

very extraordinary barnstorming tour. It was the first time that pro football gained any visibility on a national scale. At a time, of course, when baseball, and Babe Ruth and others, were the national pastime. Many of you probably know the story. After this extraordinary barnstorming tour they concluded in Washington. And the senator from Illinois took Mr. Halas and Red Grange to the White House to meet President Coolidge. And the senator introduced Mr. Halas, and said, 'This is Mr. Halas and Mr. Grange of the Chicago Bears.' Then the president said, 'I'm pleased to meet you. I've always enjoyed animal acts...'

"Mr. Halas had a great metaphor for the National Football League. And he used it in the last time he appeared before Congress. He said that the League was like a wheel of a wagon. And that the League itself, and the strong League institutions were the rim. And the teams were the spokes. And every spoke had to be the same length. Had to have the same opportunity to be part of the wheel. And had to be just as strong as the strongest of all the spokes. And only then could we roll along together..."

Prime Minister Tony Blair: America's Role

British Prime Minister Tony Blair, the first serving British prime minister to visit Chicago, addressed The Economic Club of Chicago on April 23, 1999, as NATO was waging war against Yugoslavia in Kosovo.



"While we meet here in Chicago this evening, unspeakable things are happening in Europe. Awful crimes that we never thought we would see again have reappeared—ethnic cleansing, systematic rape, mass murder. I want to speak to you tonight about events

in Kosovo. But I want to put those events in a wider context—economic, political and security—because I do not believe Kosovo can be seen in isolation.

"No one in the West who has seen what is happening in Kosovo can doubt that NATO's military action is justified. Bismarck famously said 'the Balkans were not worth the bones of one Pomeranian Grenadier.' Anyone who has seen the tear-stained faces of the hundreds of thousands of refugees streaming across the border, heard their heartrending tales of cruelty or contemplated the unknown fates of those left behind knows that Bismarck was wrong. This is a just war, based not on any territorial ambitions but on values. We cannot let the evil of ethnic cleansing stand. We must not rest until it is reversed. We have learned twice before in this century that appeasement does not work. If we let an evil dictator range unchallenged, we will have to spill infinitely more blood and treasure to stop him later..."

"We have always made clear this campaign will take time. We will not have succeeded until an international force has entered Kosovo and allowed the refugees to return to their homes. Milosevic will have no veto on the entry of this international force. Just as I believe there was no alternative to military action, now it has started I am convinced there is no alternative to continuing until we succeed. On its 50th birthday, NATO must prevail. Milosevic had, I believe, convinced himself that the Alliance would crack. But I am certain that this weekend's summit in Washington under President Clinton's leadership will make our unity and our absolute resolve clear for all to see. Success is the only exit strategy I am prepared to consider.

"We need to be working now on what comes after our success in Kosovo. We will need a new Marshall Plan for Kosovo, Montenegro, Macedonia, Albania and Serbia, too, if it turns to democracy. We need a new framework for the security of the whole of the Balkans. And we will need to assist the war crimes tribunal in its work to bring justice to those who have committed these

appalling crimes.

“Twenty years ago we would not have been fighting in Kosovo. We would have turned our backs on it. The fact that we are engaged is the result of a wide range of changes—the end of the Cold War, changing technology, the spread of democracy. But it is bigger than that. I believe the world has changed in a more fundamental way. Globalization has transformed our economies and our working practices. But globalization is not just economic. It is also a political and security phenomenon. We live in a world where isolationism has ceased to have a reason to exist. By necessity we have to cooperate with each other across nations. Many of our domestic problems are caused on the other side of the world. Financial instability in Asia destroys jobs in Chicago and in my own constituency in County Durham. Poverty in the Caribbean means more drugs on the streets in London and Washington. Conflict in the Balkans causes more refugees in Germany and here in the U.S. These problems can only be addressed by international cooperation...

“Today the impulse toward interdependence is immeasurably greater. We are witnessing the beginnings of a new doctrine of international community. By this I mean the explicit recognition that today more than ever we are mutually dependent, that national interest is to a significant extent governed by international collaboration and that we need a clear and coherent debate as to the direction this doctrine takes us in each field of international endeavor. Just as within domestic politics, the notion of community, the belief that partnership and cooperation are essential to advance self-interest, is coming into its own; so it needs to find its own international echo. Global financial markets, the global environment, global security and disarmament issues; none of these can be solved without intense international cooperation...

“We live in a completely new world. Every day about one trillion dollars moves across the foreign exchanges, most of it in London. Here in Chicago,

the Mercantile Exchange and the Chicago Board of Trade contracts worth more than \$1.2 billion per day. Any government that thinks it can go it alone is wrong. If the markets don't like your policies, they will punish you. The same is true of trade.

“Protectionism is the swiftest road to poverty. Only by competing internationally can our companies and our economies grow and succeed. But it has to be an international system based on rules. That means accepting the judgments of international organizations even when you do not like them...

“The lesson of the Asian crisis is above all that it is better to invest in countries where you have openness, independent central banks, properly functioning financial systems and independent courts, where you do not have to bribe or rely on favors from those in power. We have therefore proposed that we should make greater transparency the keystone of reform. Transparency about individual countries' economic policies through adherence to new codes of conduct on monetary and fiscal policy, about individual companies' financial positions through new internationally agreed accounting standards and a new code of corporate governance, and greater openness, too, about IMF and World Bank discussions and policies.

“The principles of international community apply also to international security. We now have a decade of experience since the end of the Cold War. It has certainly been a less easy time than many hoped in the euphoria that followed the collapse of the Berlin Wall. Our armed forces have been busier than ever delivering humanitarian aid, deterring attacks on defenseless people, backing up UN resolutions and occasionally engaging in major wars as we did in the Gulf in 1991, and are currently doing in the Balkans.

“Have the difficulties of the past decade simply been the aftershocks of the end of the Cold War? Will things soon settle down, or does it represent a pattern that will extend into the future?

“Many of our problems have been caused by two

dangerous and ruthless men—Saddam Hussein and Slobodan Milosevic. Both have been prepared to wage vicious campaigns against sections of their own community. As a result of these destructive policies both have brought calamity on their own peoples. Instead of enjoying its oil wealth Iraq has been reduced to poverty, with political life stultified through fear. Milosevic took over a substantial, ethnically diverse state, well placed to take advantage of new economic opportunities. His drive for ethnic concentration has left him with something much smaller, a ruined economy and soon a totally winded military machine. One of the reasons why it is now so important to win the conflict is to ensure that others do not make the same mistake in the future. That in itself will be a major step to ensuring that the next decade and the next century will not be as difficult as the past. If NATO fails in Kosovo, the next dictator to be threatened with military force may well not believe our resolve to carry the threat through.

“At the end of the century, the U.S. has emerged as by far the strongest state. It has no dreams of world conquest and is not seeking colonies. If anything, Americans are too ready to see no need to get involved in the affairs of the rest of the world. America’s allies are always both relieved and gratified by its continuing readiness to shoulder burdens and responsibilities that come with its sole superpower status. We understand that this is something that we have no right to take for granted, and must match with our own efforts...

“You are the most powerful country in the world, and the richest. You are a great nation. You have so much to give and to teach the world; and I know you would say, in all modesty, a little to learn from it, too. It must be difficult and occasionally irritating to find yourselves the recipient of every demand, to be called upon in every crisis, to be expected always and everywhere to do what needs to be done. The cry, ‘What’s it got to do with us?’ must be regularly heard on the lips of your people and be the staple of many a politician running for office.

“Yet, as with the parable of the individuals and the

talents, so those nations which have the power, have the responsibility. We need you engaged. We need the dialogue with you. Europe over time will become stronger and stronger, but its time is some way off.

“I say to you: never fall again for the doctrine of isolationism. The world cannot afford it. Stay a country, outward-looking, with the vision and the imagination that is in your nature. And realize that in Britain you have a friend and an ally that will stand with you, work with you, fashion with you the design of a future built on peace and prosperity for all, which is the only dream that makes humanity worth preserving.”

**John H. Bryan:
Sara Lee and the Economy**

John H. Bryan, chairman and CEO of Sara Lee Corporation, had been a member of The Economic Club of Chicago for 26 years when he offered his reflections on being a CEO and on the economy to The Economic Club on February 29, 2000.



“It is for certain that the United States is at a rather triumphal moment. Economic growth and productivity are soaring and consumer confidence is extremely high. Why is this? The reason I heard most recently is this phenomenon called the ‘information technology supply shock’. I guess that is the reverse of an oil shock. Another reason, some say, is that consumers are spending their stock market gains creating an unusually high demand for goods and services. I am sure that the U.S. budget surplus and advancing globalization are also contributors to today’s prosperity. At any rate, the U.S. economy has never been rosier.

“Interestingly, no economist predicted today’s boom, and there is no economist anywhere