



Max M. Kampelman Papers

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MMK TRAVEL SCHEDULE
PRAGUE
May 9-12, 1996

Thursday, May 9

5:50 p.m. Depart Dulles Lufthansa #419

Friday, May 10

7:30 a.m. Arrive Frankfurt
9:10 a.m. Depart Frankfurt LH #3306
10:15 a.m. Arrive Prague

Accommodations:
Hotel Don Giovanni
Vinohradská 57a
Tele: 011-42-2-6703-6703
Fax: 011-42-2-6703-6704
POC Jenna Whitman 011-42-2-377-052 or 376

Sunday, May 12

11:10 a.m. Depart Prague LH#3313
12:20 p.m. Arrive Frankfurt
1:20 p.m. Depart Frankfurt LH#418
3:50 p.m. Arrive Dulles



THE NEW ATLANTIC INITIATIVE

April 2, 1996

The Hon. Max Kampelman
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Suite 600
Washington, DC 20004-2505

PATRONS

Margaret Thatcher
Helmut Schmidt
Leszek Balcerowicz
Henry Kissinger
George Shultz

Dear The Hon. Kampelman:

On behalf of Margaret Thatcher, Helmut Schmidt, Leszek Balcerowicz, Henry Kissinger, and George Shultz, I am writing to invite you to take part in a major international Congress on the Atlantic alliance in Prague from Friday, May 10th through Sunday, May 12th of this year. We believe it will be of great historical significance.

I don't have to tell you that since the fall of the Soviet Empire, we have been somewhat adrift and dangerously complacent about the future of the Atlantic democracies. Believing that you share our concern, I am asking you to join with us in this endeavor. The New Atlantic Initiative is an effort to repair and strengthen ties between the American and the European branches of our civilization.

A statement outlining our broad aims and purposes is attached. Not every item on it will be accepted by every supporter of the Initiative; and some supporters, indeed, will wish to be more ambitious. We offer these ideas, however, as a fresh start towards a more stable future of Atlantic cooperation. In this spirit I am also attaching a list of our friends who have already agreed to support the project as members of an International Advisory Board. The conference will begin on Friday afternoon and close on Sunday. If possible, we would like the members of the policy committee to attend the Policy Committee Open Meetings on Friday afternoon.

Please fax your reply to Isabel Ferguson at the American Enterprise Institute at 202-862-7178 using the enclosed response form. If you are able to attend, please include a brief five- to ten-line biography. Your airfare in economy class and hotel accommodations, as well as ground transportation in Prague, will be paid for by the Congress. (Although spouses are welcome to attend all of the sessions as well as the social events, their expenses will not be covered by the Congress.) Please return the hotel registration form and you will be booked into one of the three hotels where we have rooms reserved. You will receive confirmation of your hotel reservations directly from the Bohemiae Foundation, our partner in Prague, as well as details of the Congress.

AMERICAN ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE

1150 Seventeenth Street, N.W. • Washington, D.C. 20036 • 202.862.5800 • Fax 202.862.7178 • E-mail: nai@aei.org

CENTER FOR THE NEW EUROPE

Roularta Media Bldg. • Research Park, DeHaak • B-1731 Zellik, Belgium • 32.2.467.5730 • Fax 32.2.467.5605

The Hon. Max Kampelman
April 2, 1996
Page 2

Lufthansa German Airlines offers participants discounted economy class tickets on the transatlantic portions of your flight. To take advantage of this special offer simply fax the enclosed form to Lufthansa's Washington office.

I hope you will be able to attend and I look forward to hearing from you. We will telephone your office within ten days if we have not already received your response.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Edward Streater", with a long, sweeping horizontal line extending to the right.

Edward Streater
Chairman
International Steering Committee

Enclosures

THE CONGRESS OF PRAGUE

May 10-12, 1996

Preliminary Program
(as of March 22, 1996)

FRIDAY, MAY 10

2:00-5:00 p.m.

POLICY COMMITTEE OPEN MEETINGS

2:00-3:30

Security Policy

Chairman:

Richard Perle, American Enterprise Institute, United States

Cultural Policy

Chairman:

Anthony Hartley, former editor of *Encounter*, United Kingdom

3:30-5:00

Trade and Economic Policy

Chairman:

Daniel Oliver, The Heritage Foundation, United States

Political Cooperation

Chairman:

Viktor Orbán, member of Parliament, Hungary

6:00 p.m.

OPENING SESSION

Welcoming Address

President Václav Klaus, Czech Republic (invited)

Followed by reception and buffet dinner

SATURDAY, MAY 11

9:00-9:30 a.m.

ADDRESS

The Common Crisis

Zbigniew Brzezinski, former national security adviser, United States

9:45-11:00 a.m.

PANEL

Are There Common Answers?

Chairman:

Irwin Stelzer, American Enterprise Institute, United States

11:15 a.m.-12:30 p.m.

PANEL

What Role for International Institutions?

Chairman:

Géza Jeszenszky, member of Parliament, Hungary

1:00-2:30 p.m.

LUNCHEON ADDRESS

The Common Crisis: Atlantic Solutions

Lady Thatcher, former prime minister, United Kingdom

3:00-5:00 p.m.

SOLUTIONS: FOUR POLICY PERSPECTIVES

3:00-4:00

Security Policy

Chairman:

Peter Rodman, Nixon Center for Peace and Freedom, United States

Presenter:

Richard Perle, American Enterprise Institute, United States

Cultural Policy

Chairman:

Donald Kagan, Yale University, United States (invited)

Presenter:

Anthony Hartley, former editor of *Encounter*, United Kingdom

4:00-5:00

Trade and Economic Policy

Chairman:

Pierre S. du Pont IV, former governor of Delaware, United States

Presenter:

Brian Hindley, London School of Economics and
Political Science, United Kingdom

Political Cooperation

Chairman:

Lord Chalfont, House of Lords, United Kingdom

Presenter:

Victor Orbán, member of Parliament, Hungary

5:15-6:00 p.m.

ADDRESS

Prime Minister Václav Klaus, Czech Republic

7:30-9:30 p.m.

CELEBRATORY CONCERT

Prague Symphony Orchestra

10:00 p.m.

RECEPTION

SUNDAY, MAY 12

9:15 a.m.

REMARKS

Ruud Lubbers, former prime minister of the Netherlands

9:30-10:00 a.m.

ADDRESS

Atlantic Economics

Leszek Balcerowicz, former deputy prime minister of Poland

10:00-10:30 a.m.

ADDRESS

Atlantic Politics

Henry Kissinger, former secretary of state, United States

10:30-10:45 a.m.

SUMMING-UP

Ruud Lubbers

11:15 a.m.

SIGNING OF THE DECLARATION OF ATLANTIC
PRINCIPLES

11:45 a.m.

PRESS CONFERENCE

12:00 noon

VIN D'HONNEUR

Host:

Josef Zieleniec, minister for foreign affairs, Czech
Republic

DRAFT PROGRAM
THE CONGRESS OF PRAGUE
May 10-12, 1996

Saturday, May 11, 1996

3:00-4:00:

A) Security Policy

Chairman: Donald Rumsfeld
Presenter: Richard Perle
Panelists: Christophe Bertram
William Odom
Hannah Suchoksa
General John Galvin

B) Cultural Policy

Chairman: Donald Kagan
Presenter: Anthony Hartley
Panelists: Nicholas Lobkowitz
Mario Vargas Llosa
Jean Francois Revel
Adrian Karatnycky

4:00-5:00:

A) Trade and Economic Policy

Chairman: Jack Kemp
Presenter: Brian Hindley
Panelists: Pedro Schwartz
Percy Barnavik (or Dana Meade)
Robert Hormats
Herbert Giersch

B) Political Cooperation

Chairman: Lord Chalfont
Presenter: Viktor Orban
Panelists: Sergio Romano
Robert Zoellick
Luc de Nanteuil
Charles Powell



T H E N E W A T L A N T I C I N I T I A T I V E

THE NEW ATLANTIC INITIATIVE

Mission Statement

Many thinking people in the United States and Europe fear the emergence of a new mood of isolation and introspection in the United States. Equally, many Europeans are concerned that, as the European Union expands and draws closer together, Europe is becoming inward-looking. And a pervasive feeling of economic insecurity on both sides of the Atlantic serves to aggravate these tendencies.

PATRONS

Margaret Thatcher

Helmut Schmidt

Leszek Balcerowicz

Henry Kissinger

George Shultz

There were early symptoms of drift and self-absorption even in the optimistic climate of the years immediately following the end of the Cold War. In particular the U.S. and Western Europe did little to provide a proper measure of economic and political security for the still vulnerable democracies and economies of Central Europe. Despite promises of enlargement, they were dilatory in negotiating the entry of the Central European countries into NATO. They allowed the war in the former Yugoslavia to provoke serious divisions in the Western alliance. And they formulated no clear response to the disturbing political developments in Russia. It was a similar story in trade and economics. The European Union kept the new market economies to its East at arms length in extended negotiations. And there was little progress towards the establishment of a wider Atlantic Free Trade Area that would provide a major stimulus to trade as well as complementing and underpinning the U.S. military presence in Europe.

Concern about these trends fueled the original case for a New Atlantic Initiative when the idea was conceived two years ago. But we were then living in the first optimistic phase of the post-Cold War period. In these circumstances, it was difficult to convince policy-makers of the need for a major international initiative of the kind we were proposing. Relieved that the threat of thermonuclear war had vanished along with the Soviet Union, they viewed the future in rosy terms: successful economic reform in Russia and Eastern Europe, the consolidation of democracy there, the gradual accession of the new model market democracies to a Europe united along Maastricht lines, and a U.S. foreign policy built on a stable NATO, friendship with Russia and multilateralism through the UN. In general, they took the apparent stability of the time for granted, saw no need to shore it up, and pursued their own concerns.

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But the future has been a great disappointment. Market reforms in the former communist countries are being slowed down or reversed. Post-communists now govern in all the former satellites except the Czech Republic. A former communist has replaced Lech Walesa as president of Poland. The communists won 45 per cent of the Russian Duma in the recent elections. And Central Europe has seen its membership of both NATO and the EU postponed. What Helmut Kohl called a "wealth wall" is replacing the Iron Curtain that divided Europe.

Even so, political instability has leapt over it. Since the end of the Cold War, we have seen the collapse of the entire Italian political establishment, the obliteration of governing parties in Canada and Japan, the rise of extremist political parties in several European countries, and major riots and strikes in France in protest at economic reforms. Even the 1994 Republican victory, though it seemed to be merely a transfer of power in conventional two-party politics, was really a popular rejection of the method and character of U.S. government since 1945. And there are further signs of political upheaval ahead: current British opinion polls show the Labour Party with a lead of 25 points over the Conservatives; once again, a governing party faces a possible defeat of historic magnitude.

These political upheavals suggest an underlying systemic instability:

- Almost all governments face a budgetary crisis, with some governments facing expenditure at more than 50 per cent of gross domestic product—and many with deficits in double digits.
- High social benefits and excessive regulation have pushed European labor costs to uneconomic levels compared to the Asia-Pacific region. As a result, job creation is low and unemployment is both high and long-term, fostering a pervasive economic insecurity.
- Many European countries, notably Germany, now face a demographic crisis. They are having too few children to pay for the pension and benefits they have awarded themselves.
- Attempts to tackle these problems, either through corporate downsizing in the United States or through fiscal reform in France and Italy, provoke widespread economic insecurity which then expresses itself as political upheaval of one kind or another.

In the face of global economic competition, especially from the socially-stable, low-tax, small-government economies of the Pacific rim, new policies must be embarked upon. But there is a clash of visions on how to solve these crises. One vision seeks to defend existing levels of regulation and subsidy by corporatist market-sharing at home and

protectionist barriers against the outside world. The second seeks to stimulate economic growth and opportunity through free trade, wider markets and prudent deregulation. But it will be much easier for governments to pursue the second course if the *international* environment is favorable to economic growth and political stability.

It is to foster such an environment that we will be holding a major international congress, attended by senior political, business and cultural leaders from America and Europe, in Prague on May 10-12, 1996. We trust that this will be the first step in a new Atlanticism. We believe that such a meeting, under the patronage of Margaret Thatcher, Helmut Schmidt, Henry Kissinger, George Shultz and Leszek Balcerowicz, will confirm the pressing need for transatlantic leadership and cooperation. We intend to proclaim the general aims of such cooperation in the Prague Declaration of Atlantic Principles and to outline the practical policies needed to implement it in a New Atlantic Agenda. We hope thereby to inspire policy makers, legislators and other shapers of public opinion to strengthen existing instruments of cooperation; create greater solidarity amongst Atlantic countries and, above all, launch a new Atlantic Movement to win support for our objectives. These are:

- To secure the admission of Central Europe into the institutions of Atlantic defense and European economic cooperation, notably NATO and the European Union.
- To move towards free trade between an enlarged European Union and the North American Free Trade Area.
- To encourage greater openness and flexibility within European institutions.
- And to establish or, where they exist, to reinvigorate Atlantic institutions of political cooperation and consultation.

From this beginning, it is hoped, a new Atlantic movement will develop, similar to the European movement, with small secretariats on both sides of the Atlantic, and national committees in all the countries represented, to publicize the Declaration of Prague and the New Atlantic Agenda, to seek broad public support for their aims and proposals, and to organize political action to support them.

Given strong American leadership—the *sine qua non* of European stability as this century has twice demonstrated—these policies could ignite a burst of Atlantic prosperity greater than any boom since the Second World War. Not only would that prosperity help the Atlantic countries to dismantle the excesses of the regulatory bureaucratic state; it would also strengthen the position of America and the West in world politics when a major challenge is being mounted by the rising suns of Asia.

These policies will be the centerpiece of discussion at the Congress of Prague. It will be a positive and forward-looking event—and perhaps a historic one. But the debates will take place against a more somber background than seemed likely two years ago. What the growing political crisis in our world has done is to raise the stakes of Atlantic cooperation immeasurably.

Patrons

The Rt. Hon. Lady Thatcher
The Hon. Helmut Schmidt
The Hon. Leszek Balcerowicz
The Hon. Henry A. Kissinger
The Hon. George Shultz

International Advisory Board

Brian Beedham • Alain Besançon • Robert Bork • Zbigniew Brzezinski • Richard Burt • Lord Chalfont • Robert Conquest • Midge Decter • Joachim Fest • Edwin J. Feulner • Thomas Foley • Gerald Frost • Charles Gati • Herbert Giersch • Newt Gingrich • Miriam Gross • Fr. Thomas Halik • Owen Harries • Robert Hormats • Karen Elliot House • Geza Jeszenszky • Josef Joffe • Donald Kagan • Adrian Karatnycky • Lane Kirkland • Jeane Kirkpatrick • Charles Krauthammer • William Kristol • Henri Lepage • George Liebert • Nikolaus Lobkowicz • Pierre Manent • Antonio Martino • Mitch McConnell • Kenneth Minogue • William E. Odom • Daniel Oliver • Viktor Orbán • John O'Sullivan • Richard Perle • Daniel Pipes • Sir Charles Powell • Colin L. Powell • David Pryce Jones • Jean-François Revel • Peter Rodman • Donald Rumsfeld • Edward Streator • Hanna Suchocka • Lord Weidenfeld • Alan Lee Williams • Robert Zoellick



THE NEW ATLANTIC INITIATIVE

The Congress of Prague

May 10-12, 1996

PATRONS

Václav Havel

Margaret Thatcher

Helmut Schmidt

Leszek Balcerowicz

Henry Kissinger

George Shultz

THE NEW ATLANTIC INITIATIVE

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a clash of visions on how to solve these crises. One vision seeks to defend existing levels of regulation and subsidy by corporatist market-sharing at home and protectionist barriers against the outside world. The second seeks to stimulate economic growth and opportunity through free trade, wider markets and prudent deregulation. But it will be much easier for governments to pursue the second course if the *international* environment is favorable to economic growth and political stability.

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THE CONGRESS OF PRAGUE

May 10-12, 1996

Agenda

FRIDAY, MAY 10

2:00-5:00 p.m. **POLICY COMMITTEE OPENING MEETINGS**
Černín Palace

2:00-3:30 p.m. Security Policy
Cultural Policy

3:30-5:00 p.m. Trade and Economic Policy
Political Cooperation

6:00 p.m. **OPENING CEREMONY**
Rudolf's Gallery, Prague Castle

Welcome
Karel Schwarzenberg

Introduction
Hans-Dietrich Genscher*

Address
President Václav Havel

*Followed by reception and buffet dinner,
Spanish Hall, Prague Castle*

SATURDAY, MAY 11

9:00-9:30 a.m. ADDRESS
Černín Palace

The Common Crisis
Prime Minister Václav Klaus

9:45-11:00 a.m. PANEL
Are There Common Answers?
Chairman: Irwin Stelzer
Panelists: Alain Madelin
Wilfried Prewé
Tomás Halík
Eberhard von Koerber

11:15 a.m.-12:30 p.m. PANEL
What Role for International Institutions?
Chairman: Géza Jeszenszky
Panelists: Rainer Masera
Lane Kirkland
Richard Burt
Adrian Karatnycky

12:35 p.m. *Delegates and distinguished guests gather in the
Černín Palace Courtyard for transport to Žofín Palace.*

1:00-2:30 p.m. LUNCHEON AND ADDRESS
Žofín Palace

INTRODUCTION
William Steere

ADDRESS
The Common Crisis: Atlantic Solutions
Lady Thatcher

2:35 p.m. *Delegates and distinguished guests gather for transport to
Černín Palace*

3:00-5:00 p.m. SOLUTIONS: FOUR POLICY PERSPECTIVES
Černín Palace

3:00-4:00 p.m. **Security Policy**
Chairman: José Pedro Pérez-Llorca
Presenter: Richard Perle
Panelists: Christoph Bertram
William Odom
Hanna Suchocka
Michal Lobkowicz

Cultural Policy
Chairman: William Luers
Presenter: Anthony Hartley
Panelists: Nicholas Lobkowicz
Georges Liebert
Ferenc Mádl
Alicia Borinsky

4:00-5:00 p.m. **Trade and Economic Policy**
Chairman: Pete du Pont
Presenter: Brian Hindley
Panelists: Francis Blanchard
Jan Krzysztof Bielecki
Robert Hormats

Political Cooperation
Chairman: Lord Chalfont
Presenter: Victor Orbán
Panelists: Peter Rodman
Sir Charles Powell
Luc de la Barre de Nanteuil
Pavel Bratinka

5:15-6:00 p.m. **RESPONSE:**
Antonio Martino

Delegates and distinguished guests gather in the lobby of their hotel for transport to the Church of SS. Simon and Jude

8:30-9:30 p.m. **Celebratory concert**
Church of SS. Simon and Jude
Prague Symphony Orchestra

10:00 p.m. **Drinks Reception**
Residence of the Mayor of Prague

SUNDAY, MAY 12

9:00 a.m. **REMARKS**
Černín Palace
R. F. M. Lubbers

9:15 a.m. **ADDRESS**
Atlantic Economics
Leszek Balcerowicz

9:45 a.m. **ADDRESS**
Atlantic Politics
Jon Kyl

10:15 a.m. **SUMMING-UP**
R. F. M. Lubbers

10:30 a.m. **CLOSING REMARKS**
Edward Streater
John O'Sullivan

10:45 a.m. **CEREMONIAL SIGNING:**
THE DECLARATION OF ATLANTIC PRINCIPLES

11:00 a.m. **Vin d'Honneur**
hosted by Josef Zieleniec, Minister of Foreign Affairs

**invited*

ATTENDANCE LIST

PATRONS

Václav Havel
Margaret Thatcher
Leszek Balcerowicz

DELEGATES AND DISTINGUISHED GUESTS

D. Thomas Abbott	Alicia Borinsky	Paula Dobriansky
Frans A. M. Alting von Geusau	Pavel Bratinka	Christopher DeMuth
Gonzales d'Alcantara	Peter Brimelow	Robert Doubek
Digby Anderson	David Brooks	Pete du Pont
György Antall	Richard Burt	Hynek Fajmon
Anne Applebaum	Zora Bútorová	Luigi Vittorio Ferraris
Whitney Backlar	Joseph Cannon	Joachim Fest
Leszek Balcerowicz	Geoffrey Carlson	Edwin Feulner
Alvina Balog	Lord Chalfont	Jan Figel
James Balog	Vyacheslav Chornovil	Daniel Finkelstein
Brian Beedham	Alexander Condra	Jens Fischer
Paul Belien	Robert Conquest	Joseph Fitchett
Lord Beloff	Peter Corterier	John Fonte
Christoph Bertram	S. W. Couwenberg	Andreas Freytag
Czeslaw Bielecki	Frans Crols	Gerald Frost
Gáspár Bíró	Ryszard Czarnecki	John Fund
Conrad Black	Gert Dahlmans	Robert Gabor
Jan Krzysztof Bielecki	Reginald Dale	Frank Gaffney
Francis Blanchard	Susan Dale	Yegor Gaidar
Eduard Bomhoff	Midge Decter	Charles Gati

Jeff Gedmin	Judit Körmendy-Ékes	Luc de la Barre de Nanteuil
Leonard Gleske	Dusan Kováč	Petr Nečas
György Granasztói	Bruce Kovner	Jaromir Novotny
Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz	Maciej Kozlowski	Jan Nowak
Miriam Gross	Jerzy Kropiwnicki	William Odom
Tomáš Halík	James Kurth	Daniel Oliver
Owen Harries	Jon Kyl	Louise Oliver
Anthony Hartley	William Laughlin	Viktor Orbán
Craig Helsing	Murawiec Yves Laurent	John O'Sullivan
Barbara von der Heydt	Umberto Leanza	Peter Passell
Heather Higgins	Philippe Lefournier	Robert Payton
Brian Hindley	Georges Liébert	Marguerite Peeters
Robert Hormats	Brooks Lobkowicz	José Pedro Pérez-Llorca
Péter Hunčík	Michal Lobkowicz	Richard Perle
Rod Hunter	Nicholas Lobkowicz	Karel Pezl
Jiří Hybner	R. F. M. Lubbers	Jean Paul Pigasse
Géza Jeszenszky	William Luers	Lucie Pilipová
Tomás Ježek	Alain Madelin	Daniel Pipes
Paul Johnson	Ferenc Mádl	Norman Podhoretz
Eugen Jurzyca	Igor Malashenko	Stephen Pollard
Belá Kádár	Robert Malott	Robert Pollock
Max Kampelman	Peter Mandelson	Sir Charles Powell
Adrian Karatnycky	William Marsteller	Clyde Prestowitz
Fernand Keuleneer	Antonio Martino	Wilfried Prewo
Ihor Kharchenko	Gary McDowell	Therese Raphael
Andra's Kira'ly	Andrew McHallam	Alfred Reisch
Conrad Kiechel	Ivan Medek	Tatiana Repková
Lane Kirkland	Paul Mentre	Peter Robinson
Václav Klaus	Ivan Mikloš	Peter Rodman
Eberhard von Koerber	Kenneth Minogue	Jan Maria Rokita
Mary Kohler	Joshua Muravchik	Giuseppe Sacco
Terry Kohler	Laurent Murawiec	Felipe Sahagún
Stephen Klimczuk	Kevin Murphy	Antxón Sarasqueta

John Schmitz
Karel Schwarzenberg
Roger Scruton
Douglas Seay
John Seidler
Gustavo Selva
Jochen Siemens
Radek Sikorski
Ian Duncan Smith
Henry Sokolski
Sir Michael Spicer

William C. Steere
Natalia Stelmashchuk
Irwin Stelzer
Jiri Stepanovsky
Edward Streator
Tomás Svoboda
Hanna Suchocka
Emmett Tyrell
James Upham
Nancy Upham
Darió Valcarel

Magda Vásáryová
Allen Wallis
Bruce Weinrod
Richard Wilde
Alan Lee Williams
Jan Winiecki
Jan Zahradil
Tomas Zalesak
Krzysztof Zanussi
Anton Zijderveld
Jan Zižka

BIOGRAPHIES OF 1996 CONGRESS OF PRAGUE SPEAKERS

Leszek Balcerowicz is a Polish historian and economist and the president of Unia Wolności. He was the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and the minister of finance from 1989 to 1991. Mr. Balcerowicz was a member of the Council of Economic Advisers to President Walesa, chairman of the Centre for Social and Economic Research, and head of comparative international studies at the Warsaw School of Economics.

Christoph Bertram is the diplomatic correspondent of the leading German weekly, *Die Zeit*. He joined the International Institute for Strategic Studies in 1967 and was director from 1974 to 1982. The institute is an internationally renowned research center focusing on foreign and security policy. Mr. Bertram has published on international affairs, in particular on European politics and international security. His most recent publication is *Europe in the Balance—Securing the Peace Won in the Cold War*.

Francis Blanchard joined the International Labor Office in Geneva in 1951 and retired as the director general in 1989. Mr. Blanchard was a member of the French economic and social council from 1989 to 1994. He is an officer of the French Foreign Legion.

Alicia Borinsky is a novelist, poet, and scholar. She is professor of Latin American and comparative literature at Boston University. She is the author of, among other works, *Theoretical Fable: the Pedagogical Dream in Contemporary Latin American Fiction*.

Pavel Bratinka is the deputy minister of foreign affairs of the Czech Republic. He had been the deputy minister for international relations for the Czech Republic. Mr. Bratinka was elected to the Federal Assembly of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic in 1990 and served as the vice chairman of the foreign affairs committee. He is a founder of the Civic Democratic Alliance, a member organization of the Civic Forum, a broad coalition of anticommunist forces.

Richard Burt is the chairman of IEP, International Equity Partners. He was a partner with McKinsey & Company, specializing in international business strategy and telecommunications. Mr. Burt was the U.S. chief negotiator in the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) with the former Soviet Union. He also served as the U.S. ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany from 1985 to 1989.

Lord Chalfont is president of the All-Party Defence Group in the British House of Lords. He was a minister of state in the Foreign Office from 1964 to 1970. His published works include *Star Wars: Suicide or Survival?* (1985) and *Defence of the Realm* (1987). He is vice president of the European Atlantic Group and a fellow of the Atlantic Council.

Pete du Pont is the chairman of the National Review Institute. He is a director in the law firm of Richard, Layton & Finger, P.A., in Wilmington, Delaware. He was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives from 1971 to 1977 and governor of the state of Delaware from 1977 to 1985. Mr. du Pont is policy chairman of the National Center for Policy Analysis, a nonprofit, nonpartisan public policy institute.

Tomáš Halík is an associate professor of philosophy of religion at Charles University in Prague. He is also president of the Czech Christian Academy and rector of the University Church. He was general secretary of the Czech Bishop Conference and was the consultor of the Pontifical Council for Dialogue with Nonbelievers. Mr. Halík was secretly ordained a priest in 1978.

Anthony Hartley is a journalist specializing in European affairs.

Václav Havel is the president of the Czech Republic, and before that he was president of Czechoslovakia. He is the chairman of the Prague Heritage Fund and a member of the jury awarding the International Prize for Human Rights. Mr. Havel is a writer and playwright; he has written more than thirty plays, books, and essays. He was imprisoned for more than five years for incitement and obstruction, sedition, and subversive and antistate activities.

Brian Hindley is a reader in trade policy in the department of economics at the London School of Economics, where he has taught since 1967. He is also the cochairman of the Bruges Group.

Robert D. Hormats is the vice chairman of Goldman Sachs (International). He received the French Legion of Honor in 1987 and the Arthur Fleming Award in 1974. Mr. Hormats was senior staff member for international economic affairs on the National Security Council from 1974 to 1977 and was a senior economic adviser to Henry Kissinger, General Brent Scowcroft, and Zbigniew Brzezinski. He is a board member of the Council on Foreign Relations and of the Columbia University School of International Affairs.

Géza Jeszenszky is a professor at the University of Michigan. He is a historian with a Ph.D. from Eötvös University, Budapest, which has been attached to the Budapest University of Economics since 1976. He was a founder of one of the first major political movements challenging communism in Hungary. Mr. Jeszenszky served as minister for foreign affairs from 1990 to 1994. He is the president of the Hungarian Atlantic Council.

Adrian Karatnycky is president of Freedom House, a nonprofit organization that promotes democracy, the civil society, and the rule of law and monitors human rights, political rights, and civil liberties around the world. He was assistant to the president of the AFL-CIO, director of research in the AFL-CIO Department of International Affairs, and editor of the Interco Press Service, the AFL-CIO's international editorial features service. Mr. Karatnycky has written scores of articles on East European and post-Soviet issues, and his most recent book is *New Nations Rising: The Fall of the Soviets and the Challenge of Independence*.

Joseph Lane Kirkland was president emeritus of the AFL-CIO from 1979 to 1995, where he previously served as secretary-treasurer and executive assistant to the president. Mr. Kirkland was director of research and education at the International Union of Operating Engineers. A licensed master mariner, he is a member of the International Organization of Masters, Mates, and Pilots.

Václav Klaus is the prime minister of the Czech Republic. He was the minister of finance from 1989 to 1992; since 1991, he has been the chairman of the Civic Democratic Party. Mr. Klaus won the Schumpeter Prize for Economics, the Freedom Award, and Konrad Adenauer Prize. He has written several books and numerous articles on economic theory and economic reform.

Eberhard von Koerber is the executive vice president and member of the group executive committee of ABB Asea Brown Boveri Ltd., Zurich. From 1988 to 1994, he was chairman of the managing board of Asea Brown Boveri AG in Mannheim, Germany. Before that, Mr. von Koerber was the executive vice president and member of the group executive committee of BBC Brown Boveri & Company Ltd. in Baden, Switzerland. He held several executive positions at BMW AG in Munich between 1972 and 1986. Mr. von Koerber was an attorney in international law and was the assistant to the chairman of the managing board of Glanzstoff AG (later Enka AG).

Jon Kyl is a U.S. senator from Arizona and serves on the Judiciary Committee, on the Energy and Natural Resources Committee, and on the Intelligence Committee. Previously, he served four terms in the U.S. House of Representatives. Mr. Kyl practiced law at the firm of Jennings, Strouss & Salmon in Phoenix, Arizona, and served as the chairman of the Phoenix Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce from 1984 to 1985.

Georges Liébert is the editor of *Pluriel*, a paperback series of essays and social science studies. He is also professor of political science at the Institute of Paris and in charge of a seminar on French cultural policy and practices. Mr. Liébert is the producer of a classical music radio program on the state radio station. He is the author of numerous books and articles on music, most recently, *Nietzsche and Music* (1995).

Michal Lobkowicz is a member of Parliament and a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee in the Czech Republic. He had been the chef de cabinet to the minister of foreign affairs. In 1993, Mr. Lobkowicz was elected to the board of directors of the Christian Democratic Party, which later merged with the Civic Democratic Party.

Nicholas Lobkowicz is the founder and director of the Institute of Central and East European Studies at Eichstätt, Germany. He previously taught philosophy at the University of Notre Dame, the University of Munich, and the Catholic University of Eichstätt.

R. F. M. Lubbers was the prime minister of the Netherlands from 1982 to 1994. He is a member of the Second Chamber of States-General in Parliament. Mr. Lubbers has been the minister of economic affairs. He is a member of the board of the Netherlands Christian Employers' Federation and of the Federation of Mechanical and Electrical Engineering Industries and is a member of the Programs Advisory Council of the Catholic Broadcasting Association.

William H. Luers is the president of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City. In the Foreign Service from 1957 to 1986, he served as ambassador to Czechoslovakia from 1983 to 1986 and as ambassador to Venezuela from 1978 to 1982. Mr. Luers was a visiting lecturer at the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton University, the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, and George Washington University. Mr. Luers has written extensively on the arts, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, Atlantic relations, and

Latin America. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Alain Madelin is the former minister of finance in France and the president of the Institut Euro. He was the French minister of enterprise and economic development and of industry. Mr. Madelin is an attorney; he practiced in the Paris office of the Fédération Nationale des Républicains Indépendants. He is the vice president of the Republican Party and vice president of the Regional Council of Brittany.

Ferenc Mádl is professor of international economic law at the University of Budapest. He is a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and of the European Academy of Sciences. Mr. Mádl was the minister of privatization from 1990 to 1992 and was the minister of education and culture from 1993 to 1994.

Antonio Martino was the minister of foreign affairs in Italy from 1994 to 1995 and now is a parliamentary deputy. He was a lecturer on monetary history and politics, the chairman of the political science department, and a member of the board of directors of Libera Università Internazionale degli Studi Sociali in Rome.

Ivan Mikloš is the vice chairman of the Democratic Party in Slovakia and a lecturer at Trnava University. He was the director of the MESA 10, an economically oriented public policy research institute. Mr. Mikloš was the minister of privatization from 1991 to 1992 and was the director of the Institute for Economic and Social Policy in Bratislava from 1990 to 1991.

Luc de la Barre de Nanteuil was the French ambassador to the Netherlands from 1976 to 1977 and the ambassador to the United Kingdom from 1986 to 1991. He was the ambassador and permanent representative to the European Economic Community from 1977 to 1981 and from 1984 to 1986. Mr. de Nanteuil was the ambassador and permanent representative to the UN Security Council and head of the permanent mission to the UN from 1981 to 1984.

Lt. General William E. Odom, USA (ret.), is director of National Security Studies for the Hudson Institute and an adjunct professor at Yale University. He was director of the National

Security Agency from 1985 to 1988 and military assistant to the president's assistant for national security affairs, Zbigniew Brzezinski. His military service includes duty in Germany, the United States, and Vietnam.

Viktor Orbán is the editor of the political cultural periodical, *Századvég*. A 1987 graduate of the Faculty of Law at Lóránd Eötvös University, he is a founder of the István Bibó College of Law and Social Sciences.

William C. Steere, Jr., is the chairman of the board and chief executive officer of Pfizer Inc. Joining Pfizer in 1959, he has been president of Pfizer Pharmaceuticals Group and president of Pfizer Inc. Mr. Steere is a member of the board of directors of the Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America.

Edward Streator is a member of the executive committee of the International Institute for Strategic Studies and a director of the South Bank in London. He was the governor of the Royal United Services Institute for Defense Studies. Mr. Streator held positions in the U.S. government as the State Department's director of NATO affairs, as the deputy permanent representative to NATO, as the minister at the U.S. embassy in London, and as the ambassador and permanent representative to the OECD.

John O'Sullivan has been the editor of *National Review* since 1988. He had been a special adviser to Margaret Thatcher, an associate editor of *The Times* in London, an assistant editor of the *Daily Telegraph* in London, and editor of *Policy Review*. Mr. O'Sullivan was the director of studies at the Heritage Foundation and a fellow at the Institute of Politics at Harvard University. He was made a Commander of the British Empire in 1991.

Sir Charles Powell was private secretary to Prime Ministers Margaret Thatcher and John Major, in which position he was responsible for foreign affairs and defense. A former member of the British Diplomatic Service, he is now a member of the board of directors of Jardine Matheson, National Westminster Bank, and several other international companies.

Wilfried Prewé is chief executive officer of the Hannover Chamber of Industry and Commerce in Hannover, Germany, and a fellow of the Centre for the New Europe. He has

held positions at the Institute of World Economics in Kiel, Germany, and at the University of Texas. An extensive writer on economic and social policy, he is active in the Christian Democratic Union.

Peter W. Rodman is the director of National Security Programs at the Nixon Center for Peace and Freedom in Washington, D.C., and a senior editor of *National Review*. Previously, he served as deputy assistant to the president for national security affairs and as director of the State Department's policy planning staff. In the 1970s Mr. Rodman was a special assistant to Henry Kissinger. He is the author of *More Precious than Peace: The Cold War and the Struggle for the Third World* (1994) and *America Adrift: A Strategic Assessment* (1996).

Irwin M. Stelzer is the director of regulatory policy studies at the American Enterprise Institute. He is a U.S. economic and political columnist for the *Sunday Times* (London) and the *Courier Mail* (Australia), a member of the publication committee of *The Public Interest*, and an honorary fellow of the Centre for Socio-Legal Studies, Wolfson College, Oxford. Mr. Stelzer is the author of *Selected Antitrust Cases: Landmark Decisions* and coauthor of *The Antitrust Laws: A Primer*. He founded the National Economic Research Associates in 1961 and served as its president until a few years after its sale in 1983 to Marsh & McLennan.

Hanna Suchocka is a member of the Polish Parliament and serves on the European Treaty and Foreign Affairs Committees. From 1992 to 1993, she was the prime minister of Poland and served as vice chairman of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and chairman of the Polish delegation to the council. Ms. Suchocka is the author of numerous academic publications on constitutional law and human rights.

Lady Margaret Thatcher was the prime minister of the United Kingdom from 1979 to 1990. She was a Conservative member of Parliament, representing Finchley, from 1959 to 1992, and was Opposition leader from 1975 to 1979. Lady Thatcher was awarded the Order of Merit in 1990. She is the author of two volumes of memoirs: *The Downing Street Years* (1993) and *The Path to Power* (1995).

BIOGRAPHIES OF 1996 CONGRESS OF PRAGUE
DELEGATES AND DISTINGUISHED GUESTS

Gonzales d'Alcantara is the president of the Interuniversity Study Center for Federalism and professor of economics at the University of Antwerp, Belgium. Previously, he served as the managing director of the European Studies and Research Consulting Bureau. Mr. d'Alcantara earned his Ph.D. from the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in Belgium.

Frans A. M. Alting von Geusau is professor of law at the Catholic University of Brabant and Leiden University. He is a member of the Netherlands' Ministry for Foreign Affairs and is a member of the Advisory Commission on International Law. Mr. Alting von Geusau has written numerous articles and books, and his most recent publication is *Western Cooperation from a Post-Totalitarian Perspective* (1993).

Digby Anderson is the director of the Social Affairs Unit, an independent policy research institute in London. He is the author and contributing editor of twenty books; the most recent are *The Loss of Virtue: Moral Confusion and Social Disorder in Britain and America* and *This Will Hurt: The Restoration of Civic Order*. Mr. Anderson is also a regular columnist for the *Times*, the *Sunday Times*, and *National Review*.

Anne Applebaum is an associate editor and political columnist at the *Evening Standard* in London. From 1993 to 1996, she was the foreign and deputy editor of the *Spectator*; she had written for the *Economist*. Ms. Applebaum is the author of *Between East and West: Across the Borderlands of Europe* (1994), a book about the former Soviet Union.

James Balog is a trustee of the Donner Foundation, a sponsor of the Congress of Prague. He was an investment banker, a financial analyst, and an asset manager with several firms. Mr. Balog has worked in the pharmaceutical industry as a research chemist, a production chemist, and a financial manager.

Lord Beloff is a Conservative life peer specializing in constitutional, educational, and foreign policy issues. An historian by profession, he has taught at several British universities. Lord

Beloff has been a member of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton and a visiting scholar at the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C.

Gáspár Bíró is a senior research fellow at the Teleki László Foundation of the Central Europe Institute in Budapest, and he is a lecturer and a member of the faculty of law at ELTE University. He was a special rapporteur of the UN Commission on Human Rights, studying the human rights situation in the Sudan. Mr. Bíró was a member of the Council of Europe's Committee of Experts for the Protection of National Minorities.

Eduard J. Bomhoff is a professor at the Nijenrode Business School, the only private university in the Netherlands. His scholarly writing focuses on monetary economics and macroeconomic policy. Mr. Bomhoff is a columnist for the *NRC-Handelsblad*, the principal Dutch newspaper. He is a member of the Mont Pelerin Society.

David Brooks is a senior editor at the *Weekly Standard* and a commentator on National Public Radio's *All Things Considered*. He was the op-ed editor at the *Wall Street Journal* and the deputy editorial page editor of the *Wall Street Journal Europe*, covering Russia, the Middle East, South Africa, and Europe.

Joseph A. Cannon is the chairman and chief executive officer of Geneva Steel. As a corporate attorney specializing in environmental law, he was an official at the Environmental Protection Agency. Mr. Cannon was inducted into the Utah Business Hall of Fame in 1991. He is a trustee of the American Enterprise Institute and serves on the boards of Empower America and Coalitions for America.

Geoffrey Carlson is a founder and the president of the Windsor Foundation and the Windsor Group, a pro-active, network-based organization promoting a free market economy and integration in Central and Eastern Europe. The Windsor Foundation, based in Switzerland, is the central coordinating and financing entity of the Windsor Group.

Robert Conquest is a fellow of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford University. He is the author of several books on international politics and Russia, including *The Great Terror* and *The Harvest of Sorrow*. Mr. Conquest has also written vol-

umes of verse, verse translation, fiction, and literary criticism. He was the Jefferson Lecturer in the Humanities and is a fellow of the British Academy and of the Royal Society of Literature.

Peter Corterier is the secretary-general for the North Atlantic Assembly, the interparliamentary organization of the sixteen countries of NATO and sixteen associate member countries from the former Warsaw Pact. For sixteen years, Mr. Corterier was a member of the German Bundestag from Karlsruhe, and he was the minister of state for foreign affairs from 1981 to 1982.

S. W. Couwenberg is a professor of constitutional and administrative law at the Erasmus University in Rotterdam. He is the chief editor and publisher of the scientific review *Civis Mundi* and is the editor of the yearbooks of *Civis Mundi*. Mr. Couwenberg is the chief editor of the *Magazine Neerlandia* of the Dutch-Flemish Association (Algemeen Nederlands Verbond). He is a member of the scientific committee of the *Magazine of the European Regions* in Barcelona.

Frans Crols is the editor in chief of *Trends*, the leading weekly business magazine of Belgium. He was a reporter and an editorial coordinator for *Trends*; in 1994 he was also responsible for "Telebusiness," the first in economic news programs on Belgian television.

Ryszard Czarnecki is the president of the Christian National Union in Poland. He was the deputy minister of Culture and Arts, the vice chairman of the Parliamentary Subcommittee on Culture and Media, and the chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on Authors' Law. Mr. Czarnecki was a member of the Polish delegation to the Parliamentary Ensemble of NATO.

Midge Decter is an author and editor whose essays and reviews have appeared in *Harper's*, the *Atlantic*, and the *New Republic*. She is a regular contributor to *Commentary*. Ms. Decter was a distinguished fellow of the Institute on Religion and Public Life. She is a member of the board of the Heritage Foundation, the Center for Security Policy, the Institute in Religion and Public Life, and the Clare Booth Fund and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

Christopher C. DeMuth has been president of the American Enterprise Institute since 1986. He was previously the managing director of Lexecon, an economics consulting firm; admin-

istrator for regulatory affairs at the U.S. Office of Management and Budget and executive director of the Task Force on Regulatory Relief in the Reagan administration; lecturer and director of regulatory studies at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government; and an attorney with the Consolidated Rail Corporation and the law firm of Sidley & Austin. His articles on government regulation and other subjects have appeared in *The Public Interest*, the *Harvard Law Review*, the *Yale Journal of Regulation*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and elsewhere.

Paula J. Dobriansky is the senior international affairs and trade adviser at the law firm of Hunton & Williams and an adjunct fellow at the Hudson Institute. She was the director of European and Soviet affairs at the National Security Council, deputy assistant secretary of state for human rights, deputy head of the U.S. delegation to the 1990 Copenhagen Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and associate director for policy and programs at the U.S. Information Agency.

Robert W. Doubek is the president of the American Friends of the Czech Republic, a national advocacy organization in Washington, D.C., supporting the efforts of the Czech Republic to rejoin Western Europe. His career is in real estate development, and he is currently an international consultant in housing. An air force officer in the Vietnam War, Mr. Doubek received national recognition for his leading role in building the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C.

Joachim Fest is a senator of the Deutsche Nationalstiftung and professor at the University of Heidelberg. The editor and publisher of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* from 1973 to 1993, he received an honorary doctorate from the University of Stuttgart in 1982 for his achievements in historical writing. Mr. Fest is the author of *Hitler—A Biography*, published in 1973 and translated into more than twenty languages.

Edwin J. Feulner, Jr., is the president of the Heritage Foundation, a Washington, D.C.-based public policy research organization. He has served on numerous U.S. governmental boards and commissions, in senior staff positions at the Department of Defense and the U.S. House of Representatives, and as an adviser to senior government officials. Mr. Feulner is the chairman of the Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies in London and the treasurer of the Mont Pelerin Society.

Daniel Finkelstein is the director of the Conservative Research Department in London. He was the director of the Social Market Foundation, an independent policy institute specializing in free market and public service issues. Mr. Finkelstein is the founder of the international business charity, Enterprise Europe.

Joseph Fitchett is the political correspondent of the *International Herald Tribune*. Based at the paper's headquarters in Paris since 1978, he covers global strategic issues ranging from military and defense-industrial questions to international trade and national politics. He has won numerous awards, including a nomination for the Pulitzer prize. Mr. Fitchett is the author of several books, and he contributes regularly to magazines and scholarly journals.

John Fonte is a visiting scholar and executive director of the Committee to Review National Standards at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington, D.C. He coedited *Education for America's Role in World Affairs*, a book used in international education classes in schools and colleges. Mr. Fonte has written for the *National Review*, the *San Diego Union-Tribune*, and the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, and he has discussed educational and cultural issues on radio and television programs throughout the United States.

Andreas Freytag is a senior economist at the Institute for Economic Policy in Cologne, Germany. His main fields of research are international trade theory and policy, the political economy of European integration, and international monetary policy. Mr. Freytag worked at the Kiel Institute for World Economics as a student assistant under Professor Herbert Giersch.

Gerald Frost is the research director of the New Atlantic Initiative. An author and journalist, he has written extensively on political issues in the United States and Britain. He was director of the Centre for Policy Studies in London and founder director of the Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies, where he now remains a consultant director.

Robert Gabor is the editor in chief of Interco Press, the AFL-CIO's international editorial features service. He was a senior policy adviser on Eastern Europe at Freedom House and at the Free Trade Union Institute of the AFL-CIO. Mr. Gabor was a policy adviser on Africa and Asia in the International Department of the AFL-CIO, and he is a former member of

the Middle-European Research Center. He is the author of several studies and booklets on Eastern Europe.

Yegor Gaidar is the chairman of the Democratic Choice of Russia party and the director of the Institute for the Economic Problems of the Transition Period. Previously he served as the economic minister and as the first deputy chairman of government of the Russian Federation and as the director of the Institute of Economic Policy under the Academy of People's Economy of the Soviet Union.

Charles Gati is the senior vice president and Washington representative of Interinvest, a global money management firm. He is a fellow at the Foreign Policy Institute of the Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies in Washington. Mr. Gati was a senior adviser on Europe and Russia at the Department of State's Policy Planning Staff. He was a professor at Union College and Columbia University, and he published extensively on Communist and post-Communist affairs, and on U.S. foreign policy.

Leonhard Gleske was an adviser to the Polish National Bank, working on behalf of the International Monetary Fund. As a member of the Central Bank Council of the Deutsche Bundesbank, he had duties as the president of a land central bank and as a director handling foreign affairs and international monetary questions. Mr. Gleske was a director for monetary and financial questions at the Commission of the European Economic Community in Brussels.

György Granasztói is professor of history at the Eötvös of Budapest, Hungary, and is the director of the Institute for Central European Studies. He was the ambassador of Hungary to NATO, to the EU, and to Belgium. His research, writing, and teaching focus on political and security issues of Central Europe.

Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz is the president of the National Bank of Poland. As a member of the faculty of Canon Law at the Academy of Catholic Theology, she lectured on administration law and procedures. Mrs. Gronkiewicz-Waltz is the author of more than thirty publications, including a text book on administrative-economic law which she coauthored.

Miriam Gross is the literary editor of the *Sunday Telegraph*. She was the deputy literary editor and the woman's editor at the *Observer*. Ms. Gross edited a books program on television and joined the staff of the *Daily Telegraph* as the arts editor in 1986. She has edited two books: *The World of George Orwell* and *The World of Raymond Chandler*.

Barbara von der Heydt is a senior fellow with the Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty. She is the author of *Candles behind the Wall: Heroes of the Peaceful Revolution That Shattered Communism*. Baroness von der Heydt served in the White House as an appointee of President Reagan, and she was the director of legislative information for the Heritage Foundation. In 1989 she launched a private initiative to aid people fleeing communist countries.

Péter Hunčík is the founder of the Ethnic Training Center in Bratislava, Slovak Republic. He had been the president of the Sandor Marai Foundation. From 1990 to 1992, Mr. Hunčík advised President Václav Havel on human rights and minority issues. In 1989, he cofounded the Hungarian Independent Initiative, a leading minority political movement in the revolution of Czechoslovakia.

Rod Hunter is the director of Regulatory Studies at the Centre for the New Europe (CNE) and practices law in the Brussels office of Hunton & Williams. He writes frequently on EU affairs and on environmental policy for legal journals and newspapers, including *The National Law Journal*, *The European Voice*, and *The Wall Street Journal Europe*. Mr. Hunter was an associate to the Chief Justice of Australia, Sir Anthony Mason, and he clerked for U.S. Circuit Judge Boyce Martin.

Tomás Ježek is chairman of the Budget Committee of the Czech Parliament. He is president of the Czech Committee of International Vienna Council and president of the Prague Stock Exchange Chamber. Mr. Ježek is a member of the board of the Prague School of Economics and the State Environment Fund, and he is the honorary president of the Liberal Institute.

Paul Johnson is an historian and journalist. He was the editor of the *New Statesman* from 1965 to 1970. Mr. Johnson contributes to magazines and newspapers worldwide. He is the author of many books, including *A History of Christianity*, *A History of the Jews*, *Modern Times*, *Intellectuals*, and *The Birth of the Modern*. His most recent book is *A Quest for God* (1996).

Béla Kádár is a professor of economics. From 1990 to 1994 he was the minister of international economic relations in Hungary. In 1994 Mr. Kádár became a member of Parliament and the chairman of the committee on the budget of the Hungarian National Assembly.

Max M. Kampelman is an attorney with the law firm of Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson in Washington, D.C. He was a counselor for the U.S. Department of State and the ambassador and head of the United States Delegation to the Negotiations with the Soviet Union on Nuclear and Space Arms in Geneva. Mr. Kampelman is now the chairman of the American Academy of Diplomacy, chairman of Georgetown University's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, and, by presidential appointment, vice chairman of the United States Institute of Peace.

Fernand Keuleneer is a Brussels-based attorney practicing in the areas of corporate and financial law. He is the cofounder and president of the Centre for the New Europe (CNE), a pan-European policy research institute promoting the advancement of a market-oriented economy, personal liberty, creativity, and responsibility in an ordered society. Mr. Keuleneer is a member of the board of directors of the European-American Chamber of Commerce in Washington, D.C., and a member of the general assembly of the Belgian-American Educational Foundation.

Ihor Y. Kharchenko is the director of the Policy Analysis and Planning Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Ukraine. He was an assistant professor and lecturer in international relations at Kyiv University. He has written several books, including *Ukraine's Foreign Policy*, *Security Relations in Central and Eastern Europe*, and *Modern European Security Relations*.

Stephen Klimczuk is deputy director of the Global Business Policy Council at A.T. Kearney, the management consulting subsidiary of Electronic Data Systems (EDS). From 1989 to 1995 he was a director of the World Economic Forum, a Geneva-based foundation renowned for its annual meeting in Davos, Switzerland. He has also worked in magazine publishing, investment banking, and management consulting.

Mary Kohler works in public affairs at Windway Capital. She has worked in campaigns for senators, state assembly members, and President Reagan. Mrs. Kohler was a delegate to the national convention of the Republican Women's Club in 1981 and 1985.

Terry J. Kohler is the president of Windway Capital Corporation, a holding company with multiple subsidiaries, including The Vollrath Company. Mr. Kohler had been the chairman and chief executive officer of The Vollrath Company.

Judit Körmendy-Ékes graduated from the Faculty of Law at ELTE University in Budapest. She is the state secretary and a member of the Hungarian National Radio and Television Commission.

Bruce Kovner is the founder and chairman of Caxton Corporation, a diversified trading company and the manager of trading pools active in currency, interest rate, petroleum, commodity, and equity markets. Mr. Kovner was the senior vice president of Commodities Corporation and a member of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission's Regulatory Coordination Advisory Committee. He is a member of the board of trustees and executive committee of the American Enterprise Institute. Mr. Kovner has published articles in *The Public Interest*, *Commentary*, and *New York*.

Jerzy Kropiwnicki is a member of the Supreme Council of the Christian National Union (ZCHN) in Poland. Previously he held positions as chairman of the Committee on Economic and Social Issues and as vice president and of the ZCHN. From 1991 to 1992 Mr. Kropiwnicki was minister of Labor and Social Policy, and he is an active member of the trade union Solidarność.

James Kurth is professor of political science at Swarthmore College in Pennsylvania, where he teaches international politics, multicultural politics, and U.S. foreign and defense policy. He was a visiting professor at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, at the University of California at San Diego, and at the U.S. Naval War College. Mr. Kurth is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and he received the U.S. Navy medal for Meritorious Civilian Service for his contributions to the development of naval strategy.

William P. Laughlin is a founder of the Saga Corporation. In 1978 he retired, along with his two founding partners, and assumed the position of founding director. Saga Corporation was a billion dollar contract food service, fast food and restaurant company with over 1500 units and 60,000 or more employees depending on the season. Saga was acquired by Marriott Corporation in 1986. Mr. Laughlin has served on the boards of more than forty-five non-profit, political, and business organizations.

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