

## Concours ENS Paris B/L 2023 – ANGLAIS

We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them. Just because we fight without rancor and without  
5 selfish object, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for.

I have said nothing of the Governments allied with the Imperial Government of Germany  
10 because they have not made war upon us or challenged us to defend our right and our honor. The Austro-Hungarian Government has, indeed, avowed its unqualified endorsement and acceptance of the reckless and lawless submarine warfare adopted now without disguise by the Imperial German Government, and it has therefore not been possible for this Government to receive Count Tarnowski, the Ambassador recently accredited to this Government by the  
15 Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary; but that Government has not actually engaged in warfare against citizens of the United States on the seas, and I take the liberty, for the present at least, of postponing a discussion of our relations with the authorities at Vienna. We enter this war only where we are clearly forced into it because there are no other means of defending our rights.

20 It will be all the easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not in enmity towards a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible government which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck. We are, let me say again, the sincere friends of the German people, and shall desire  
25 nothing so much as the early reestablishment of intimate relations of mutual advantage between us,- however hard it may be for them, for the time being, to believe that this is spoken from our hearts. We have borne with their present Government through all these bitter months because of that friendship,-exercising a patience and forbearance which would otherwise have been impossible. We shall, happily, still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily  
30 attitude and actions towards the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live amongst us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it towards all who are in fact loyal to their neighbors and to the Government in the hour of test. They are, most of them, as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance. They will be prompt to stand with us in rebuking and restraining the few who may  
35 be of a different mind and purpose. If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with with a firm hand of stern repression; but, if it lifts its head at all, it will lift it only here and there and without countenance except from a lawless and malignant few.

It is a distressing and oppressive duty, Gentlemen of the Congress, which I have performed in  
40 thus addressing you. There are, it may be many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance.

Woodrow Wilson, Speech before Congress, April 2, 1917

1 Much has been made of New Labour's association with the world of celebrity - from Bono to Kevin Spacey, Noel Gallagher to Sir Cliff Richard. Even fading pop star Mick Hucknall has attended two parties at Chequers - twice as many as Gordon Brown. The party's intimate early association with academia, on the other hand, has largely been forgotten. Professor Anthony

5 Giddens, the brains behind the Third Way, praised Tony Blair in 1999 for being "as keen to work with intellectuals as any other prime minister I can think of in recent memory". The prime minister reciprocated by making "Tony's Tony" a life peer in May last year. At its most simple, the Third Way was an attempt to imbue free-market capitalism with a social conscience. It sought a compromise between the top-down Keynesian consensus of the postwar period and

10 the unfettered neo-liberalism of the 1980s. It was neither old left nor old right. It favoured a market economy but not a market society. The concept initially enjoyed significant international support as a wave of social democratic, centre-left governments won power in the late 1990s. Third Way aficionados held office in the US (Bill Clinton), Britain (Tony Blair), Germany (Gerhard Schröder), France (Lionel Jospin) and Italy (Giuliano Amato). Even Colonel Gaddafi

15 jumped on the bandwagon, claiming that he had coined the concept first before Blair stole it from him. However, a successful first summit in Florence in November 1999 signified the high point of the Third Way's international appeal. Since then most of its founders have been replaced by right-wing opponents. While the international spirit of the Third Way still survives - notably in Peter Mandelson's Policy Network which organises the annual Progressive

20 Governance Summits - the term itself is seldom used. "We tend to concentrate on smaller, high-level discussions now," says Matt Browne, its director. In the UK the term has also fallen out of common political usage, although proponents claim that it has created a new consensus. "Every left-of-centre party is now in some ways a Third Way party," says its architect, Lord Giddens. "It has kept the British Labour party in power for three terms. And it appears to be

25 forcing the Conservatives to move back to the centre ground." As Bill Clinton said to the Labour Party conference in October 2002, "The ultimate case for the Third Way is that it works." Critics on the left, however, dismiss it as little more than warmed-up Thatcherism. "New Labour thought that it was necessary to have a philosophy to make it look respectable," wrote Tony Benn in 2002. "So the Third Way was invented." John Prescott once joked at a party conference

30 that he searched for a book on the Third Way and found it under the "mystery" section. Critics on the right, for their part, have ridiculed it as a vacuous strategy for winning elections. David Miliband, now communities and local government minister, almost admitted as much in an interview with the Washington Post in 2002. The Third Way, he conceded, was better suited to opposition than to administration. "It is a very good way of throwing out a right-wing government," he said. Ultimately, though, the phrase also appears to be fairly disposable. Ask the Labour party's website to search for "the Third Way" and it replies, "Sorry, your search was empty." Tony Blair might be obsessed with his legacy, but we are unlikely to hear the strains of "I did it the Third Way" floating down Whitehall as he faces his final curtain.

Iain Hollingshead, "Whatever happened to the Third Way?", *The Guardian*, 25 October 2005.