

Translation

The Federal Republic of Germany  
The Federal Chancellor



Berlin, 12 April 2000

Following an invitation from Massimo D'Alema, many of us discussed the topic "Progressive Governance in the 21st Century" in Florence last November. We all benefitted greatly from the Conference and agreed to pursue the dialogue in a wider forum in Germany. I would therefore like to invite you to Berlin on 2 and 3 June for a Conference on "Progressive Governance in the 21st Century".

For me, the aim of the Conference is to bring together forward-looking Heads of Government from all over the world to exchange views on solutions for key problems of governance in the 21st century and to learn from one another. We can thereby demonstrate that modern governments are using common values to shape a new policy for the new century.

We want to turn globalization into an opportunity for our countries and will surely also address the future role of governments and the private sector with a view to enabling an ever growing number of people to benefit from globalization.

We ought to think seriously about long-term solutions for the complex problems which we are all encountering - above all poverty, unemployment, the worldwide development gap, solid public finances, viable social systems, the demands and opportunities of the new knowledge economy, education as well as environmental protection in our own countries and all over the world.

For me the question of how to renew and strengthen civil society is particularly important. We ought to discuss a new distribution of rights and responsibilities between the citizens, their associations and the state. There is good reason to believe that this discussion could serve as the framework for the far-reaching reforms which our societies need.

- 2 -

This is a particularly good time for such a discussion historically-speaking, as more and more countries are voting in favour of progressive governments. An international community of shared values is taking shape. The Conference in Berlin needs to tap this momentum for its arguments.

We want of course to prepare the discussions beforehand. On 2 June, immediately before we meet, selected experts and professionals working in the field from our countries will discuss the complexities of the issue and reach conclusions which will stimulate our deliberations. I would therefore be pleased if you would each be accompanied by approximately 10 high-level experts. We ourselves shall meet for dinner in the evening of 2 June. The next morning we will continue the talks launched in Florence - closed to the public - in an open atmosphere based on trust.

I would be delighted to see you in Berlin. It is perhaps more apparent in the newly evolving Berlin than anywhere else how a modern forward-looking society can grow once inherited ideological differences and dogma are overcome.

Yours sincerely,

(sgd) Gerhard Schröder

Risk

Speeches

Progress  
vs.  
Participation

Prototyping

the  
core  
idea

# MEMORANDUM

TO: TOM FREEDMAN

FROM: EMIL BARTH

DATE: APRIL 26, 2000

RE: COMMUNIQUE IDEAS

Cost of  
new family -  
use freedom  
to spread its  
benefits.

I. Opportunity  
- F. trade

- Education  
- Tech.

II. Resp.

- new human  
- govt can't  
solve

III. Community

- update  
wellfare  
- moderate  
govt

- celebrate  
diversity

- Sustainable

Peace

We have come together in the spirit of the progressive tradition in order to affirm our shared values and announce our shared belief that the role of government is to promote opportunity, inspire responsibility, and create community.

In a time of unparalleled prosperity, government must work to insure that opportunities are afforded to all citizens, while at the same time actively pursuing economic policies that foster stability.

Opp.

- Education must be our highest priority. Through education, citizens are given the tools to develop their unlimited potential and the foundation for insuring their autonomy.

Opp.

✓

- We support free trade and the development of the global economy. This means that we must follow a plan of stable public finance and work to develop new markets at home and abroad in order to utilize the capabilities of developing countries and untapped domestic regions.

Opp.

- We are committed to bridging the digital divide. All citizens need to have the skills and access to participate in the digital revolution that is fundamentally changing the way we live our lives.

Comm.

- The social welfare system needs to be updated in order to insure that its focus is on effectively addressing the problems our citizens face and on encouraging activity and development. We must also insure that the system is financially secure for the future to prepare for new demographic challenges.

Comm.

- We support the modernization of government. In the digital age, government must take advantage of information technology to make itself more accessible to its citizens and to improve the quality of its service. We also believe in the idea that public private partnerships are very important part of the government's efforts to better serve its citizens.

Berlin



Sidney Blumenthal  
04/27/2000 11:36:05 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Thomas L. Freedman/OPD/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: german draft

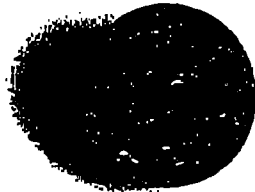
#### BERLIN COMMUNIQUE: FIRST DRAFT

We have come together in Berlin in order to exchange views and learn from each other about how to tackle the new challenges. Although our countries have different backgrounds – in terms of history, in terms of cultural identity, in terms of language. Economic change and innovative technology can open up new ways of working and new markets can be empowering a lot of people. People want to live in a community not a market; they expect their governments to effectively fight unemployment - in countries where it is high. We are determined to take our countries forward and to establish safe and sound framework conditions that help to promote growth. Our discussion at the Berlin-Conference has focussed in three areas. First, we have discussed the role of politics and government. It must maintain stability in macro economic policy, supporting sound public finances and a firm stance against inflation. Education is a top priority for all of us - it is the key to social justice and economic dynamism. For example, the expansion of higher education. Our welfare states need to be re-adjusted in order to promote activity not inactivity, preventing problems rather than just reacting to them. The digital revolution brings about new forms of labour organisation and affects worker's rights. We are determined to find solutions. Second, we discussed how to strengthen civil society. In all our countries the social structure is changing. Families are smaller. We need a new balance of rights and responsibilities as the basis for strong communities. The well off should lend support. Public services are the foundation of equal opportunity and a civilised society. But they must be modernised to provide better services. The world faces huge challenges of population movement. There have to be rules for immigration and asylum. But countries must be able to control their borders. We are committed to the reform of government itself to make it more accountable, more effective and more efficient. We are committed to the reform of government itself to make it more accountable, more effective and more efficient. W Third, we see ourselves as an international community of shared values. Just as we seek to advance social justice and economic development through programmes in the HIPC initiative. For us the following issues are key:

We support free trade as an important instrument of economic development for the developing world, and as the route to growth. Education is as important, if not more important, for the developing world as the developed world. We support the target of universal primary education. The global environment must be handed on safely to future generations. We support the commitments of the Kyoto protocol. We have all learnt from this meeting; we all want to meet again; we want our ministers, civil servants and public administrators to work together.

*Communique*

## INTRODUCTION



With this volume, we are inaugurating *Blueprint: Ideas for a New Century*, a public policy journal for the Information Age.

In *Blueprint*, we hope to provide the plans — the ideas and the policies — with which to build the foundation for a new progressive politics. In the months ahead, these pages will be filled with the work of a select group of cutting-edge thinkers. These writers will frame the challenges that America and the world face at this crucial moment in our history. And they will propose bold, innovative, and workable solutions to meet those challenges.

Those solutions will be built on the principles that have always been at the core of the American progressive tradition and the New Democrat movement:

- A commitment to equal opportunity for all and special privileges for none.
- An understanding that economic growth is the prerequisite for opportunity for all, and the private sector, not government, is the primary engine for economic growth. The combination of private sector dynamism and sound economic policies can create conditions for new wealth, greater economic and social investment, and upward mobility for all Americans. Our national economy is not a zero-sum game: Economic growth and social justice can go hand-in-hand.
- A core ideal of community and an ethic of mutual responsibility. We can achieve our individual destinies only if we share a commitment to our national destiny. As the instrument of the community's will, government should create opportunity for all citizens, but every citizen should give something back to the commonwealth.
- A belief that America has a responsibility to lead the world toward greater political and economic freedom by showing that freedom can benefit all nations and can lift standards of living worldwide.
- A dedication to self-government. Government can and should play a positive role in national life, but to do that it should be constantly modernized to cope with the fast-paced Information Age.



# BLUEPRINT

IDEAS FOR A NEW CENTURY

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**“THE THIRD WAY OFFERS A CONSTRUCTIVE,  
MODERN ROLE FOR GOVERNMENT — TO CREATE  
OPPORTUNITIES BY EQUIPPING PEOPLE WITH  
THE TOOLS THEY NEED TO SUCCEED AMID  
THE VAST CHANGES OF OUR TIMES”**

In *Blueprint*, we will take the next crucial steps, offering solutions to the very different challenges our country will face in the 21st century. Among other concerns, we will explore: Expanding the winner's circle in a New Economy where rapid change creates both enormous opportunity and high anxiety; making economic globalization work for us when protectionist pressures are rising from both political extremes; assuring America's security and freedom's advance in the world; balancing work and family; reforming public education for the Information Age; strengthening our democracy, and renewing our civic culture.

In this first issue, we will establish the predicate for those purposes by describing America's Next Politics — the changing landscape on which we must build our progress.

Two of America's premier political scholars, William A. Galston of the University of Maryland and Elaine C. Kamarck of Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government, both veterans of the New Democrat movement, detail the profound demo-

graphic changes within the American electorate and the new political realities of the 21st century. Mark Penn, one of our country's leading public opinion analysts and the premier New Democrat pollster, describes the Democratic Party's new electorate. Daniel Pink explains the growing phenomenon of economic free agents. Andrei Cherny profiles New Democrat leaders of the next generation. And Al From, President of the Democratic Leadership Council, and Will Marshall, President of the Progressive Policy Institute, propose a strategy for building a new Democratic majority.

In these pages, as in those to come, *Blueprint* will be dedicated to a set of simple, yet unavoidable truths: In an age of change, the status quo will not hold. In a time of transformation, new thinking must guide our path. In a new century, our politics must be more than a monument to the past; it must be a movement for the future. ♦

# “AMERICA NEEDS A NEW POLITICS OF HIGHER PURPOSE THAT ADDRESSES BROAD NATIONAL CONCERNS, NOT NARROW SPECIAL INTERESTS.”

Those principles are grounded in values that are fundamental to our country's enduring greatness: work, family, responsibility, individual liberty, faith, and inclusion.

We are undertaking *Blueprint* because we believe that America needs a new politics for the 21st century. It should be a politics of higher purpose, a politics that focuses on building America's future, not trying to reconstruct her past; a politics that addresses broad national concerns, not narrow, special interests.

Above all, the politics of higher purpose must keep pace with the revolutionary changes that are shattering old assumptions. From South Africa to Central America, from Eastern Europe to East Asia, citizens have brought down old dictatorships and built up new democracies. In America and all over the world, the rapid transformation from the Industrial Age to the Information Age is changing the way people work and live and, in turn, the way they demand to govern themselves.

The most innovative progressive leaders and their political parties — most notably Bill Clinton's New Democrats in America and Tony Blair's New Labor in Great Britain — have based their ideas in the Third

Way politics that transcends the once dominant, but clearly exhausted left-right debate of the past. The Third Way rejects both the left's reflexive defense of big government at any cost and the right's destructive bid to dismantle it with no replacement. It offers a constructive, modern role for government — to create opportunities by equipping people with the tools that they need to succeed amid the vast changes of our times.

In that context, *Blueprint* is both a continuation and a new beginning. It will build on the progress wrought by the New Democrats and the Clinton-Gore administration in putting Third Way ideas into action. By balancing the federal budget, aiding the transition to the New Economy, replacing a welfare system of dependency with a work system of hope, initiating a modernization of government, imposing tough measures to fight crime in our communities, and establishing America's new leadership role in the world, the Clinton-Gore administration has resolved many of the major political debates of the past quarter century. These efforts have proved that Democrats could begin to wring the excesses out of the outmoded government of the past and start the process of again making government a progressive ally to the aspirations of all Americans.

This is a British draft of a communique:  
BERLIN COMMUNIQUE: DRAFT

We have come together in Berlin because of shared values, shared determination to apply them to new circumstances, and shared ideas about how to take our countries forward. We have learnt from each other, and gained confidence from the exchange of experience. This communique is one result of our meeting.

Although the words are different in different countries, our values are the same. They come from the heart of the progressive tradition. We believe in the equal worth of all, in social justice, in social solidarity and mutual responsibility. These values are not new – but we believe they have fresh relevance in a world that is changing at great speed. People want to live in a community not a market; they want government to be active in promoting opportunity and security; they want to protect the environment and improve local quality of life; they want to see cooperation across national borders to tackle global problems.

Our domestic situations are quite different. But each of us share a similar perspective – that we face a critical choice about how to manage profound economic, social and political change. Do we resist change; do we just let it happen; or is our task is to promote opportunity and security in this new world, not just for a privileged few, but for all the people? Our answer is clear. Our task is to lead reform in our own countries, and at international level with a clear purpose – to help more people share fairly in the fruits of progress.

Our discussion today has focussed in three areas. First, we have discussed the role of politics and government at national level in the context of global economic competition, global markets and global financial flows. Economic change can be a threat to jobs and ways of life; or new technology, new ways of working and new markets can be empowering and democratic, helping to overcome social and economic divisions that marred the last century. For us, there are four key responsibilities for national government:

it must maintain stability in macro economic policy, supporting sound public finances and a firm stance against inflation; only on this basis can businesses and families invest with confidence

education is the top priority for all of us; it is the key to social justice and economic dynamism; for example, the expansion of higher education is essential for students, but also promotes a vibrant research base from which new businesses can be formed

our welfare states need constantly to be updated to promote activity not inactivity, preventing problems rather than just curing them; for example, we need active labour market policy to tackle structural unemployment, and have committed ourselves to share best practice in how this can be achieved

we reject the division between 'new economy' and 'old economy'; all businesses are being transformed by new technology and the digital revolution; the role of government is to create a climate for entrepreneurship to flourish, to help reduce costs for access to new technology, and to promote research and scientific advance

Second, we discussed how to strengthen civil society. In all our countries the social structure is changing. Families are under strain; different cultures are enriching our communities; people are worried about crime and drugs; elites are being asked to justify their power. We believe that civic society needs to be renewed for the modern age: the dynamic market needs to be matched by strong civic society, based not on prejudice but agreed rules, and reformed government. We consider the following issues to be key:

We need a new balance of rights and responsibilities as the basis for strong communities. We support an enabling role for government – providing all citizens with the tools to develop themselves to the full. But citizens and companies have responsibilities in community life too. That is why tackling crime is a key issue for us.

Public services are the foundation of equal opportunity and a civilised society. But they must be modernised to provide tailor-made provision for each individual. In education, health and social services we need to design our services to support individual need.

We celebrate the diversity of our societies. The world faces huge challenges of population movement. There have to be rules for immigration and asylum. But multiculturalism is to be celebrated: different faiths and races are a strength for our societies.

We are committed to the reform of government itself to make it more accountable, more efficient and more effective. Where partnership with the private sector delivers the public interest, we support it; where decentralisation gives citizens more control of their affairs, we support it; where technology can rationalise provision and make it more convenient, we support it.

Third, in part because we are an international gathering, we discussed how to forge a new international social contract. Just as we seek to advance social justice and economic dynamism for the whole population of our own countries, so we have a responsibility to develop a more inclusive and sustainable international division of wealth and opportunity. We have international institutions dedicated to many of the key issues: trade, debt, conflict prevention, environmental protection, economic development. We recognise the demands from people for transparency and accountability in these institutions. But we also need to recognise that problems of debt, conflict, environmental degradation are connected; that is why we talk of a new social compact that links together solutions to these problems. (This form of linkage is being pioneered in the connection between debt relief and reduced military spending in the HIPC initiative). For us the following issues are key:

We support free trade as a key instrument of economic development for the developing world, and as the route to new markets for the developed world. In parallel we support the far-reaching attempts at debt relief currently underway. And we want to give more support to the development of effective government in countries where it is the weakness of government that is undermining the rule of law and the development of economic and social life.

Education is as important, if not more important, for the developing world as the developed world. We support the target of universal primary schooling by 2015 – 135 million more children in schools. We must ensure that they are well taught with qualified teachers and proper materials. And we want to use new technology to help bridge the education divide.

The global environment must be handed on safely to future generations. We support the commitments of the Kyoto protocol and want to use new mechanisms, like emissions trading, to create common interest between the developing and developed world.

Something on conflict prevention?

We have all learnt from this meeting; we all want to meet again; we believe our citizens should gain confidence from the common experience and approach that we are taking; and we look forward to taking forward the debate to our opponents.

## Draft Communiqué

### Conference „Modern Governance in the 21. Century“ -

2 and 3 June, 2000 Federal Chancellery, Berlin

As a result of the Conference Chancellor Gerhard Schröder will recommend a “Berlin Declaration” of 2 to 3 pages, presenting **propositions regarding** the modernisation of economy and society, including a follow-up proposal to the Berlin Conference. These propositions could refer to following topics:

- (1) **New Balance of Rights and Duties In the Civil Society:** Assigning the State an enabling function and providing citizens with the means in order to act autonomously. Education and qualification play a major role in this context.
- (2) **New role for politics in globalisation:** Organising security and justice as well as granting social and cultural orientation.
- (3) **Best practice of defeating unemployment:** Improving qualification as a task of the State and citizens, promoting the process of life-long learning and assisting throughout an enabling labour market policy.
- (4) **Digital “Revolution” and New Economy:** Making chances of internet, e-commerce, I&C-technologies accessible for more employment and better time management of citizens.
- (5) **Stable public finances:** Outlining responsibility amongst the Generations, as guideline for financial policy.
- (6) **Reform of the social welfare system:** Securing long-term financial basis and facing the demographic challenges.
- (7) **Modernisation of public administration, approaching citizen’s interests:** Increasing service orientation and efficiency through public private partnership and benchmarking the administration on all levels.
- (8) **International division of labour:** Promoting free trade on global markets and a stable international financial architecture in order to improve chances for growth for all partners of world economy.
- (9) **Approach of sustainable development:** Facing cross-border environmental

pollution on the international level.

- (10) **Follow-up to the Berlin Conference:** Creating an international research network "Governance in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century". Establishing contacts between all governmental administrations of the participating countries. Continuing the conference series.

In this modern age, we must also cultivate a civil society that is marked by not only great opportunity, but by the responsibility and civic awareness of its citizens.

Recy.

- We believe in a new balance of rights and responsibilities. This balance promotes a society where citizens can fully develop themselves and be conscious of their responsibilities and roles in the community.
- The digital revolution must be embraced by government in order to make it more accessible, accountable, and efficient. We recognize that digital technology is a powerful tool that offers citizens a new way to connect and communicate with their government.

As the global economy and a shared concern for international affairs draws us closer together, we need to advance the idea of community, from a local and a global perspective.

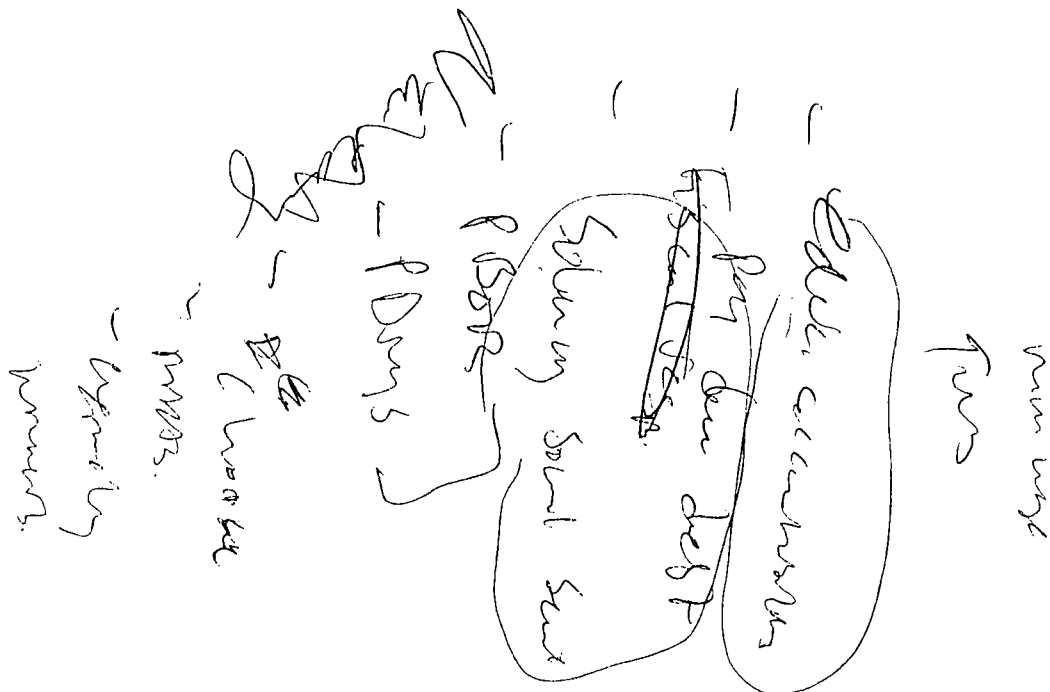
- We support free trade that leads to growth for all partners in the world economy.
- We recognize the need for cooperation among nations to address world security concerns and justice issues.

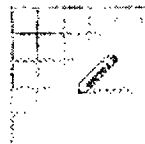
Comm.

- We celebrate the diversity of our nations and of societies throughout the world community. The value of citizens from different backgrounds living in one community, whether it is local or global, and working together is undeniable.

Comm.

- We support sustainable development policies. It is of great concern to all societies that our interaction with the environment be characterized by our recognition that our actions now will have an impact on future generations as well as our own.





Thomas L. Freedman  
03/06/2000 12:40:48 PM

Berlin

Record Type: Record

To: Sidney Blumenthal/WHO/EOP@EOP  
cc: Shawn J. Johnson/WHO/EOP@EOP  
Subject: First Cut: 3rd Way Conf.

**Theme: Reform in the 21st Century**

**Conference Topics:**

Social Reform

Economic Reform

Political Reform

Background: In an era of dramatic economic and social change, we need to evolve to serve the interests of people in this new century.

Action: Do we need to signing a joint communique of principles?.

**Principles:**

Social: personal liberty balanced with individual responsibility, diversity, fairness and justice  
(U.S. example: welfare reform)

Economic: Free markets and opportunity, anti-corruption, closing the gap between rich and poor by trade.  
(U.S. example: education)

Political reform: Efficient government, use of the Internet, transparency.  
(U.S. example reinventing government, lobby disclosure)

Berlin.

## BERLIN COMMUNIQUE: PROGRESSIVE GOVERNANCE FOR THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Advancing Prosperity

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

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

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

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

### Strengthening Civil Society

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

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

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

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

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

### Further Improving International Cooperation

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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