the Prime Minister is actively trying to cultivate

the intellectual community. "The main reason is that everyone recognises this is a period of major transition in political thinking," he explains. "The old doctrines don't really work any longer, not just the ideas of the new

right but ideas of old-style social democracy as well, so there is something of a global dialogue going on. I think Tony Blair is quite right to want to participate in that." Mr Giddens is seen as a key guru for Mr Blair. He

attended the Downing Street seminar in May on the new political approach known as the "Third Way". He was a member of the PM's party to Washington earlier this year and attended the so-called Chequers One seminar

last year, held by Mr Blair for Hillary Clinton and senior American officials. At these seminars, he and all those present engaged in debate about how to reinvent the politics of the centre-left in the face of the massive changes of the past 20 to 30 years.

"There's much more interest on the part of Blair and the British Government in participating in European dialogue as well," says Mr Giddens. "There has been this long-standing debate among European social democratic and ex-socialist parties about what the future of politics holds. That goes back to the early to mid-Eighties in Germany, Italy and other countries and a lot of people here have not

been sufficiently conscious of that. For example, welfare-to-work sounds like something new and sounds like something American, but in fact it's fairly old, and more associated with Swedish social democracy."

Mr Giddens would like to see the United Kingdom become what he calls "a sparking-point" of an exchange of ideas between America and Europe.

"All ex-leftish parties need a new agenda," argues Mr Giddens. "You can't do this just through getting elected or by sound-bite politics. Even in advertising, it's said you can't create something by image alone. There has to be something behind the image."

One of the differences from the Thatcher period is that Mr Blair's intellectual network is not limited to one strand of economic philosophy, but is open to a wide range of opinion including former SDP supporters, an ex-Thatcherite (John Gray, formerly of Oxford, now Professor of European Thought at the LSE) and former leftish intellectuals such as Mr Giddens.

Another academic who is proving useful to him is David Halpern, a Cambridge lecturer and one of the founders of Nexus, the electronic think-tank that has been having an online debate about the Third Way. Mr Halpern believes academics are only too keen to engage in discussion with the PM, but are hindered by the research assessment exercise. That is because this only gives weight to research published in proper academic journals, not to newspaper articles or to papers posted on the Internet.

There is some scepticism about whether it is useful for the Prime Minister to spend hours talking about the Third Way or whether it is a lot of hot air. And there is concern that the PM is not talking to economists. The list of names of those attending the Downing Street seminar in May was singularly lacking in economists (see box). That is perhaps particularly interesting, given that one of the main questions thrown up by the No 10 seminar was the lack of a distinctive economic theory for Third Way politics.

Present were social policy professors such as Howard Glennerster and Julian Le Grand, and theorists and political scientists galore, but no boffins with a macro-economic background. Mr Blair appears to be leaving economics to his Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr Brown, according to IPPR's Peter Robinson, is turning out to be a social democrat on public spending and social welfare. "This is not the Third Way, some mid-Atlantic mish-mash," says Mr Robinson. "It looks much more like the Northern European social democratic agenda."

So, you wonder whether the seminars that Mr Blair holds matter a damn, with Gordon Brown making decisions that seem to lead to big increases in public spending on core public services. Though maybe, of course, Mr Brown's actions are part of the grand scheme of things. Then the intellectuals' task will be to come up with a rebranding of Labour that plays down the similarities to old-style tax and spend and portrays New Labour as deeply prudent.

The Prime Minister needs a simple and powerful message for the next election. If the academics can help with that, they will have been worth every minute he has spent with them.



Director of the London School of Economics, Anthony Giddens, one of the Prime Minister's policy advisors

Mykel Nicolaou

BLAIR'S BRAINS' SUMMIT: WHO WAS WHO

Anthony Giddens, Howard Glennerster, John Gray, Julian Le Grand, all from the LSE; Alan Finlayson, Queen's University, Belfast; Andrew Gamble and Gavin Kelly,

University of Sheffield; David Halpern, Melissa Lane, Cambridge University; Stewart Wood, Christopher Lake, David Marquand, Lord Raymond Plant, Lucia Zedner, Frank Vanden-

brouck, all of Oxford University; Judith Squires, Bristol University; Paul Thompson, Edinburgh University; Joni Lovenduski, Southampton University.



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Press and Information
Office

Anthony Giddens

Pictures

For a black and white or colour picture of Professor Giddens, please contact the LSE Press Office on +44 (0)171 955 7060.

It may also be possible to email an image to you. If so, please email Yvette Ankrah in the Press Office with your picture specification at *Y.Ankrah@lse.ac.uk*.

Interviews

For interviews with Professor Giddens, again please telephone the LSE Press Office on +44 (0)171 955 7060 or fax us on +44 (0)171 405 1350.

World Wide Web

LSE has a Website at *www.lse.ac.uk*. This gives information and images about the School, including its teaching and research departments, the British Library of Political and Economic Science (BLPES), public lectures and LSE academic experts.

Building for the Future

A gift of £3 million will entitle the benefactor to name the Research Suite on the fourth and the new fifth floor of the redeveloped Lionel Robbins Building.

The Research Suite will bring together five leading centres – Suntory and Toyota International Centre for Economics and Related Disciplines (STICERD); Centre for the Analysis of Social Exclusion (CASE); Centre for Economic Performance (CEP); Centre for Research into Economics and Finance in South Africa (CREFSA); Financial Markets Group (FMG) – to create the world's greatest concentration of first-class applied economic and social researchers. Four of these centres receive funding from the Economic and Social Research Council, a number unmatched by any other British university. Together, they bring many external visitors to the LSE, including scholars, business-people and policy-makers from around the world.

■ **Naming opportunities connected with the centres are also open to discussion for major benefactors.**

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The redeveloped Lionel Robbins Building, a landmark in library and information design, will offer a range of naming opportunities to donors:

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A gift of £5 million will entitle the benefactor to rename the library.

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Aside from the Library itself, a range of naming opportunities exist for the recognition of significant benefactions:

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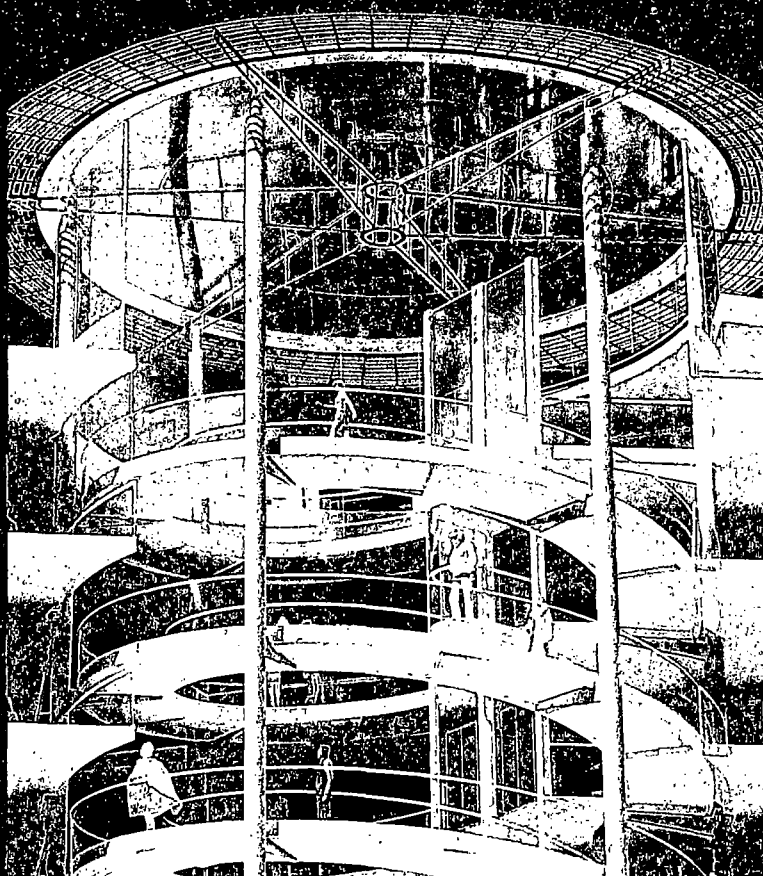
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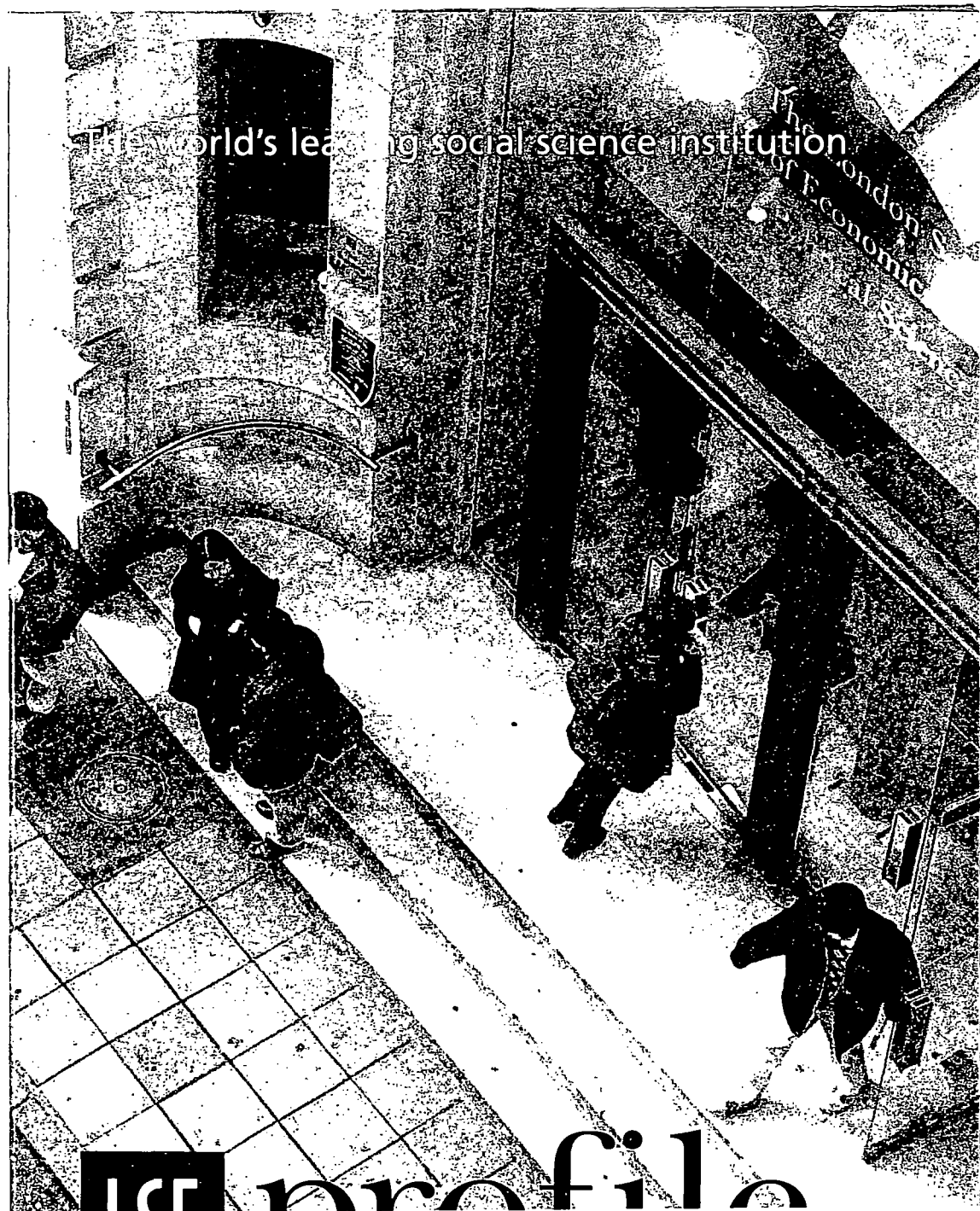
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Anthony Giddens

Director of the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). Anthony Giddens was also Professor of Sociology at Cambridge before coming to the LSE in 1997.

He is the author of 31 books, published in 22 languages, and many books have been published about him and his work. He has seven honorary degrees. He co-founded an academic publishing house, Polity Press in 1985, and has written many articles and reviews. He is the 1999 BBC Reith lecturer.

Anthony Giddens is the most widely-read and widely-cited social theorist of his generation. His ideas have profoundly influenced the writing and teaching of sociology and social theory around the world.

In particular he developed the theory of structuration, which is the understanding of the relationship between individuals and the conditions around them. We should view life in society as a series of ongoing activities and practices that people carry on, but which at the same time reproduce larger institutions.

Most recently he has been at the forefront of developing ideas in left of centre politics. He has helped to popularise the idea of the third way. The third way represents the renewal of social democracy in a world where the views of the old left have become obsolete, while those of the new right are inadequate and contradictory. A new social democratic agenda is emerging that is integrated, robust and wide-ranging, which can also rekindle political idealism. Anthony Giddens has travelled to many countries around the world talking to political leaders and heads of state about the development of third way politics.

Anthony Giddens grew up in Edmonton, North London. He was the first person in his family to go to university or college, and counts himself lucky to have been accepted by Hull University. He has a younger brother and two daughters. He is a keen Spurs fan, and watches them whenever they are playing at home.

Frequently referred to as Tony Blair's guru, Professor Giddens has made a strong impact on the evolution of New Labour.

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Anthony Giddens
Curriculum Vitae

Date of birth

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Education

Minchenden School, Southgate

University of Hull, 1956-59 BA Sociology & Psychology, 1st Class Hons.

London School of Economics and Political Science, 1959-1961 MA Sociology, with distinction.

University of Cambridge, 1976 PhD.

Posts held

University of Leicester:

Lecturer in Sociology, 1961-70

Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, Canada:

Visiting Assistant Professor, 1967-68

University of California, Los Angeles, USA:

Visiting Assistant Professor, 1968-69

University of Cambridge:

Lecturer in Sociology and Fellow of King's College, 1970-84

Reader in Sociology, 1984-86

Professor of Sociology, 1986-1996

London School of Economics and Political Science:

Director 1997 - present

Chairman and Director, Polity Press Ltd, 1985 - present

Director, Blackwell-Polity Ltd, 1985 - present

Chairman and Director, Centre for Social Research, 1989 - present.

Trustee of the Institute for Public Policy Research

Member of the Court of the University of Leicester

BBC Reith Lecturer for 1999

Other appointments include

Boston University, Distinguished Visiting Professor in Humanities

Harvard University, Memorial Lecturer

New York University, Distinguished Visiting Professor of Sociology

University of California, Berkeley, Distinguished Visiting Professor of Sociology

La Trobe University, Australia, Distinguished Visiting Professor

Indiana University, Distinguished Visiting Professor, West European Studies Program

University of British Columbia, Canada, Distinguished Visiting Professor of Sociology

New York Institute for the Humanities, William James Lecturer

Finnish Association of Political Science, Helsinki, Honorary Lecturer

German Sociological Association, Bremen, Honorary Lecturer

Swedish Sociological Association, Distinguished Visiting Lecturer

University of Rome, Goethe Lecturer in Political Science

University of Melbourne, Australia, Distinguished Visiting Professor

University of Aarhus, Denmark, Centennial Lecturer

Stanford University, Raymond Fred West Memorial Lecturer

University of Paris, Sorbonne, Descartes Lecturer

University of California, Santa Barbara, Senior Visiting Professor

Honorary degrees/awards

University of Salford, D.Litt

University of Hull, D.Litt

Anglia University, D.Litt

University of Brussels, Doctorat Honoris Causa

Open University, D.Litt

Vesalius College, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Doctor Honoris Causa

South Bank University, D.Litt

National Order of the Southern Cross, Grand Official Class, Brazil

Articles and reviews

More than 200 articles, review articles and book reviews in professional journals, weeklies and newspapers.

Books

Capitalism and modern social theory, Cambridge and New York, Cambridge University Press, 1971.

Politics and sociology in the thought of Max Weber, London, Macmillan, 1972; New York, Pall Mall.

Emile Durkheim: selected writings (edited and translated), Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1972.

The class structure of the advanced societies, London, Hutchinson University Library, 1973; New York, Harper & Row.

New rules of sociological method, London, Hutchinson, 1976; New York, Basic Books.

Positivism and sociology (editor), London, Heinemann, 1973; New York, Basic Books.

(with PH Stanworth), *Elites and power in British society*, Cambridge and New York, Cambridge University Press, 1974.

Studies in social and political theory, London, Hutchinson, 1977; New York, Basic Books.

Emile Durkheim, London, Fontana, 1978; New York, Penguin.

Central problems in social theory, London, Macmillan, 1979; Berkeley, University of California Press.

A contemporary critique of historical materialism, London, Macmillan, 1981; Berkeley, University of California Press.

Sociology: a brief but critical introduction, London, Macmillan, 1982; New York, Harcourt, Brace, Jovanowitch.

(with David Held), *Classes, conflict and power*, London, Macmillan, 1982; Berkeley, University of California Press.

(with GGN Mackenzie), *Classes and the division of labour*, Cambridge and New York, Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Profiles and critiques in social theory, London, Macmillan, 1983; Berkeley, University of California Press.

The constitution of society: outline of the theory of structuration, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1984; Berkeley, University of California Press.

The nation-state and violence, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1985; Berkeley, University of California Press.

Durkheim on politics and the state, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1986; Palo Alto, Stanford University Press.

Social theory and modern sociology, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1987; Palo Alto, Stanford University Press.

(with Jon Turner), *Social theory today*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1988; Palo Alto, Stanford University Press.

Sociology, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1988; New York, Norton.

The consequences of modernity, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1990; Palo Alto, Stanford University Press.

Human societies, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1992.

Modernity and self-identity, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1991; Palo Alto, Stanford University Press.

The transformation of intimacy, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1992; Palo Alto, Stanford University Press.

Beyond left and right, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1994; Palo Alto, Stanford University Press.

(with Ulrich Beck and Scott Lash), *Reflexive modernisation*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1994; Palo Alto, Stanford University Press.

Politics, sociology and social theory, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1995; Palo Alto, Stanford University Press.

In defence of sociology, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1996; Palo Alto, Stanford University Press.

(with Christopher Pierson), *Conversations with Anthony Giddens: making sense of modernity*, Polity Press, 1998.

The third way: the renewal of social democracy, Polity Press, 1998.

These books have been translated into a total of twenty-two languages. Twelve books solely concentrating on Anthony Giddens' work have been written by other authors. A four-volume collection of writings on his work was published by Routledge in 1997.

Books on the work of Anthony Giddens

Michel Audet, *Theorie de societe*, Laval, Quebec UP, 1991.

Christopher Bryant & David Jary, *Anthony Giddens: critical assessments*, Routledge, 1997 (4 volumes).

C Bryant & D Jary, *Giddens' theory of structuration*, Routledge, 1991

Philip Cassell, *The Giddens reader*, Macmillan, 1993

I. Cohen, *Structuration theory: Anthony Giddens and the constitution of social life*, Macmillan, 1991

I. Craib, *Anthony Giddens*, Routledge, 1992

J. Clark et al , *Anthony Giddens: consensus and controversy*, Falmer, 1990

D. Held and J. Thompson, *Social theory of modern societies: Anthony Giddens and his critics*, Cambridge University Press, 1989.

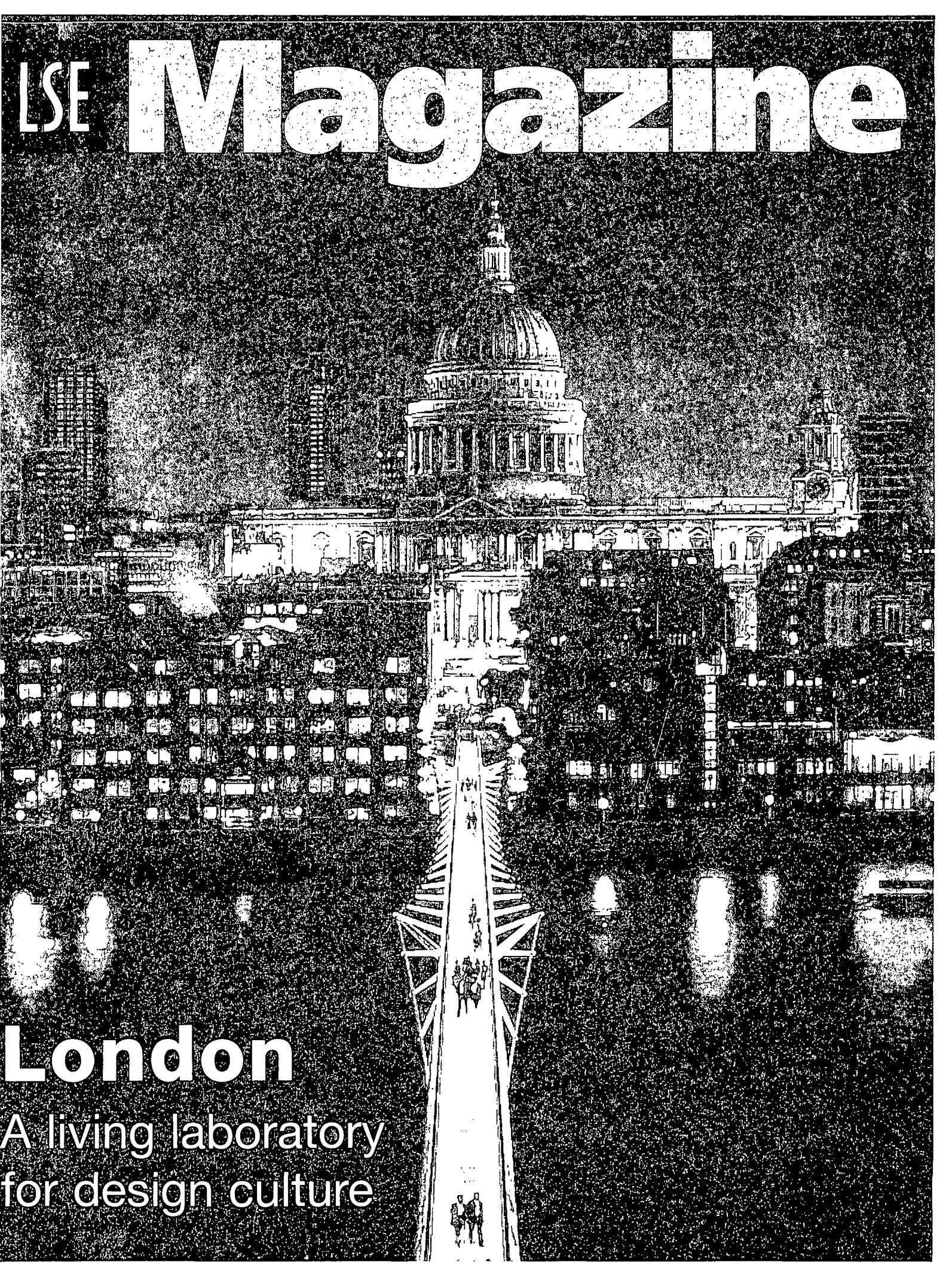
Lars Bo Karspersen, *Anthony Giddens*, Hans Reizels, 1995

Stjepan Mestrovic, *Anthony Giddens: the last modernist*, Routledge, 1998

Martin O'Brien and Sue Penna, *Theorising modernity: reflexivity, environment and identity in Giddens' social theory*, Longman, 1998

Kenneth Tucker, *Anthony Giddens and modern social theory*, Sage, 1998

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 19, 1994

REMARKS BY THE FIRST LADY
AT "FASHION TARGETS BREAST CANCER"
WASHINGTON, D.C.

MRS. CLINTON: Good afternoon. (Applause.) Good afternoon, and welcome to the White House. I know some of you have been here over the years, and for others, this is your first trip. I hope that you feel as welcome as we want you to. We are grateful for this event today, and we are grateful for the American fashion industry's contribution to our country.

And it is an exciting day for us here in the White House because of the events of the last 24 hours. And what better way to celebrate than to have all of you here and to be doing something as important as this?

It is a special pleasure for me to not only welcome you but to talk a little bit about what we hope to accomplish with this very exciting kick-off event. In order to understand how important this is to all of us, I think we only have to pause for a minute to consider the woman who is being honored, Nina Hyde, whom I did not have the pleasure of knowing personally, but who certainly made her mark in so many ways on so many lives.

In addition to Nina Hyde, who inspired this event and has inspired so many to commit themselves to the fight against breast cancer, I would imagine that every one of us knows at least one other person who we are honoring today silently because of her valiant fight against breast cancer, perhaps becoming a survivor, with all of the lessons that that gives to the rest of us; or perhaps someone like Nina or my mother-in-law, who lost the fight against breast cancer, but whose lessons about living and dying remain a constant inspiration to the rest of us.

We all know the grim statistics about breast

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cancer. We all know how every three minutes, a woman is diagnosed with breast cancer, how now, one out of every nine women in America will be diagnosed with breast cancer at some point during her life, and how every 11 minutes, a woman dies of breast cancer, because it is the leading cause of death among women between the ages of 35 and 54.

More than 180,000 women, women of all sizes and shapes and colors and religions and ethnic backgrounds and from every region of our country, will be diagnosed this year. Over 2.6 million women are currently suffering from breast cancer, and 46,000 will die.

The statistics are troubling enough, but what brings us all together and what inspired this very exciting campaign is that for too long, except for the example and the voices of individuals, we did not do enough to combat breast cancer.

We know now that we had to redouble and retriuple our efforts. And thanks to the examples of women like Nina Hyde and her many friends and thanks also to scientists and researchers and medical doctors like Dr. Mark Lippmann and his team at Georgetown and thanks also to an Administration with leadership like Dr. Susan Blumenthal and others, who believes that breast cancer is a disease that must be combatted as vigorously as we can possibly do so, we are slowly beginning to make progress.

Last October, when leaders of the National Breast Cancer Coalition met with the President here at the White House, they pushed for a national action plan on breast cancer. That is something that the President had promised during the campaign. It is something that I personally felt very strongly about, based on my own work and my own contact with friends and other women who often waged a lonely battle against this disease.

We have since then established such a conference and created such a plan. We now have a frame work in place. We have increased dramatically the amount of money spent on research into this disease. We have also increased research into the technology that can help diagnose it and treat it in its current stages.

That is one of the reasons why many of us were and remain so committed to health care reform, because we know

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that for every research breakthrough, there will be women who will not be able to access that research. We know that despite remarkable discoveries like that of the BRAC-1 gene last week, that millions of women will be left out of those breakthroughs without guaranteeing that every woman has access to quality health care.

As I have worked on behalf of health care reform, I have a movie in my mind. The movie is of the faces and stories of men and women and children all over our country. One of the faces is that of a woman whom I met in New Orleans, a woman who had worked at the same job for more than 15 years, a woman who took care of herself, paid out of her own pocket for a yearly physical because she could not afford insurance and did not have it through her workplace, a woman who when she had her annual physical, was told a lump had been discovered in her breast and was referred to a surgeon.

But when the surgeon found out she did not have health insurance, he told her that they would just watch the lump instead of taking a biopsy of it, because she could not afford the biopsy. That woman, like many women around our country, was left not knowing; in many ways, a fate that befalls to many in our health care system today, who even despite their own best efforts, cannot achieve the health care that would save a life or possibly minimize the damage of a disease.

So in order to make progress against this disease, we must move on many fronts. We must move as you are moving, led by the fashion industry, to continue to raise awareness and to continue to raise funds, so that we can combat breast cancer. We must move on the scientific and research front, and we must move on the governmental front, so that breast cancer is a disease that we all can feel we are contributing toward the cause of and also toward the amelioration of, by making sure that we have leadership in our public and private sector that is dedicated and compassionate and understands what this disease means in the lives of women.

Probably no industry understands women better. As I've told some of our guests, I've never seen the women in the White House get more dressed up. (Laughter.) People were making mad phone calls around town, borrowing things, trying to do their best. Even though they may not even see you, they know you are here. (Laughter.)

MORE

I was particularly touched and moved by the stories I've read about Nina Hyde calling in columns from Tibet, befriending people in the industry, taking care of her assistants at the Post. And we are honored to have Kay Graham with us, who really has helped to spearhead this work on behalf of Nina Hyde and the Georgetown Center. And we are also pleased to have Nina's daughters and her husband with us, people who knew her well and still miss her.

But I was particularly moved by learning that Nina Hyde always felt well-dressed with a swatch watch. I went through my closets and drawers looking for a swatch watch. I mean, after you've been on the worst dressed lists of People magazine, you will look for anything that can possibly give you some surcease from that.

But I don't have a swatch watch, but I have something even better. I have the honor and pleasure of introducing one of the leaders of this effort, someone who has committed himself and his company to making sure that these T-shirts are sold everywhere and become the fashion statement, with or without a swatch watch, for every woman and, I suppose, man who we can get to wear one.

And I think we all owe him and his colleagues a great deal of thanks. So join me, please, in welcoming Ralph Lauren. (Applause.)

MR. LAUREN: Just before we came out here, I was standing out on the terrace, and Donna said, "Ralph, this look becomes you, standing on the terrace." (Laughter.) I said, "Donna, I really do like this. It feels very good."

I do want to say that I am here not for Ralph Lauren. I am here for this industry. I'm here for the Council of Fashion Designers, Fern Malase (phonetic), Stan Herman (phonetic), Donna Karan, Oscar de la Renta, Louis de Olio. I'm here for Ricky Lauren, who inspired me when I worked with Nina. I'm here for Kay Graham, who has worked with us. And it was inspiring to watch her.

As I was sitting here and I looked to my left, I looked at a fellow here that might get embarrassed as I say it, a boy by the name of Jeffrey Banks, who's not a boy anymore. He's a man. And Nina Hyde introduced me to Jeffrey about 30 -- Jeffrey, is it 30 years ago, 25 years ago?

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MR. BANKS: Twenty-five.

MR. LAUREN: Twenty-five years ago. (Laughter.) Believe it or not, he was in high school and graduated in my tuxedo. But he has been in this industry for these years and has had a success.

And Nina was that kind of person that would really be involved with people, no matter where you came. When you were coming into Washington -- Nina was not my best friend, but she treated every person she knew in that same way as if you were her best friend, as if she was thinking about you. And she was very intelligent and very caring about all people.

And I'm here for those reasons, but I'm here for a lot of different reasons. I guess I have had much success in my career. I've enjoyed wonderful spreads in magazines, lifestyle images of my wife and my family and all that, which are wonderful. But one of the lifestyles you did not see was New York Hospital, with bandages around my head and a person who could not walk down the hall, so weak that it didn't matter anymore.

On one hand, you're on the cover of Time magazine; on the other hand, the world is forgetting you, and you know what it feels to have that sensitivity. That type of sensitivity, I'm glad for today. I was not happy about doing what I had to do. But it does open your mind and your life to thinking about the world. I work as hard today as I ever did, but there is something extra that I carry along with me, and I'm always sensitive to what goes on.

When I met Nina, I had just come out of the hospital. I guess we had a sort of a kinship, because at that time I had seen her, she did not look too happy. And I had not seen her for a few months. And I said, "Nina, you don't look so well. Why are you not smiling?" Because she was always very gracious and very open and very -- and she really did look down. She said, "Ralph, I have breast cancer."

And I was taken by it and shocked. And I said, "Nina, what can I do?" And she said "Ralph" -- and I can remember driving along in a car with her. And she said, "It would be really wonderful if you could talk to the fashion industry about this." And I was saying to myself, "Talk to

MORE

the fashion industry? It's a big industry." The fashion industry is the largest industry in America. I said, "How am I going to talk to the fashion industry about this?"

But, you know, you can do things that you never think you could do. You can say, "It's too big; I'll never get there," or you can say, "I can get there, one by one." This did not happen overnight. We did not plan this event. This took many years of thinking and trying to do things.

Anyway, in working with Nina and talking to Nina, we did do something. And I called every designer and wrote to every designer in the world. And we got responses from everybody. And we had a cocktail party, and we raised a million dollars. Nina was alive then, and she spoke. And it was quite amazing. From nothing, we had a Nina Hyde Foundation.

And I've often asked these questions of myself, and these questions that I will have to ask you and hit you real hard. If someone said to you -- if it was your sister, your aunt, your wife, your girlfriend said, "I have breast cancer; I'm dying," what would you do? What would you do? And I would have to ask everybody out there in the world that passes notes that go by them, because we're so busy in life, all the big industries, all the big-time power men out there that are wheeling and dealing and shuffling and moving dollars all over the places, if their wife had breast cancer, and they loved their wife, would they have not paid millions to make sure she lived? Would they not have done everything in the world?

And we can say, "Beware of this terrible disease." We can say, "Let's really know about this breast care awareness." But it's not about awareness. It's about doing. It's about getting a job done. It's about motivating and getting these people to spend the money that it's going to take to really cure this disease.

We have Dr. Mark Lippmann, who I had met through Nina. Mark was just another doctor to me until I met him. And he was inspiring, because he really explained what could be done. And he explained that this is not going to be forever. Breast cancer can be cured and will be cured, possibly or maybe totally, in our lifetime.

If you know that and you're well, wouldn't it be

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great to prepare for that today? Wouldn't it be great to be ready for that, so that you don't have to ever go through that?

I would like to introduce Dr. Lippmann and have him explain exactly what is being done. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

DR. LIPPMANN: Mrs. Clinton and many honored guests, it's an incredibly joy for me to be here today on this occasion. But I wish to say to begin with that I'm really not here for myself.

I think it's essential that you recognize that I'm not here for the Nina Hyde Center, the Lombardi Center at Georgetown University, but I'm here, in some sense, for thousands of dedicated scientists and physicians around this country who have worked tirelessly towards gaining a better understanding of breast cancer and better means of treating it. And I'm also here on behalf of patients, patients that are alive now, patients that are to be, and patients who are no longer.

For the last 20 years, my entire life has been dedicated to breast cancer, and it's an incredibly overwhelming thought to know that in the United States alone in that period of time, almost a million women have died of breast cancer. It's enough to give one very, very serious pause.

And some time ago, when Nina Hyde was my patient and my friend and my colleague and, in some ways, my goad, when she knew what lay in store for her, in many ways, she did not give up. She most emphatically appreciated that much could be done. And she collared many of the people in this room, grabbed them, and wouldn't let go, got them, got their attention. When their attention wandered, she got it again. And when their attention wandered, she grabbed them again.

And because of her and other women like her, there is a great deal that we can be thankful for already in the story about breast cancer. And there are three pieces of this story that, very briefly, I would like to touch upon.

The first one that we have already talked about is awareness. But awareness isn't a vague concept when you talk about breast cancer. Awareness is human lives that need not

MORE

be lost. It is a simple fact that easily, one-third of the women who die of breast cancer in this country every year would not die with optimal care delivered equitably throughout this country with technologies and means that we have already discovered.

And certainly, when I say "awareness," I don't simply say awareness philanthropically. I say awareness from the vantage point of getting that care to people who need it, helping them understand why they need it, helping them understand that they're entitled to it, and helping them with that entitlement to get what they need for themselves.

Secondly, and extremely importantly, there has been progress made. And that progress has not come easily, but it has not come by serendipity alone. Thousands of human hours spent in the laboratory and in the clinic with women brave enough to be part of clinical trials and to face the unknown, together with their caregivers, have led to a variety of therapies that are capable of saving lives.

Drug treatments given prophylactically following surgery can improve the survival for women with breast cancer. There's no question about it. New therapies with citochines (phonetic) and new drugs clearly can increase the response rates for many women with breast cancer. And that's encouraging, as well.

Perhaps the most important message, though, that I think I can bring to you is my own personal sense of optimism and hopefulness, which is reality-based, which comes from an increased understanding of this disease.

It is simply no longer true to say that we have no idea what causes breast cancer. "It's just a terrible mystery; it's a curse." That's not true. In many cases, the specific proteins produced by breast cancers which are responsible for their behavior, for making the breast tumors grow and spread and metastasize have been discovered, are known and identified.

And in laboratories such as the ones we have in the Nina Hyde Center and throughout the country, many investigators are hard at work attempting to exploit that information with new experimental therapies. And it is unquestionably the case that some of these therapies will work. And this requires the dedication and support not only

MORE

of the United States government, for sure, of organizations like the American Cancer Society, and, critically, human beings like yourselves involved in supporting this process.

Not only is this understanding of the disease going to alter the entire face of therapy, but a great deal more can be said about what we would almost all prefer, to wit: to either prevent the disease or to detect it when the therapies need be minimal, nonmutilating, and nontoxic.

And the fact is that we finally do have insights into new approaches to breast cancer detection which can either supplant or augment mammography. There are new technologies in trial in experimental work in human beings now which have enormous prospects of discovering the disease while it is no bigger than a millimeter. Breast cancer discovered at that size is curable 95 percent of the time or more. That reduces the death rate from 46,000 to 4,000. That would be a major gain.

The will to do these studies needs to constantly be there among all of us. The financial support, so clearly flagging over the past few years, needs to be re-enthused and reinfused into this process, because we do have the knowledge and the ability to get the additional knowledge to finally have an impact on this disease, which is why I say thank you on behalf of my colleagues, for your support.

Because not in some future, ephemeral time, but in the next few years, I believe that our continued support for this activity will change this disease for our children and the people we love. Thank you for your attention.
(Applause.)

It's my pleasure to introduce Dr. Susan Blumenthal, who works within the system for the U.S. government. And her efforts have been extraordinarily helpful in attempting to marshal the kind of support we need to improve this pace of discovery. (Applause.)

DR. BLUMENTHAL: Thank you very much. Thank you, Mark, and Mrs. Clinton and distinguished guests.

Over the past four years, our country has witnessed the greatest focus on women's health in the history of our nation. The year 1990 marked the beginning of a decade in which alarming inequities in women's health were exposed --

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the lack of women as research subjects in our nation's clinical investigations; the fact that men were considered to be generic humans, and yet the findings from these studies were extrapolated to guide the treatment of women patients; the lack of analysis of data by gender in diseases that affect both men and women, such as heart disease and cancer; the dearth of senior women scientists in our country's federal and research establishments.

These inequities are now being addressed through the Public Health Service Office on Women's Health working in collaboration with all of the agencies of the Public Health Service and other departments of government and working with consumers, health care professionals, and others.

There's an old proverb that says, "It is better to light a candle than to curse the darkness." There has been considerable darkness surrounding women's health issues in the past, but the light that has been shown on these issues by the dedicated and outstanding leadership of Hillary Rodham Clinton, Secretary Donna Shalala, consumers, health care professionals, scientists, so many of you here today has brightened the prospects for a healthier future for all American women.

Perhaps nowhere is the need to focus our energies, our resources, your art, and our science more than the problem of breast cancer, the most frightening and the most common cancer for women, a public health issue that is of highest priority to the Clinton Administration and to our Office on Women's Health.

As Mrs. Clinton mentioned, a year ago in this room, signatures of 2.6 million Americans were presented, a conference was held, and a national action plan was implemented. Our Office on Women's Health is implementing that action plan in cooperation, in collaboration with other private organizations and public sector groups. We have brought together all the agencies of government, the Department of Defense, the Environmental Protection Agency, the State Department.

We're working with consumer advocacy groups, with health care professional societies, with private industry, with all of you here today. Work with us to develop concrete actions to eradicate breast cancer as a threat on the lives of American women. And we will do that. Concrete

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initiatives -- we have developed working groups with public-private partnerships on a number of issues, such as putting together a plan for counseling for this newly discovered gene that will affect 5 percent of women with breast cancer and 25 percent of women under the age of 30 with breast cancer.

We're developing and linking breast health and breast services to the information superhighway. We're developing a data and tissue resource bank, so that there will be a national registry to help researchers find the risk factors for breast cancer.

And there are many other important programs underway in our government today. And let me just highlight a few of them for you. The National Institutes of Health, under the distinguished leadership of Dr. Harold Varmis (phonetic), is the biomedical research capital of the world. One of his institutes, the National Cancer Institute, is the steward of research on all aspects of breast cancer, supporting research both in the labs of the NIH and in academic centers across the country, such as Georgetown University Medical Center.

The National Cancer Institute, under the direction of Dr. Samuel Groder (phonetic), is supporting research on the biological, hormonal, and environmental causes of breast cancer. We want to know why the rates of breast cancer have gone from 1 in 20 women in the 1960s to 1 in 8 women over her lifetime today.

While the breast cancer gene newly discovered explains about 5 to 10 percent of those cases, fully 70 percent of women have no known risk factor for the disease. And we think that 90 percent of them have some environmental factor that is interacting with normal genes to express breast cancer. We need to find out what those environmental -- preventable environmental causes of breast cancer are and change them.

Additionally, the NIH is supporting a trans NIH initiative, the women's health initiative. It has been joking called "the mother of all clinical trials," because it is the largest clinical trial ever conducted on either men or women. It is exploring the risk factors for diseases in older women, such as breast cancer, osteoporosis, and heart disease. It is exploring the effects of hormone replacement therapy, estrogen replacement therapy, on the development of

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risks for breast cancer. And it is studying whether low fat diet, exercise, and vitamin supplements might be helpful in preventing breast cancer in older women.

Additionally, the National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences is looking at environmental risks for breast cancer. We know that there are particular pockets, geographic pockets that have higher rates of breast cancer in our country. We want to know whether there are pesticides, atmospheric pollutants, other factors that may increase the risk. And we know that some of these factors promote the production of estrogen in women's bodies. And there have been studies that have linked some of these factors to the increase in breast cancer rates.

Two seemingly unlikely sources of breast cancer activity are the Department of Defense and the Environmental Protection Agency. The Department of Defense is about to announce \$200 million of new research money on the causes, the treatment, and prevention of breast cancer.

Additionally, the Environmental Protection Agency, again, is looking at the regulation of some of those environmental factors that have been identified and associated with increased risk for breast cancer.

The Food and Drug Administration, under the direction of Dr. David Kessler, is the agency that approves all new drugs for the treatment of breast cancer. And they are also implementing the 1992 Mammography Quality Standards Act, which is going to ensure now that there is federal certification of all mammography facilities and personnel, so that when a woman goes to get her mammogram, she knows that it's going to be safe, accurate, and reliable. The FDA seal of approval will guide women to the best mammography in their communities.

While mammography, as Dr. Lippmann mentioned, is an old technique -- it's a 40-year-old technique -- and while it can decrease the death rates from breast cancer by 30 percent for women over the age of 50, it is less effective for younger women. Surely, if we can image missiles 15,000 miles in outer space and we can use the Hubbel telescope to see those craters on Mars and Jupiter, we should be able to more accurately detect a small lump in a woman's breast right in front of us.

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So my office, in collaboration with the National Cancer Institute and in cooperation with the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues, is bringing together radiologists currently exploring MRI, magnetic resonance imaging, mammography, PET scans, ultrasound, new technologies to be applied to breast cancer, and we're bringing them together with defense imaging experts, imaging experts from the Central Intelligence Agency, from NASA, and those people who do computer graphics, those special effects that were done in Jurassic Park.

We're bringing them together to try to develop a more accurate and sensitive method for the detection of breast cancer. And what better peace dividend from our national investment in defense than to save the lives of American women? (Applause.)

All of our lives, I'm sure, have been touched in some way by this dreaded disease. I know I lost my own mother of this illness 17 years ago. I watched her be ravaged by it. We are committed in this Administration, in this government, working with all of you here today to eradicate breast cancer as a threat from all of our lives.

In closing, let me remind you of another proverb that says, "He" -- let's make that "she" -- "who has health has hope, and she who has hope has everything." That's what this Administration's efforts on women's health and the national action plan on breast cancer is all about, bringing hope for a healthier future, a future free of the threat of breast cancer to every American woman. Thank you very much. We look forward to working with you. (Applause.)

MRS. CLINTON: Well, we hope that all of the comments from the speakers have been informative and useful to you, as you launch this very exciting campaign. We now want to invite all of you to join us for a reception in the State Dining Room.

I would like to thank each of you individually, so I will be in the Blue Room -- it's the Green Room, the Blue Room, the Red Room -- to have a chance to express my appreciation on behalf of the President and this Administration for what you do all the time for our country and for women, in particular, but what you are doing now, especially, to bring attention and resources to the fight against breast cancer.

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I hope that we will have an opportunity to meet on a regular basis. And Dr. Lippmann, Dr. Blumenthal, their colleagues will be able to update you and let you know how important your resources have been and your commitment is. It's an exciting challenge and one that we are determined to meet.

Thank you all very much. (Applause.)

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