

Why? "Individualism and choice are supposed to stop abruptly at the boundaries of the family and national identity, where tradition must stand intact. But nothing is more dissolving of tradition than the 'permanent revolution' of market forces."

Giddens is perceptive on the thorny question of risk vs. security. The standard account is that if government provides too much security, no one will want to take risks. But Giddens is alive to the need for certain social protections if what you desire is a risk-taking society.

To encourage citizens to be "responsible risk-takers," he writes, "people need protections when things go wrong" and "also the material and moral capabilities to move through major periods of transition in their lives." That's the reason every party in every country is talking about education.

The upshot is we shouldn't dismantle the welfare state, but rather reconstruct it into a "social investment state" to provide "resources for risk-taking." Giddens' welfare state would also cooperate extensively with community institutions that are independent of government.

As for the global economy, Giddens sees its expansion as removing more and more activity from the regulatory reach of individual nations. In what he calls "depoliticized global space," there are no rules establishing "rights and obligations." Figuring out what those are and whether they can be enforced across national boundaries is one of the central political problems of our time.

The strongest critique of the Third Way is that its careful balancing act sounds too good to be true. Center-left parties trying to calibrate market efficiencies against concerns for social justice are not working in some sanitized laboratory. In the politics of democracies, interests and passions intervene.

That was brought home in the recent battle between Germany's Social Democratic chancellor, the centrist Gerhard Schroeder, and his left-wing finance minister, Oskar Lafontaine. Lafontaine resigned, protesting that "the heart isn't traded on the stock market yet." But where Lafontaine saw a socially minded heart beating, German business saw a statist cancer growing.

The Paris daily *Le Monde* noted archly that it was pure "coincidence" that at the moment Lafontaine quit, Anthony Giddens was visiting Bonn to unveil the German edition of "The Third Way"—of which Schroeder is a public fan.

"The Third Way" is worth finding, and Giddens makes an honorable effort to draw us a map. But as the struggles of the new German government show, the road there is still under construction.

#### BUSINESS MUST TAKE LEAD TO WIN FAST TRACK

Steel tops Congress' trade agenda. But just beneath the surface remains fast track, the missing critical link in long-term U.S. trade policy.

Twice in the past two years, Congress refused to give broadened authority to the president to negotiate trade agreements. With a third try being readied, the challenge for the corporate community is to provide the leadership that will finally achieve it.

The push needs to come soon. As globalization quickens, opportunities for U.S. companies to sell their products increase. However, access to foreign markets must be guaranteed, a process fast track would facilitate. "If we don't get [fast track] this year, we're not going to get it until after the presidential election," Rep. Jennifer Dunn (R-Wash.), a member of the Ways and Means Trade Subcommittee, said in an interview.

The implications of fast track's absence are beginning to be seen. This is the case in Latin America, a key market for U.S. exports. By not being able to move forward with a Latin American free-trade agreement, the United States runs the risk of being cut out as the European Union forges closer trading ties with Mercosur, the powerful southern cone trade group.

Winning fast track, however, will require a fundamental change in the way business deals with Capitol Hill and how it approaches the politics of trade. "You've got a lot of folks stuck in a rut now," said Dunn. The problem business faces is that the Republican-anchored coalition it is looking to to pass fast track hasn't worked effectively since the passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement almost six years ago.

How does business get out of this rut and turn the fight for fast track into a winning game? Last December, this column suggested a counterintuitive trade strategy that looked center-left to offset growing Republican isolationism. Now is the time to apply it. With Congress so closely balanced, business can't afford to ignore the Democrats, including liberals, labor and the environmentalists.

Rep. Cal Dooley (Calif.), a staunch free-trade and leading pro-business Democrat, recognizes this as he pushes for a serious dialogue between business and labor and the environmentalists. Those groups have been fast track's toughest opponents. "The message I've been delivering to business is that you have to be providing the leadership and identifying the policies that address the environmental and labor issues that can broaden the base of support for fast track," Dooley told me.

Key business groups have started doing this but it needs to be done seriously in order to construct a new coalition. That coalition can be made up of Democrats and environmental, labor and internationalist Republicans. House Banking Committee Chairman Jim Leach (R-Iowa) suggested this approach a year ago as a way to break the deadlock over funding for the International Monetary Fund. Rep. Barney Frank (D-Mass.) has urged business and liberals to find ways to deal with each other on trade and other elements of their agendas.

Where do corporate CEOs fit into this new strategy? In several ways. First, they need to pledge their unwavering commitment to the effort—from start to finish—just as they do with company initiatives.

Next, they need to shape the public's perception of fast track as critical to the nation's economic growth and their personal well-being. This can only be done by leadership outside Washington that can soften the partisanship that hurt fast track previously. CEOs can do this, Dunn said, by "articulating much more in public and much more with their employees the benefits and importance of free trade."

Lastly, they need to provide the ongoing leadership of the fast-track, campaign. Usually, this is done by the White House with the support of outside groups. However, long-term, proactive leadership has not been the forte of this White House as demonstrated by the last minute, ad hoc—and unsuccessful—campaign it mounted for fast track in 1997.

Business needs to be pragmatic and go where the votes are if it is to win fast track. By doing that, business leaders will have a real shot at achieving a U.S. trade policy that is truly global.

#### A TRIBUTE TO THE LATE JOE DIMAGGIO

#### HON. PETER DEUTSCH

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 13, 1999

Mr. DEUTSCH. Mr. Speaker, last month the Nation lost a true American hero. I am deeply saddened that Joe DiMaggio, "the Yankee Clipper," passed away at the age of 84 in his hometown of Hollywood, Florida, on March 8, 1999. We mourn the loss of a man whose legacy will be remembered for years to come. Indeed, Joe DiMaggio has a long and storied list of athletic accomplishments, but he is also remembered for his service to the South Florida community and the Nation. Joe DiMaggio is a man who achieved greatness, and it was also the way in which he carried himself that was truly great.

Voted the "Greatest Living All-Time Baseball Player" by the Baseball Writers Association in 1969, Joe DiMaggio's impact was felt in the Major Leagues soon after his rookie season in 1936. After winning only one World Series in the seven years prior to his joining the team, the New York Yankees won four straight world championships. By the time he retired in 1951, Joltin' Joe DiMaggio's role in the dominance of the New York Yankees was undeniable: his leadership brought a total of ten pennants and nine world series to New York in the span of 13 major league seasons. Over his career, Joe DiMaggio would win three MVP awards, become the only major league player in major league history who has more than 300 home runs and fewer than 400 strikeouts, and be inducted into the Baseball Hall of Fame in 1955.

Career statistics aside, Joe DiMaggio had perhaps one of the most remarkable years ever when he won the Most Valuable Player award in 1941. That year, like Sammy Sosa and Mark McGwire did during the summer of 1998, Joe DiMaggio and Ted Williams captivated the entire Nation with two spectacular individual performances. While Ted Williams would hit .406, DiMaggio would take center stage while hitting safely in 56 straight games—an amazing record which stands today.

Though one could talk about Joe DiMaggio's greatness based on baseball statistics alone, we must not forget the service that Joe DiMaggio performed for our nation during times of war. In 1943, Joltin' Joe swapped his Yankee paycheck for a \$50-a-month private's salary as he left baseball to serve as physical trainer for Army Air Force cadets. Finishing his term of service three years later, Joe DiMaggio had risen to the rank of sergeant and, in 1974, he was awarded the Silver Helmet award from AMVETS (American Veterans of World War II, Korea, and Vietnam). Only three years after receiving this award, he would be further honored in a way that few are: he was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom by President Carter.

Mr. Speaker, Joe DiMaggio lived much of his life in private. Though he also performed much philanthropy work in private, he was very public about his affiliation with the Memorial Hospital which lies within my Congressional District in Hollywood, Florida. In 1992, the new children's wing of Memorial Hospital was christened the "Joe DiMaggio Children's

Hospital, at Memorial Regional Hospital" in recognition of his extensive support. Since 1992, DiMaggio helped raise more than \$4 million for the care of sick children there. For his charitable work, we all own the late Joe DiMaggio a debt of gratitude. I assure you that Hollywood and the surrounding areas will miss him greatly.

In summary, there was something special about Joe DiMaggio. He was unpretentious and proud, a man who carried himself with the utmost class and dignity. Joltin' Joe DiMaggio was truly a hero in an era when America was coming out of the Great Depression, and era when America needed someone to turn to for inspiration. It is with great sorrow that I praise him today, and hope that in some small way this statement can thank him for all his greatness, for his accomplishments both on the baseball field and off it as well.

## EXPOSING RACISM

### HON. BENNIE G. THOMPSON

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, April 13, 1999*

Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, in my continuing efforts to document and expose racism in America, I submit the following articles into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

PROSECUTOR: BLACK MAN'S MURDER INTENDED TO DRAW ATTENTION TO NEW HATE GROUP

(By Michael Graczyk)

JASPER, TX (AP).—The heinous dragging death of a black man last year was part of a plan to draw attention to a new white supremacist group being organized by his accused white killer, John William King, prosecutors say.

"I do believe he was trying to form his own personal hate group in Jasper, Texas," Jasper County District Attorney Guy James Gray said Tuesday after the first full day of testimony. "I believe we'll be able to establish that this killing was to promote his own personal agenda."

King, 24, an unemployed laborer and convict, faces life in prison or death by injection if convicted of the June 7 murder of James Byrd Jr.

The 49-year-old East Texas man was chained to the back of a pickup truck and dragged for three miles before his body, minus a head, neck and arm, was left dumped on a road across from a black church and cemetery.

Gray, who said DNA evidence would be introduced today, has said he hopes to wrap up his side of the case by the end of the week.

Two other men, Lawrence Russell Brewer, 31, and Shawn Allen Berry, 23, are to be tried later on the same charges.

In his opening statement Tuesday to the jury of 11 whites and one black, Gray said physical evidence, racist tattoos all over King's body and letters written by King would tie him to Byrd's murder.

Correspondence seized by authorities from King's Jasper apartment the day after Byrd's death and entered into evidence late Tuesday included 22 pages of handwritten by-laws and a code of ethics for what King called the "Confederate Knights of America Texas Rebel Soldiers."

"Dear Student," King wrote. "Welcome to the Aryan Institute for Higher Learning . . . Welcome to the dream."

In one of the documents, he labels himself "Captain" of the organization. In another,

where he signs himself as "President," he describes his group as working for the "struggle of our white race" and complained of "thousands of organizations working for the interest of minorities."

"How many groups stand up for the cultural values and ideals of the white majority?" he asked. "We of the Confederate Knights of America are unapologetically committed to the interest, ideas and cultural value of the White Aryan race."

Prosecutors said other physical evidence includes a lighter engraved with Knight's prison nickname "Possum" and a Klu Klux Klan symbol of interlocking three K's found along the bloody route. Byrd's blood also was found on King's shoes, Gray said.

Tattoos over more than 65 percent of his body include a black man hanging from a tree, nazi swastikas and a Woody Woodpecker cartoon character wearing a Klan robe and hood.

Defense attorney Haden "Sonny" Cribbs, who declined an immediate opening statement, objected to the introduction of the written material and photos of King's tattoos, saying such items were protected by the Constitution as freedom of expression. State District Judge Joe Bob Golden overruled the objections.

Prosecutors began testimony by laying out the crime scene, with Sheriff Billy Rowles telling how he first thought he had a routine hit-and-run accident. But he said he was puzzled by the lack of parallel tire tracks that should have followed the trail of blood typically left by someone dragged under a vehicle.

When investigators found the lighter, "That's when we started having some bad thoughts," the sheriff added. "I knew somebody had been murdered because he had been black."

Other items from the crime scene included tools with the name "Berry" scratched into the surface. Authorities knew Berry was a mechanic and arrested him on outstanding traffic warrants. When he gave an affidavit that included information identifying King as having the nickname "Possum," "I know this country boy's in trouble," Rowles testified.

In love letters he sent from prison to Michele Chapman, a Jasper woman described by King as "my precious Aryan Princess," King used obscenities and vulgarities when referring to blacks and Mexicans. He bragged about what he said was \$3,000 worth of tattoo work he received for free all over his body from an inmate tattoo artist.

"White is right!!!" he wrote in one letter, signing it off: ". . . Take care and stay white and beautiful."

Prosecutors also showed jurors photographs of Byrd's remains and introduced into evidence tattered remnants of Byrd's clothing. Several members of Byrd's family began sobbing as the clothing was revealed.

BLACK MARINE BEATEN, PARALYZED BY WHITE MEN TO FACE ATTACKERS

(By Michelle Williams)

SAN DIEGO (AP)—Sitting in a wheelchair with only the slightest movement in his left hand, Lance Cpl. Carlos Colbert still has his voice to describe how five men savagely changed his life at a Memorial Day party.

The black Marine, who is paralyzed, today was to face the white men who drunkenly beat him, broke his neck and left him motionless on the ground in what prosecutors say was a racist attack.

Colbert was to tell them how his life has changed. He is 21. Jessee Lawson, 20; Trenton Solis, 18; Robert Rio, 23; Jed Jones, 21; and Steven Newark III, 18, pleaded guilty last month to felony assault and avoided potential life sentences at today's hearing.

Prosecutor Craig Rooten said Tuesday that Colbert wanted the case to go to trial, but understood the guilty pleas ensured jail time for his attackers.

"There were a lot of people involved and there was a lot of alcohol involved, making it a difficult case to sort out," Rooten said.

Colbert, of Forestville, MD, was one of just a few blacks who attended a party last May at the home of Tim Bullard, a fellow Camp Pendleton Marine. At least 100 people packed the small house at Santee, a rural community 20 miles northeast of San Diego.

When a fight broke out in the front yard, there were no streetlights to illuminate what was happening and most of the people were drunk, Rooten said. Police interviewed about 50 people over four months before making any arrests since few stories were alike.

One common denominator was that the attackers punched and kicked Colbert while shouting racial slurs and "white power," Rooten said.

Colbert's memory of the attack was that a fellow Marine went outside to help a woman who was hit by a "skinhead." When he heard the commotion, he went outside to see what was happening.

"Out of the corner of my eye I saw a guy coming toward me with brass knuckles," Colbert told The San Diego Union-Tribune. "I felt it on my neck. . . . He came up behind me and broke my neck. I fell flat on my face."

At a hearing last month, Judge Frederick Link asked Lawson if he beat Colbert because he was black and he tearfully said: "That is correct."

Lawson's admission means he faces two to 11 years in prison. The others face five years probation with one year in jail. They will receive credit for jail time already served. Solis has been free on \$250,000 bond for a few months, but the others have been jailed since their arrest in September.

The parents of some of the attackers recently went on a radio talk show, saying their sons were coerced into confessing that the crime was racially motivated, and it really was just a drunk brawl. A witness called in to say that such hatred isn't created by alcohol, it only enhances it.

Colbert spent several months at a Veteran's Administration hospital in Long Beach before moving to a Virginia hospital closer to his family's Maryland home. He was recently moved to a home modified for his wheelchair, Rooten said.

SETTLEMENT REACHED IN CALIFORNIA RACE-BASED ADMISSIONS CASE

(By Bob Egelko)

SAN FRANCISCO (AP)—City schools and the NAACP reached a last-minute settlement over race-based admissions on the same day a federal trial was to begin deciding the constitutionality of San Francisco's school desegregation program.

The program bars any school from having more than 45 percent of any one racial or ethnic group, a practice the families of three Chinese-American students alleged kept the youngsters out of their preferred schools.

U.S. District Judge William Orrick ordered details of Tuesday's agreement between the school district and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People kept confidential until a hearing today.

But participant's comments indicated that court-ordered limits on racial and ethnic groups at each school in the 63,000-student district would be repealed.

Daniel Girard, lawyer for the three Chinese-American students and their parents, who filed the lawsuit in 1994, said the agreement is "a balanced resolution" that achieves the plaintiffs' objectives.