



Max M. Kampelman Papers

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"PROSPECTS FOR FURTHER US/USSR COOPERATION"
REMARKS
BY
MAX M. KAMPELMAN
AT
THE INSTITUTIONAL INVESTOR CEO ROUNDTABLE

NAPLES, FLORIDA

January 13, 1989

Thank you, Leon, for that gracious introduction. Leon Silverman and I practiced law together for thirty years, until I retired from our law firm in 1985 to assume my current government responsibilities. We will become law partners again in exactly one week and four hours. Leon, I am profoundly grateful for every one of your lovely exaggerations.

In a few days, I will be leaving the State Department with its different, exciting and enriching challenges. In this transition period, as a traditional Democrat having served in a Republican Administration, it is useful for me to stand back and evaluate our country's evolving role as a leader in a world that is changing so fast and so dramatically that we can barely see its details let alone its scope.

The pace of change in the world today is so rapid that any statement we make about tomorrow is likely to be obsolete even today. The pace of change between 1900 and today is beyond

calculation, probably greater than has taken place in all of mankind's previous history combined. And newer scientific and technological developments on the horizon will probably make all previous discoveries, from the discovery of fire through the industrial and commercial revolutions, dwarf by comparison.

During my lifetime, medical knowledge available to physicians has increased more than ten-fold. More than 80% of all scientists who ever lived are alive today. The average life span is now nearly twice as great as it was when my grandparents were born. The average world standard of living has, by one estimate, quadrupled in the past century. Advanced computers, new materials, new bio-technological processes are altering every phase of our lives, deaths, even reproduction. These developments are stretching our minds and our grasp of reality to the outermost dimensions of our capacity to understand them. Moreover, as we look ahead, we must agree that we have only the minutest glimpse of what our universe really is. Our science is indeed a drop, our ignorance a sea.

These changes in science and technology are producing fundamental changes in our material lives; and in our social and political relationships as well. There is a global trend toward democracy which holds the promise of great forward movement toward freedom and human rights. Almost unnoticed, the numbers

of people and the numbers of nations now freely electing their governments or vitally moving in that direction are greater than ever in the history of the human race. While democracy is still under attack throughout Latin America, for example, more than 90% of its people today live in democracies or countries well on their way to it. When permitted, and sometimes even when not, people are choosing freedom.

This trend is prompted not only by an abstract love of justice -- although this is undoubtedly present -- but by the growing realization that democracy works best. Governments and societies everywhere are discovering that keeping up with change requires openness to information, new ideas, and the freedom which enables ingenuity to germinate and flourish. Free peoples and free markets go together. State-controlled centralized planning cannot keep up with the pace of change. [We now know that a modern economy cannot be run by central planning, although, as Henry Kissinger, recently noted, "you cannot run a communist society without central planning."] In China and in the Soviet Union, there is growing recognition of the relationship between freedom and economic dynamism, a realization that a closed, tightly-controlled society cannot compete in a world experiencing an information explosion that knows no national boundaries.

Remarkably, this conclusion is publicly shared today by Soviet Communist Party officials. The editor of Izvestia, criticizing Communist Party control over economic and other institutions, recently said that the Soviet system "created an astonishing, unique situation: the person who makes the decisions bears no legal or material responsibility for its consequences, and the person who bears that responsibility does not make the decisions."

Let me here note some additional astounding Soviet acknowledgments:

-- In Gorbachev's report to last summer's Communist Party conference, he said: "It must be said frankly, comrades -- we under-estimated the depth and gravity of the distortions and stagnation of the past. There was a lot we just didn't know, and are seeing only now. It turned out that neglect was more serious than we thought."

-- Evgeny Chazov, Minister of Health: "In the past . . . we kept quiet about the fact that we were in 50th place in the world for infant mortality, after Mauritius and Barbados. . . . We kept quiet about the fact that our life expectancy ranks 32nd in the world." Chazov went on: "It is a malaise of our whole society, and we have to acknowledge this."

-- G.A. Yagodin, Chairman of the State Committee on Public Education, told the conference that half the schools in the Soviet Union "do not have central heating, running water or a sewerage system." He said a quarter of all students attend school in split shifts. He quoted statistics from the Ministry of Health showing that 53 percent of all school children are not in good health, and "during their education, the number of healthy children drops by a factor of three or four. This is a calamity."

We could go on. The Soviet system stands condemned in the words of its leaders and through the eyes of its citizens. It looks to the West for a way out. In Moscow recently a Russian intellectual told me: "A great many books have been written on how to transform capitalism into socialism. But we need and do not have a book on how to turn socialism into capitalism."

Global economic changes are similarly becoming evident. Today, we live in a world in which the combined gross national product of Western Europe, for example, exceeds that of the United States; and the gross national product of Japan exceeds that of the Soviet Union; while the economies of Korea, Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan have moved through international trade to positions of international influence far beyond their relative size.

A truly global economy is emerging. Today, in fact, the very process of production crosses international lines in ways that make it very difficult to identify clearly a country of origin. Secretary Shultz' favorite example is a shipping label he saw for integrated circuits made by an American firm which read: "Made in one or more of the following countries: Korea, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore, Taiwan, Mauritius, Thailand, Indonesia, Mexico, Philippines. The exact country of origin is unknown."

We are in a time when no society can isolate itself or its people from new ideas and new information anymore than one can escape the winds whose currents affect us all. National boundaries can keep out vaccines, but those boundaries cannot keep out germs or ideas. One essential geo-political consequence of that new reality is that there can be no true security for any one country unless there is security for all. Unilateral security will not come from either withdrawing from the world or attempting national impregnability. Instead, we must learn to accept in each of our countries a mutual responsibility for the peoples in all other countries. There can be no real security for the people of Iran, unless there is security for the people of Iraq. There can be no security for the people of Lebanon or Jordan unless there is security for the people of Israel.

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And there can be no security for anyone unless there is a concerted effort to eradicate terrorism, which, by definition, strikes at the uninvolved, the innocent victim. The danger is real and we have a long way to go. Political opportunism and fear stand in the way of effective international action. The most recent outrage by the Government of Greece was brazenly to permit a suspected terrorist to go to Libya, rather than extradite him to Italy, where he was wanted for attacking a synagogue, killing a two-year old child, and wounding 37 people. The statement of the Greek Minister of Justice that such an attack would "fall within the domain of the struggle to regain a homeland" is shocking and deplorable and illustrates the way some so called "civilized" states cooperate with and condone terrorism.

In this world of increasing interdependence, the lessons for the United States and the Soviet Union -- the most important security relationship in the present era -- are evident. We cannot escape from one another. We are bound together in an equation that makes the security of each of us dependent on that of the other. We must learn to live together. Our two countries must come to appreciate that just as the two sides of the human brain, the right and the left, adjust their individual roles within the body to make a coordinated and functioning whole, so must hemispheres of the body-politic, north and south,

east and west, right and left, learn to harmonize their contributions to a whole that is healthy and constructive in the search for lasting peace with liberty.

It is my profound hope that through the process of internal transformation that is demanded by the new technologies, the time is at hand when Soviet authorities comprehend that repressive societies in our day cannot achieve inner stability or true security; that it is in their best interest to permit a humanizing process to take place so that it can show the rest of us that cruelty is not indispensable to their survival. I hope that leadership truly realizes that its historic requirement to achieve Communism through violence is an abomination in this nuclear age; and that their security as well as ours depends on a willingness to be governed by rules of responsible international behavior.

We can hope, but we cannot yet trust. There are significant and dramatic changes taking place in the Soviet Union, potentially massive changes, but we must ensure that Soviet rhetoric turns into reality. We can welcome Soviet use of words such as "democracy" and "glasnost," but we dare not forget that, in the past, such words have too often been contradicted by deeds.

Mr. Gorbachev's task is a formidable one. Since early 1985 when he assumed office, the Soviet Union's internal problems have become greater. The economy has deteriorated. Food is much more scarce; the simple necessities are much more difficult to find, or have completely disappeared. The fundamental nature of its system is the fact he and we must still face. But there is the beginning of change. We must be open to that change and evaluate its effect with open eyes and an open mind.

Our ability to influence Soviet internal developments is likely to be limited, but we are not totally without influence. The Soviet Union and its people in many ways measure themselves by Western standards. The United States is the Soviet Union's principal rival, but we are also its standard for comparison. Language used by us to characterize our values, such as "human rights" and "democracy" are adopted by the Soviets, because they satisfy the deepest aspirations of the Soviet peoples as well. The words "glasnost" and "perestroika" are being repeated so extensively in the Soviet Union that they may well take on a meaning and dynamism of their own which could become difficult to reverse.

When I began negotiating with the Soviet Union in 1980, under President Carter, human rights was beginning to be injected as a major item on our country's international agenda.

We prevailed in that negotiation, but the Soviet Union stubbornly insisted that the discussion of the subject was an improper interference in their internal affairs. When President Reagan asked me in 1985 to return to government service as head of our nuclear arms reduction negotiating team, an extraordinary change began to take place. Under the leadership of the President and the careful guidance of Secretary of State George Shultz, the United States enlarged upon what President Carter initiated, and incorporated the concept of human rights as a necessary and ever-present ingredient in the totality of our relations with the Soviet Union.

It does not denigrate the vital importance of arms control for me to assert that if arms reductions are to be real and meaningful, they must be accompanied by attention to the serious problems that cause nations to take up arms. Arms are the symptoms of a disease. Let's treat the disease: regional conflicts, bilateral tensions, and, of course, human rights violations. The latter, which undermine the very essence of trust and confidence between nations, have been at the root of much of our hostility toward the Soviet system.

Our arms negotiations take place in the context of normalizing and stabilizing our overall relations with the Soviet Union. Last year, we signed and began to implement the

historic INF treaty, the first agreement totally to eliminate all nuclear weapons with a range of between 300 and 3300 miles. The treaty provides a stringent regime for verification, including on-site inspection. The INF agreement also stands for the principle of asymmetrical reductions to attain equality: it calls for the Soviets to destroy missiles capable of carrying four times as many warheads as those destroyed by the United States.

These features of the INF Treaty provide important precedents in our START negotiations, where our goal is to make deep 50% reductions in strategic long-range weapons, those capable of a sudden, trans-oceanic surprise attack against us.

Within this atmosphere of change, the prospects for increased trade and other economic contacts between our two countries obviously look up. Our government, it should be noted, here takes a cautious and sober approach, albeit occasionally contradictory. Economic ties cannot be divorced from the totality of our bilateral relations. Since the Soviet Union still poses a real military threat to our country we favor the expansion of non-strategic, mutually beneficial trade with the Soviet Union, but insist that national security controls on sensitive items should remain in place.

Let me also here note a further major concern in the economic area. Our objective is to help the Soviet society evolve toward becoming a responsible member of the international community. Soviet leaders unabashedly acknowledge the failure of their system to meet the economic and social needs of their people. The world knows that in the days of the Czar, Russia exported food; while today it cannot feed its own people. Our hope is to encourage the Soviet system to move away from their massive military spending and shift their resources to meet their domestic requirements. This means tough choices. But we must understand that this may not happen if Western capitalist countries rush with cheap credits and price concessions. These would defer the day of reckoning and permit the system to avoid making the necessary choices. As Senator Bill Bradley recently wrote: "What Moscow needs from the West is not cheap credits but a cooperative road map to a better economy and a safer world."

In his 1975 Nobel Prize speech that he was not permitted to present in person, Dr. Andrei Sakharov, said:

"I am convinced that international trust, mutual understanding, disarmament, and international security are inconceivable without an open society with freedom of information, freedom of conscience, the right to publish, and the right to travel and choose the country in which one wishes to live."

The United States interacts with the Soviet Union in that context. We have faith in our principles as we intensify our efforts, through our negotiations, to find a basis for understanding, stability, and peace with dignity. To negotiate is risky. It is, in the words of Hubert Humphrey, something like crossing a river while walking on slippery rocks. The possibility of disaster is on every side, but it is the way to get across. The object of our diplomacy and the supreme achievement of statesmanship, is patiently, through negotiation, to pursue the peace with dignity we seek, always recognizing the threat to that peace and always protecting with fully adequate military strength our vital national interests and values.

A former British Ambassador in Moscow, Sir William Hayter, when asked what it was like to negotiate with the Russians, said it was rather like dealing with a defective vending machine. You put in a coin and nothing comes out. There may be some sense in shaking it, you may get your coin back; but there is no point in talking to it. Ambassador Charles Bohlen similarly used to say that there were two classes of people he knew were lying -- people who said whiskey didn't affect them, and those who claimed they knew how to negotiate with the Russians.

We have come a long way since those days. We have begun a historic process. It is working. With the totalitarian nature of our adversary and the complex issues we face, however, coupled with our own internal political stresses, even with a package of arms reduction agreements -- and we are trying -- we will still be nearer to the beginning than to the end of that process.

Alexis de Tocqueville wrote in the nineteenth century that "it is especially in the conduct of their foreign relations that democracies appear to be decidedly inferior to other governments." With that observation in mind, our task is to achieve the firm sense of purpose, steadiness, and strength that is indispensable for effective foreign affairs decision-making. As Howard Baker so effectively noted last night, our political community must resist the temptation of partisan politics and institutional rivalry to develop the consensus adequate to meet the challenge of de Tocqueville's criticism.

Abraham Lincoln in his day said that "America is the last great hope of mankind." It still is. Our political values have helped us build the most dynamic and open society in recorded history, a source of inspiration to most of the world. It is a promise of a better tomorrow for the hundreds of millions of

people who have never known the gifts of human freedom. The future lies with liberty, human dignity, and democracy. To preserve and expand these values is our special responsibility. We should look upon it as an exciting opportunity.

Thank you

Amb. Kampelman,

I attach another draft of the Jan. 13 speech in Naples. On my previous draft, my reference to your being of a different generation was not an oversight -- I was referring to your youth (as shown by your hectic schedule and remarkable immunity from jet lag) as contrasted with the older generation of CEOs in your audience.

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PS: new material is on pp. 4, and 9-12.

Institutional Investor

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18 Nov 1988
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July 7, 1988

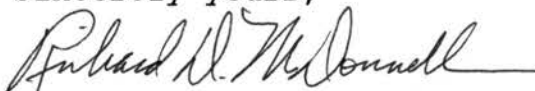
Ambassador Max M. Kampelman
Counselor
Department of State
Room 7250
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

We are delighted you have accepted our invitation to speak at Institutional Investor's CEO Roundtable on Friday, January 13. At the end of the month I will be in touch to discuss the program and seek some of your suggestions and thoughts.

Thank you again for your consideration.

Sincerely yours,



Richard D. McDonnell
Program Chairman
1989 CEO Roundtable

cc: Leon Silverman

Institutional Investor

January 12, 1989

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

Welcome to the Ritz-Carlton. We look forward to your participation at the CEO Roundtable.

The Institutional Investor staff will be available for any questions you may have during the meeting. If you have any questions or concerns, please contact me or the following persons here at the hotel:

Risa Sussman, Account Services Manager
Christine Kelly-Weiss or Amy Friedman, Facilities Manager
Nancy Kidd, Audience Development Manager

If you are planning to use any audio-visual equipment, please let us know, if you haven't already done so. You should plan to practice with the equipment prior to your address. I will check the sound and lighting with you before your address.

Please make sure to meet me at the Institutional Investor registration desk at least 15 minutes prior to the time of your presentation.

We look forward to working with you.

Sincerely,



Elisabeth Liptak
Program Manager
CEO Roundtable

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Institutional Investor

December 5, 1988

Ambassador Max Kampelman
3154 Highland Place NW
Washington, DC 20008

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

I am writing to provide you with further details regarding your address at our upcoming CEO Roundtable in Naples, Florida.

Date/Time: Friday, January 13th, 8:15 a.m.

Place: The Ritz-Carlton Ballroom, Naples,
Florida

Title of Address: "Prospects for Further
U.S./U.S.S.R. Cooperation"

Audience: Approximately 80 Chief Executive
Officers from major U.S. Corporations
and their guests

Length of Remarks: 20 minutes of formal remarks with
10 minutes for questions

Introducer: Leon Silverman, Co-Chairman of Fried,
Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson

Please meet me at The Ritz Carlton Ballroom at
approximately 7:55 a.m. on January 13th.

To give you a more complete picture of the Roundtable,
I have enclosed a copy of the preliminary program. If you have
any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me at
(212) 303-3456.

We look forward to seeing you in Naples.

Most sincerely,

Elisabeth Liptak
Elisabeth Liptak
Program Manager
1988 CEO Roundtable

EL:op

THE 1989 CEO ROUNDTABLE

"Innovative Leadership:

The On-Going Challenge"

The Ritz Carlton

Naples, Florida

January 12-14, 1989

**Preliminary Program
(as of December 5, 1988)**

CEO ROUNDTABLE

The CEO Roundtable is sponsored by Institutional Investor and the following organizations:

Bain & Company, Inc.

Chemical Bank

Falcon Jet Corporation

Forstmann Little & Co.

Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson

The Industrial Bank of Japan, Limited

Kleinwort Benson, Inc.

Landor Associates

Peat Marwick Main & Co.

The Prudential Insurance Company of America,
Group Operations

Smith Barney, Harris Upham
& Co. Incorporated

The Wyatt Company

"Innovative Leadership: The Ongoing Challenge"

The challenges of running a multinational corporation are increasingly demanding. Expanding global markets, intensified competition, changing government regulations, management, new technology and growing pressure to cut costs are just a few of the subjects in which the CEO must be well versed. As a result, the CEO must have the ability to be flexible, to initiate change and take intelligent risks. Innovative thinking is a particularly important prerequisite for the successful CEO in today's business environment. The 1989 CEO Roundtable will provide ideas which CEOs can use in their ongoing challenge to innovate, to ensure growth and prosperity in the decades ahead.

Now in its seventh year, Institutional Investor's CEO Roundtable has become a highly-valued and well-attended forum for chairmen, presidents, and chief executive officers from some of America's most successful corporations.

The 1989 CEO Roundtable, to be held at The Ritz-Carlton, Naples, Florida will address a number of timely topics important to business leaders through a series of special presentations, panel discussions, debates and informal exchanges. The active participation of the executives makes this CEO Roundtable a most informative and thought-provoking experience.

The Ritz-Carlton, Naples, Florida is a magnificent beachfront resort in the Pelican Bay community on the Gulf Coast. The Hotel features a full array of sporting facilities including a tennis complex and access to an 18 hole golf course.

You are encouraged to bring your spouse to the CEO Roundtable. A separate program has been designed to ensure that guests find the meeting enjoyable. Spouses are also welcome to attend all of the meeting's formal sessions.

**Thursday
January 12**

7:00 PM Registration and Cocktail Reception

8:00 PM Dinner and Special Address

"America and the World"

**The Honorable Howard H. Baker, Jr.
Former White House Chief of Staff**

Senator Baker, Republican from Tennessee, served in the U.S. Senate from 1967 until 1985. From 1976 to 1980 he was Republican leader of the Senate and from 1980 to 1984 was Majority leader. He served President Reagan as Chief of Staff from February, 1987 to June, 1988.

**Friday
January 13**

7:45 AM Breakfast

8:15 AM Special Address

"Prospects for Further U.S./U.S.S.R. Cooperation"

**Ambassador Max M. Kampelman
Counselor
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE**

Ambassador Kampelman was appointed by President Reagan in 1985 and has served since then as Chief Negotiator on Nuclear and Space Arms with the Soviet Union.

8:45 AM Panel Discussion

The CEO as Owner: Capitalizing on LBO Opportunities

The increased financing available for leveraged buyouts gives today's CEO a chance to become owner of his corporation. What are the opportunities and risks for CEOs and their management teams? Are such transactions fair to the company's shareholders and employees? How does an owner-manager affect the efficiency and growth of the underlying operation? Can such transactions be done without high interest "junk bonds" and how do LBO specialists differ? Panelists will provide CEOs with an overview and update on this timely subject.

9:30 Special Address

"Restructuring Financial Markets to Avoid Cataclysm"

David S. Ruder
Chairman

SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION

Mr. Ruder became the 23rd Chairman of the SEC in August, 1987. He was Dean of Northwestern University's School of Law from 1977 to 1985 and member of the faculty from 1961 to 1987.

10:00 AM Intermission

10:30 AM Panel Discussion

The Economics of Corporate Image

In today's highly competitive environment, the power and value of a core corporate brand -- whether business to business or consumer -- has become a key issue. While everyone, from the investment community to the board of directors, focuses on the value and power of a leverageable corporate brand image, it is ultimately the CEO who makes the critical decisions. Panelists will discuss what drives image management decisions, what are the most powerful corporate images, and how to maximize the value of your corporate identity.

11:15 AM Panel Discussion

Total Compensation: A Strategic Perspective

Panelists will look at the role of the CEO in managing pay and benefits to maximize productivity, profitability and competitiveness.

12:00 PM Panel Discussion

1992: The Implications of an Integrated Europe

The creation of an internal European market is now underway with important consequences for non-European entities. The integration of the European Community can result in significant growth opportunities for companies active in the European marketplace. Panelists will explore the strategic issues and challenges U.S. companies and other non-European entities face as they attempt to participate in the growth realized by the transformation of the European economies.

1:00 PM Luncheon and Special Address

"The Economic Agenda for the 1990s"

Michael Boskin
Professor of Economics
STANFORD UNIVERSITY

Michael Boskin is a professor of Economics and Director of the Center for Economic Policy Research at Stanford University. Professor Boskin's research on taxation, savings, the government budget and Social Security have been widely quoted and have made him one of the most influential conservative economists today. An economic advisor to George Bush during the presidential campaign, he is the front runner for the position of Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors.

2:30 PM Afternoon is free for private discussions, relaxation or participation in one of the golf or tennis demonstrations.

A tennis clinic and tournament will be held with Pancho Gonzalez, a member of the International Tennis Hall of Fame, and winner of many major competitions, including Wimbledon, the French Open and the Forest Hills championship.

A golf demonstration and tournament will be held with Al Geiberger, a winner of 15 PGA Tour titles including 2 majors. Al holds the lowest single round score in PGA history (59).

7:00 PM Special Address

"Focus on 1992: A European Perspective"

The Rt. Hon. Denis Healey, M.P.

Mr. Healey is former Shadow Foreign Secretary of Great Britain's Labor Party. Previously Chancellor of the Exchequer and Secretary of State for Defense, Mr. Healey has served in Parliament since 1953.

8:00 PM Cocktail Reception and Dinner Dance

Contemporary and "Big Band" music will be provided by the Dennis Hill Orchestra with Connie Gowin, vocalist.

**Saturday
January 14**

7:30 AM Breakfast

8:00 AM CEO Closed Door Exchange

These concurrent sessions, for delegates only, provide an opportunity for CEOs to discuss critical issues with their colleagues. Delegates may select the session they wish to attend.

Topics:

Global Competitiveness: How American Business Must Cope

The Corporation's Role in Solving our Education Crisis

Strategies for Maximizing Shareholder Value

9:00 AM **Panel Discussion**

Controlling Health Care Costs: The Growing Dilemma

U.S. companies are trying to cope with the rising cost of employee health care and retiree insurance benefits. Panelists will discuss strategies for designing and funding current and post-retirement health care plans, and what some companies are doing to control the growing price tag of employee health care.

9:40 AM **Panel Discussion**

Managing your Customer's Business

One of the most powerful ways to build strong customer relationships and increase both revenues and earnings is to look at your customer's business as though you were responsible for managing it. What does your customer need in order to outperform competitors and serve customers better? How could you and the customer integrate your operations to reduce costs and improve quality? The panel will explore innovations that can flow from taking this new perspective on customer relationships.

10:25 AM **Intermission**

10:45 AM **Panel Discussion**

Corporate Diversification Strategies: An Update on Mergers and Acquisitions

Mergers and acquisitions continue to play a central role in corporate America. What are the realities for CEOs and their management teams? What are the ramifications for the company's shareholders and employees? Which transactions make sense from a competitive standpoint? What steps can the CEO take to prevent a hostile takeover? Panelists will provide CEOs with an update on this important topic.

11:30 AM **Special Address**

"Demographics and the Changing American Workforce"

Ben Wattenberg
Author, Demographics Expert and Senior Fellow
AMERICAN ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE

Mr. Wattenberg is author of The Birth Dearth and is co-editor of Public Opinion magazine. He also writes a syndicated column and a weekly commentary, "Spectrum", for the CBS Radio Network.

12:00 PM **Special Presentation**

"CEO Nuggets of Gold Roundtable"

The theme of this year's roundtable is "Innovative Leadership". An outstanding panel of CEOs will share their best ideas on innovative leadership strategies.

1:00 PM **Luncheon and Special Presentation**

"Question: Can we Change the Process of Electing our President?"

A Debate

Hugh Sidey, moderator
Contributing Editor
TIME MAGAZINE

Mr. Sidey has personally known every President since Dwight Eisenhower, and has authored six books on the Presidency.

Patrick Buchanan
Former Director of Communications for the Reagan Administration

Mr. Buchanan is currently a nationally syndicated columnist and co-host of Cable News Network's "Crossfire".

Mark Shields
Syndicated Columnist and Author

Mr. Shields is a political analyst for "The MacNeil-Lehrer News Hour" and author of Mark Shields on the Campaign Trail.

3:30 PM Roundtable Concludes

Guest Program

Guests of the delegates are invited to attend the general sessions of the Roundtable in which they are interested. We have also planned the following events:

**Friday
January 13**

8:30 AM Continental Breakfast

9:00 AM "The State of American Health"

**Dr. Timothy Johnson
Medical Editor
ABC NEWS**

Dr. Johnson is medical editor for ABC News. He supervises stories on medical issues for ABC's "20/20", "World News Tonight with Peter Jennings" and "Good Morning America". Dr. Johnson lectures at Harvard Medical School and frequently authors articles on health related issues.

**Saturday
January 14**

9:00 AM Continental Breakfast

9:30 Ritz Carlton Culinary Demonstration

The world-renowned chefs of the hotel will give a presentation on the preparation of one of their specialties. Highlights include a discussion on menu planning and creative food presentation, and sampling what is prepared. A tour of the hotel's kitchens will follow, for those who are interested.