



## Max M. Kampelman Papers

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ADVISORY  
COUNCIL

INSTITUTE FOR  
INTERNATIONAL  
STUDIES

STANFORD  
UNIVERSITY

*Fourth Annual Meeting*  
*May 11-12, 1995*



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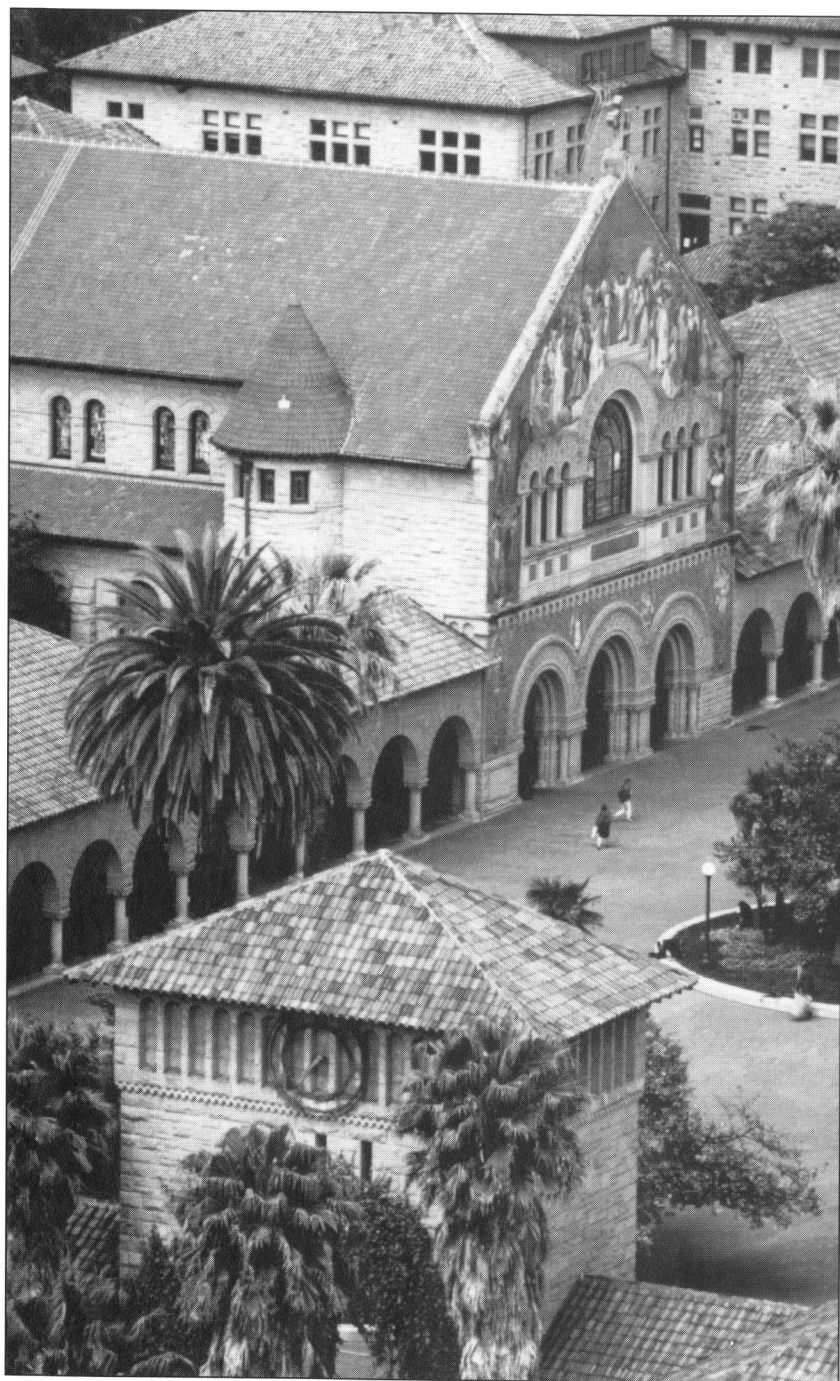
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I am delighted to welcome you to the fourth Advisory Council meeting of Stanford University's Institute for International Studies. You have joined us at an exciting time, as IIS continues to expand and to enhance its international, interdisciplinary, and interschool mission.

Since we last met in 1993, IIS has nearly doubled in size, primarily in the research and outreach activities of our three thematic fields: the global environment, international security, and international political economy. In developing the scholarly aspects of these three areas, the Institute has a special role in bringing together faculty from all schools at Stanford and in establishing links with other academic communities. We are committed to developing a global network of colleagues that will foster the internationalization of Stanford and create new opportunities for teaching, research, and learning.

The primary focus of this year's meeting is the growth, global impact, and security dimensions of Asia. This focus reflects a new Pacific initiative that Stanford is undertaking to position the University as a leader in Asian and Pacific issues. To achieve this objective, IIS will be working with the seven schools and the Hoover Institution to:

- Create an Asia/Pacific Scholars program, based on the Rhodes Scholarship model
- Structure a new master's degree program in international policy studies, specially designed as a dual degree for those in law and business
- Establish an expanded core faculty group with expertise specific to Asian and Pacific issues

The initiative helps to signal the University's decision to place global issues as a priority item on its intellectual and institutional agendas. We look forward to the discussions over the next two days to learn from the insights and reflections that all of you have to offer on these and other new directions.

*Walter P. Falcon*

Walter P. Falcon  
Director



## THURSDAY, MAY 11

Stauffer Auditorium, Hoover Institution  
Stanford University

## 12:00 OPENING LUNCH AND DISCUSSION

Host and moderator: **George Shultz**, Chair, Advisory Council  
Guests: Advisory Council, faculty, and IIS Guests

Wattis Room, Littlefield Center

## 2:30 WELCOME

**George Shultz**

## OPENING REMARKS

**Gerhard Casper**, President of Stanford University

2:45 SESSION I: *Transboundary Issues in Science*

## Moderator:

**Donald Kennedy**, Senior Fellow, IIS; Bing Professor of Environmental Science; and President Emeritus, Stanford University

## Presenters:

**Stanley Falkow**, Professor of Microbiology and Immunology and Medicine  
**Peter Vitousek**, Professor of Population and Resource Studies

## 4:15 Break

## 4:30 INSTITUTE DIRECTOR'S REPORT AND DISCUSSION

**Walter Falcon**

Hoover House  
623 Mirada

## 6:30 OPENING DINNER WITH COUNCIL MEMBERS

**President Gerhard and Dr. Regina Casper**, hosts  
Cocktails and Group Photograph  
Welcome by President Casper  
Dinner and informal discussion

## FRIDAY, MAY 12

Wattis Room, Littlefield Center

9:00 SESSION II: *The Global Impact of Growth in Asia*

## Moderator:

**Lawrence Lau**, Senior Fellow, IIS; Professor of Economics;  
and Co-Director, Asia/Pacific Research Center

## Presenters:

**Henry Rowen**, Senior Fellow, IIS, and Professor of Public Management  
**John Taylor**, Professor of Economics and Director, Center for Economic Policy Research

## 10:30 Break

10:45 SESSION III: *Regional Dynamics and the Security of East Asia*

## Moderator:

**Daniel Okimoto**, Senior Fellow, IIS; Professor of Political Science;  
and Co Director, Asia/Pacific Research Center

## Presenters:

**Michael Armacost**, Visiting Professor, Asia/Pacific Research Center  
**Tommy T.B. Koh**, Payne Visiting Professor, IIS

Kimball and Manzanita Dining Rooms

## 12:00 LUNCH WITH IIS FACULTY, STUDENTS, AND BOARD OF VISITORS

**Walter Falcon**, host

Wattis Room, Littlefield Center

2:00 SESSION IV: *Trade, Sovereignty, and Governance*

## Presenters:

**Stephen Krasner**, Senior Fellow, IIS, and Professor of International Relations  
**Paul Krugman**, Senior Fellow, IIS, and Professor of Economics

## 3:30 Break

FRIDAY, MAY 12 (continued)

3:45 COUNCIL DISCUSSION

Stanford Faculty Club

7:00 IIS CLOSING DINNER WITH COUNCIL, BOARD OF VISITORS,  
AND INVITED GUESTS

George Shultz, host

Closing Remarks

SATURDAY, MAY 13

Shultz Residence  
776 Dolores  
Stanford

10:00 BRUNCH

George and O'Bie Shultz, hosts



IIS Fellow Rosamond Naylor studying rice crop harvesting in Indonesia.



Middle school students working on a group activity—part of a Bay Area Global Education Project workshop.



William Perry, then-Deputy Secretary of Defense, and Chinese Major General Huai Guomo were part of a CISAC conference on defense conversion and post-Cold War economic restructuring in China and the U.S.

The Institute for International Studies at Stanford University generates a global outlook in research, training, and public service. By providing leadership and resources that cut across school boundaries, IIS engages faculty, students, and visiting scholars in:

- Innovative research collaborations
- Field study and work opportunities around the world
- Creative teaching at the undergraduate, graduate, and professional levels
- Building international competence—kindergarten through mid-career relevance
- Interactions among academic, business, and policymaking communities

IIS research programs are clustered around three broad themes, each of which brings together specialists in science and technology, public policy, and contemporary social issues.

## RESEARCH

### Global Environment

- Agriculture and Sustainable Development
- The Conservation of Biodiversity
- Global Change: Science and Policy
- Market-based Incentive Systems
- Risk Assessment and Regulation of Biotechnology in the Third World

### International Security

- Arms Control and Strategic Stability to the Year 2000
- Ethnic Conflict in the Former Soviet Union
- Industrial Demilitarization and Defense Conversion
- Nuclear Non-proliferation
- Peace and Security in the Asian-Pacific Region
- Peacekeeping, Peacemaking, and Conflict Management

### International Political Economy

- Asian Regionalism
- Challenges to Sovereignty
- Chinese Economic Growth/U.S.–Japan–China Linkages
- Comparative Health Care Systems
- Information Technology and Use

## CENTERS, FORUMS, AND PROGRAMS

### Stanford Centers

- Asia/Pacific Research Center (A/PARC)
- Center for International Security and Arms Control (CISAC)
- Global Environment Forum
- North America Forum (NAF)
- Center for European Studies
- International Political Economy Forum
  - Project on the Information Industries
  - Project on Sovereignty and Governance
  - Project on World Growth
- Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education (SPICE)

### Overseas Centers

- Chiapas Regional Center (Chiapas, Mexico)
- Inter-University Center for Japanese Language Studies (Yokohama, Japan)
- Inter-University Program for Chinese Language Studies (Taipei, Taiwan)
- Stanford Japan Center—Research (Kyoto, Japan)

## TEACHING AND TRAINING

### Undergraduate

- Goldman Undergraduate Honors Program (environmental studies)
- Faculty awards to encourage the introduction of international issues into the undergraduate curriculum in the social sciences
- Visiting Professorships: Austria, Germany, Switzerland, Portugal, Korea

### Graduate

- Asia/Pacific Scholars Program
- Pre- and post-doctoral fellowship competitions in international security and international political economy

### Advanced training

- Visiting Scholar Programs: for scientists, diplomats, and the international business community

## OUTREACH

## Public Education Programs

- More than 50 curriculum units developed for K-12 teachers, used internationally
- Staff development for California K-12 teachers of international studies and foreign language

## Public Lecture Series

- Wesson Lecture Series in International Theory and Practice (for academic year 1994: *Science and Society: Thoughts for the New Millennium*, with guest lecturers Subrahmanyam Chandrasekhar, Fang Lizhi, Wolfgang K.H. Panofsky, and Yuval Ne'eman)
- Payne Distinguished Lecture Series on the Global Community and Its Challenges (for academic year 1995: Ambassador Tommy Koh on *The United States and East Asia*)
- The Walter H. Shorenstein Distinguished Lecture Series on Asia (for academic year 1995: *China in the 21st Century*)

## Conferences and Seminars

- Asia-Pacific Leaders' Roundtable
- U.S.-Japan Forum
- More than 250 conferences, workshops, and seminars sponsored annually by IIS research groups

## Publications

- More than 75 books, articles, and monographs published in academic year 1994 by IIS faculty and research staff

**A**ppointment to the rank of Senior Fellow of the Institute for International Studies recognizes commitment of substantial effort to the mission of IIS through academic leadership, the development of interschool initiatives, and regular involvement in teaching and research activities that are international in character and content.

Coit D. Blacker  
*IIS and Political Science*  
(by courtesy); on leave  
1995-96

Alexander Dallin  
*IIS and History (Emeritus)*

Walter P. Falcon  
*Food Research and Economics*

Lawrence H. Goulder  
*IIS and Economics*

Thomas W. Hare  
*Asian Languages*

Thomas C. Heller  
*IIS and Law*

David J. Holloway  
*IIS and Political Science*

Ken-ichi Imai  
*IIS and Economics*  
(by courtesy)

Timothy E. Josling  
*Food Research*

Terry L. Karl  
*Political Science*

Donald Kennedy  
*Biology and President*  
*Emeritus,*  
*Stanford University*

Stephen D. Krasner  
*IIS and Political Science*

Paul R. Krugman  
*IIS and Economics*

Gail W. Lapidus  
*IIS and Political Science*  
(by courtesy)

Lawrence J. Lau  
*Economics*

John W. Lewis  
*Political Science*

Richard W. Lyman  
*History (Emeritus) and*  
*President Emeritus,*  
*Stanford University*

Michael M. May  
*Engineering-Economic*  
*Systems (Research)*

William F. Miller  
*Computer Science and*  
*Graduate School of Business*

Norman M. Naimark  
*History*

Daniel I. Okimoto  
*IIS and Political Science*

William J. Perry  
*IIS and Engineering-*  
*Economic Systems; on leave*  
1992-97

Clark W. Reynolds  
*Food Research*

Thomas P. Rohlen  
*IIS and Education*

Henry S. Rowen  
*Graduate School of Business*  
*and Hoover Institution*

Stephen H. Schneider  
*IIS and Biology*

Gary K. Schoolnik  
*School of Medicine and*  
*Howard Hughes Medical*  
*Institute*

Lyman Van Slyke  
*IIS and History (Emeritus)*

## DIRECTORATE

Director: Walter P. Falcon  
 Deputy Director: Nancy E. Okimoto  
 Associate Director: Brigitte H. Carnochan

## RESEARCH GROUPS

*The North America Forum*  
 Director: William F. Miller  
 Executive Director: Clint E. Smith

*Asia/Pacific Research Center*  
 Co-Director: Lawrence J. Lau  
 Co-Director: Daniel I. Okimoto  
 Director of Research: James H. Raphael

*Center for International Security and Arms Control*  
 Co-Director: David Holloway  
 Co-Director: Michael May  
 Director of Studies: Melanie Greenberg (as of June 1, 1995)

*Global Environment Forum*  
 Co-Director: Donald Kennedy  
 Co-Director: Stephen Schneider

*Goldman Undergraduate Honors Program*  
 Director of Studies: Rosamond Naylor

*Center for European Studies*  
 Director: Timothy E. Josling

*Stanford Japan Center—Research (Kyoto, Japan)*  
 Director: Ken-ichi Imai

*Project on Information Industries*  
 Director: William F. Miller

*Project on Sovereignty and Governance*  
 Co-chair: Thomas C. Heller  
 Co-chair: Stephen D. Krasner

*Project on World Growth*  
 Chair: Henry S. Rowen

## OUTREACH PROGRAMS

*Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education*  
 Director: Jane A. Boston

*Bay Area Global Education Project*  
*Bay Area Foreign Language Project*  
 Director: Tuckie Yircott

## ADVANCED LANGUAGE TRAINING PROGRAMS

*Inter-University Center for Japanese Language Studies (Yokohama)*  
 Executive Secretary: Thomas W. Hare

*Inter-University Program for Chinese Language Studies (Taipei)*  
 Executive Secretary: Lyman P. Van Slyke



His Majesty, Emperor Akihito of Japan meets with students in Japanese Studies during a visit to Stanford in June, 1994.



#### *Chair*

George P. Shultz

#### *Members*

Pedro Aspe  
 Raymond Barre  
 Stephen D. Bechtel, Jr.  
 Alexander Bessmertnykh  
 Shirley Temple Black  
 Bill Bradley  
 Roberto Campos  
 Warren Christopher  
 David M. Culver  
 Kenneth Derr  
 Gerald R. Ford  
 Sam L. Ginn  
 Valery Giscard d'Estaing  
 Arnold C. Harberger  
 Bob Hawke  
 Chaim Herzog  
 Carla A. Hills  
 Geoffrey Howe  
 Max M. Kampelman  
 Andrew Knight  
 Yotaro Kobayashi  
 Lee Kuan Yew  
 Richard Lugar  
 Ahmed Esmad Abdel Meguid  
 Kiichi Miyazawa  
 Brian Mulroney  
 Paul H. Nitze  
 Thomas Odhiambo  
 Rozanne L. Ridgway  
 Helmut Schmidt  
 Raymond Seitz  
 Paul A. Volcker  
 Dennis Weatherstone  
 John C. Whitehead  
 Wu Xueqian



#### **GEORGE P. SHULTZ**

*Stanford, California*  
*Distinguished Fellow, Hoover Institution*  
*Professor Emeritus of International Economics,*  
*Graduate School of Business*

GEORGE P. SHULTZ was born in New York City, receiving his B.A. in economics from Princeton University and his Ph.D. in industrial economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He taught first at MIT, then joined the University of Chicago Graduate School of Business, where he became Dean in 1962. In 1955, Professor Shultz assumed his first governmental role, as Senior Staff Economist on the President's Council of Economic Advisors under President Eisenhower. He served as Secretary of Labor and then Secretary of the Treasury under President Nixon. From 1974-82 he was President and a Director of Bechtel Group, Inc. During this period, Professor Shultz also served part time on the Stanford faculty and in 1981 he was appointed Chairman of the Economic Policy Advisory Board.

In July 1982, Professor Shultz became the 60th U.S. Secretary of State, serving until January 1989, at which time he returned to Stanford. He has published widely during both his academic and government careers. His latest book, *Turmoil and Triumph: My Years as Secretary of State*, was published in 1993.



**PEDRO ASPE**

*Mexico City, Mexico*

*Professor of Economics, Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México*

PEDRO ASPE was born in Mexico City, where he received his B.A. in economics in 1974 at the Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México. In 1978 he received his Ph.D. in economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where he was also an instructor of macroeconomics. After completing his degree, he became Director and Professor of the Department of Economics at the Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México and began, simultaneously, his distinguished career as a financial advisor in the public sector. He has held a variety of posts within the Ministry of Planning and Budgeting. He was Minister of Finance of Mexico from 1988 to 1994. In 1992, he was the Lionel Robbins Lecturer at the London School of Economics.

As the author of numerous economic studies in a variety of distinguished journals, Mr. Aspe brings his scholarly background to bear on the current economic realities of Mexico.

**RAYMOND BARRE**

*Paris, France*

*Member, National Assembly of France*

RAYMOND BARRE was born in Saint-Denis, Reunion, and educated at the Faculté de Droit and the Institut d'Études Politiques in Paris. His academic career has taken him as Professor to the Institut des Hautes Études in Tunis, to the Faculté de Droit et de Sciences Économiques in Caen, and the Institut d'Études Politiques and the Faculté de Droit et Sciences Économiques in Paris. He has been a member of numerous government committees, and he served as Director of the Cabinet to the Minister of Industry from 1959-62 and as Vice President of the Commission of European Communities responsible for economic and financial affairs from 1967-72. He has been member of the General Council to the Banque de France since 1973.

In 1976 Mr. Barre briefly held the position of Minister of Foreign Trade before becoming the Minister of Economy and Finance, a post he held until 1978. Between 1976 and 1981 he served for two successive terms as Prime Minister. In 1978 he was elected to the National Assembly (Rhône), a position he continues to hold. He has published numerous articles on political economy.

**STEPHEN D. BECHTEL, JR.**

*San Francisco, California*

*Chairman Emeritus and Director, Bechtel Group, Incorporated*

STEPHEN D. BECHTEL, JR. was born in Oakland, California, receiving his B.S. in civil engineering from Purdue University and an M.A. in business administration from the Graduate School of Business at Stanford University. He served as the third-generation head of the worldwide engineering and construction business that began in 1898 as a small western railroad construction firm. Today the Bechtel group of companies provides a broad scope of technical and management services to clients in many industry sectors around the globe.

Mr. Bechtel is a member of the Board of Trustees of the California Institute of Technology, The Business Council, and the President's Council of Purdue University. He is an Honorary Trustee of the California Academy of Sciences. In addition, he is former Chairman of the National Academy of Engineering, a Fellow of the American Society of Civil Engineers, and an Honorary Fellow of the United Kingdom's Royal Academy of Engineering.

**ALEXANDER A. BESSMERTNYKH**

*Moscow, Russia*

*President, Foreign Policy Association  
Chairman, World Council of Former Foreign Ministers*

ALEXANDER A. BESSMERTNYKH was born in Siberia, receiving a Ph.D. in international law and political science from the Moscow State Institute for International Relations. In 1956 he joined the diplomatic service. From 1970 to 1983, he was Counselor and Minister Counselor at the Soviet Embassy to the United States, and he subsequently led the U.S.A. Department in the Foreign Ministry. In 1986 he became Deputy Foreign Minister and then First Deputy Foreign Minister. In 1990-91 he served as Ambassador to the United States, and in 1991 was the Soviet Minister for Foreign Affairs. In 1992 he was elected President of the Foreign Policy Association, and in May 1993 elected as the Chairman of the World Council of Former Foreign Ministers.

Dr. Bessmertnykh is the author of many articles on foreign policy and strategic and military matters.



**SHIRLEY TEMPLE BLACK***Woodside, California**Former Ambassador to the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic*

SHIRLEY TEMPLE BLACK was born in Santa Monica, California. She has enjoyed a distinguished career in the diplomatic service and as a movie and TV actress. Ambassador Black was the U.S. Ambassador to Ghana from 1974-76 and to the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic from 1989-92. She was the U.S. Representative to the 24th General Assembly of the United Nations in 1969 and Co-Chair of Ambassadorial Seminars at the Foreign Service Institute from 1981-88. In 1988 she was appointed Honorary Member of the American Foreign Service.

Ambassador Black is a founding Director and Officer of the American Academy of Diplomacy; a member of the Boards of Directors of the America-China Society and the United Nations Association; and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the Council of American Ambassadors, and the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations. Ambassador Black has received numerous awards, honorary degrees, and professional citations, including an Oscar from the Academy of Motion Picture Arts & Sciences and a Lifetime Achievement Award from the American Cinema Awards Foundation.

**BILL BRADLEY***Washington, D.C.**Member of Congress, Senator for New Jersey*

BILL BRADLEY was born in Crystal City, Missouri, and graduated from Princeton University. As a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford, he studied politics, philosophy, and economics. In 1964 he was captain of the U.S. basketball team that won the gold medal at the Olympic games in Tokyo. He is currently the senior senator from New Jersey and serving his third six-year term.

Senator Bradley serves on the Senate Finance Committee, the Energy and Natural Resources Committee, and the Special Committee on Aging. He also chairs both the Water and Power Subcommittee and the Subcommittee on Debt, Deficits, and Long-term Growth. His accomplishments include many pieces of legislation on education, children, the elderly, economic development, and the environment—including protecting the shore and preserving open spaces. He served on the seven-person international panel to advise the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. He is the author of two books, *Life on the Run* (about his experiences as an athlete) and *The Fair Tax* (an explanation published in 1984 of his proposal to revise the income tax system).

**ROBERTO CAMPOS***Rio de Janeiro, Brazil**Member, Brazilian Congress, House of Representatives*

ROBERTO CAMPOS was born in Cuiaba, State of Mato Grosso, Brazil. He graduated from the Catholic Seminars of Guaxupe and Belo Horizonte, Brazil, with degrees in philosophy and theology. He received his M.A. in economics from George Washington University and did postgraduate work at Columbia University. He has been Director, General Manager, and President of the National Economic Development Bank, and Secretary General of the National Development Council. He has taught in the School of Economics at the University of Brazil and written widely on issues of development and international economics.

Congressman Campos was the Brazilian Ambassador to the United States from 1961-63 and to Great Britain from 1975-82, and Minister of State for Planning and Coordination from 1964-67. He is a member of the Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress, the Pearson Committee of the World Bank, the Board of Governors of the International Development Research Center in Canada, the Board of Directors of Resources for the Future, and the Group of Thirty in the U.S.

**WARREN CHRISTOPHER***Washington, D.C.**U.S. Secretary of State*

WARREN CHRISTOPHER was born in North Dakota and received his undergraduate degree from the University of Southern California and his law degree from Stanford University. After serving as law clerk to Justice William O. Douglas of the United States Supreme Court, Mr. Christopher joined the private law firm of O'Melveny and Myers, where he subsequently served as Chairman. He served in Washington, D.C. in 1967-69 as Deputy Attorney General and again in 1977-81 as Deputy Secretary of State. In January of 1993, Mr. Christopher was confirmed by the U.S. Senate as Secretary of State.

Mr. Christopher was a member of Stanford's Board of Trustees from 1971-77 and 1981-93, serving as its President from 1985-88. He has also served as Chairman of the Carnegie Corporation, Director of the Los Angeles World Affairs Council, Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, member of the Board of Directors of the Council of Foreign Relations, and a member of the Executive Committee of the American Agenda.

**DAVID M. CULVER**

Montreal, Canada  
Chairman, CAI Capital Corporation

DAVID M. CULVER was born in Winnipeg, attending schools in Quebec and Ontario. He obtained his B.S. from McGill University, an M.B.A. from the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, and a certificate from the Centre d'Etudes Industrielles in Geneva.

Mr. Culver joined Alcan Aluminium Limited in Montreal in 1949 and, after 40 years with the company, retired as Chairman and Chief Executive Officer in 1989. He is Honorary Chairman of the Business Council on National Issues, a member of the Advisory Council of the Center of Canadian Studies at the School of Advanced International Studies (Johns Hopkins University), a Governor of the Joseph H. Lauder Institute of Management and International Studies (University of Pennsylvania), a member of the Board of Trustees of the Lester B. Pearson College of the Pacific, and Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Canada's National Museum of Science and Technology. Mr. Culver is a companion of the Order of Canada.

**KENNETH T. DERR**

San Francisco, California  
Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer, Chevron Corporation

KENNETH T. DERR was born in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, graduating from Cornell University with degrees in mechanical engineering and business administration. He joined Chevron upon graduation, becoming President of Chevron USA, Inc. in 1979. In 1981 he was elected a Director of the corporation, and was elected Vice Chairman of the corporation in 1985. He assumed his present position in 1989.

Mr. Derr is a Director of Citicorp, Potlatch Corporation, the American Productivity & Quality Center, the Bay Area Council, and Invest-in-America. He is Chairman and a Director of the American Petroleum Institute and also a Trustee of Cornell University. In addition, he has served as a member of President Bush's Commission on Environmental Quality, the National Petroleum Council, the Business Council, the Business Council for Sustainable Development, the Business Roundtable and the California Business Roundtable. Mr. Derr is presently a member of President Clinton's Council on Sustainable Development.

**GERALD R. FORD**

Rancho Mirage, California  
38th President, United States of America

GERALD R. FORD was born in Omaha, Nebraska, receiving his B.A. from the University of Michigan and an LL.B. from Yale University Law School. Beginning his career in the practice of law, he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1948 and re-elected every two years through 1972, serving 25 years in the House. He was elected Chairman of the Republican Conference in 1963 and chosen minority leader in 1965. In 1963-65, as a member of the Presidential Commission investigating the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, he co-authored *Portrait of the Assassin*. Nominated to the Vice Presidency in 1973, he became the 38th President of the U.S. following the resignation of Richard M. Nixon and served as President from August 1974 to January 1977.

In 1979, President Ford published his autobiography, *A Time to Heal*. He has established the American Enterprise Institute World Forum, which brings together former and current international world leaders and business executives to discuss political and business policies impacting current issues.

**SAM L. GINN**

San Francisco, California  
Chairman and CEO, AirTouch Communications

SAM L. GINN was born in Anniston, Alabama, and graduated from the School of Engineering at Auburn University. He became a Sloan Fellow at Stanford University's Graduate School of Business in 1969, and was President of the Alumni Advisory Board of that program. He has had a 34-year career in the telecommunications field, including positions at AT&T and Pacific Telephone. In 1988 he was elected Chairman and CEO of Pacific Telesis Group, and he served in that capacity until December, 1993. At the time of the spin-off of Pacific Telesis' wireless assets he became the Chairman and CEO of AirTouch Communications, where he oversees a growing worldwide wireless telecommunications company.

Mr. Ginn serves as Chairman of the California Business Roundtable. He is a member of The Business Council, The Business Roundtable, the San Francisco Committee on JOBS, the California Council on Competitiveness, and the Department of Commerce's Industry Policy Advisory Committee. Mr. Ginn also serves on the boards of Transamerica Corporation, Chevron Corporation, and Safeway Inc.

**VALÉRY GISCARD D'ESTAING***Paris, France**Former Member of the European Parliament  
Député, National Assembly*

VALÉRY GISCARD D'ESTAING completed his studies at the Ecole Polytechnique and the Ecole Nationale d'Administration, joining the Inspection Generale des Finances in 1952. In 1956 he became Deputy Director to the Office of the Minister of Finance and then to Edgar Faure, President of the Council of Ministers. Re-elected four times to the National Assembly, he served as Secretary of State for Finance, Minister of Finance and Economic Affairs, and Minister of Economy and Finance. In 1974 he was elected President of France (1974-81).

From 1984 to 1989 he served as député to the National Assembly and, from 1989 to 1993, as député to the European Parliament. In 1986, along with former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, President Giscard d'Estaing created the Committee for the Monetary Union of Europe. He serves as the député to the National Assembly, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, and Chairman of the Regional Council of Auvergne. President Giscard d'Estaing is the author of three books, including *Le Pouvoir et la Vie* (1988) and *l'Affrontement* (1991).

**ARNOLD C. HARBERGER***Los Angeles, California**Professor of Economics, University of California*

ARNOLD C. HARBERGER was born in New Jersey and received both his A.M. in international relations and his Ph.D. in economics from the University of Chicago. From 1953 to 1991 he served as Professor of Economics at the University of Chicago. In 1984, he was appointed Professor of Economics at the University of California at Los Angeles. Professor Harberger has been a Visiting Professor at Harvard, Princeton, the University of Paris, and the MIT Center for International Studies in New Delhi. He has been a consultant to numerous international governments, agencies, and foundations worldwide including Panama, Chile, Columbia, Uruguay, El Salvador, Indonesia, Canada, Bolivia, Mexico, Paraguay, People's Republic of China, Malawi, and Venezuela. In 1989 he was elected to membership in the National Academy of Sciences.

Professor Harberger has published many articles and studies in the fields of public finance, economic theory and policy, international trade, and economic development.

**BOB HAWKE***Sydney, Australia**Visiting Professor, University of Sydney*

BOB HAWKE was born in South Australia and educated at Perth Modern School and the University of Western Australia, where he graduated with the degrees of Bachelor of Law and Bachelor of Arts in economics. As a Rhodes Scholar, he studied at Oxford University, graduating Bachelor of Letters.

Initially Research Officer to the Australian Council of Trade Unions, Mr. Hawke was ultimately elected President of the ACTU, an office he held for ten years. He was elected Member for the Federal Electorate of Wills in suburban Melbourne in 1980, becoming leader of the opposition in 1983. As head of the Labour Party for four successive terms in office, Mr. Hawke was the longest-serving Labor Prime Minister leading consecutive governments. He ceased to be Prime Minister in December 1991 and resigned from the Parliament in February 1992. Mr. Hawke is a Visiting Professor at the University of Sydney and Adjunct Professor at the Australian National University in Canberra.

**CHAIM HERZOG***Tel Aviv, Israel**Former President of Israel*

CHAIM HERZOG was born in Belfast, Ireland, and studied law at the Universities of London and Cambridge. He was a Major-General in the Israel Defense Forces, was twice the Director of Military Intelligence, and served as the first Military Governor of the West Bank in 1967. He has headed a major industrial development group and been a Director of numerous banks and commercial and industrial concerns. In 1970 he was awarded an Honorary Knighthood (KBE) by the Queen of England. President Herzog is a member of the Bar in Israel and in Great Britain and was the founder and senior partner of a law firm, Herzog, Fox & Neeman. From 1975-78 he served as Israel's Ambassador to the United Nations, and he was President of the State of Israel from 1983 to 1993.

Long active in business and community affairs, President Herzog has served on numerous commercial, educational, and charitable boards. An author on military, political, and economic affairs, President Herzog's books include *Israel's Finest Hour*, *Days of Awe*, *War of Atonement*, *Who Stands Accused*, *Battles of the Bible*, *Arab-Israeli Wars*, *Heroes of Israel*, and *Between the Sacred and the Everyday*.

**CARLA A. HILLS**

*Washington, D.C.*  
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer,  
Hills & Company

CARLA A. HILLS was born in Los Angeles, California, and received her B.A. from Stanford University and law degree from Yale University. Before entering the government, Ambassador Hills co-founded a Los Angeles law firm. Since then, she has held several government positions. From 1974-75 she was Assistant Attorney General, Civil Division, United States Department of Justice. During the Ford Administration she served as Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. She was the United States Trade Representative from 1989-93.

In 1993, Ambassador Hills founded an international consulting firm that assists American companies with trade and investment issues. She also serves as a member of the Boards of Directors for AT&T, American International Group, Chevron Corporation, and Time Warner. She is Vice Chair of the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations; Trustee of the Council on Foreign Relations and of the Institute of International Economics; and member of the Trilateral Commission and of the Inter-American Dialogue.

**THE RT. HON. THE LORD HOWE  
OF ABERAVON, PC. QC.**

*London, England*  
House of Lords

GEOFFREY HOWE was born in Port Talbot, Glamorgan, and educated at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, where he read law. He was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple in 1952. He was first elected to Parliament for Benington in Cheshire in 1964. In 1970 he was appointed Solicitor General and received a knighthood. As Conservative member of Parliament for Surrey East from 1964 to 1992, he served as Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1979-83, as Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs from 1983-89, and as Deputy Prime Minister and Leader of the House of Commons from 1991-92. He was awarded life peerage and entered the House of Lords in July 1992.

Lord Howe was responsible for the preparation and passage through Parliament of the principal legislation providing for Great Britain's membership in the European Community, as well for the enlargement of the EC in 1986, and for the European Community's 1992 program.

**MAX M. KAMPELMAN**

*Washington, D.C.*  
Of Counsel, Fried, Frank, Harris,  
Shriver & Jacobson

MAX M. KAMPELMAN was born in New York City, receiving his A.B. and J.D. from New York University and an M.A. and Ph.D. in political science from the University of Minnesota. He served as Ambassador and Head of the U.S. Delegation to the Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Arms from 1985 to 1989. He also served as Counselor to the Department of State under Secretary of State George Shultz. In June 1990 he was appointed Ambassador and Head of the U.S. Delegation to the Copenhagen Conference on the Human Dimension of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. He again served in that role at the Geneva Conference on National Minorities and at the Moscow Conference on the Human Dimension in 1991.

Ambassador Kampelman serves currently as Vice Chairman of the U.S. Institute of Peace, Chairman of the Georgetown University Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, and Chairman Emeritus of Freedom House. His book, *Entering New Worlds: The Memoirs of a Private Man in Public*, was published in 1991.

**ANDREW KNIGHT**

*London, England*  
Director, News Corporation

ANDREW KNIGHT was educated at Ampleforth College in Yorkshire and then attended Balliol College, Oxford, where he read politics, philosophy, and economics before taking his degree in modern history. He started his career in journalism in 1964 on the *Investors Chronicle*, where he co-wrote the share recommendations under the pseudonym "Austin Friars." Mr. Knight joined *The Economist* in 1966, working in the Washington offices from 1968-70. He was appointed Assistant Editor in 1970 and, in 1973, began the European section.

In 1974 Mr. Knight succeeded Alastair Burnet as editor of *The Economist* and was named International Editor of the Year by *World Press Review* in 1981. In 1986 he became Chief Executive of *The Daily Telegraph plc* and Editor-in-Chief, serving until 1989, when he joined News International plc as Chairman in 1990. The company publishes five national newspapers, including *The Times of London* and the *Sunday Times*, and broadcasts six satellite television channels including a 24-hour news channel. Mr. Knight retired from this post in 1994, remaining as a Director of the parent company, News Corporation.



**YOTARO KOBAYASHI**

*Tokyo, Japan*  
*Chairman and CEO, Fuji Xerox*  
*Company, Ltd.*

YOTARO KOBAYASHI was born in London, England, receiving his B.A. from Keio University and his M.B.A. from the Wharton Graduate School at the University of Pennsylvania. He joined Fuji Photo Film Co., Ltd. immediately upon graduation and was assigned to Fuji Xerox Co., Ltd. in 1963. In 1978 he was named President and, in 1992, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer. Mr. Kobayashi served as a member of the U.S.-Japan Advisory Commission from 1983 to 1984 and as Chairman of the Japan Business Machine Makers' Association from 1984 to 1986.

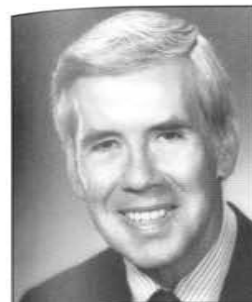
Mr. Kobayashi is a member of the Trilateral Commission and the Pacific Basin Economic Council. He is Chairman of the Japan-U.S. Business Council and Vice Chairman of the Board at International University of Japan. He also serves on the Board of Trustees at Keio University.

**LEE KUAN YEW**

*Singapore*  
*Senior Minister*

LEE KUAN YEW was born in Singapore and matriculated at Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge, England. He was called to the Bar, Middle Temple, London, in 1950 and practiced law in Singapore where he was advisor to several trade unions. In 1954 he was a founder of the People's Action Party and has been Secretary General except for a period in 1957. He began his initial term as a member of the Legislative Assembly in 1955.

He began his first tour as Prime Minister for the Republic of Singapore in 1959, serving successive terms until he resigned in November, 1990. In 1968, Prime Minister Lee was a Fellow at the Institute of Politics at Harvard University, and he was a Hoyt Fellow at Berkeley College, Yale University, in 1970.

**RICHARD G. LUGAR**

*Washington, D.C.*  
*Member of Congress, Senator for Indiana*

RICHARD G. LUGAR was born in Indianapolis, Indiana, and graduated from Denison University in Ohio. As a Rhodes scholar at Pembroke College, Oxford, he studied politics, philosophy, and economics. In 1967, he began his first of two terms as Mayor of Indianapolis and won his first Senate seat in 1976.

After his re-election in 1982, Senator Lugar was elected Chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee and then selected as Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. He now serves as Co-Chairman of the Senate Arms Control Observer Group, and was appointed to the Intelligence Committee and the Congressional Reform Committee in 1993. He is also a trustee of Denison University and Vice Chairman of the Board and a former instructor at the University of Indianapolis. In 1988, Senator Lugar published *Letters to the Next President*, a collection of nine letters of advice on foreign policy.

**AHMED ESMAT ABDEL MEGUID**

*Cairo, Egypt*  
*Secretary General, League of Arab States*

AHMED ESMAT ABDEL MEGUID was born in Alexandria, Egypt, where he received his LL.B. from Alexandria University. He followed three degrees from Paris University—in economics, comparative law, and political science—with a Ph.D. in international law from the same institution. After a number of government posts, Dr. Meguid was appointed Ambassador of Egypt to France in 1970 and to the United Nations in 1972, where he served until 1983. He became Minister of Foreign Affairs and, in 1985, Deputy Prime Minister.

Dr. Meguid has been a member of the International Rivers Committee, the Permanent Arbitration Tribunal, the Arbitration Panel of the World Bank, the Founding Committee of the United Nations University in Tokyo, the Board of the Egyptian Society of International Law, the International Law Association, and the Board of Alexandria University. He currently serves as Director of the Cairo Regional Center of International Commercial Arbitration and Honorary Chairman of the Arab-Afro Arbitrators Association.

**KIICHI MIYAZAWA***Tokyo, Japan**Former Prime Minister, Japan**Member, House of Representatives*

KIICHI MIYAZAWA was born in Hiroshima Prefecture and graduated from the Law Faculty of Tokyo Imperial University. He joined the Ministry of Finance in 1942 and, in 1953, became a member of the House of Councilors. From 1962-64 and 1966-68 he served as a State Minister and Director-General of the Economic Planning Agency.

Prime Minister Miyazawa became a member of the House of Representatives in 1967 and since then has held several prominent positions in the Government. He has served as Minister of International Trade and Industry, Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1974-76, and State Minister and Director-General of the Economic Planning Agency from 1977-78. He was State Minister and Chief Cabinet Secretary from 1980-82, Chairman of the General Council of the Liberal Democratic Party from 1984-86, and Minister of Finance from 1986-87. In 1987 he served as Vice Prime Minister and Minister of Finance for a year and, from 1991-93, was the Prime Minister of Japan. Prime Minister Miyazawa is currently serving his tenth consecutive term in the House of Representatives.

**BRIAN MULRONEY***Ottawa, Canada**Former Prime Minister, Canada*

BRIAN MULRONEY was born in Baie Comeau, Quebec. He received a B.A. in political science from St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, and an LL.B. from l'Universite Laval, Quebec City. Upon graduating from law school, Mr. Mulroney joined the Montreal firm of Ogilvy, Renault, where he remained a Partner until 1976, when he joined the Iron Ore Company of Canada and became its President the following year. Government service began when he was elected leader of the Progressive Conservative Party of Canada in 1983 and subsequently won election to the House of Commons. In 1984, Mr. Mulroney was sworn in as Canada's 18th Prime Minister, and he served in that position until 1993.

Mr. Mulroney is the author of *Where I Stand*, published in 1983. He has served on the Boards of Directors of the American Barrick Resources Corporation, the Archer Daniels Midland Corporation, the Horsham Corporation, and the Freedom Forum.

**PAUL H. NITZE***Washington, D.C.**Diplomat in Residence, Johns Hopkins University*

PAUL H. NITZE was born in Amherst, Massachusetts, graduating from Harvard University. Originally working in investment banking, he entered public service in 1941 as Financial Director of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. He has served in various positions within the Department of State—including as Director of the Policy Planning Staff—and within the Department of Defense. From 1969-74 he served as the Representative to the Secretary of Defense on the U.S. Delegation to the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks with the Soviet Union. More recently, he has served as Special Advisor to President Reagan and as Ambassador-at-Large.

Ambassador Nitze has been Chairman of the Advisory Council of the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies and Chairman of Policy Studies of the Committee on the Present Danger. He is Chairman of the Washington Institute of Foreign Affairs and Trustee Emeritus at Johns Hopkins University, the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, and the George C. Marshall Research Foundation.

**THOMAS R. ODHIAMBO***Nairobi, Kenya**Director, RANDFORUM*

THOMAS R. ODHIAMBO was born in Kenya and received his B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. from Cambridge University. A specialist in insect physiology, he served as Head and later Dean of the Department of Entomology at the University of Nairobi. In 1970 Professor Odhiambo founded the International Centre of Insect Physiology and Ecology, from which he retired in March 1994. He is now the Director of RANDFORUM, the Research and Development Forum for Science-Led Development in Africa. He is a founding fellow of the Kenya Academy of Sciences and served as its first Chairman from 1977-82. In 1983 he became a founding Member and Vice President of the Third World Academy of Sciences and, in 1985, a founding Member and President of the African Academy of Sciences.

Professor Odhiambo serves as Editor-in-Chief of *Insect Science and Its Application* and *Current Themes in Tropical Science*. He is a Fellow of the Indian National Science Academy; Project Director of the United Nations University, Special Committee on Africa; and Chairman of the Commission for Higher Education of the Government of Kenya.

**ROZANNE L. RIDGWAY***Washington, D.C.**Co-Chair, Atlantic Council of the United States*

ROZANNE L. RIDGWAY received a B.A. from Hamline University, St. Paul, Minnesota. Her 32-year career as a foreign service officer included Ambassadorships to Finland and the German Democratic Republic, as well as service from 1985-89 as Assistant Secretary for European and Canadian Affairs. She has also served as Ambassador for Oceans and Fisheries Affairs, Counselor of the Department of State, and Special Assistant to the Secretary of State.

President, and now Co-Chair, of the Atlantic Council since 1989, she is Chairman of the Baltic-American Enterprise Fund and Vice Chairman of the American Academy of Diplomacy. In addition, she is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the Institute for International Strategic Studies. She also serves on the Boards of the Aspen Institute and the Brookings Institution and is Director of several American corporations.

**HELMUT SCHMIDT***Hamburg, Germany**Publisher and Co-Editor, Die Zeit*

HELMUT SCHMIDT was born in Hamburg, Germany, and received his degree in economics from Hamburg University. Beginning his career in Hamburg administration, he was Counselor, Head of Section, and then Economic Head of the Transport Department. From 1953-61 he served as a member of the Bundestag and, from 1958-83, as a member of the SPD Federal Executive. From 1961-65 he served as Senator for Internal Affairs in Hamburg, returning, from 1965-87, to serve as a member of the Bundestag. In 1967, he became Chairman of the SPD Parliamentary Party and, from 1968-84, served as Deputy Chairman of the SPD. Chancellor Schmidt was Federal Minister of Defense from 1969-72 and Federal Minister of Economics and Finance from 1972-74. He began his eight-year term as Federal Chancellor in 1974.

Chancellor Schmidt is the author of many books, including *The Balance of Power*, *A Grand Strategy for the West*, *Men and Powers*, and *Die Deutschen und ihre Nachbarn*.

**RAYMOND G. H. SEITZ***London, England**Former Ambassador to the Court of St. James's*

RAYMOND G. H. SEITZ was born in Honolulu, Hawaii, and received a B.A. in history from Yale University. Ambassador Seitz joined the Foreign Service in 1966 and during his 28 year service has held many prominent positions. He has served as Director of the Secretariat Staff under Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, Special Assistant to the Director General of the Foreign Service, Deputy Executive Secretary of the Department of State, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs, and Executive Assistant to the Secretary of State.

Ambassador Seitz was initially assigned to the U.S. Embassy in London as First Secretary from 1975-79 and returned from 1984-89 as Minister. After serving as Assistant Secretary of State for Europe and Canada from 1989-1991, Ambassador Seitz became the American Ambassador to the Court of St. James's, a position which he held until May, 1994. Ambassador Seitz has received the Presidential Award for Meritorious Service twice and the German Knight Commander's Cross.

**PAUL A. VOLCKER***New York, New York**Chairman, James D. Wolfensohn Inc.*

PAUL A. VOLCKER was born in Cape May, New Jersey, earning a B.A. at Princeton University and an M.A. in political economy and government at the Harvard University Graduate School of Public Administration. As a post-graduate student, he attended the London School of Economics. He has worked in the federal government for almost 30 years, serving from 1979 to 1987 as Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve Board.

Mr. Volcker has served as Volunteer Chairman of the National Commission on the Public Service and is currently Chairman of the Advisory Board of the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C., Chairman of the Group of Thirty, and North-American Chairman of the Trilateral Commission. He is also on the Boards of the Council on Foreign Relations, the Aspen Institute, the Japan Society, and the American Council on Germany. In addition to chairing the investment company James D. Wolfensohn Inc., he is also the Frederick H. Schultz Professor of International Economic Policy at Princeton University.



**DENNIS WEATHERSTONE**

*New York, New York*  
*Director, J.P. Morgan & Co. Incorporated*

DENNIS WEATHERSTONE was born in England. He is an Associate of the Institute of Chartered Secretaries and Administrators and a Fellow of the Institute of Bankers, having prepared for professional qualifying examinations at North Western Polytechnic in London. He joined Guaranty Trust Company in London in 1946, moved to Morgan's New York headquarters in 1971, and became Treasurer in 1977 and President in 1987. He retired as an Officer in 1994 and remains a Director and member of Morgan's International Council and U.K. Advisory Council.

Mr. Weatherstone is a Director of Air Liquide, General Motors Corporation, and Merck & Co., Inc. In 1995 he was appointed to a five-year term as an independent member of the Board of Banking Supervision of the Bank of England. Mr. Weatherstone is Chairman of The New York Community Trust, and President and a Trustee of the Royal College of Surgeons Foundation in New York. In 1990 he was knighted, receiving the designation of Knight Commander of the Order of the British Empire.

**JOHN C. WHITEHEAD**

*New York, New York*  
*Chairman, AEA Investors Inc.*

JOHN C. WHITEHEAD was born in Evanston, Illinois, graduating from Haverford College with a B.A. in economics and from Harvard University with an M.B.A. He joined Goldman, Sachs & Co. in 1947, retiring in 1984 as Co-Chairman and General Partner. He has served as Director and Chairman of the Securities Industry Association and as a Director of the New York Stock Exchange.

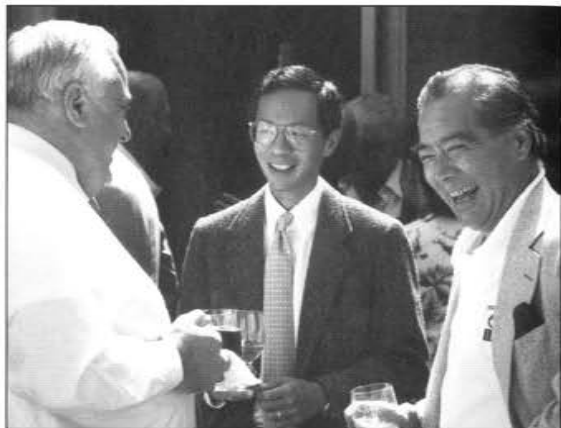
In April, 1985, Mr. Whitehead was appointed Deputy Secretary of State, serving until January, 1989. Since returning from Washington, he has been active in various educational, civic, art, and charitable organizations in New York and Washington. He is former President of the Board of Overseers of Harvard University and a member of the Boards of Rockefeller University and Haverford College. He is Chairman of the United Nations Association of the U.S.A., the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, The Asia Society, International Rescue Committee, and International House; Chairman Emeritus of the Brookings Institution; and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the Trilateral Commission.

**WU XUEQIAN**

*Beijing, China*  
*Vice Chairman, National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference*

WU XUEQIAN was born in Shanghai, China. He began his revolutionary career in 1938. During the War of Resistance against Japan, he was the Branch Secretary of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and Secretary of the CPC District Committee. During the War of Liberation, he participated as Secretary of the Student Work Committee of the Shanghai underground CPC organization and Secretary General of the Shanghai Municipal Working Committee of the Communist Youth League of China (CYC).

After 1949 Mr. Wu was a Representative of the CYC Central Committee to the World Federation of Democratic Youth, Director of the International Liaison Department of the CYC Central Committee, and member of the Standing Committee of the CYC Central Committee. In 1978 he became Vice Minister of the International Liaison Department of the CPC Central Committee. Mr. Wu was Vice Minister for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, State Councilor of the State Council, and Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1982-87. He served as a member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee from 1985-92 and as Vice Premier of the State Council from 1988-93.



Gerhard Casper  
 Walter Falcon  
 Michael Armacost  
 Stanley Falkow  
 Donald Kennedy  
 Tommy Koh  
 Stephen Krasner  
 Paul Krugman  
 Lawrence Lau  
 Daniel Okimoto  
 Henry Rowen  
 John Taylor  
 Peter Vitousek



**GERHARD CASPER**  
*President*

GERHARD CASPER was born in Hamburg, Germany, and studied law at the Universities of Freiburg and Hamburg, where he obtained his first law degree in 1961. He received his Master of Laws degree one year later at Yale Law School, and a Ph.D. from Freiburg University in 1964.

Mr. Casper emigrated to the United States in the fall of 1964, spending two years as Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley. In 1966 he joined the faculty of the University of Chicago Law School, and between 1979 and 1987 he served as Dean. In 1989 he became Provost of the University of Chicago, a post he held until he accepted the Presidency of Stanford University in 1992, where he is also a Professor of Law and Professor of Political Science (by courtesy).

From 1977 to 1991, Mr. Casper served as editor of *The Supreme Court Review*. He is a member of the American Law Institute and a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.



**WALTER P. FALCON**  
*Director and Senior Fellow, IIS  
 Helen C. Farnsworth Professor of International  
 Agricultural Policy*

WALTER P. FALCON was born in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, receiving his B.S. from Iowa State University and an M.A. and Ph.D. in economics from Harvard. He remained a member of the Harvard faculty for nearly a decade, moving to Stanford in 1972 as Director of the Food Research Institute. Professor Falcon holds joint appointments in the Food Research Institute and the Department of Economics. His numerous writings on agricultural policy and development have included volumes on the political economy of rice in Asia, food policy analysis in Asia and Africa, and the economic and social consequences of technical change.

Professor Falcon has served for over twenty years as a senior food policy advisor to the Government of Indonesia. He is a Fellow of the American Academy for the Advancement of Science and the American Agricultural Economics Association, a member of the Board of Trustees of the International Wheat and Maize Center in Mexico, and former Chairman of the International Rice Research Institute. In September 1991, he succeeded Richard Lyman as Director of IIS.



**MICHAEL H. ARMACOST**  
*Walter H. Shorenstein Visiting Professor,  
 Asia/Pacific Research Center*

MICHAEL H. ARMACOST received his B.A. from Carleton College and M.A. and Ph.D. from Columbia University. During his twenty-four years in government, Professor Armacost was the U.S. Ambassador to Japan from 1989-93 and also served as U.S. Ambassador to the Philippines and Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs. He has occupied senior policy positions in the National Security Council, Department of Defense, and Department of State. He is the recipient of the President's Distinguished Service Award, the Defense Department's Distinguished Civilian Service Award, and the Secretary of State's Distinguished Service Award.

Professor Armacost specializes in U.S.-Japan relations and security issues. He has taught and lectured at Pomona College, Georgetown University, Johns Hopkins University, and International Christian University. He is the author of two books, *The Politics of Weapons Innovation* and *The Foreign Relations of the United States*, as well as numerous articles. Professor Armacost is currently a consultant to Goldman Sachs, Director of the Aspen Strategy Group, and a member of the Boards of Directors of several companies and foundations.

**STANLEY FALKOW**

*Professor of Microbiology and Immunology and Medicine*

STANLEY FALKOW received his B.S. degree from the University of Maine and his Ph.D. from Brown University. Upon completion of his graduate studies, Professor Falkow became a staff member of the Walter Reed Army Institute of Research in the Department of Bacterial Immunology and was later named the Assistant Chief of the Department. In 1966 he joined the faculty of Georgetown University Medical School as Professor of Microbiology. He later moved to Seattle to become a member of the faculty of the Department of Microbiology and Immunology at the University of Washington Medical School. In 1981 he was named Chairman of the Department of Medical Microbiology at the Stanford University School of Medicine, and since 1985 he has been Professor of Microbiology and Immunology and Medicine at Stanford.

In 1986 Dr Falkow was elected to the National Academy of Sciences. He was honored by the Infectious Diseases Society of America through the Squibb Award in 1990. He also received the Paul Ehrlich-Ludwig Darmstaedter Prize in 1981.

**DONALD KENNEDY**

*Bing Professor of Environmental Science  
Co-Director, Global Environment Forum  
and Senior Fellow, IIS  
President Emeritus, Stanford University*

DONALD KENNEDY was born in New York City and received his A.B., A.M., and Ph.D. degrees from Harvard University. He first came to Stanford in 1960 and became Chairman of the Department of Biological Sciences in 1965 and Chairman of the Program in Human Biology in 1973.

In 1976 he was appointed Senior Consultant in the Office of Science and Technology Policy, Executive Office of the President. From 1977-79 he served as Commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration. Professor Kennedy returned to Stanford in 1979 as Vice President and Provost. He became Stanford's eighth President in 1980. His 12-year term was markedly successful in improving undergraduate education and in encouraging student commitment to public service. Professor Kennedy returned to the faculty in the fall of 1992 to help build the environmental studies agenda at Stanford. In 1993, he inaugurated the environmental studies program at Stanford's Washington, D.C. campus. At IIS, Professor Kennedy serves as Co-Director of the Global Environment Forum and of the Goldman Undergraduate Honors Program.

**TOMMY T.B. KOH**

*Arthur and Frank Payne Lecturer on the Global Community and Its Challenges, IIS*

TOMMY T.B. KOH received his LL.B. from Singapore University, LL.M. from Harvard University, and Diploma in Criminology from Cambridge University. His career has included appointments as the Dean of the Faculty of Law of the University of Singapore from 1971-74; Singapore's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, concurrently High Commissioner to Canada and Ambassador to Mexico from 1968-71 and 1974-84; and Ambassador to the United States from 1984-90. He was President of the Third U.N. Conference on the Law of the Sea from 1981-82; Chairman of the Preparatory and Main Committees of the U.N. Conference on Environment and Development from 1990-92; and Special Envoy for the U.N. Secretary-General to Russia, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in 1993.

Ambassador Koh is currently Ambassador-At-Large at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Director of the Institute of Policy Studies, Chairman of the National Arts Council, and Chairman and Director of the Empress Place Museum in Singapore. He is in residence at the Institute for International Studies for the 1995 spring quarter.

**STEPHEN D. KRASNER**

*Graham Stuart Professor of International Relations, Department of Political Science  
Senior Fellow, IIS*

STEPHEN D. KRASNER received his B.A. from Cornell University in 1963, M.A. from Columbia University in 1965, and Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1972. Before joining the Stanford faculty in 1981, he taught at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) and Harvard University.

Professor Krasner was Chair of the Stanford Political Science Department from 1984-91. From 1986-1991 he was Editor of the journal *International Organization*. His publications, which include *Defending the National Interest* (1978); *International Regimes* (ed. 1983); *Structural Conflict: The Third World Against Global Liberalism* (1985); and *Asymmetries in U.S.-Japan Trade* (1987); have primarily dealt with American foreign economic policy and the political determinants of global economic relations. He is a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.



**PAUL KRUGMAN**

*Professor of Economics  
Senior Fellow, IIS*

PAUL KRUGMAN received his B.A. from Yale University in 1974, and his Ph.D. from MIT in 1977. From 1977 to 1979 he taught at Yale and then moved to MIT, where he remained on the faculty from 1979 to 1994. In 1982-83, on leave from MIT, he served as chief international economist of the Council of Economic Advisers.

Recruited in 1994 to a joint appointment at Stanford's Institute for International Studies and Department of Economics, Professor Krugman's current academic research is focused on the application of ideas from complexity theory and the concept of self-organizing systems to economics. His numerous publications include *Peddling Prosperity* (1994) and a recent series of articles in *Foreign Affairs*. In recognition of his work as one of the founders of the new trade theory, Professor Krugman received, in 1991, the John Bates Clark medal, an American Economic Association prize given every two years to an economist under 40.

**LAWRENCE J. LAU**

*Kwoh-Ting Li Professor of Economic  
Development, Department of Economics  
Co-Director, Asia/Pacific Research Center and  
Senior Fellow, IIS*

LAWRENCE LAU received his B.S. in physics and economics from Stanford University in 1964, and earned his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in economics from the University of California at Berkeley in 1966 and 1969 respectively. He joined the faculty of the Department of Economics at Stanford in 1966. His specialized fields include economic development, applied microeconomics, econometrics, and East Asian economies.

Professor Lau has been a John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Fellow and a Fellow of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences. He is the author of two books, *Farmer Education and Farm Efficiency* (with Dean T. Jamison) and *Models of Development: A Comparison of Economic Growth in South Korea and Taiwan*, and of numerous articles and notes in professional journals. Among his many professional activities, Professor Lau is a member of the Governor's Council of Economic Policy Advisers of the State of California and has served as a consultant to several U.S. government agencies.

**DANIEL I. OKIMOTO**

*Professor of Political Science  
Co-Director, Asia/Pacific Research Center and  
Senior Fellow, IIS*

DANIEL I. OKIMOTO received his B.A. in history from Princeton University in 1965, M.A. in East Asian studies from Harvard in 1967, and Ph.D. in political science from the University of Michigan in 1978. He was awarded a Japanese Government Fellowship for graduate study in international relations at the University of Tokyo during 1968-70. In 1975 he joined Stanford as a Research Fellow in the Arms Control and Disarmament Program, and in 1977 was appointed to the faculty of the Department of Political Science, where he continues to teach.

Professor Okimoto's fields of research include comparative political economy, U.S.-Japan relations, high technology, and Asia's regionalization. He is a member of several professional associations and also serves on the Advisory Council of the Research Institute of the Ministry of International Trade and Industry. Professor Okimoto is the author of numerous professional publications, including *Between MITI and the Market: Japanese Industrial Policy for High Technology* (1989); *the Semiconductor Competition and National Security*, with H.S. Rowen and M.J. Dahl (1987); and *Inside the Japanese System*, co-edited with T. Rohlen (1987).

**HENRY S. ROWEN**

*Edward B. Rust Professor of Public Management,  
Graduate School of Business and Hoover Institution  
Chair, Project on World Growth and Senior Fellow,  
IIS*

HENRY S. ROWEN graduated from MIT with a B.S. in industrial management and received his M.Phil. in economics from Oxford University. In the early 1960s Professor Rowen worked at the Harvard Center for International Affairs before being appointed Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security. Before returning to academia, he also served as the Chairman of the National Intelligence Council; Assistant Director, Bureau of the Budget; and Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, Department of Defense. From 1967-72 he was President of the Rand Corporation.

Professor Rowen came to Stanford University in 1972 and now serves as the Edward B. Rust Professor of Public Policy and Management in the Graduate School of Business and Senior Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution. Professor Rowen is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the International Institute for Strategic Studies. Recent publications include *World Wealth Expanding: Why a Rich, Democratic and (Perhaps) Peaceful Era is Ahead and The Tide Underneath the "Third Wave."*

**JOHN B. TAYLOR**

*Mary and Robert Raymond Professor of Economics  
Director, Center for Economic Policy Research*

JOHN B. TAYLOR received his B.A. in economics from Princeton University and a Ph.D. in economics from Stanford University. Before joining the Stanford faculty in 1984, he held positions as Professor of Economics at Princeton and Columbia Universities.

Professor Taylor served as a member of President Bush's Council of Economic Advisers from 1989-91. His government service also includes positions as Consultant to the Federal Reserve Board and the Congressional Budget Office, and as Senior Staff Economist on the President's Council of Economic Advisers. He currently serves as Honorary Adviser at the Bank of Japan, and is the former Co-Editor for macroeconomics and international economics at the *American Economic Review*.

Professor Taylor has received awards ranging from excellence in undergraduate teaching at Stanford to a series of National Science Foundation Grants and a Guggenheim Fellowship. He is a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Econometric Society.

**PETER M. VITOUSEK**

*Clifford G. Morrison Professor of Population and Resources Studies, Department of Biological Studies*

PETER M. VITOUSEK received his B.A. in political science from Amherst College and his Ph.D. in biology from Dartmouth College. After teaching at Indiana University and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, he came to Stanford in 1984, where he has focused his research and teaching on environmental biology, specifically global change and the structure and function of ecosystems.

Professor Vitousek is a member of the National Academy of Sciences and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He was a Pew Scholar in Conservation and Environment in 1990, and has served on advisory committees for NASA, NSF, and the International Geosphere-Biosphere Program. He has published extensively on a wide variety of ecological topics.



IIS Director Walter Falcon receives the *Bintang Jasa Utama R.I.* medal of merit from the Indonesian government for his contributions as a consultant on food policy and agricultural issues in that country.



Korean Foreign Minister Han Sung-Joo, a past A/PARC Fellow, returned to Stanford for a visit with Ambassador Michael Armacost, Professor Daniel Okimoto, and Director of Studies James Raphael.

MMK SCHEDULE  
SAN FRANCISCO/PALO ALTO, CALIFORNIA  
May 9-11, 1995

Wednesday, May 10

11:55 a.m. Depart National UA#63  
2:23 p.m. Arrive San Francisco

Met by IIS driver

4:30 p.m. Campus Forum in Kresge Auditorium

6:45 p.m. Council dinner in Nicolas de Basily Room, Hoover Tower

Thursday, May 11

9:00 a.m. Meet Harold Gretzkow in the hotel lobby for breakfast

12:00 noon Opening Lunch

Friday, May 12

Saturday, May 13

1:10 p.m. Depart San Francisco UA#52  
9:01 p.m. Arrive Dulles

**Accommodations:**

Stanford Park Hotel  
100 El Camino Real  
Tel: 415-322-1234  
Fax: 415-322-0975

**During Council Sessions:**

IIS operator (Kathleen Cain)  
Tel: 415-725-1496  
Fax: 415-725-2592



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**FACSIMILE COVER LETTER**

**(for Single Recipient)**

Date: April 19, 1995

Number of Pages (including cover sheet): 2

To: Amy Moore

Fax No.: 415-725-2562

Firm Name: Institute for International Studies  
/Stanford University

Office No.: 415-725-3036

From: Sharon H. Dardine for Max M. Kampelman Ext.: 7020

Amb. Kampelman's plans for arrival in San Francisco are as follows:

On May 9, he will depart Dulles on United #57 at 2:50 p.m., arriving in San Francisco at 5:23 p.m.

On May 13, he will depart San Francisco on United #52 at 1:10 p.m., arriving at Dulles at 9:01 p.m.

Also attached is a completed checklist of council events indicating those functions Amb. Kampelman plans to attend while at the meeting.

If there is anything else you now need, please let me know.

Telecopy Operator Information Only

Time Started: \_\_\_\_\_ Operator's Initials: \_\_\_\_\_

MMK SCHEDULE  
SAN FRANCISCO/PALO ALTO, CALIFORNIA  
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Friday, May 12

Saturday, May 13

1:10 p.m. <sup>8:44</sup>11:25 Depart San Francisco UA#52  
9:01 p.m. <sup>7:24</sup>7:24 Arrive Dulles

**Accommodations:**

Stanford Park Hotel  
100 El Camino Real  
Tel: 415-322-1234  
Fax: 415-322-0975

**During Council Sessions:**

IIS operator (Kathleen Cain)  
Tel: 415-725-1496  
Fax: 415-725-2592

*To Remind*

*President Gerhard Casper and Dr. Regina Casper  
request the pleasure of your company  
at a dinner honoring the members of the  
Advisory Council of the Institute for International Studies  
at Stanford University*

*on Thursday, the eleventh of May  
at six-thirty*

*Lou Henry Hoover House  
623 Mirada Avenue*

INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES  
STANFORD UNIVERSITY

*Director*

Walter P. Falcon

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*Chair*

George P. Shultz

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Alexander Bessmertnykh  
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Bill Bradley  
Roberto Campos  
Warren Christopher  
David M. Culver  
Kenneth T. Derr  
Gerald R. Ford  
Sam L. Ginn  
Valéry Giscard d'Estaing  
Arnold C. Harberger  
Bob Hawke  
Chaim Herzog  
Carla A. Hills  
Geoffrey Howe  
Max M. Kampelman  
Andrew Knight  
Yotaro Kobayashi  
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Kiichi Miyazawa  
Brian Mulroney  
Paul H. Nitze  
Thomas R. Odhiambo  
Rozanne L. Ridgway  
Helmut Schmidt  
Raymond G. H. Seitz  
Paul A. Volcker  
Dennis Weatherstone  
John C. Whitehead  
Wu Xueqian

April 10, 1995

Dear Max,

I'm looking forward to seeing you at this year's meeting of the IIS Advisory Council. At this writing, 24 members of the Council and 15 spouses are planning to attend. A list of the attendees is enclosed for your information.

My primary purpose in writing today is to ask you to say a few words at the lunch on Friday, May 12. Your thoughts on, say, your lifelong work on human rights would be of great interest to the audience of about 200, consisting mostly of students interested in foreign affairs, as well as members of the Council and some members of the Stanford faculty.

I am also inviting Ray Seitz to speak about his career in foreign affairs at the same luncheon so your remarks need not be more than 10 minutes or so in length.

I look forward to welcoming you to Stanford for what I believe will be a stimulating and productive set of events.

Sincerely yours,



George P. Shultz

Enclosure

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman  
Partner  
Fried, Frank, Harris, Schriver, Kampelman & Jacobson  
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W. Suite 800  
Washington, D.C. 20004-2505

Update as of April 10, 1995

**MEMBERS ATTENDING IIS ADVISORY COUNCIL MEETING**

Dr Pedro Aspe - *Concha*

His Excellency Raymond Barre

His Excellency Alexander Bessmertnykh - *Marina*

The Honorable Shirley Temple Black - *Charles*

The Honorable Bill Bradley

The Honorable Roberto Campos

Mr David Culver - *Mary*

Mr Sam Ginn - *Ann*

Professor Arnold Harberger - *Anita*

The Honorable R J L Hawke - *Blanche D'Alpuget*

His Excellency Chaim Herzog - *Aura*

The Honorable Carla Hills - *Roderick*

Lord Howe

Ambassador Max Kampelman

Mr Yotaro Kobayashi - *Momo*

The Honorable Kiichi Miyazawa

The Honorable Paul Nitze - *Leezee*

Professor Thomas Odhiambo - *Jerusha*

The Honorable Rozanne Ridgway - *Theodore*

His Excellency Helmut Schmidt

The Honorable Raymond Seitz - *Caroline*

The Honorable Paul Volcker

The Honorable John Whitehead - *Nancy*

The Honorable Wu Xueqian - *Bi Ling*

**REMARKS BY**  
**MAX M. KAMPELMAN**  
**INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**  
**STANFORD UNIVERSITY**

**Palo Alto, California**

**May 11, 1995**

**Alexis deToqueville's Democracy in America included the insight, more than 160 years ago, that, in spite of the obvious superiority of democracy as a form of governance, it is handicapped in its exercise of foreign policy, when compared to authoritarian societies. We can all provide evidence for that observation. Authoritarian governments assume the authority to order, to mobilize, to make quick decisions, to act decisively. Democracies, on the other hand, debate. Our Presidents must face and persuade the Congress. Those chosen to govern face criticism from the opposing political party, from the press, occasionally from the courts. This problem is exacerbated when the decision to be made can potentially put lives in harm's way.**

**For a democracy, therefore, to pursue an effective foreign policy, that policy must have broad support. In American practice that means that the President, who has the responsibility to lead, must involve the Congress in the formation of his policy, earning its bipartisan support at the same time as he explains and justifies that policy to the American**

people. The policy must be consistent with what Gunnar Myrdal called the "ought" in American life, our values.

G. K. Chesterton once said that the United States is a nation with the soul of a church. A foreign policy which includes human rights as a vital dimension of its objectives is one in harmony with the religious, ethical and moral beliefs of our society. Those early Hebrew tribes who came to believe that there was only one God, established the ethical foundation for our modern civilization. If there is only one God then all human beings are His children and thus brothers and sisters of one another. Here is the definitive statement for human brotherhood and political democracy.

It is interesting to note than an accompanying ingredient of that common faith was the recognition of evil as a force within the human being and the societies he creates. The Jewish rabbis wrote of the struggle within the human soul between the forces of good and those of evil. The Koran warns against the influence of Satan. The Catholics call it "original sin." The Protestant theologian Reinhold Niebuhr spoke of "Children of Light and Children of Darkness." Thus, the need to recognize the existence of evil, to identify it, and to resist it was an essential part of the task to protect and expand the notion of human dignity, a dignity appropriate for the children of God.

Today, there is a universally accepted notion that human rights is an ever-present ingredient of international diplomacy. But this is a relatively recent phenomenon. The United Nations was prepared to accept the



notion of democratic rights which for us means protection against excesses of government, i.e., freedom of speech, press, only if the principle could include certain economic and social objectives, which require increased government activity, i.e., a guarantee of a job. In 1975, all the countries of Europe, in drafting the Helsinki Final Act, could only agree on the concept of human rights if the document also included the principle that there would be no interference in the internal affairs of any of the member states. In 1977, at a meeting in Belgrade under the Helsinki process, none of our European allies joined the United States in naming victims of Soviet repression on the apparent ground that this wasn't proper diplomatic behavior.

Yet, at the Helsinki process meeting that followed in Madrid in 1980, more than 20 European states joined the U.S in naming more than 400 individual victims of that repression. I vividly recall a dramatic appeal by a senior Soviet diplomat accusing me of interfering in their internal affairs. He suggested to each of the 35 states represented that the U.S. was establishing a precedent of interference which could threaten the integrity of each of them. Since I sensed he had been effective, I quickly responded that none of us had forced Mr. Brezhnev to sign the human rights commitments in 1975. Since he freely and publicly affixed his signature, the only issue remaining was whether The Soviets were living up to their commitment or demonstrating that their international commitments were worthless. This exchange ended the debate. The Soviets shortly thereafter began criticizing certain practices in our country as violations of human rights. I welcomed their implicit acknowledgment of the principle that an exploration of human rights behavior was not an

undue interference in internal affairs. Indeed, the Soviets came to understand that we would not end the Madrid meeting constructively unless they released a number of their political prisoners and permitted them to leave the country. They satisfied our requirements and, after three years, the meeting ended constructively.

I further recall the first visit of Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze to Washington for a meeting with George Shultz. The Secretary of State graciously invited the Minister to his seventh floor office for a relaxed cup of coffee before the formal heavily attended negotiation would begin. After some pleasant exchanges, the Secretary proposed that it was time to move upstairs and begin. Shevardnadze responded: "I agree. Our agenda begins with human rights. Let's get going." Roz Ridgway may not remember this, but I recall the significant glance we exchanged as we heard that response. We had formally entered a new phase of international diplomacy. Let me here say that at every summit between Reagan and Gorbachev or Shultz and Shevardnadze, human rights was on the agenda.

One further comment: The argument is heard that our effort to foster democracy in other geographic areas as a system of governance toward which to aspire is a misguided and doomed effort to transfer the values of our culture to other cultures not hospitable to those values. Our Western values, it is said, particularly by defenders of Middle East and Asian authoritarian systems, are unique to our culture alone. I believe this to be an over-simplified cop-out.

**Our human rights differences with China, for example, are not exacerbated by the Confucianism of China's leaders. It is their Leninism that is at the root of our differences. All authoritarians, whether in the East or West, fear and resist the spread of freedom. During the last 250 years the West produced two sharply differing systems defining the relationship between government and the governed, namely the ideas of democracy and human rights associated with the Enlightenment, on the one hand, and Leninism, on the other hand. The Chinese regrettably had the bad luck to choose the Western system that doesn't work. Furthermore, with the revolution in communication, the message of freedom has permeated and will continue to infiltrate the thick walls of China.**

**Freedom stimulates creativity and permits it to flourish. That creativity is essential as we all enter a new world of opportunity and challenge.**

**The modern idea of democracy did originate in the West. The ideas of the Enlightenment, however, need not be confined to Western Europe and North America. Christianity and Islam originated in the Middle East and yet those ideas spread to all parts of the globe. Westerners do not carry a democracy gene. We know that the ideology of the Enlightenment has established a bridgehead in all of the non-Western civilizations. Young people of today's Japan, for example, are in many ways culturally closer to their American and European contemporaries than they are to their grandparents.**

**It is true that militant extremist Islam today rejects the principles of the Enlightenment. It looks upon Western society as an enemy to be fought so as to purify life, protect the family, and be deserving of ascent to heaven. This is an extremely serious challenge which we do not understand or know how to meet, other than to remind ourselves that militant extremist Islam is not all of Islam. We should also remind ourselves that the global forces of science, technology and communication are like the winds whose currents affect us all. They cross national and regional boundaries with impunity. The power and attraction of these global forces of modernity lie in their potential to conquer disease, increase the supply of food, reduce poverty and improve as well as prolong life. Modernity may well be an antidote to the ultra-nationalism of extremist Islam as it is to nationalism elsewhere.**

**Ladies and gentlemen, I have spoken on the subject assigned to me, a subject that I have fortunately been able to pursue on occasion in my government service. I cannot sit down, however, without noting that fundamentally any country's foreign policy, including our own, must be intimately related to our strategic security interests. Our country cannot provide world leadership with respect to all the difficulties, tragedies, tensions, disagreements that come to our attention. But we must provide leadership where it can help alleviate dire humanitarian concerns and where our strategic security interests are affected. Our security is a precondition for achieving any of our lofty goals, such as human rights.**

**Our task as a nation - and I speak now to the Americans in the audience - is to achieve the firm sense of purpose, readiness, steadiness,**

**and strength that is indispensable for effective and timely foreign policy decision-making. Leadership is not exercised by blowing an uncertain targets. Our political community must resist the temptation of partisan politics and institutional rivalry as we develop the consensus adequate to meet the challenge. Our country is today the oldest continuing democracy in the world. Each of our generations has significantly carried that democracy forward. Our values and our character traits have helped us build the most dynamic and open society in recorded history, a source of inspiration to most of the world. We must come to appreciate what the American dream means to the world and the responsibility that puts on us, much as we don't wish it, to advance the cause of democracy and human dignity for those who do not today enjoy that blessing. The work of democracy is the unfinished business of humanity.**

**Thank you.**

**MAX M. KAMPELMAN**

SUITE 800

1001 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20004-2505

March 10, 1995

The Honorable George P. Shultz  
Hoover Institution  
Stanford University  
Stanford, CA 94305-6010

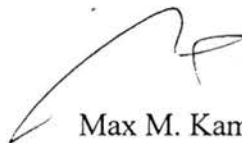
Dear George:

Your letter of April 10 is on my desk. I would be honored to say a few words at the Friday, May 12 luncheon. It will also be good to see Ray Seitz once again. I received a letter from him the other day and learned that he is obviously doing well.

Kay Graham and Meg Greenfield tell me that they recently visited with you and O'bie. They were both very much encouraged by that visit and tremendously impressed by O'bie's courage and strength. Maggie and I were both pleased to hear that. We join in prayers for you both.

My warmest best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, consisting of a large, sweeping 'M' followed by a smaller 'K' and a trailing flourish.

Max M. Kampelman0



5/10

INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES  
STANFORD UNIVERSITY

January 26, 1995

*Director*  
Walter P. Falcon

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David M. Culver  
Kenneth T. Derr  
Gerald R. Ford  
Sam L. Ginn  
Valéry Giscard d'Estaing  
Arnold C. Harberger  
Bob Hawke  
Chaim Herzog  
Carla A. Hills  
Geoffrey Howe  
Max M. Kampelman  
Andrew Knight  
Yotaro Kobayashi  
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Richard G. Lugar  
Ahmed Esmat Abdel Meguid  
Kiichi Miyazawa  
Brian Mulroney  
Paul H. Nitze  
Thomas R. Odhiambo  
Rozanne L. Ridgway  
Helmut Schmidt  
Raymond G. H. Seitz  
Paul A. Volcker  
Dennis Weatherstone  
John C. Whitehead  
Wu Xueqian

Dear Max,

The next meeting of our IIS Advisory Council is only three and a half months away. More than twenty Council members have already confirmed their plans to attend and we expect that this number will increase. The meeting will start with lunch at noon on Thursday, May 11, and conclude with brunch at my house on Saturday, May 13.

This year's agenda is an exciting one, and I'm already looking forward to the stimulating discussions that are bound to take place at both sessions themselves and the attendant social events. We have chosen to examine topics related to growth in Asia and the emergence of China as an active player in the region, although our overall focus remains global. As in the past, we will begin with a science session. This year we will look at how scientists assess emerging viruses and plant species that threaten us and our environment. Other sessions will examine issues related to trade, sovereignty, and governance. Helping IIS maintain a global perspective in its research and teaching initiatives is one of the most significant contributions of the Council.

If you plan to arrive on Wednesday, May 10, you are also invited to attend a public panel discussion on Asia that will include several of our Council members from that region. The forum will begin at 4pm and O'Bie and I will host an informal dinner at our house afterwards.

All of us at Stanford are eager to welcome you to the campus this spring.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely yours,



George P. Shultz

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman  
Partner  
Fried, Frank, Harris, Schriver, Kampelman &  
Jacobson  
1001 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W. Suite 800  
Washington, D.C. 20004-2505

Encina Hall, Stanford  
California 94305-6055  
Telephone 415 · 723-4581  
Facsimile 415 · 725-2592

Return to Amy Moore @FAX (415) 725-2592 before May 1, 1995

CHECKLIST OF IIS ADVISORY COUNCIL EVENTS

Please confirm attendance of Council member and accompanying spouse (where applicable) at each of the following:

**WEDNESDAY, MAY 10**

Roundtable Discussion on Asia  
4:30 - 6:00

Member      Spouse

☒ \_\_\_\_\_ ☐ \_\_\_\_\_

Private Dinner with Mr. Shultz  
6:45 - 8:30  
Nicolas De Basily Room, Hoover Tower

☒ \_\_\_\_\_ ☐ \_\_\_\_\_

**THURSDAY, MAY 11**

Lunch, Stauffer Auditorium  
12:00 - 1:45  
(with faculty and guests of IIS and  
The Hoover Institution)

☒ \_\_\_\_\_ ☐ \_\_\_\_\_

Council Session I and II  
2:30 - 6:30

☒ \_\_\_\_\_ ☐ \_\_\_\_\_

Dinner, Hoover House  
6:30 - 9:00  
(hosted by President Gerhard Casper  
and Dr. Regina Casper)

☒ \_\_\_\_\_ ☐ \_\_\_\_\_

**FRIDAY, MAY 12**

Council Session II and III  
9:00 - 12:00

☒ \_\_\_\_\_ ☐ \_\_\_\_\_

Lunch, Kimball Hall  
(with faculty and students)  
12:30-1:45

☒ \_\_\_\_\_ ☐ \_\_\_\_\_

Council Session IV and V  
2:00 - 5:00

☒ \_\_\_\_\_ ☐ \_\_\_\_\_

Closing Dinner, Stanford Faculty Club  
7:00 - 9:00  
(hosted by Mr. Shultz)

☒ \_\_\_\_\_ ☐ \_\_\_\_\_

**SATURDAY, MAY 13**

Brunch, Shultz residence  
10:00 - 12:00

☒ \_\_\_\_\_ ☐ \_\_\_\_\_

Golf at Stanford Golf Course  
(reservations required)  
from 12:30

\_\_\_\_\_ ☐ \_\_\_\_\_

MMK SCHEDULE  
Los Angeles/Orlando  
May 23-25, 1995

*made non stop?*

Tuesday, May 23

Depart National  
Arrive Los Angeles

Wednesday, May 24

12:25 p.m. Depart Los Angeles Delta  
8:18 p.m. Arrive Orlando

alternate

2:00 p.m. Depart Los Angeles UA#  
Arrive Orlando

Thursday, May 25

5:25 p.m. Depart Orlando US Air  
7:30 p.m. Arrive National