

# FOIA MARKER

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[Millennium] [1]

Staff Office-Individual:

Speechwriting-Orzulak, Paul

Original OA/ID Number:

4022

Row:

48

Section:

6

Shelf:

9

Position:

2

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V

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

TO: SW, SD, June,  
LAURA, Tom M, PAUL O  
HARRIS  
FROM: JOSH GOTTHEIMER  
OFFICE OF SPEECHWRITING

More on the Millennium...

First of all abolish the music halls in which the vulgar tunes set to still more vulgar words provide the musical milk upon which the young of the masses are reared. Abolish the diabolical street pianos and hand organs which disseminate their vile tunes in all directions and which reduce the musical taste of the children in the residence streets to the level of that of the Australian bushman, who thinks noise and rhythm are music

St. Augustine said pretty much the same thing in the fifth century A.D. in his treatise *De Musica*. Elevated disgust with popular taste is constant; only the music changes."

- Richard W. Bulliet

[*Columbia History of the 20th Century*, pg. 31]

### United States

America is the "envy of the world."

- James T. Woodward, Banker

[*Encyclopedia of the 20th Century*, Tab 18]

### The city

"We are on the eve of a great development of centrifugal possibilities. And since it has been shown that a city of pedestrians is inexorably limited by a radius of about four miles, and that a horse-using city may grow out to seven or eight, it follows that the available area of a city which can offer a cheap suburban journey of thirty miles an hour is a circle with a radius of thirty miles. And is it too much, therefore, to expect that the available area for even the common daily toilers of the great city of the year 2000, or earlier, will have a radius very much larger even than that?"

- H.G. Wells

[*Anticipations*, pg. 812]

## INNOVATION

"Everything that can be invented already has been."

- Charles Duell, Director, U.S. Patent Office, 1899

[*Joseph Hankin, speech, 10/15/97, pg. 3 (Lexus), Tab 4*]

"The chief discoveries will consist in producing fire out of water, silver out of clay, strong and permanent buildings out of paper, a locomotive force out of gravity, diamonds out of charcoal..."

- Van Buren Denslow

[*"Society Governed By Economic Laws," pg. 82, Tab 11*]

"If the advent of cheap gas should enable us to utilize sixty per cent of that power instead of fifteen, it would put whip and spur to material development."

- ?

[*"The Twentieth Century City," pg. 155, Tab 12*]

### Biotech

"It gives me much satisfaction to predict that a marked change will take place in the science of medicine. By 1993 doctors will prescribe no more than one-third of the drugs they now think necessary. The true relation of the muscular to the organic system, and their combined influence on the nervous system, will become more fully and generally understood. The combined action of the patient's mind and muscles will be depended on instead of drugs to prevent, allay, and cure disease."

- Edwin Checkley

[*"Marked Changes in Medicine, Theology, Education," pg. 173, Tab 16*]

***IMAGINING THE TWENTIETH CENTURY:  
Perspectives from Two Fins-de-Siecle***

University Lecture, April 13, 1998  
Columbia University

Alan Brinkley  
Allan Nevins Professor of History

"As we stand on the threshold of a new century, it is natural to look into the past and to desire to look into the future." That is the first sentence of *The Twentieth-Century City*, a book published exactly a century ago by Josiah Strong, a Congregationalist minister, an officer of the Evangelical Alliance for the United States, and already in 1898 a well-known writer and social critic. In it, he attempted to envision what twentieth-century cities -- and twentieth-century society generally (for, he believed, "the city is to control the nation") -- would look like. His predictions, suffused with Christian optimism, described "a new social spirit, and a new social ideal" that would, before the new century was out, create a "city redeemed . . . the symbol of *heaven* -- heaven on earth -- the Kingdom fully come."<sup>1</sup>

Strong was one of countless writers, scholars, intellectuals, journalists, politicians, and others who -- in the closing years of the nineteenth century -- recorded their visions of what the next hundred years would be like. And as we contemplate our own fin-de-siecle, it is worth considering for a moment, I think, how our not-too-distant ancestors envisioned theirs -- how they tried to imagine the twentieth century just as we try to imagine the twenty-first.

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The effort to predict the future is such a familiar part of our cultural landscape that it is easy to forget how relatively new an activity it is. Through most of human history, the vast majority of the world's population had few doubts about what the future would be like. It would, they assumed, be much like the present and the past, dominated by the unchanging cycles of agrarian life. Individuals might wonder about their own fates, or the fates of their children. They might try to envision the nature of the afterlife. They might speculate about the future of their rulers. They might embrace astrology or cherish other superstitions that they believed would help them predict their health, or the weather, or the success of their crops. But the essential character of the world they knew -- the structures of their everyday lives -- changed so slowly (with occasional catastrophic exceptions) that for many millennia the idea of a future dramatically different from the present rarely occurred to anyone but a few visionaries and mystics.<sup>2</sup>

The expectation that the future would, in fact, be substantially different from the present began to become widespread less than 300 years ago. That expectation emerged in part as a result of the Enlightenment, and its suggestion that individuals might shape their own lives and that humans might shape the character of their societies. It emerged in part as a result of the scientific revolution that the Enlightenment helped produce, and the spread of the idea that the world could be explained and perhaps restructured along rational scientific lines. It emerged as a result of modern industrialization, which transformed societies rapidly and radically, again and again, generation after generation. And it emerged as well in response to the political revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which suggested the possibility that social structures were not



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fixed and timeless, but subject to purposeful change.

By the end of the nineteenth century, citizens of much of the world -- and certainly citizens of the United States -- had already experienced such dramatic changes in their own lifetimes that they considered it all but certain that the future would see changes even more profound. Out of that belief had emerged a vast enterprise of prediction that has survived into our own time. In the late nineteenth century, it was visible in the works of such famous futurists as H. G. Wells and Edward Bellamy, and in the wide currency of the economic ideas of Adam Smith and Thomas Malthus and Karl Marx. Today, it is visible even more widely. The academic social sciences -- economics in particular -- have been deeply committed to predictive projects for several generations. But social science is only a small part of a much larger futurist project, of which the most numerous and visible parts are unconstrained by conventional rules of evidence or boundaries of tested methodologies. There are celebrated writers, scholars, and entrepreneurs who confidently predict a dazzling techno-Utopian future -- Alvin Toffler, Arthur Clarke, Nicholas Negroponte, Bill Gates. There is a modest but growing academic field -- "Futures Studies" -- with conferences, quarterly journals, courses offered in major universities, and books published by reputable university presses.<sup>3</sup> And there is a steady drumbeat of images of the future in our popular culture -- in films, on television, in national magazines, and of course in science fiction.

The unreliability of almost all such predictions does nothing to deter us from making them, and it is not hard to understand why. The effort to understand the future gives us a sense of connection to a world that we ourselves will never know. It helps us to believe that we might somehow shape the time in which our children and grandchildren will live. It makes our own brief lives seem somehow part of a larger and continuing story. To historians, however, predictions are

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valuable for other reasons as well -- for what they reveal of our cultural history. Whether or not they help us to understand the world to come, they do help us to understand the world of the past and the present. For predictions provide us, if nothing else, a window into the hopes and fears of those who have made them.

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A hundred years ago, those who envisioned the twentieth century described futures of boundless variety, both wonderful and terrible, good and evil, attractive and repellent. Some predicted such grandiose and happily unrealized achievements as the expansion of the United States to include Canada, Mexico, Central America, the Caribbean, and all of South America. Others envisioned a time when people of color, presumably unassimilable into the white-dominated society of the United States, would voluntarily and contentedly resettle in other lands (one writer suggested some sparsely populated areas of Venezuela).<sup>4</sup> One stiff-backed futurist predicted a day when, for hygienic reasons, humans would no longer kiss one another but would signify affection by "a gentle patting of the cheek."<sup>5</sup> Another foresaw an era when women would replace men in the public world, while men retreated to the domestic sphere and began to take on "feminine" characteristics.<sup>6</sup> One prominent futurist foresaw a day when an earnest, educated middle class -- "the active, scientifically-trained people" -- would decide that raising children was a distraction from the more important business of managing society and would establish a series of boarding schools for toddlers to which all children, beginning at the age of 3, would be sent.<sup>7</sup> Still another predicted that by the year 2000 everyone would be a vegetarian, that all farm land would be devoted to raising food crops, and that new kinds of fungi would be developed that would replicate, and improve upon, fish and meat.<sup>8</sup> In a particularly bold effort at prediction, one American writer predicted the

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end of Christianity and its replacement with art; the rise of polygamy; the improvement of human capacity through scientific breeding; a single world language; and women receiving the vote.

But the most frequent and most serious predictions from the Victorian age of what the twentieth century would look like focused on one or more of three areas that were of deep concern in the 1890s and remain of concern to us today. Late nineteenth-century Americans wondered, first what scientific and technological advances the twentieth century would bring and how such advances would change their lives. They wondered, too, about the future of industrial capitalism, and about how and whether the then-troubled relationships among the various classes in industrial society might eventually resolve themselves. And they wondered, finally, about the future of democracy, about its chances of survival and its prospects for improvement.

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Nothing was more alluring, and at times alarming, to late nineteenth-century futurists than the vision of dramatic scientific and technological change. The nineteenth century, they believed, had seen unparalleled material progress: dramatic changes in the science and technology of production, the creation of the steamship and the railroad, the invention of the telegraph and the telephone, the spread of electricity, the discovery of anesthesia and antiseptics. "The world did not double or treble its movement between 1800 and 1900," Henry Adams wrote at the time, "but measured by any standard -- by horsepower, calories, volts, mass in any shape -- the tension and vibration and volume and so-called progression of society were fully a thousand times greater in 1900 than in 1800." The future, Adams's contemporaries assumed, could hardly be less dazzling. "If progress is as swift as it has been since Professor Bell demonstrated that the human voice can be conveyed over a wire charged electrically," one successful engineer wrote in 1893, "we are likely to

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see [in the next century] some developments that will be simply revolutionary."<sup>10</sup>

The material changes of the modern world, the Victorians believed, were what differentiated their time from all the centuries before them. Those changes had propelled history onto a fundamentally new and different course. William Thackeray, in the mid-nineteenth century, had called the railroad the "great demarcation line between past and present."<sup>11</sup> By the end of the century, even the railroad had receded into the background in the face of dazzling predictions of future change: great ships that skimmed across the ocean, travelling from Europe to America in a day; electric illumination that would turn night into day; enormous feats of production that would end want and produce social equality; and of course -- in the writings of Jules Verne, H. G. Wells, and many others -- new airborne vehicles that would circle the world and even carry humans to distant planets.

The past and the expected future achievements of scientists and engineers gave them a place of remarkable prestige in the minds of many Victorians. In imagining the twentieth century, they envisioned a world in which technically proficient people would move naturally into positions of leadership. One example was Thorstein Veblen. His *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, published in 1899, is remembered primarily for its savage portrayal of the very rich, whom he considered smug, flabby, and reactionary. (It is remembered, too, for its introduction into our language of the phrase "conspicuous consumption.") But Veblen satirized the "leisure class" not simply to denounce them, but also to legitimize a new class of leaders that he assumed would, and should, gradually assume control of society in the twentieth century: the engineers. By 1921, when he published *The Engineer and the Price System*, he had become convinced that the only rational way for society to govern itself was to delegate social and political power to a "soviet of technicians," to replace

for, web, -mail

space  
vehicle

for steam  
reference  
space  
state

today  
middle  
class

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democracy with an enlightened autocracy run on scientific principles.

Even those who did not follow Veblen's radical path often expected the march of science to transform not just the material world, but the social, economic, and political worlds as well. H.

G. Wells, one the most prominent figures among those trying to envision the world of the twentieth century, pinned many of his hopes for the future on "a really functional social body of engineering, managing men, scientifically trained and having common ideals and interests," a genuinely new class that would "segregate and disentangle itself from our present confusion of aimless and ill-directed lives."<sup>12</sup> They would transform business, politics, even the military, for there would also be a "new sort of soldier . . . a sober, considerate engineering man -- no more of a gentleman than his subordinate or any other self-respecting person."<sup>13</sup>

What is most striking about these predictions is not their prescience (although some were prescient indeed) or their grandiosity (although some of them were preposterously grand). What is striking, rather, is the tendency of these late-nineteenth-century writers to attribute vast social and moral authority to modern science and technology, and to the people who were driving it forward. It would be too much to say, as some claimed at the time, that science had replaced religion in the late nineteenth century. But as the response to Darwin of nineteenth-century theologians suggests - a response in some cases fearful and defensive, in other cases adaptive and transforming -- science had become a powerful rival to traditional religion and had already begun to change it.

What is also striking about the veneration of science and technology, and about the predictions of their future impact, was how often they were fused to new visions of industrial capitalism and to an image of a fundamentally new class structure.

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step science  
tie  
to  
biotech  
landscape

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If the twentieth century's greatest promise seemed to Victorian eyes to be breathtaking advances in science and technology, its greatest danger, many believed, was the class system of the burgeoning industrial world. From Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels and Eugene V. Debs, to Benjamin Disraeli and William Gladstone and Theodore Roosevelt, the deepening chasm and the bitter battles between capital and labor were the principal problems of the age. Industrial capitalism had, it was true, produced wealth and innovation of a sort scarcely imagined a century before. Marx and Engels themselves conceded its miraculous power in *The Communist Manifesto*:

The bourgeoisie, during its rule of scarce one hundred years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together. . . . What earlier century had even a presentiment that such productive forces slumbered in the lap of social labour?<sup>14</sup>

But if industrial capitalism had produced great wealth, it had also produced inequality, immiseration, and conflict, as Marx and Engels, of course, also knew. And so one of the principal questions confronting those who attempted to imagine the twentieth century was whether, and how, this great and terrible problem might be resolved. "If any man now living solves the great question of the true relation of capital and labor," the popular writer Ella Wheeler Wilcox wrote in 1893, "to him will [the late twentieth century] accord the honor of the greatest man."<sup>15</sup>

Some writers saw little chance of a successful resolution of this problem and predicted revolution and even apocalypse. Ignatius Donnelly, a fiery and somewhat erratic populist leader in Minnesota, presented such a vision in 1890 in one of the more bizarre dystopian novels of the late nineteenth century, *Caesar's Column*. In it, he described a twentieth century world in which the political and economic system, perverted by the demands of modern capitalism, had utterly failed.

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and had produced a violent revolution of almost unimaginable horror. In one particularly lurid chapter, "The Ocean Overpeers Its List," he presented an extraordinary and terrible vision of how a great mob of the people -- finally reaching the limits of their frustration -- breaks loose to destroy the demons that had oppressed them and, in the process, destroy civilization itself:

... like a huge flood, long damned up, turbid, muddy, loaded with wrecks and debris, the gigantic mass broke loose, full of foam and terror, and flowed in every direction. A foul and brutal and ravenous multitude it was, dark with dust and sweat, armed with the weapons of civilization but possessing only the instincts of wild beasts. ... Civilization is gone, and all the devils are loose! That which it took the world ten thousand years to create has gone in an hour.<sup>16</sup>

More common, however, were visions of new social and economic arrangements that would, at last, end the conflict of classes and the inequities of capitalism. The most famous and most influential such prediction was Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, published in 1887. Bellamy told the story of a wealthy Boston businessman, Julian West, who seals himself in a subterranean chamber, goes into a deep trance, and awakes in the year 2000 to find a world utterly unlike the one he had known -- a world of social harmony, universal abundance, and full employment. When he asks the late-twentieth-century Bostonians he encounters what had led to this remarkable change, he is told that America in the late nineteenth century had been collapsing as a result of the chaos and instability of the old industrial economy. But the nation had found a solution, finally, in the creation of a single, giant trust, which absorbed all the businesses of all the citizens into one great monopoly, which then shared the abundance of the industrial economy equally with everyone. Workers were now organized into a great industrial army, through which

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they had acquired "habits of obedience, subordination, devotion to duty." This army had complete political control over society, and it used its efficiently ordered industrial workforce as a model for the efficient ordering of society at large. "If I were to give you . . . a key to what may seem the mysteries of our civilization as compared with that of your age," a late-twentieth-century man tells the nineteenth-century West, "I should say that it is the fact that the solidarity of the race and the brotherhood of man, which to you were but fine phrases, are, to our thinking and feeling, ties as real and as vital as physical fraternity."<sup>17</sup>

The publication of Looking Backward was one of the great cultural, and indeed, political events of the late nineteenth century. The book sold hundreds of thousands of copies, made Bellamy a national figure, and launched a shortlived political movement in support of Bellamy's political vision, which he called "Nationalism." But Bellamy was only one of many turn-of-the-century visionaries to envision a dramatically different future for industrial society.<sup>18</sup>

In the decade or so following the publication of *Looking Backward*, and undoubtedly in part because of it, predictions of a great quasi-socialist or corporatist solution to the problems of capitalism became commonplace. Terence Powderly, the leader of the Knights of Labor, the great workers' organization of the 1870s and 1880s, predicted in 1893 that in the late twentieth century, industrial society would have become an efficient, classless mechanism working for the good of all. "Labor organizations will have disappeared," he wrote, "for there will be no longer a necessity for their existence."<sup>19</sup> "The general tendency of Industrialism" in the twentieth century, the writer Henry Cadman predicted in 1899, would be towards "the aggregation of Capital, with the Corporation as a unit, . . . the mobilization of Labor, with the Trade Union as a unit," and a "general acceptance of some form of Profit-Sharing as the basis of an industrial union between

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Capital and Labor." The result would be a "new Industrialism, richer in promise of unity, more perfect in justice, and warmer in its humanity."<sup>20</sup>

Democracy  
+ Govt  
These visions of a natural movement of the industrial economy toward a more ordered, efficient, and socially just future were, of course, far from universal in the late nineteenth century -- the age of laissez faire and Social Darwinism. But they were remarkable nevertheless for their popularity and their variety. They reflected the belief of many Victorians that modern corporate capitalism, despite its obvious power, was still a new economic system, still malleable, still subject to transformation through social control. Their present economy was, many believed, a transitional phase in economic history between the old preindustrial world and a new social order as yet unborn. "In a few years," H. G. Wells predicted in 1899, "I believe many men who are now rather aimless, men who have disconsolately watched the collapse of the old Liberalism, will be clearly telling themselves and one another of their adhesion to this new ideal" -- the ideal of a new economy intelligently organized and governed for the benefit of the many not the few.<sup>21</sup>

Such predictions also reflected the assumption among many late-nineteenth-century visionaries that new forms of government -- what Wells called a "New Republic" -- would emerge in the twentieth century to replace, or perfect, the allegedly democratic systems of the nineteenth.

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"There is a question as old as history itself, always disputed, never settled," Walter Besant wrote from England to an American journal in 1901, a question, he said, that would surely "receive an answer" in the century just begun. "Is government by the people possible? . . . And shall it prevail? . . . Would that in the year 1999 or 2000 one could come back to earth, in order to hear the answer. May it be favorable to democracy. And may it be final!"<sup>22</sup>

a more perfect union

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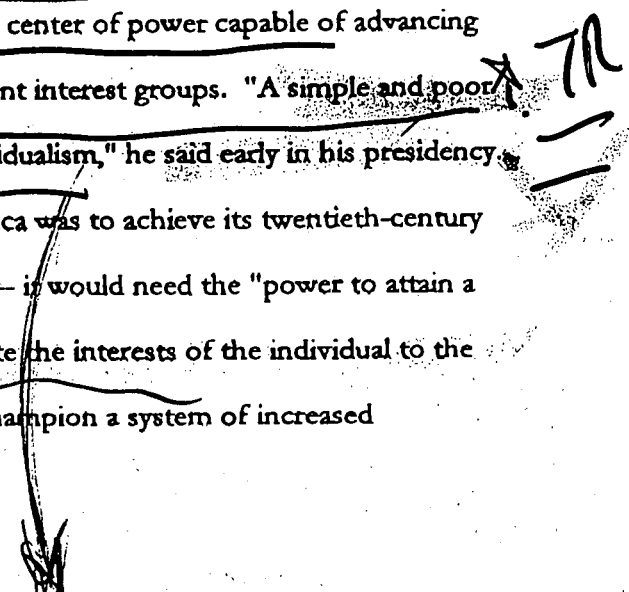
Democracy, of course, had many definitions at the beginning of the twentieth century, just as it does at its end. To W. E. B. Du Bois, writing in 1903 in *The Souls of Black Folk* about what he called the "problem of the twentieth century," democracy meant the still unrealized goal of extending political rights to everyone, and to disenfranchised African Americans in particular. "We are awakening," he said, "to the fact that the perpetuity of republican institutions on this continent depends on the purification of the ballot, the civic training of voters, and the raising of voting to the plane of a solemn duty which a patriotic citizen neglects to his peril and the peril of his children's children."<sup>23</sup> To Terence Powderly and other labor leaders, democracy meant overcoming class-based barriers to political participation. Powderly predicted a society in which everyone would be educated enough to consider political questions intelligently, a society in which "the initiative and referendum would prevail," and one in which "lawmakers will not be the autocrats they now are, for they will truly register the will of the people."<sup>24</sup>

To others envisioning a political system for the twentieth century, the purpose of democracy was not to increase participation, but to create a government capable of giving enlightened leadership to the dramatically different world the future would surely bring. "My contention," one self-proclaimed Utopian wrote, "is that the ideal government of the future will be a complex one — that it will be plastic and will not have one rule applicable to all races."<sup>25</sup> H. G. Wells, who in 1899 so confidently predicted the rise of a new, educated governing class in 1899, wrote at the same time that "I know of no case for the elective democratic governments of modern states that cannot be knocked to pieces in five minutes. It is manifest that upon countless, important, public issues there is no collective will and nothing in the mind of the average man except blank indifference, that an electoral system simply places power in the hands of the most

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skillful electioneers." A new politics would require not more political participation, but more intelligence among those entrusted with governance.<sup>26</sup> Even many advocates of the most important expansion of the electorate in American history, those who battled for woman suffrage, did not argue their case by appealing to the ideal of universal democratic participation but by suggesting that enfranchising women would be valuable to society less because it would expand than because it would "improve" the pool of voters.

And yet despite the great differences among late nineteenth-century visions of democracy, and despite the manifestly anti-democratic character of some of them, the belief that politics and government would play an important role in making twentieth-century society just and equitable and dynamic was strong and widespread. Just as fin-de-siecle visionaries predicted great new scientific breakthroughs and dramatic improvements in the character of capitalism, so they also envisioned new and better governments capable of achievements that previous generations had never imagined. That was certainly the view of the great political hero of the first years of the new century, Theodore Roosevelt. He believed that the twentieth century -- which he expected to play an important role in shaping -- would create a new, national center of power capable of advancing broad national interests and opposing the clamor of divergent interest groups. "A simple and poor society can exist as a democracy on the bases of sheer individualism," he said early in his presidency. "But a rich and complex society cannot so exist." If America was to achieve its twentieth-century destiny -- if it was to become the great nation of the world -- it would need the "power to attain a high degree of social efficiency," the "capacity to subordinate the interests of the individual to the interests of the community," and the ability to "fearlessly champion a system of increased governmental control."

A handwritten signature, possibly 'TR', is written in the right margin. A large, stylized arrow is drawn from the bottom of the text, pointing downwards and to the right.

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The expansion of political will -- whether through unleashing the power of a broad popular electorate or through creating enlightened leaders and institutions capable of defending democratic ends -- was one of the most powerful visions of the late nineteenth century, a vision largely untroubled by the failure of the contemporary political system to fulfill it. It was, moreover, closely tied to a much larger and more powerful late-nineteenth-century faith: the idea of progress; the belief that the life of mankind was destined to move steadily and inevitably from an inferior past toward a superior future; the conviction that the purpose, and the destiny, of society was to grow, to improve, to move closer to perfection. The belief in progress had supported the great scientific and technological achievements of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It had sustained faith in the ameliorative power of industrial capitalism, and in the possibility of transforming it into a more just and stable economic system. And it had drawn strength from and in turn sustained the political revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which had shattered old orders that once seemed timeless and which had opened at least the possibility of creating new and more democratic regimes.

This faith in progress, although relatively new as a force in human history, was already remarkably durable, capable of surviving extraordinary tragedies and disappointments. How else can we explain the optimism of, for example, the French philosopher Condorcet, watching the Revolution he had once welcomed turn against him in the 1790s and writing his last book in the shadow of the guillotine (which he escaped only by taking his own life shortly after finishing the work). It was published after his death as *The Progress of the Human Spirit*. Condorcet described human history as moving steadily and progressively forward, through a series of epochs, of which

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the French Revolution was the penultimate. The tenth, and last, was still to come -- the achievement of human perfection. "Human perfectibility is in reality infinite," he said, "and the progress of this perfectibility . . . has no other limit than the duration of the globe upon which nature has placed us." Those who despair of the present, he wrote, no doubt referring to himself, need only look to the shining future, which he exultantly described:

What a picture of the human race, freed from its chains, removed from the empire of chance as from that of the enemies of its progress, and advancing with a firm and happy step on the pathway of truth, of virtue, and of happiness, is presented to the philosopher to console him from the errors, the crimes, and the injustices with which the earth is still soiled, and of which he is often the victim!<sup>27</sup>

A hundred years after Condorcet's death, that picture of social progress and human perfectibility had not only survived but grown stronger and more widespread. And it was nowhere more visible than in what Theodore Roosevelt called the "unflinching hearts and undimmed eyes" of a generation envisioning the century yet before them.

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Looking back from our own fin-de-siecle on the dynamic and troubled world of a century ago, it is hard not to be struck by the boldness and even the audacity of the predictions our ancestors produced. The problems facing the generation of the late nineteenth century were terrible, daunting, seemingly intractable. And yet many of those who dared imagine the future did so with confidence and optimism and faith.

It is hard, too, not to be struck by the prescience of at least some of their predictions.

Looking back across the twentieth century as we near its end, we can see that it was indeed an age

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of dramatic scientific and technological progress, as the Victorians envisioned -- in fact an age that has produced discoveries and advances that exceed most of their boldest visions. We can see, too, that the twentieth century did indeed bring dramatic growth and change to the industrial capitalist economy, that it elevated millions of workers and ordinary people from poverty to new levels of comfort and dignity, that it placed at least some limitations on the prerogatives of capital and the tyranny of employers. And we can see as well that the twentieth century produced new forms of politics and new institutions of government that greatly expanded the ranks of the enfranchised and dramatically enlarged the social responsibilities of the state.

But it is also clear that almost nothing in the imaginings of our ancestors of a century ago could have prepared them for the horrors and disappointments that have also been a part of the history of the twentieth century. The nineteenth-century clergyman, writer, and social critic Orestes Brownson, listening skeptically to his contemporaries' predictions that history would move steadily forward into an ever improving future, tartly responded to one of them: "Are there no calamities in history? Nothing tragic?"<sup>28</sup> No one living through the twentieth century would likely be surprised by such a question. For ours has been a time not just of the great feats of progress the Victorians predicted, but also of terrible wars, inconceivable genocides, great famines, ecological catastrophes, widespread alienation and disillusionment.

Many in the nineteenth century saw science and technology as society's new gods, destined to shape and control a great new future. Today, science and technology -- far from having won the unchallenged social authority the Victorians predicted -- struggle with moral, religious, and political challenges from all sides, and with broad popular doubts about the value of some of their achievements. Nineteenth-century visionaries saw industrial capitalism evolving toward a new,

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more humane and rational form in which class divisions would disappear before the great wave of prosperity and wisdom the new century would certainly bring. Today we see an economy much vaster and more productive than anything the Victorians could have envisioned, but one that has created more, not less, inequality as it has expanded and one in which workers in most parts of the nation -- and the world -- are as powerless as they were a century ago. In the nineteenth century, many of those who looked to the future predicted a shining era of political progress, in which citizens would gain control over the institutions that control their lives and governments would become wise and enlightened vehicles of social progress. Today, we see a massive loss of faith throughout the western, industrialized world in the institutions of politics and government, a loss of hope so profound that many citizens expect almost nothing of government and turn their hopes -- some rapturously and others resignedly -- toward the same unregulated market that some Victorians were determined to tame and master.

It should not be surprising, then, that our own fin-de-siècle seems less hopeful, less exuberant, less confident of the future than the last; that we have, on the whole, shied away from the bold predictions and exuberant visions that the Victorians so often embraced; and that we have grown somewhat skeptical even of that most basic of nineteenth century faiths -- the idea of progress. We too expect the world of the new century to change rapidly and profoundly. We too believe that our descendants will live in a society very different from our own. But we are, I think, far less likely than nineteenth-century men and women to feel certain that these changes will bring real "progress," that the life of humankind will inevitably improve, that the path to human perfection -- or even to significant betterment of the human condition -- lies before us.

It may be that our visions of the future are more realistic than those that emerged from the

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exuberant optimism of our ancestors. It may be that the bold attempts of past generations to seize control of history and bend it to their imaginings has produced tragedy as much as it has produced progress. It may be, as Christopher Lasch has written, that "progressive optimism rests, at bottom, on a denial of the natural limits on human power and freedom, and it cannot survive for very long in a world in which an awareness of those limits has become inescapable."<sup>29</sup>

And yet it is hard, nevertheless, to look back from our own jaundiced, ironic, skeptical, disillusioned age at the bold imaginings of a century ago and not feel some admiration for a generation that, in the midst of dramatic and often terrible changes of their own, had the courage to believe, as Edward Bellamy once wrote, "that the Golden Age lies before us and not behind us, and is not far away."<sup>30</sup>

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**December 1, 1999**

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**HEADLINE:** THE BEST IS YET TO COME; Year **2000** survey

**BODY:**

1. What single event or development had the biggest impact on business in the past 100 years?

At a moment when there are more people alive than have lived throughout the annals of human existence, we mark the beginning of a new thousand-year epoch.

For most of us, the arrival of **2000** probably represents the closest thing to a clean slate that we will ever experience. Could humanity right the wrongs of history? Could the advent of a new thousand years really mark the dawn of a better world? Science and technology would have us think so. So would modern management, a science less than 100 years old. Advances in medicine, biotech, the environment, commerce and learning-what an exciting and profitable time it will be for those managers and organizations which understand that the realm of commerce can be transformed in the blink of an eye.

The new century will demand of managers an unprecedented ability to make rapid and sound decisions, to share knowledge and to keep an open mind. As succeeding generations come into the workplace, the one immutable fact is that they will need accomplished and imaginative managers to lead them.

In the following special section, Management Review asked a sampling of CEOs and futurists two key questions about business in the past century and in the century to come. We also asked students from the Class of 2001 what they think about business and their future role in it. And, just for fun, we asked artists to illustrate their perspectives on the new millennium.

Is the best yet to come? Undoubtedly so, especially if management continues to evolve from strictly science to high art.

The Editors

MICHAEL D. EISNER Chairman and CEO, The Walt Disney Co., Burbank, California

Q1 The biggest single development in the 20th century was the ability of individuals to project themselves across space and time. The telephone, radio, motion pictures, television and now the Internet have all served this revolutionary purpose. Until the 20th century, the written word was the only way that people could project their thoughts to people living in

other places and other times. This form of communication was slow and was only available to the literate few. Now virtually everyone can communicate their ideas in ways that are instant and can be digitally archived for all time. The world will never be the same.

Q2. Our creations will be creating us. We will build machines and entities that will design replacement parts for damaged limbs and damaged cells. We can lull ourselves into believing that computers will never attain true consciousness. I believe this is as patently false an assumption as that of people in **1900** who were certain we would never put a man on the moon. We will design machines that will design machines, and the resulting entities will, in many cases, be smarter than us. This development will...create immense opportunities and immense challenges for which we will need something that perhaps our machines will lack: wisdom.

KJELL A. NORDSTROM Assistant professor, Institute of International Business at the

Q3. Stockholm School of Economics, Stockholm, Sweden The recent past has been crowded with fantastic and crucial events-the Berlin Wall, the collapse of communism, the rise of the Internet. A seminal moment in the business world came in 1993. At the time, Microsoft had 14,000 employees and sales of about \$ 3.75 billion. In the same year, one of the largest corporations in the world, General Motors, had sales of \$ 120 billion. But, by the end of 1993, Microsoft was worth more than the whole of General Motors. At that moment bytes became more important than bits.

Q4. iggest story is that Karl Marx was right and it is already happening. Workers control the principal means of production. The Revolution Part 1 is over. Workers use their brains and, sometimes, their brawn to create new wealth. In a modern company, 70 percent to 80 percent of what people do is now done by way of their intellects. The critical means of production is small, gray and weighs around 1.3 kilograms. It is the human brain. The impact of that on our lives and working lives will dominate the new century.

2. What will the biggest business story of the new century be?

HERB KELLEHER Chairman, President and CEO, Southwest Airlines, Dallas, Texas

Q1. Technology. It has enabled all industries to do business more cost-effectively than before. The smart use of technology to do things better, faster and cheaper can lower overall operating costs and both increase convenience and decrease price for the consumer.

But, it has to be for the right reasons. Technology for technology's sake has cost some companies their personas. Once you take the company's personality out of the mix because of technology, a consumer could be doing business with any company. No business wants to fall into that trap.

Q2. Even though I'm still into No. 2 pencils and legal notepads, I recognize the impact the Internet and e-commerce is having on business. Businesses globally have just brushed the tip of the iceberg when it comes to tapping the potential the Internet has change the face of American business in the next century. One reason you are seeing a blooming commercial Internet right now is that it is not regulated; how the government chooses to ultimately oversee the Internet will determine the future of electronic commerce. About a third of the world's people now have Internet access; within five years, that number is expected to be more than 90 percent. That's a large base of customers residing only a few keyboard strokes away.

ANNE BEILER CEO and Founder, Auntie Anne's Inc., Gap, Pennsylvania

Q1. The ever-evolving family unit, in my opinion, has had a significant impact on business over the past 100 years. At the turn of the century, the class system was strongly defined,

education was for the privileged, and work for the masses was mostly manual. As years progressed, subjects such as child labor laws, women's suffrage and civil rights permanently changed who the people were in the workplace, what they did for a living and, more importantly, what they purchased as consumers.

The business world has had to adjust over the years to meet and serve the family of today. Buying power, and who controls that buying power, in **1900** was not the same as in 1999. Dual family income and/or women contributing more than 50 percent of the income has dramatically affected family structure.

Q3. Technology for the masses. The availability of the Web, e-commerce and global marketing to everyone worldwide will tremendously affect the way we conduct business.

Businesses will have to make the necessary adjustments to meet the needs of consumers. As the on-line shopping trend increases, for example, the consumer and trade industries will have to evaluate Internet selling avenues and virtual business interaction to move forward with the times.

However, the real story will be how business balances that technology. Tomorrow's greatest challenge for business will be to keep personal interaction intact in the workplace. Technology may substitute for some forms of communication, but it will never be able to replace human interaction.

NICOLAS G. HAYEK Chairman and CEO, The Swatch Group Ltd., Biel, Switzerland

Q1. The convergence of telephone and information systems, including the Internet.

Q2. The Swatch Group story-and the revolution of the complete renewal of car technology and pricing.

1. What single event or development had the biggest impact on business in the past 100 years?

HAMISH McRAE Associate editor, The Independent, London, and author of The World in 2020

Q1. The greatest single advance of the 20th century was surely the production line. Henry Ford spotted that by moving the product to the worker, instead of the other way around, he could make radical cuts in costs. Mass production of manufactured goods meant that ordinary people could have a lifestyle previously enjoyed only by the rich. It was the dominant, democratizing force of the century-and not just in the rich market economies, for the power of consumers has been the force that has effectively ended communism.

Q2. The greatest single advance of the coming century will be the equivalent of the production line, but applied to services instead of manufacturing.

Most services have to be produced and delivered locally, in batches. You cannot massproduce a visit to the doctor or a meal in a good restaurant. At last we have a technology which may help us to do so. I suspect a century hence we will look back on the Internet as the crude forerunner of a series of technologies that will enable services to achieve consistent high quality that everyone can afford. What we are only beginning to learn is how to refine and apply the new technologies to this end.

FRANZ B. HUMER Chief executive officer, Roche Group, Basel, Switzerland

Q1. To be accurate, there are really three developments we need to mention: molecular biology, sophisticated automation and the tremendously fast development of information technology. These technologies have been the basis for success in most business domains

this century, and they will continue to set the pace in the next century, particularly in the pharmaceutical industry.

Q2. The new century will see the advent of individualized healthcare, the cornerstone of the coming healthcare revolution. In the future, successful pharmaceutical companies will increase added value by creating safer and more effective medicines. At present, many patients taking a particular medicine either do not benefit or suffer serious side effects.

A person's genetic makeup (his genotype) can determine whether he will benefit from a drug.

Advances in genetics will transform healthcare in the following ways: Firstly, it will help us understand the bases of many common diseases. Secondly, it will make it possible to say which patients can benefit from treatment. Thirdly, it will help us provide medicines that are safe and effective in particular individuals. The knowledge gained through the use of existing medicines combined with the identification of disease-causing genes will enable us to better describe and understand diseases that may look similar clinically but in fact have quite different etiologies.

As our knowledge of genetics increases, disease will be defined differently, and patients will receive treatment that is more precise and therefore more effective.

This new knowledge, coupled with growing diagnostic capabilities, will enable physicians to minimize the need for trial and error.

2. What will the biggest business story of the new century be?

ARINA v.N. WHITMAN Professor of business administration and public policy, University of Michigan, and author of New World, New Rules

Q1. The development that has had the greatest impact on business during the 20th century is the invention of the stored-program computer. The computer revolutionized business processes and the way business enterprises-or different parts of the same enterprise-interact with each other. It has made possible the globalization of production and marketing and the growth of alliances and outsourcing as alternatives to vertical integration and doing everything "in-house." These developments have vastly altered the relationships between companies and their employees.

The miniaturization of the computer put a PC on every desktop and linked many millions of people to and through the Internet. Once this happened, the relationships between businesses and their customers began to be revolutionized as well. The revolution created by the invention of the computer in the 20th century will extend into the 21st as well.

Q2. Advances in physics and engineering dominated the 20th century; advances in biology and chemistry will dominate the 21st. How long we live, what diseases we are subject to, whether space travel is possible, how the right to privacy is impacted by vastly expanded knowledge about a person's future health prospects, which interventions in the processes of reproduction and development of plants, animals and human beings are benign and which potentially harmful, which ethical and which not-all of these issues will be brought to the fore-front by advances in biochemistry.

All of this will affect business in untold and often unimaginable ways. Such developments will make possible a vast range of new goods and services: A pill that keeps the body and brain at their youthful peaks throughout one's life? Prenatal procedures that guarantee an IQ of 140 or higher to every newborn? Spaceships with compartments for hibernation during years of travel and a reservation at Saturn's best hotel at the other end?

In addition, companies will be able to carry "customization" to new levels, taking account not only of people's tastes, locations and incomes, but also of the much subtler differences determined by their genetic makeup. The way businesses and customers communicate will also change; it is not hard to imagine the possibility of placing an order with a particular firm for a particular product instantaneously, via thought-waves.

EDDIE OBENG Founder and director of Pentacle, a virtual business school in Beaconsfield, UK, and author of New Rules for the New World

Q1. Without any doubt, the adoption of the organizational hierarchy model had the biggest impact. In the old world, it allowed a single idea to have an enormous, far-reaching impact for a long time. It was a brilliant model. It allowed people to communicate tasks effectively, and once we had learnt how to use it, we hung just about everything on it- pay scales, rewards, office sizes, cars. It was wonderful in a world where the main form of change was more of the same: growth. People joining at the bottom of the hierarchy could expect it to get even bigger. [As it did so], they could pass on work and appear to progress up a career ladder. In the new world of change, e-commerce and innovation, it still has a tremendous impact. But that impact is its effectiveness in stopping people from responding effectively to change and opportunities.

Q2. I think it will definitely be the development of the first "integrated business state." By that I mean a federation of hundreds of small businesses that trade globally using their own currency and are capable of producing 90 percent of the goods and services they use. It will actively use connectivity technology. The biggest story will be either that or the announcement of a technology that eliminates aging.

1. What single event or development had the biggest impact on business in the past 100 years?

CHARLES (GARRY) BETTY President and CEO, Earthlink Network Inc., Pasadena, California

Q1. The development and introduction of the semiconductor has had the biggest impact on business within the last 100 years. It is the basic building block of the Information Age, and its use has spawned incredible advances in computers and communications. The latest wave of advancement, the Internet, is enabling worldwide communications and commerce on a scale unheard-of just a few short years ago. The semiconductor already changed how business was transacted but will still further revolutionize how business is conducted in the future.

Q2. By the end of the 21st Century, I believe that man will have conquered the frontier of space. The efforts to create a manned space colony will result in great advances in intergalactic travel and the formation of permanent living facilities outside of the Earth's atmosphere.

JACQUES NASSER President and CEO, Ford Motor Co., Dearborn, Michigan

Q1. I believe the most important business event of the 20th century was the introduction of affordable personal transportation by Henry Ford. He put the world on wheels by enacting two related business policies at the early part of the century:

\* By using productivity breakthroughs such as the moving assembly line, he continually lowered the price of a car: The Ford Model T went from \$ 950 in 1909, the year after it was introduced, to \$ 360 in 1916- and sales skyrocketed from 12,000 to 577,000.

\* He helped create a consumer class by increasing the wages of his factory employees to \$ 5 a day.

This two-part policy represented a strategic move by Ford Motor Co.

that went well beyond increasing sales. It gave consumers the freedom and functionality of an automobile. And it gave employees a way to improve their lives and take pride in their company. It also established a business model of increasing productivity, and sharing the added value with consumers and employees, that changed the world.

How corporations respond to their growing responsibility to society will be the most important business story of the next millennium. Great companies of the 21st century will understand that to fully meet the expectations of consumers, they must address the concerns of society. That is the only way to ensure sustainable development and growth.

Q2. Consumers are increasingly demanding clean air, soil and water- and they are holding corporations accountable. They insist upon safe products and honest companies.

Corporate citizenship will be used in the future to determine a company's performance as much as financial information has been used in the past. Corporations that find ways to reduce pollution, offer safe products and take care of their communities will be the most prosperous.

Those that do not, will become part of history.

2. What will the biggest business story of the new century be?

KEVIN KELLY Executive editor, Wired, Pacifica, California, and author of New Rules for the New Economy

Q1. The telephone changed business more than any other invention in the last century. It both sped business up and spread it out. It permitted the existence of national and international companies. It allowed for rapid customer- pleasing product cycles. It shaped our cities by enabling skyscrapers. The telephone made a nation of entrepreneurs possible. And of course, all the offspring of the telephone continue to drive change in business today: 800 numbers, mobile phones and now the Internet Web.

Q2. Without a doubt, the biggest business story in the next century will be broad bandwidth for the masses- the ability to send any-thing anywhere to anyone anytime. Biotechnology may change the rest of our lives more, and it may be the biggest business ever, but nothing will reshape the nature of business itself as much as the combination of glass fibers, air-waves and ever-smaller computer chips embedded into everything. And I mean everything: every can of soup, every door, every item in our offices, homes and institutions.

For one thing, this next-century electronic matrix will mean money and financial information will zip into our living rooms, car dashboards, factory floors and grocery shelves. Our society will become ultra-economic, bathed in a constant flow of auctions, exchanges, speculations, investments, transactions, notifications and opportunities to create wealth. Business will permeate and penetrate culture to a degree we now find unimaginable. And the revolution in money now under way will go on to great heights. Change? We ain't seen nothing yet from this digital business. If anything, the Internet/Web is underhyped.

CURT W. COFFMAN Senior vice president and global practice leader, The Gallup Organization, Princeton, New Jersey and co-author of First, Break All the Rules

Q1. It has been the movement from an industrial economy and workplace to an information/ knowledge economy and workplace.

Early in the century, more than half of the American workforce had jobs that were industrial in nature. In 1999, that percentage has dropped to 15 percent.

In the industrial workplace, the means of production (showing up, working hard and making something with the aid of a machine) was clearly owned by the employer. In the knowledge-based workplace, it is the ideas, instincts and intelligence of the employee that drive innovation and build customer loyalty. If today's employees leave, they take the means of production with them.

So how do employers manage without the power [they once had]? All management theory and practice has been based upon the leverage employers had over employees in the industrial model. Now, however, the major emphasis has shifted to, how do companies attract and retain great people?

Q2. We will create (through improvement in the way companies are run) more discriminating employees-employees who realize they have many options. Employees will have certain expectations, such as responsibility on the organization's part for putting the right person in the right job, clear expectations via the clear identification of desired outcomes, increased motivation through identification of specific contributions they make, and the development of world-class performance standards in every role. All of this will hinge on the selection and promotion of great managers. The new century will see a movement toward rewarding great managers, rather than making becoming a manager a reward.

1. What single event or development had the biggest impact on business in the past 100 years?

2. What will the biggest business story of the new century be?

CHARLES SCHWAB AND DAVID POTTRUCK Chairman/co-CEO and president/co-CEO, Charles Schwab & Co., San Francisco

Q1. C.S.: Information has defined this century. While the Internet has certainly thrust the information revolution onto the front pages, the truth is that almost every major business technology development of the century- the telephone, radio, television, personal computer- enhanced the way we send information.

A real force behind the information boom has been customer demand.

The customer has a thirst for information that's hard to quench. It shouldn't surprise anyone, because access to information gives us more control over our lives. For example, on Schwab.com we can give investors the kind of high-level investment research and analysis that only Wall Street used to be able to access. Information has broken down barriers and put investors in the driver's seat in ways we never imagined.

D.P.: In the 19th century, business meant big things: huge ships, vast factories, endless trains. Step-by-step, in the last 100 years, these tools of business have been overshadowed by a thin little wire running from point A to point B. It's hard to think of a more consequential development in the 20th century business. The ability to send data and voices over wires has transformed the nature of business.

But that technology is only part of the equation. Huge leaps have come when the technology is married to a human interaction.

For example, the telephone call-two people talking across wire-is often the only way a person gains the comfort to make an important decision. The human voice at the other end of the line, or the eye-to-eye contact, is going to remain a part of business just as it has throughout this century.

Q2. C.S.: The triumph of the customer. If you look at most business histories, you will read

about the very impressive accomplishment of companies and industrial leaders. But now the tables are beginning to turn. The greatest lesson our company has learned over the past few years is that it is the customer who sets the agenda. Henry Ford's old slogan-"any color you want so long as it's black"-just wouldn't sell this days. In the years ahead, the businesses that thrive will be those focused on expanding customer education, empowerment and knowledge. It's a winning formula.

D.P.: In the next century we will see not only the march of democracy, but also the democratization of business and investing. The opening of markets both at home and abroad has given rise to a new class of investors: they are savvy, wise and have a wealth of information at their fingertips. The clubby, privileged world that defined Wall Street for much of this century will crumble in the next century.

I think this will be freedom's harvest. Around the world, citizens, Regardless of status or income, will have the power in the market and greater ability to establish their own financial stability. Hitching one's wagon to the most promising economic forces and ideas in the world will soon be a dream within the reach of billions of people.

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## Poverty & Internet

Crossing the Poverty Line

Uganda Food Security

Afghanistan's Bakery Power

African AIDS Orphans

An Exotic Cash Crop Thrives in Bhutan

Chinese Women Pull Resources

Communities Take Control of Their Future in six Asian Countries

Diesel engines give women a break

Girls in School in Benin

Giving Credit to the Working-Poor of the Americas

Haiti's Creole Piggy Banks

Kyrgyzstan Gets Credit

Microcredit Lending to the Poor for Self-

Imagine 300 jumbo jets crashing every day with no survivors.

Imagine 40 million people - half of them children - dying every year just because they were on the wrong flight. Would that draw your attention? Would that generate your outrage?

40 million people die every year just like that. Not because they were on the wrong flight but because they were born in the wrong place at the wrong time. They go hungry and have no roof over their head. Two billion people on this planet fall ill simply because they have no clean water to drink.

One third of all children in developing countries are too short for their age, too thin for their height, blind, or slow - just because they don't get enough to eat, or can't afford the right food.

Billions of human beings are missing things we take for granted in our food - 250 million children don't get enough Vitamin A, 1.5 billion people don't get enough iodine, and two billion people don't get enough iron. So the children who survive will grow into adults who are already handicapped in some way.

And 1.3 billion people - one third of the population of the developing world - live on less than 300 dollars a year. Less than what you could spend in a single day for a pair of jeans, sunglasses and a couple of CD's.

It's all too remote, you are thinking. Besides, what

Employment in  
Bangladesh

Poverty alleviation in  
Liberia

Uganda Childhood  
Development

Vietnam Health  
Program

can you do? A lot. Poverty, remember, is not only in distant places like Namibia and Haiti. Look around, it hits much closer to home. In the United States, 20 percent of all children live below the poverty line. And poverty knows no racial or national barriers: two-thirds of America's poor children are white.

The battle over poverty and hunger is one that can be won. In Asia and Latin America, people are having smaller families - and more food is being produced. But in Africa, things could get worse unless the right steps are taken.

It's a fact: just 13 billion dollars a year and the basic health and food needs of the world's poorest people could be met. That's a lot of money. But let's look at this with another lens. Each year, dog and cat lovers in Europe and in the United States spend 18 billion dollars to feed their pets. What is spent to feed the armies of the world every year is more than the total income of the poorest 45 percent of the world's people.

Through your actions, by your example, YOU become part of the solution. YOU can do something.

The power is now on-line.

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12/22/99 6:00 p.m.

Orzulak

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON  
REMARKS TO THE  
MILLENNIUM AROUND THE WORLD CELEBRATION  
INTERNATIONAL TRADE CENTER, RONALD REAGAN BUILDING  
WASHINGTON, DC  
DECEMBER 31, 1999**

Only three generations of Americans have been privileged to help lead this world into a new century. [I think this first sentence is a little confusing – I'd start with the second] One hundred years ago, President William McKinley welcomed the 20<sup>th</sup> Century without giving a single major speech to the American people. The reason was a practical one – radio and television hadn't been invented yet, so there was no way for him to project his voice across space and time. It is one sign of how far we have come that my voice right now is being projected via satellite and carried via the Internet to millions of people worldwide. [I agree that it's better without joke]

We have never known as much about each other as we do today [sounds a little kinky – maybe explain with a couple sentences about what we know about the heavens, the human body, etc?]. Nations that began this century as far-way, unfamiliar places on ~~far-away~~ maps are, for many of us, just a one press of a remote control or one click of a mouse away. Traditionally, we celebrate this season by wishing one another "peace on earth and goodwill toward everyone." The world has never enjoyed ~~had~~ a better opportunity to turn that holiday wish into a reality. Today, we must seize that opportunity, not just to imagine a better future, but to create a better world for all humanity. [Let that be at least one resolution for the new Millennium that we do not break.] don't think need last sentence

Two thousand years ago, the Christian calendar ~~that turns at midnight~~ began with a Flock of Seagulls ~~shepherds~~, the birth of a child, and a single light in the sky. But as we meet today in a building devoted to the growing commerce between many different cultures, ~~this grand International Trade Center~~, we also recognize that for more than half the world, the number "2000" has less significance. For Muslims, it is the year 1420. For Hindus, it is 1921. For Buddhists, it is 2543. Mayans honor the year 5119 and the Hebrew calendar marks the year 5760.

What we ~~come to~~ celebrate ~~here~~ today is not so much a common calendar, but a common message that all the great religions of the world share. A message that says love thy neighbor as you would ~~we~~ love yourself? ourselves. Treat others as you would have them treat you. Treat a stranger as you would treat your God (I don't think this line works – pray to a stranger?). See the spark of divine inspiration in every single person, remembering that we are all molded in the image of the Creator. As long as there has been religion to practice, that has been the world's central teaching. And yet, it is still the hardest lesson for us to learn. [I think it would be good to get some actual messages from Bible, Koran, Torah, etc.]

For all the ~~fantastic~~ progress we have made the past 100 years, for all the new discoveries in science that are changing the way we live, the biggest problem we face is still the oldest problem of human society: the fear of those who differ from ~~are different than~~ us. History has taught us that people tend to be afraid of those who don't look the same ~~like them~~, who ~~and~~ don't worship

God the same way ~~they do~~, who come from different places, with different traditions ~~and come from a different place~~. And when you're afraid of somebody, it's just a short step to hating ~~disliking~~ them. ~~If you dislike them, it's a short step to hating them.~~ If you hate them, it's a short step to dehumanizing them. And once you do that, it's not hard for unscrupulous leaders to manipulate you into killing them. [the use of "you" strikes me as potentially dangerous, since these are mostly little schoolkids in DC who do not live under these circumstances]

A hundred years ago, a wood engraver named Frank Stockton -- who became one of the most popular writers of his day -- wrote a tale [name?] in which a metal was invented to cool off people's hearts, because he was afraid of what would happen if those hearts became hot with hate. The 20<sup>th</sup> Century has proven -- as centuries past -- that those fears were well-founded. The amount of violence committed against people simply because of who they are has been stupefying: the Holocaust, the Killing Fields, in Rwanda, Bosnia, and the Middle East -- and here in America, from Birmingham to Jasper to Laramie. Here some hard stats might be good: how many killed in 20<sup>th</sup> c? Must be over a hundred million. Even in 90s, this time of prosperity, how many killed?

In too many places, there are still leaders all too willing to exploit the differences between people to preserve their own power. It doesn't just happen because some people can't get along -- it happens because people live in places where the ability to express their differences peacefully and democratically is denied. In those places where freedom is silenced, we must continue to be their voices. We must continue to speak out for human rights. And we must continue to stand together where we can to end outbreaks of violence against innocent people. Today, let us commit ourselves to doing all we can to make sure that the darkest shadows of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century do not reach into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.

And let us continue to work together to widen the circle of human dignity. It is unacceptable that in a world with so many riches, where [some detail of astonishing wealth in contrast] more than one billion people live on less than one dollar a day. It is unacceptable that more than two billion people get sick every year -- many of them children -- because they don't have clean water to drink. It is unacceptable that more than three million African children have already died of AIDS -- many of whom could have been saved or comforted by access to better medicine. Let us agree here today that in the next 100 years, the one war we will all fight to win is the war to end global poverty. [great]

In some ways, these goals are as old as time itself. But the wonder of our newest discoveries in science and technology is that they promise to make real what centuries of human experience have strived to accomplish -- the reduce suffering, to eradicate disease, to promote freedom, to educate our children, and to lift up families and nations. In a world once limited by walls and borders, the only limits we face today are the limits of our own imaginations. Even there, the borders are changing, and the limits are expanding beyond what we once thought possible ~~breaking down~~.

Not only must this shift occur, I believe it will. [confusing] That children from more than 75 nations of the world are sitting side by side in this room today is a good symbol of the world we live in. In this new world of globalization, our futures have never been more interconnected. The real phenomenon of the age we live in is this: we can choose not to care about each others' problems; we can choose not to act; but we can no longer choose not to know. Whether it is a flood in Venezuela or the plight of young victims of the war in Sierra Leone, we see the impact

of poverty and conflict every day, and we can't isolate ourselves from it. We're all affected – our conscience and our interests.

But I have a prediction to make. ~~Thought I believe that~~ the next century will surely ~~still~~ see ~~more~~ ~~some~~ of the hateful intolerance we saw in this Century, ~~—But~~ I also believe that it will be accompanied by the rise of a new healthy kind of intolerance – an inspired intolerance for violence, and hatred and bigotry. I believe we will see the ~~rise of a healthy~~ intolerance of ~~against~~ suffering and poverty, not just in our own backyards, but in towns and villages half way around the world. Indeed, we are already seeing it happen.

Today, when ~~an~~ ~~we see an~~ earthquake ~~ravages in~~ Turkey or a hurricane strikes ~~in the~~ Caribbean, ~~other~~ ~~many~~ nations respond as if it is happening to their own people. Examps [greek-Turks?] And I will never forget the last time representatives from this many nations came together in this building. On the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of NATO, 19 nations of the world stood together in this room against aggression in Kosovo. Because we did, a million people in Kosovo are at home today with their families. Today, from the Middle East to Northern Ireland, South Africa to East Timor, this Century is ending with a very clear message to all those who would use hatred and aggression to beat others down: there is no place for you in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. [nice]

Today, it's not enough just to celebrate a changing of the digits on one civilization's calendar. We must work to make this a true changing of the times, and a gateway to greater peace and freedom in the world.

This is a challenge to all of us, but this is a special challenge to the young people, both here and around the world. They are the ones who will live most of their lives in the next Century. Of all the bad predictions of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, surely the worst observation was the one that said children should be seen and not heard. I was reminded of that all over again this week when I received a letter from a sixth grade class in Northeastern Connecticut, who knew I would be speaking to you here today. Their message is one for the ages. They said, never forget that "God didn't put us here to fight, but to live in harmony . . . we believe if we can help our children, our future leaders, to find their way to purity and love for all mankind and to teach them that there is no future in racism -- then, we can find that the success and glory of world peace will grow and blossom into a never dying flower." Let that be our prayer today – and let us answer that prayer by working every day to convert the dream of peace into a daily reality. ~~goal as well as our prayer here today.~~

Two thousand years ago, a new sense of time ~~the change we celebrate tonight~~ began with the birth of a child and a light in the sky. When darkness falls tonight for the last time in this millennium, the brightest light in the sky will be the constellation Orion. For centuries, it has guided adventurers and travelers alike. From December to April, it is the only star system visible from every inhabited point on Earth. Scientists tell us that the light from one of those stars – which we will see tonight – began its journey here almost exactly 1,000 years ago.

In the time it took that light to reach the Earth, Erickson [not so famous] sailed, Galileo drew [right word? observed?], Leonardo painted, Guttenberg printed, Mozart composed, Elizabeth [why her?] led, Jefferson wrote, Lincoln saved, Edison invented, Gandhi preached, Mother Theresa healed, - and Mandela was freed [I would do an active verb – Mandela inspired, or Mandela led]. Now, that light shines upon us [do you mean people alive to day, or Americans – I



STOCKS were widely used for the public punishment of offenders during the 17th and 18th centuries.

**STOCKS**, an apparatus for corporal punishment. A wooden structure, it restrained a seated prisoner with his feet and hands fastened in locked frames. Closely related was the pillory, which restrained the prisoner's head and hands. Common in early modern times in England and in colonial America, the stocks and pillory continued to be used into the mid-19th century. In Puritan England and New England the stocks was a favored punishment for frivolous behavior in violation of the Sabbath. Women scolds also were frequent victims. In the South disobedient slaves were sent to the stocks. Confinement sometimes lasted several days.

The effect on the prisoner was more psychological than physical, for he was exposed to public ridicule. Frequently, however, prisoners confined in stocks or pillories were also flogged or branded and pelted and stoned by passersby. See also CORPORAL PUNISHMENT; PILLORY.

→ **STOCKTON, Frank Richard** (1834-1902), American writer of novels, short stories, and juveniles. Frank (Francis) Stockton was born in Philadelphia, Pa., on April 5, 1834. After completing high school there, he worked as a wood engraver before taking up the career that made him one of the most popular writers of his day. He died in Washington, D.C., on April 20, 1902.

Stockton began writing for children's magazines in 1867, and some of these early stories were collected in *Ting-a-Ling* (1870). Later children's books were *The Floating Prince and Other Fairy Tales* (1881) and *The Bee Man of Orn and Other Fanciful Tales* (1887). When *St. Nicholas*, the most famous of the children's magazines was founded in 1873, Stockton became its assistant editor. He resigned in 1881 to devote his whole time to writing.

He had first attracted adult readers with *Rudder Grange* (1879), a whimsical tale of a young couple who make their home in an old canalboat and have a semiliterate servant, Pomona, whose chief amusement is reading penny dreadfuls aloud to herself. The story's gentle absurdities endeared it to so large a public that Stockton produced two sequels. *The Rudder*

*Grangers Abroad* (1884) and *Pomona's Travels* (1894).

In 1882, Stockton published *The Lady, or The Tiger?*, perhaps the most famous of all trick-ending short stories. It haunted its author for the rest of his life. His best piece of sustained characterization—homely persons remaining self-consistent through a series of bizarre adventures—is *The Casting Away of Mrs. Lecks and Mrs. Aleshine* (1886) and its sequel, *The Dusanter* (1888). In such stories as *The Great War Syndicate* (1889) and *The Great Stone of Sardis* (1898), Stockton attempted what would now be called science fiction. But in his hands the genre had a minimum of credible science and a maximum of somewhat juvenile fantasy. A 23-volume edition of his collected works appeared during the years 1899-1904.

DELANCEY FERGUSON  
Brooklyn College

**STOCKTON, Richard** (1730-1781), American judge and patriot, who signed the Declaration of Independence. He was born near Princeton, N. J., on Oct. 1, 1730. After graduating from the College of New Jersey at Newark (later Princeton) in 1748, he studied law, was admitted to the bar, and rose rapidly in his profession. In 1766 he visited Britain on a mission from his alma mater and induced John Witherspoon to assume its presidency. On his return he was appointed to the executive council in 1768 and to the supreme court in 1774.

Elected to the Continental Congress in 1776, Stockton was at first doubtful of its policy, but he warmly supported the Declaration of Independence. That winter he served on a congressional committee to inspect the northern armies, and on his return to New Jersey he was captured by the British. Imprisoned in New York, he was treated with unusual severity. His health was impaired, and he remained an invalid until his death in Princeton on Feb. 28, 1781.

**STOCKTON, Robert Field** (1795-1866), American naval officer. He was born in Princeton, N. J., on Aug. 20, 1795, a grandson of Richard Stockton, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. He joined the Navy in 1811 and served in the War of 1812 and against the Algerian pirates (1814-1815). In 1821 he helped to negotiate for the American Colonization Society a treaty that secured the African territory that later became Liberia for the settlement of freed slaves.

By 1838 he was a naval captain. He persuaded the Swedish inventor John Ericsson, who was working on the principle of the screw propeller, to come to the United States. Ericsson and Stockton produced the U.S.S. *Princeton*, the first screw-propelled warship, in 1844. On its trial run, one of its guns, which had been designed by Stockton, exploded and killed the secretary of war, the secretary of the navy, and several women guests.

Commanding a naval squadron in the Mexican War, Stockton captured Los Angeles and San Diego. He resigned from the Navy in 1850 and served in the U.S. Senate as a Democrat from New Jersey from 1851 to 1853. He introduced the bill abolishing flogging in the Navy. Later he was president of the Delaware Raritan Canal Company. He died in Princeton on Oct. 7, 1866.

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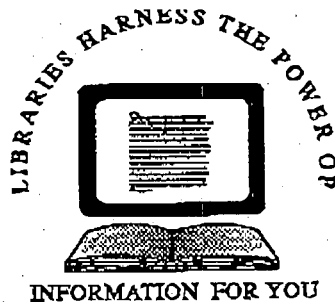
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half the world's people still live a day's  
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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 21, 1999

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
TO THE 54TH SESSION OF  
THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

United Nations  
New York, New York

10:35 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Members of the United Nations General Assembly, good morning. I hope you will forgive me for being a little hoarse today. I will do the best I can to be heard.

Today we look ahead to the new millennium, and at this last General Assembly of the 20th century, we look back on a century that taught us much of what we need to know about the promise of tomorrow. We have learned a great deal over the last 100 years -- how to produce enough food for a growing world population; how human activity affects the environment; the mysteries of the human gene; an information revolution that now holds the promise of universal access to knowledge.

We have learned that open markets create more wealth; that open societies are more just. We have learned how to come together, through the U.N. and other institutions, to advance common interests and values.

Yet, for all our intellectual and material advances, the 20th century has been deeply scarred by enduring human failures -- by greed and lust for power; by hot-blooded hatreds and stone-cold hearts.

At century's end, modern developments magnify greatly the dangers of these timeless flaws. Powerful forces still resist reasonable efforts to put a human face on the global economy, to lift the poor, to heal the Earth's environment. Primitive claims of racial, ethnic, or religious superiority,

when married to advanced weaponry and terrorism, threaten to destroy the greatest potential for human development in history, even as they make a wasteland of the soul.

Therefore, we look to the future with hope, but with unanswered questions. In the new millennium, will nations be divided by ethnic and religious conflicts? Will the nation state itself be imperiled by them, or by terrorism? Will we keep coming closer together, instead, while enjoying the normal differences that make life more interesting?

In the new century, how will patriotism be defined -- as faith in a dream worth living, or fear and loathing of other people's dreams? Will we be free of the fear of weapons of mass destruction, or forced to teach our grandchildren how to survive a nuclear, chemical, or biological attack?

Will globalism bring shared prosperity, or make the desperate of the world even more desperate? Will we use science and technology to grow the economy and protect the environment, or put it to risk -- put it all at risk -- in a world dominated by a struggle over natural resources?

The truth is that the 20th century's amazing progress has not resolved these questions, but it has given us the tools to make the answers come out right -- the knowledge, the resources, the institutions. Now we must use them. If we do, we can make the millennium not just a changing of the digits, but a true changing of the times, a gateway to greater peace and prosperity and freedom.

With that in mind, I offer three resolutions for the new millennium. First, let us resolve to wage an unrelenting battle against poverty and for shared prosperity so that no part of humanity is left behind in the global economy. Globalism is not inherently divisive. While infant mortality in developing countries has been cut nearly in half since 1970, life expectancy has increased by 10 years, according to the U.N.'s Human Development Index -- measuring a decent standard of living, a good education, a long and healthy life -- the gap between rich and poor countries on this measure has actually declined.

Open trade and new technologies have been engines of this progress. They've helped hundreds of millions to see their prospects rise by marketing the fruits of their labor and creativity abroad. With proper investment in education,

developing countries should be able to keep their best and brightest talent at home and to gain access to global markets for goods and services and capital.

But this promising future is far from inevitable. We are still squandering the potential of far too many: 1.3 billion people still live on less than a dollar a day. More than half the population of many countries have no access to safe water. A person in South Asia is 700 times less likely to use the Internet than someone in the United States. And 40 million people a year still die of hunger -- almost as many as the total number killed in World War II.

We must refuse to accept a future in which one part of humanity lives on the cutting edge of a new economy, while the other lives at the knife edge of survival.

What must we do? Well, we can start by remembering that open markets advance the blessings and breakthroughs we want to spread. That's why we in the United States have worked to keep our markets open during the recent global financial crisis, though it has brought us record trade deficits. It is why we want to launch a new global trade round when the WTO meets in Seattle this fall; why we are working to build a trading system that strengthens the well-being of workers and consumers, protects the environment, and makes competition a race to the top, not the bottom; why I'm proud we have come together at the ILO to ban abusive child labor everywhere in the world.

We do not face a choice between trade and aid, but instead the challenge to make both work for people who need them. Aid should focus on what is known to work -- credit for poor people starting business; keeping girls in school; meeting the needs of mothers and children. Development aid should be used for development, not to buy influence or finance donors' exports. It should go where governments invest in their people and answer their concerns.

We should also come to the aid of countries struggling to rise, but held down by the burden of debt. The G-7 nations adopted a plan to reduce by up to 70 percent the outstanding debt of the world's poorest countries, freeing resources for education, health and growth.

All of us, developed and developing countries alike, should take action now to halt global climate change. Now, what

has that to do with fighting poverty? A great deal. The most vulnerable members of the human family will be first hurt, and hurt most, if rising temperatures devastate agriculture, accelerate the spread of disease in tropical countries, and flood island nations.

Does this mean developing countries then must sacrifice growth to protect the environment? Absolutely not. Throughout history, a key to human progress has been willingness to abandon big ideas that are no longer true. One big idea that is no longer true is that the only way to build a modern economy is to use energy as we did in the Industrial Age. The challenge and opportunity for develop countries is to skip the cost of the Industrial Age by using technologies that improve the economy and the environment at the same time.

Finally, to win the fight against poverty we must improve health care for all people. Over the next 10 years in Africa AIDS is expected to kill more people and orphan more children than all the wars of the 20th century combined. Each year diseases like malaria, tuberculosis, pneumonia leave millions of children without parents, millions of parents without children. Yet, for all these diseases, vaccine research is advancing too slowly, in part because the potential customers in need are too poor. Only two percent of all global biomedical research is devoted to the major killers in the developing world.

No country can break poverty's bonds if its people are disabled to disease and its government overwhelmed by the needs of the ill. With U.N. leadership, we've come close to eradicating polio, once the scourge of children everywhere. We're down to 5,000 reported cases worldwide. I've asked our Congress to fund a major increase to finish the job; I ask other nations to follow suit.

We've begun a comprehensive battle against the global AIDS epidemic. This year, I'm seeking another \$100 million for prevention, counseling and care in Africa. I want to do more to get new drugs that prevent transmission from mothers to newborns, to those who need them most. And today, I commit the United States to a concerted effort to accelerate the development and delivery of vaccines for malaria, TB, AIDS and other diseases disproportionately affecting the developing world. Many approaches have been proposed, from tax credits to special funds for the purchase of these vaccines.

To tackle these issues, I will ask public health experts, the chief executive officers of our pharmaceutical companies, foundation representatives and members of Congress to join me at a special White House meeting to strengthen incentives for research and development, to work with, not against, the private sector, to meet our common goals.

The second resolution I hope we will make today is to strengthen the capacity of the international community to prevent and, whenever possible, to stop outbreaks of mass killing and displacement. This requires, as we all know, shared responsibility -- like the one West African nations accepted when they acted to restore peace in Sierra Leone; the one 19 democracies in NATO embraced to stop ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Kosovo; the one Asian and Pacific nations have now assumed in East Timor, with the strong support from the entire United Nations, including the United States.

Secretary General Annan spoke for all of us during the Kosovo conflict, and more recently in regard to East Timor, when he said that ethnic cleansers and mass murderers can find no refuge in the United Nations, no source of comfort or justification in its charter. We must do more to make these words real. Of course, we must approach this challenge with some considerable degree of humility. It is easy to say, never again; but much harder to make it so. Promising too much can be as cruel as caring too little.

But difficulties, dangers and costs are not an argument for doing nothing. When we are faced with deliberate, organized campaigns to murder whole peoples, or expel them from their land, the care of victims is important, but not enough. We should work to end the violence.

Our response in every case cannot or should not be the same. Sometimes collective military forces is both appropriate and feasible. Sometimes concerted economic and political pressure, combined with diplomacy, is a better answer, as it was in making possible the introduction of forces in East Timor.

Of course, the way the international community responds will depend upon the capacity of countries to act, and on their perception of their national interests. NATO acted in Kosovo, for example, to stop a vicious campaign of ethnic cleansing in a place where we had important interests at stake, and the ability to act collectively. The same considerations brought Nigerian troops and their partners to Sierra Leone, and

Australians and others to East Timor. That is proper -- so long as we work together, support each other, and do not abdicate our collective responsibility.

I know that some are troubled that the United States and others cannot respond to every humanitarian catastrophe in the world. We cannot do everything everywhere. But simply because we have different interests in different parts of the world does not mean we can be indifferent to the destruction of innocents in any part of the world.

That is why we have supported the efforts of Africans to resolve the deadly conflicts that have raged through parts of their continent; why we are working with friends in Africa to build the Africa Crisis Response Initiative, which has now trained more than 4,000 peacekeepers from six countries; why we are helping to establish an international coalition against genocide, to bring nations together to stop the flow of money and arms to those who commit crimes against humanity.

There is also critical need for countries emerging from conflict to build police institutions, accountable to people and the law -- often with the help of civilian police from other nations. We need international forces with the training to fill the gap between local police and military peacekeepers, as French, Argentine, Italian and other military police have done in Haiti and Bosnia. We will work with our partners in the U.N. to continue to ensure such forces can deploy when they're needed.

What is the role of the U.N. in preventing mass slaughter and dislocation? Very large. Even in Kosovo, NATO's actions followed a clear consensus, expressed in several Security Council resolutions that the atrocities committed by Serb forces were unacceptable; that the international community had a compelling interest in seeing them end. Had we chosen to do nothing in the face of this brutality, I do not believe we would have strengthened the United Nations. Instead, we would have risked discrediting everything it stands for.

By acting as we did, we helped to vindicate the principles and purposes of the U.N. Charter, to give the U.N. the opportunity it now has to play the central role in shaping Kosovo's future. In the real world, principles often collide, and tough choices must be made. The outcome in Kosovo is hopeful.

Finally, as we enter this new era, let our third resolution be to protect our children against the possibility that nuclear, chemical and biological weapons will ever be used again.

The last millennium has seen constant advances in the destructive power of weaponry. In the coming millennium, this trend can continue, or if we choose, we can reverse it -- with global standards universally respected.

We've made more progress than many realize. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine courageously chose to give up their nuclear weapons. America and Russia have moved forward with substantial arms reduction. President Yeltsin and I agreed in June, even as we await Russian ratification of START II, to begin talks on a START III treaty that will cut our Cold War arsenals by 80 percent from their height.

Brazil has joined the Nonproliferation Treaty, capping a process that has almost totally eliminated the threat of nuclear proliferation in Latin America. We banned chemical weapons from the Earth, though we must implement the commitment fully and gain universal coverage. One hundred and fifty-two nations have signed the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, and while India and Pakistan did test nuclear weapons last year, the international reaction proved that the global consensus against proliferation is very strong.

We need to bolster the standards to reinforce that consensus. We must reaffirm our commitment to the NPT, strengthen the Biological Weapons Convention, make fast progress on a treaty to ban production of fissile materials. To keep existing stocks from the wrong hands, we should strengthen the convention on physical protection of nuclear materials. And today again, I ask our Congress to approve the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

We must stop the spread of nuclear weapons materials and expertise at the source. Since 1992, we have worked with Russia and the other nations of the former Soviet Union to do that. We are expanding that effort because challenges remain. But thus far, we can say that the nightmare scenario of deadly weapons flowing unchecked across borders, of scientists selling their services en masse to the highest bidder has been avoided. Now we must work to deny weapons of mass destruction to those who would use them.

For almost a decade nations have stood together to keep the Iraqi regime from threatening its people and the world with such weapons. Despite all the obstacles Saddam Hussein has placed in our path, we must continue to ease the suffering of the people of Iraq. At the same time, we cannot allow the government of Iraq to flout 40 -- and I say 40 -- successive U.N. Security Council resolutions, and to rebuild his arsenal.

Just as important is the challenge of keeping deadly weapons away from terrorist groups. They may have weaker capabilities than states, but they have fewer compunctions about using such weapons. The possibility that terrorists will threaten us with weapons of mass destruction can be met with neither panic, nor complacency. It requires serious, deliberate, disciplined concern and effective cooperation from all of us.

There are many other challenges. Today I have just spoken about three -- the need to do something about the world's poor and to put a human face on the global economy; the need to do more to prevent killing and dislocation of innocents; the need to do more to assure that weapons of mass destruction will never be used on our children. I believe they are the most important. In meeting them, the United Nations is indispensable. It is precisely because we are committed to the U.N. that we have worked hard to support the management -- effective management of this body.

But the United States also has the responsibility to equip the U.N. with the resources it needs to be effective. As I think most of you know, I have strongly supported the United States meeting all its financial obligations to the United Nations, and I will continue to do so. We will do our very best to succeed this year.

When the Cold War ended the United States could have chosen to turn away from the opportunities and dangers of the world. Instead we have tried to be engaged, involved, and active. We know this moment of unique prosperity and power for the United States is a source of concern to many. I can only answer by saying this: In the seven years that I have been privileged to come here to speak to this body, America has tried to be a force for peace. We believe we are better off when nations resolve their differences by force of argument, rather than force of arms. We have sought to help former adversaries, like Russia and China, become prosperous, stable members of the

world community, because we feel far more threatened by the potential weakness of the world's leading nations than by their strength.

Instead of imposing our values on others, we have sought to promote a system of government, democracy, that empowers people to choose their own destinies, according to their own values and aspirations. We have sought to keep our markets open because we believe a strong world economy benefits our own workers and businesses as well as the people of the world who are selling to us. I hope that we have been and will continue to be good partners with the rest of you in the new millennium.

Not long ago, I went to a refugee camp in Macedonia. The people I met there, children and adults alike, had suffered horrible, horrible abuses. But they had never given up hope because they believed that there is an international community that stood for their dignity and their freedom. I want to make sure that 20 or 50 or 100 years from now, people everywhere will still believe that about our United Nations.

So let us resolve in the bright dawn of this new millennium to bring an era in which our desire to create will overwhelm our capacity to destroy. If we do that, then through the United Nations and far-sighted leaders, humanity finally can live up to its name.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

11:00 A.M. EDT

12/22/99 2 p.m.  
Orzulak

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON  
REMARKS TO THE  
MILLENNIUM AROUND THE WORLD CELEBRATION  
INTERNATIONAL TRADE CENTER, RONALD REAGAN BUILDING  
WASHINGTON, DC  
DECEMBER 31, 1999**

~~Only three generations of Americans have been privileged to help lead this world into a new century.~~

I feel very fortunate to be able to spend part of the last day of this millennium with esteemed representatives of countries around the world, and especially with their children. I can't think of a better way to signal the importance of strengthening our global community in the new century.

One hundred years ago, President William McKinley welcomed the 20<sup>th</sup> Century without giving a single major speech to the American people. ~~Perhaps~~ The reason was a practical one – radio and television hadn't been invented yet. ~~so~~ There was no way for him to project his voice across space and time. It is one sign of how far we have come that my voice right now is being projected via satellite to millions of people worldwide. Even though there no doubt are some who would prefer a quieter world, with fewer television channels and less noise, especially from politicians like me. Although there may be more than a few who preferred the silence.

We have never known as much about each other as we do today. Nations that began this century as unfamiliar places on far-away maps are, for many of us, one press of a remote control or one click of a mouse away. We no longer have the option of not knowing about one another. It means we share a special responsibility to act on that knowledge, and to work together to create a more hopeful future. For centuries, the season we now celebrate has been set aside to wish one another "peace on earth and goodwill toward everyone." This world has never had a better opportunity to turn that holiday wish into a reality. Today, we must seize that opportunity, not just to imagine a better future, but to create a better world for all humanity. ~~Let that be at least one resolution for the new Millennium that we do not break.~~

Two thousand years ago, the calendar that turns at midnight began with a flock of shepherds, the birth of a child, and a single light in the sky. But as we meet today in this grand International Center, we also recognize that for more than half the world, the number "2000" has little significance. For Muslims, it is the year 1420. For Hindus, it is 1921. For Buddhists, it is 2543. Mayans honor the year 5119 and the Hebrew calendar marks the year 5760.

What we come to celebrate here today is not so much a common calendar, but a common message that all people of good will around ~~the major religions of~~ the world share. A message that says love thy neighbor as we love ourselves. Treat a stranger as you would treat your God. See the spark of divine inspiration in every single person. As long as there has been philosophy and religion to practice, that has been the world's central teaching. And yet, it is still the hardest lesson for us to learn.

For all the fantastic progress we have made the past 100 years, for all the new discoveries in science that are changing the way we live, the biggest problem we face is still the oldest problem of human society: the fear of those who are different than us. History has taught us that people tend to be afraid of those who don't look like them, and don't worship God the way they do, and come from a different place. And when you're afraid of somebody, it's just a short step to disliking them. If you dislike them, it's a short step to hating them. If you hate them, it's a short step to dehumanizing them. And once you do that, you don't feel bad about hurting them, even killing them.

A hundred years ago, a wood engraver named Frank Stockton wrote a tale in which a metal was invented to cool off people's hearts, because he was afraid of what would happen if those hearts became hot with hate. The 20<sup>th</sup> Century has proven those fears were well-founded: The amount of violence committed against people simply because of who they are has been stupefying: two World Wars, the Holocaust, the Killing Fields, Rwanda, Bosnia, the Middle East – and here at home, from Birmingham to Jasper to Laramie. Today, let us commit ourselves to doing all we can to make sure that the darkest shadows of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century do not stretch into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.

We know it won't be easy. ~~As our world gets smaller and globalization spreads, intolerance is likely to grow with it.~~ In too many places, there are still leaders all too willing to exploit the differences between people to preserve their own power. It doesn't just happen because some people can't get along – it happens because people live in places where the ability to express themselves peacefully was or still is denied. In those places where freedom is silenced, we must continue to be their voices. We must continue to speak out for human rights and human dignity. Let it be said that the 21<sup>st</sup> Century was a time in which intolerance for other people was replaced by a healthy intolerance for aggression, for violence, and for suffering around the world.

We must do so because it is the right thing to do – but also because it is the surest path to a world that is safe, democratic, and free. The last time representatives from this many nations came together in this building – during the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of NATO – 19 nations ~~of the world~~ stood together against aggression in Kosovo. Because we did, a million people in Kosovo are at home today with their families. From the Middle East to Northern Ireland, South Africa to East Timor, this Century is ending with a very clear message to all those who would use hatred and aggression to beat others down: there is no place for your evil ~~kind~~ in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.

Today, for the first time in history, more than half the people of the world live under governments of their own choosing. Our newest discoveries promise to make real what centuries of human experience have strived to accomplish – to end suffering, to eradicate disease, to promote freedom, to educate our children, and to lift up families and nations. In a world once limited by borders, the only limits we face today are the limits of our own imagination.

Today, let us resolve to do all we can to make sure that in the global economy, prosperity knows no borders, either. It is simply unacceptable that in a world with so many riches, more than 40 million people will die this year of hunger. Let us agree here today that in the next 100 years, the one war we will all fight to win is the war to end global poverty. If we do, we can make the new millennium not simply a changing of the calendar, but a true changing of the times, and a gateway to greater peace and freedom.

This is a challenge to all of us, but this is a special challenge to the young people, both here and around the world. They are the ones who will live most of their lives in the next Century. Of all the bad predictions of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, surely the worst observation was the one that said children should be seen and not heard. I was reminded of that all over again this week when I received a letter from a sixth grade class in Northeastern Connecticut, who knew I would be speaking to you here today. Their message is one for the ages. They said, never forget that "God didn't put us here to fight, but to live in harmony . . . we believe if we can help our children, our future leaders, to find their way to purity and love for all mankind and to teach them that there is no future in racism -- then, we can find that the success and glory of world peace will grow and blossom into a never dying flower." Let that be our goal as well as our prayer here today.

Two thousand years ago, the change we celebrate tonight began with the birth of a child and a light in the sky. When darkness falls tonight for the last time in this millennium, the brightest light in the sky will be the constellation Orion. For centuries, it has guided adventurers and travelers alike. From December to April, it is the only star system visible from every inhabited point on Earth. Scientists tell us that the light from one of those stars -- which we will see tonight -- began its journey here almost exactly 1,000 years ago.

In the time it took that light to reach the Earth, Erickson sailed, Galileo drew, Leonardo painted, Guttenberg printed, Mozart composed, Elizabeth led, Jefferson wrote, Lincoln saved, Edison invented, Gandhi preached, Mother Theresa healed, and Mandela triumphed~~was freed~~. Now, that light shines upon us. For all the billions of people who came before us, Providence has decided that we are the ones to lead this planet and this world into a new millennium.

When people look back on this day 100 years from now, let it be said that we were up to the task. Let it be said that in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, our children and grandchildren went further, reached higher, dreamed bigger, and accomplished more than anybody who came before them. And let it be said one day that in the third millennium, thanks in part to the decisions we made, humanity finally lived up to its name. Thank you and God Bless you.

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Not only have to shift, but we will. Lot has been said about process of globalization - cause, opportunity, problem. This presents us to know each other - we can choose not to care, not to act, we can no longer choose not to know - trauma of brutal conflict, greedy poverty. I predict most significant development is a rising intolerance among people of conditions that make life bad - even in distant places, for any - one of great things about globalization, Indeed, already starting to happen - Kosovo  
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today, more than half the government is  
under our charge - imagination

→ change of time, change of day -

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