March 21, 1990

TO:

SENATOR DOLE

FROM:

MARCIE ADLER
JOYCE McCLUNEY

JUDY HARBAUGH

WA

755-3137

RE:

INVITATION THROUGH JUDY HARBAUGH TO ADDRESS THE CSIS ADVISORY BOARD

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 4

DINNER - 100/125 CORPORATE EXECUTIVES ATTENDING

INCLUDING THE CSIS BOARD OF DIRECTORS

A COPY OF THE PROGRAM IS ATTACHED. YOU ARE THE ONLY ONE NOT CONFIRMED. WE ARE UNABLE TO LOCATE THE ORIGINAL IN THE OFFICE AT THE MOMENT.

#### YOUR OTHER COMMITMENT THAT EVENING

ACCORDING TO THE CALENDAR, YOU HAVE COMMITTED TO ADDRESS A HEALTH CARE GROUP AT GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY AT 7:30 THAT EVENING, "SPEAK & LEAVE".

#### STOP BY AFTER THE GEORGETOWN EVENT?

JUDY PROMISES THAT, IF YOU DO COMMIT, SHE WILL GET YOU "IN AND OUT." THEY BEGIN DINNER AT 7:30 AND SHOULD BE NEARLY THROUGH DESSERT, IF YOU STOPPED BY AFTER THE GEORGETOWN EVENT. THIS GROUP IS ACCUSTOMED TO WORKING DINNERS/SPEAKING OVER DINNER.

#### YOU ARE THE ONLY PERSON ON THE DINNER PROGRAM

PAUL VOLCKER, CHAIRMAN, WOULD INTRODUCE YOU. BOTH HE AND JUDY ARE ANXIOUS FOR YOU TO BE WITH THEM.

JUDY ADVISES THAT NO FORMAL ADDRESS IS NECESSARY. YOU COULD DO AN INTRODUCTION AND GO DIRECTLY TO Q & A. THEY ARE SUPPORTIVE OF YOUR FOREIGN AID PROPOSAL. THE PROGRAM STRESSES CHANGES GOING ON WORLD WIDE.

OTHER TOPICS SHE SUGGESTED: YOUR INSIGHTS ON YOUR MEETINGS WITH VARIOUS WORLD LEADERS, IMPACT OF THE DEFICIT, ECONOMIC MARKETS.

DO.	YOU	WANT	TO	ADDRES	S THE	CSIS	GROUP	ON	APRIL	4?	
0	_		ES.	, -			OUBTFU	L.	4		NO.
a	n	do	a	t 7.	30.	for	m,				

#### THE CSIS BOARD OF TRUSTEES

#### Chairman

Anne Armstrong, former U.S. Ambassador to Great Britain

#### Vice Chairmen

Maurice R. Greenberg, Chairman, American International Group, Inc.

Amos A. Jordan, President Emeritus and holder of the Henry A. Kissinger Chair in National Security Policy, CSIS

#### Chairman, Executive Committee

Leonard H. Marks, Of Counsel, Cohn and Marks

#### Members

there is a second of the property of the

STARTED THE STATE OF THE STARTED THE

David M. Abshire, ex officio, President and CEO, CSIS

Dwayne O. Andreas, Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive, Archer Daniels Midland Company

Donald R. Beall, Chairman of the Board and CEO. Rockwell International Corporation

William E. Brock, Counselor, CSIS; President, The Brock Group

Zbigniew Brzezinski, Counselor, CSIS

W. Graham Claytor, Jr., Chairman of the Board and President, AMTRAK

Robert W. Galvin, Chairman, Motorola, Inc.

Louis V. Gerstner, Jr., Chairman and CEO, RJR Nabisco, Inc.

Gerald Cavendish Grosvenor. The Duke of Westminster

Philip C. Habib, Chairman, Board of Governors, Pacific Forum, CSIS

Timothy S. Healy, President, The New York Public Library

Ray L. Hunt. Chairman of the Board and CEO. Hunt Consolidated, Inc.

Henry A. Kissinger, Counselor, CSIS; Chairman. Kissinger Associates

Joshua Lederberg, President, The Rockefeller University

Morris I. Leibman, Partner, Sidley & Austin

Diane | Plotts, President and COO, Hemmeter Corporation

Frank A. Shrontz, Chairman and CEO, The Boeing Company

John R. Stevenson, Counsel, Sullivan & Cromwell

Lloyd R. Vasey, ex officio, President, Pacific Forum, CSIS

continued

and attended and they may be be an owner for the selec-

BERGER BERGER

Paul A. Volcker, Chairman, James D. Wolfensohn, Inc.; Frederick H. Schultz Professor of International Economic Policy, Princeton University

Togo D. West, Ir., Partner, Patterson, Belknap, Webb & Tyler

philips of the second s

2/90

consequences of the house of their

the little or one or



# Center for Strategic & International Studies Washington, DC

David M. Abshire President

March 1, 1990

The Honorable Robert J. Dole United States Senate Washington, DC 20510

Dear Bob:

The CSIS Advisory Board and the Board of Trustees will meet on April 4-5 in Washington to discuss "The 1990s: Decade of Transition." Paul Volcker and I are most eager to feature you as our dinner speaker for the Center's most important senior groups.

Bob, you have travelled recently to Eastern Europe and Latin America. Both of these areas are subjects of our panel discussions. No one I know can speak more authoritatively or with greater insight on how the largely peaceful revolutions which have dislodged Communist rule in Eastern Europe have affected U.S. policy and the impact of hemispheric trends on the future of U.S.-Latin American relations.

The dinner would be an off-the-record session with no need for prepared remarks. A short introduction and then opening the floor to questions and answers would be most appropriate. We would be so delighted if you, as an Advisory Board member, could join us for what would be the highlight of a very stimulating and successful session.

I look forward to hearing from you.

With warm regards,

Yours sincerely,

Bol, we need you

1800 K Street Northwest. Suite 400 • Washington DC 20006 • Telephone 202/887-0200 Cable Address CENSTRAT TWX: 7108229583 FAX: 202/775-3199



### Center for Strategic & International Studies Washington, DC

DRAFT AGENDA

March 16, 1990

ADVISORY BOARD MEETING

April 4-5, 1990

Chairman: The Honorable Paul Volcker

1990s: THE DECADE OF TRANSITION

#### Wednesday, April 4

12:30-2:15 p.m. Lunch Hyatt Regency Washington on Capitol Hill The Capitol Room 400 New Jersey Avenue, N.W.

Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union

The Honorable Zbigniew Brzezinski\* Counselor, CSIS

2:15-2:30 p.m.
Break - Move to Columbia room

2:30-4:00 p.m. The German Question: Political and Economic Ramifications

Ambassador Robert D. Blackwill\*
Special Assistant to the President
for European and Soviet Affairs
National Security Council

The Honorable Richard G. Lugar\*
Member of the Foreign Relations Committee
United States Senate

20475

His Excellency Berndt von Staden\*
Former German Ambassador to the United States and adviser to Chancellor Kohl

Robert E. Hunter\*
Vice President, Regional Programs
Director, European Studies, CSIS

4:00-4:15 p.m. Break

4:15-5:15 p.m.

U.S. Economic Nationalism: The Wave of the Future?

David Gergen\*
Editor at Large
U.S. News & World Report

Bruce Stokes\*
Trade Correspondent
National Journal

Morton Kondracke\* Senior Editor The New Republic

7:00 p.m. Reception 7:30 p.m. Dinner CSIS Conference Room B-1 Level

The Honorable Bob Dole Minority Leader United States Senate

Thursday, April 5

8:00-10:00 a.m. Breakfast Capitol Hill
Room S-207
U.S. Capitol Building
(Senate North Door)

Latin American Policy in the 1990s: A New World?

"The Economic Aspects of Security: The U.S. Private Sector, Debt and Trade"

The Honorable Anne Armstrong\*
Chairman
CSIS Board of Trustees and
CSIS National Leadership Council on Latin America

The Honorable George Landau\*
President
Americas Society

The Honorable Bob Graham (D-Florida)\*

Member of CSIS Congressional Study Group on Mexico
United States Senate

"The Security Aspects of Economics: Defining Security, and Country and Regional Perspectives"

The Honorable Otto Reich\*

Vice Chairman

CSIS National Leadership Council on Latin America
and former Ambassador to Venezuela

General Max Thurman\*
Commander
SouthCom

The Honorable Pete Wilson (R-California)\*
United States Senate
Cochairman, CSIS Congressional Study Group on Mexico

\*=confirmed
All others invited

# REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE CSIS ADVISORY BOARD AND BOARD OF TRUSTEES

## APRIL 4, 1990

I'VE TAKEN A LOOK AT YOUR BOARD OF TRUSTEES:

ANNE ARMSTRONG, DAVE ABSHIRE, ZBIG BRZEZINSKI,

PHIL HABIB, HENRY KISSINGER -- MANY OF THEM ARE

HERE TONIGHT.

YOU WANT ME TO LECTURE THEM ON FOREIGN

THANKS A LOT.

**MEETING** 

2

AFTER I'M DONE HERE, I'M GOING TO COUNSEL DONALD TRUMP ON MONEY AND WOMEN.

0

OF CHANGE IN THE WORLD THE PAST 200 DAYS OUGHT

TO HUMBLE US ALL. (if Kissinger is there, you might want to

stick in something like: WELL, MAYBE NOT HENRY, BUT THE

REST OF US)



NO ONE THAT I KNOW OF SAW IT ALL COMING;

CERTAINLY NOT GORBACHEV, WHO PURPOSELY SET OFF

SOME SPARKS -- BUT QUICKLY SAW THEM GROW INTO A

RAGING FIRE, FAR BEYOND HIS PLANS AND

EXPECTATIONS.

AND WE'RE ALL STILL PLAYING "CATCH UP BALL" -- AS

EACH NEW WEEK SEEMS TO BRING HISTORIC NEW

CHANGES.

4

I'M NOT GOING TO TRY TO EXPLAIN IT ALL -- BECAUSE
I CAN'T. AND I'M CERTAINLY NOT GOING TO TRY TO
PREDICT THE FUTURE. AS BOTH DANIEL ORTEGA AND I
LEARNED THE HARD WAY -- EVEN WITH THE HELP OF
PROFESSIONAL POLLSTERS, YOU CAN'T DO IT.

INSTEAD, I WANT TO OFFER JUST A FEW RANDOM
THOUGHTS AND IMPRESSIONS, FROM MY PERSPECTIVE
ON CAPITOL HILL.

0

I MUST SAY, WHEN I THINK ABOUT WHAT HAS

HAPPENED THESE PAST WEEKS AND MONTHS, I AM JUST

AS FLABBERGASTED AS THE NEXT GUY.

THERE IS A LOT OF CYNICISM ON CAPITOL HILL.

WE'VE ALL HAD A LOT OF PRACTICE AT DELIVERING

STIRRING "FREEDOM SPEECHES." WE'VE RAILED AGAINST

SOVIET COMMUNISM AND SANDINISTA TYRANNY. WE'VE

DEMANDED THAT THE IRON CURTAIN BE LIFTED, AND THE

BERLIN WALL TORN DOWN.

NOW, BY GOD, IT'S ALL HAPPENED. WE'RE ALL LIKE KIDS IN A GEOPOLITICAL CANDY STORE, STARING WITH WONDER AT THE "GOODIES" AROUND US.

0

AUGUST, ON THE DAY THAT THE MAZOWIECKI

GOVERNMENT TOOK OFFICE. THAT AFTERNOON, WE

ATTENDED A SOLIDARITY PARTY CAUCUS.

7

SITTING THERE, WATCHING FREE POLES FREELY

DEBATE THEIR COUNTRY'S FUTURE, ONE THOUGHT

STRUCK ALL OF US: IT MUST HAVE BEEN JUST THAT WAY,

BACK IN PHILADELPHIA 200 + YEARS AGO -- WHEN OUR

OWN FOUNDING FATHERS LAID THE GROUNDWORK OF

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY.

0

BUT WE CAME AWAY FROM OUR VISIT TO POLAND
WITH ANOTHER STRONG IMPRESSION, TOO, AND ONE
THAT I THINK IS BEGINNING TO SET IN ON CAPITOL HILL,
AND AROUND THIS TOWN.

IN COUNTRY AFTER COUNTRY, THERE HAS BEEN A

BIG PARTY -- A JOYOUS EXPLOSION OF HUMAN YEARNING

FOR FREEDOM, FINALLY REALIZED. THE PARTIES WERE

UNDERSTANDABLE -- INEVITABLE. BUT PARTIES END.

AND WHEN THEY DO, THE TOUGH WORK BEGINS.



BY THE TIME WE LEFT POLAND, WE ALREADY HAD A STRONG SENSE OF THE ENORMOUS CHALLENGES

FACING ITS NEW GOVERNMENT. ON OUR WAY HOME, WE STOPPED IN KENNEBUNKPORT, BECAUSE WE WANTED TO IMMEDIATELY AND DIRECTLY TALK TO THE PRESIDENT, AND URGE A QUICK, SUBSTANTIAL AMERICAN RESPONSE TO POLAND'S NEEDS.



IN VARIOUS WAYS SINCE, WE HAVE SEEN, AND ARE

CONFRONTING THE NEW AND CRITICAL NEEDS -- OF NEW

AND DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS -- IN A DOZEN PLACES

FROM POLAND TO PANAMA.

EVERY ONE OF THE NEW DEMOCRACIES IS

EMERGING INTO A WORLD BRIGHT WITH HOPE AND

OPPORTUNITY -- BUT ALSO SALTED LIBERALLY WITH

MANY, MANY LANDMINES.

0

THE ECONOMY OF ALMOST EVERY ONE OF THE NEW DEMOCRACIES STARTS IN A SHAMBLES.

IN SOME CASES, THEY NEED A QUICK, COLD SHOWER
IN REALISTIC FISCAL AND MONETARY REFORM; THEY
NEED DEBT RELIEF; AND THEY NEED SOME HELP IN
JUMP-STARTING THEIR PRODUCTIVE FORCES.

IN ALMOST EVERY CASE, THEY ALSO NEED A MAJOR
OVERHAUL OF THEIR STAGNANT SOCIALIST ECONOMIC
STRUCTURES AND POLICIES.

AND IN A FEW CASES, AT LEAST -- POLAND IS ONE -THEY MUST DO ALL THIS QUICKLY, OR RISK SEEING THEIR
NOW STRONG POPULAR SUPPORT BEGIN TO MELT AWAY.

0

BUT THE ECONOMIC CHALLENGES ARE NOT THE ONLY ONES.

EVENTS IN SEVERAL COUNTRIES -- IN ROMANIA AND YUGOSLAVIA, AND IN THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF -- REMIND US HOW FRAGILE SOME OF THESE SOCIETIES ARE.

COMMUNISM SUPPRESSED EVERYTHING -INCLUDING ETHNIC HATRED AND STRIFE. FREEDOM
SUDDENLY HAS PERMITTED PRACTICALLY EVERYTHING -INCLUDING ACTING ON OLD GRIEVANCES AND GRUDGES.



THE PAMIYAT (pahm-mee-yat) IN MOSCOW; THE USE
OF CHEMICAL AGENTS AGAINST CHILDREN IN KOSOVO
(Yugoslavia); THE RECURRING SLAUGHTER IN ROMANIA -THEY ALL STAND AS STARK EVIDENCE THAT SEETHING
ETHNIC TENSIONS THREATEN THE EXISTENCE OF
SEVERAL NATIONS, AND THE STABILITY OF ALL OF
EASTERN EUROPE -- INCLUDING THE SOVIET UNION.

0

NOR IS ETHNIC TENSION THE ONLY OR MOST POTENT

DANGER TO REGIONAL STABILITY. RESURGENT

NATIONALISM THREATENS TO EXPLODE IN THE BALTIC

STATES AND TEAR APART NOT ONLY THE SOVIET UNION -
BUT THE PROCESS OF SOVIET REFORM AND U.S.-SOVIET

RAPPROCHMENT, TOO.



LITHUANIA HAS QUICKLY BECOME THE CENTRAL

MORAL SYMBOL OF THE REVOLUTION FOR FREEDOM. WE

SHOULD NOT BE SHY IN IDENTIFYING OUR NATION AND

PEOPLE WITH THE ASPIRATIONS FOR INDEPENDENCE AND

DEMOCRACY OF THE LITHUANIAN PEOPLE.



0

LET ME ADD JUST ONE FINAL POINT: WHAT'S

HAPPENED AROUND THE WORLD BRINGS NOT ONLY

GREAT PERILS AND PROBLEMS, BUT GREAT

OPPORTUNITIES, TOO.



WE CAN'T MAKE A BETTER INVESTMENT IN AMERICAN
SECURITY AND ECONOMIC POTENTIAL THAN BY
SUPPORTING THE EMERGING DEMOCRACIES OF EASTERN
EUROPE AND CENTRAL AMERICA.

BUT IT WILL COST BUCKS -- BIG BUCKS.

AND THAT BRINGS US BACK TO THE SAME PLACE
THAT ALMOST EVERY DISCUSSION IN WASHINGTON
INEVITABLY LEADS -- THE FEDERAL BUDGET, AND OUR
DEFICIT.



PROPOSAL THAT I MADE IN JANUARY FOR A MODEST

REALLOCATION OF OUR FOREIGN AID. TO ME, THE

ARGUMENTS FOR THE IDEA ARE OVERWHELMING.

WE HAVE SOME OLD RESPONSIBILITIES THAT ARE
GOING BEGGING -- LONG-TIME ALLIES AND FRIENDS THAT
WE OUGHT TO BE HELPING BUT WE CAN'T, BECAUSE WE
JUST DON'T HAVE THE MONEY.

THIS YEAR -- FY 90 -- WE HAD TO ZERO OUT OR

SUBSTANTIALLY REDUCED 31 COUNTRIES THE

ADMINISTRATION WANTED TO HELP. PRACTICALLY EVERY

BLACK AFRICAN NATION; MOST OF THE LATIN AMERICAN

NATIONS, INCLUDING SOME OF THOSE ON THE FRONT

LINES OF OUR "WAR ON DRUGS."

JIM BAKER WILL REGALE YOU WITH EXAMPLE AFTER EXAMPLE. \$5 MILLION FOR JAMAICA, AT A CRITICAL TIME -- NOWHERE TO BE FOUND. \$7 MILLION FOR REFUGEES, TO SAVE LIVES -- NOWHERE TO BE FOUND.



\$1 PER CAPITA FOR ALL OF BLACK AFRICA -- THAT'S
ALL WE'RE SPENDING. ON THAT ONE, THE BLACK
CAUCUS HAS A RIGHT TO COMPLAIN.

0

WE NEED TO FIND MORE RESOURCES FOR THESE NATIONS. BUT WHERE?

AND WHERE, ESPECIALLY, WHEN WE'RE ALSO

SCROUNGING AROUND TRYING TO FIND BILLIONS -
BILLIONS -- FOR THESE EMERGING NEW DEMOCRACIES.



PANAMA: \$500 MILLION. NICARAGUA: \$300. POLAND,

AND HUNGARY, AND BULGARIA, AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA,

AND THE REST IN EASTERN EUROPE -- WHO KNOWS HOW

MANY HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS MORE.

REDUCED THEIR BID. THEY STARTED AT \$2.7 BILLION FOR
EASTERN EUROPE -- THEN WENT TO \$2.0 BILLION -- AND
NOW ARE DOWN TO ABOUT \$800 MILLION. WE'RE
WAITING TO SEE THE FINE PRINT.

BUT THE LESSON IS: WHEN EVEN THE LIBERAL DEMOCRATS START REALIZING WE DON'T HAVE THE MONEY TO SPEND, YOU KNOW THIS IS A SERIOUS PROBLEM.

0

AND WHERE ARE WE GOING TO GET THE MONEY?

TAXES? YOU MAY HAVE HEARD THIS BEFORE -- NO

NEW TAXES.

I DON'T THINK THE CONGRESS WILL APPROVE NEW TAXES FOR ANYTHING. I KNOW THEY WON'T APPROVE NEW TAXES FOR FOREIGN AID.



TAKE THE MONEY OUT OF DOMESTIC PROGRAMS?

PROBABLY EVERY AMERICAN COULD AGREE TO THAT,

WITH ONLY THIS PROVISO -- TAKE IT OUT OF ANY

DOMESTIC PROGRAM BUT MINE.

THE PEOPLE IN THE EMERGING DEMOCRACIES ARE

GETTING THE VOTE IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY -- BUT THEY

STILL DON'T HAVE ONE HERE. AND UNTIL THEY GET IT,

THERE IS GOING TO BE ZERO CHANCE TO TAKE A SINGLE

PENNY OUT OF ANY DOMESTIC PROGRAM AND SEND IT

OVERSEAS.

AND WHAT'S LEFT? OUR FAVORITE "BOTTOMLESS

CUP OF COFFEE" -- THE DEFENSE BUDGET.

I'M A REALIST. THE RAIDS ARE ALREADY UNDERWAY. .

SOME OF THEM MAY BE JUSTIFIED.

BUT I AM OF THE STRONG CONVICTION THAT THIS
VISION OF TENS OF BILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN A "PEACE
DIVIDEND" IS JUST THAT -- A VISION.



THERE ARE TOO MANY DANGERS STILL IN THIS

WORLD -- NOT THE LEAST OF THEM A SOVIET UNION STILL

IN POSSESSION OF THE LARGEST STRATEGIC ARSENAL IN

THE WORLD; AND STILL POURING BILLIONS OF DOLLARS

INTO PLACES LIKE AFGHANISTAN, CUBA AND ANGOLA, IN

PURSUIT OF POLICIES THAT DIRECTLY THREATEN

AMERICAN INTERESTS.

0



I SHOULD ADD AS AN ASIDE: IT IS THAT SPENDING, ALONE, WHICH IS AN UNANSWERABLE ARGUMENT AGAINST ANY NEW GEPHARDT-LIKE PROPOSALS TO START SENDING FOREIGN AID TO THE SOVIETS. IF GORBACHEV NEEDS SOME QUICK CASH, I THINK HE OUGHT TO ASK CASTRO, AND NAJIBULLAH (nah-gee-bull-lah, of Afghanistan), AND DOS SANTOS (dose-sahn-tose, of Angola) FOR A REBATE -- AND NOT ASK UNCLE SAM FOR A HAND-OUT.

BUT THE MAIN POINT IS THIS: AS LONG AS THERE IS THE KIND OF SOVIET THREAT WE STILL FACE; AS LONG AS CRISES LIKE LITHUANIA KEEP POPPING UP -- AS THEY WILL; AS LONG AS LIBYA KEEPS TURNING OUT CHEMICAL WEAPONS, AND IRAQ REMAINS HELL-BENT ON DEVELOPING NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AND THIRD WORLD NATIONS AROUND THE GLOBE KEEP TRYING TO BUILD MORE AND MORE WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION; AS LONG AS TERRORISM REMAINS A POTENT THREAT -- AS LONG AS ALL OF THAT CONTINUES TO BE PART OF OUR WORLD -- A BIG "PEACE DIVIDEND" IS GOING TO REMAIN A HOPE, AND NOT A REALITY.

AND CERTAINLY, FOR THE NEXT COUPLE OF YEARS,
THERE IS NOT GOING TO BE A PEACE DIVIDEND OF SUCH
DIMENSIONS THAT IT IS GOING TO PRODUCE BILLIONS OF
NEW DOLLARS FOR FOREIGN AID.

0

WE HAVE IMPORTANT LONG-STANDING

OBLIGATIONS; WE HAVE GREAT NEW OPPORTUNITIES

AND RESPONSIBILITIES -- AND WE DON'T HAVE THE

MONEY TO PAY FOR EVERYTHING.

THAT, TO ME, IS THE BOTTOM LINE.

0



YOU KNOW WHAT I HAVE PROPOSED AS A FIRST

STEP: SHAVE 5% OFF EXISTING FOREIGN AID EARMARKS,

TO FREE UP SOMETHING LIKE \$500 MILLION TO USE IN

EASTERN EUROPE AND TO MOP-UP SOME OLD

OBLIGATIONS.

BUT THAT WILL NOT BE ENOUGH.

I DON'T WANT TO PICK A FIGHT WITH GEORGE

MITCHELL -- HE HAS MORE VOTES THAN I DO.

BUT I WOULD TAKE EXCEPTION TO HIS RECENT

CRITICISM OF THE PRESIDENT'S CENTRAL AMERICAN AID

PACKAGE. WE SHOULDN'T DEAL WITH IT, SENATOR

MITCHELL SAID, UNTIL WE HAVE A COMPREHENSIVE, FIVE

YEAR, COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY AID PLAN.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: IT IS TOUGH, IN THIS

VOLATILE TIME, TO COME UP WITH A COHERENT FIVE

WEEK AID PLAN.

IF WE HAD SUCH A PLAN BACK ON DECEMBER 1 -- IT
WOULD HAVE GONE INTO THE TRASH CAN BY JANUARY 1.

AND ANY REVISED PLAN PRODUCED ON THAT DATE

WOULD HAVE BEEN FODDER FOR A SHREDDER BY

FEBRUARY 1. FEBRUARY FIRST'S MASTER PLAN WOULD

HAVE BEEN WASTE PAPER BY MARCH 1. AND SO ON.

I CERTAINLY HAVE NO QUARREL WITH THE IDEA THAT
WE OUGHT TO BE RETHINKING OUR FOREIGN AID
POLICIES AND PROGRAMS IN LIGHT OF THIS CHANGING
WORLD. AND WE OUGHT TO LAY OUT A SOUND GENERAL
STRATEGY, WITH SOME ESTABLISHED REGIONAL AND
PROGRAMMATIC PRIORITIES. THAT MAKES SENSE -- AND
THE ADMINISTRATION SHOULD TAKE THE LEAD, AND DO A
BETTER JOB.

MASTER PLAN -- BUT A LITTLE MORE FLEXIBILITY FOR THE PRESIDENT TO RESPOND TO WHAT'S HAPPENING IN THE WORLD.

WE EARMARK 82% OF ECONOMIC AID, AND 92% OF MILITARY AID. AFTER WE GET DONE WITH THAT, THE PRESIDENT HAS NOTHING LEFT TO RESPOND TO NEW OPPORTUNITIES AND EMERGENCIES.

IF LITHUANIA GOT ITS FULL FREEDOM TOMORROW,

AND CAME TO US FOR SOME HELP -- WE'D HAVE TO PUT

THEM ON HOLD, JUST LIKE WE HAVE PANAMA AND

NICARAGUA ON HOLD.

THIS CHANGING WORLD. AND THE BIGGEST BARRIER TO
PUTTING SOME COMMON SENSE AND EFFECTIVENESS
INTO OUR FOREIGN AID PROGRAMS IS NOT PRESIDENTIAL
TIMIDNESS -- BUT CONGRESSIONAL

0

MICRO-MANAGEMENT.

LET'S GO FORWARD WITH THE DOLE PROPOSAL FOR REALLOCATION; LET'S TRY TO FIND SOME ADDITIONAL FOREIGN AID RESOURCES WITHIN THE EXISTING FEDERAL BUDGET, AND TAKE ONE MORE CLOSE LOOK AT DEFENSE SPENDING IN THAT REGARD; AND LET'S ALSO ESTABLISH A FUND -- A BILLION DOLLARS, PERHAPS -- TO GIVE THE PRESIDENT SOME "QUICK REACTION" MONEY TO MAKE SURE THAT, WHEN OPPORTUNITY KNOCKS, AMERICA CAN ANSWER.

0

I'VE SPOKEN LONG ENOUGH. I ASSUME YOU HAVE

ALL AGREED 100% WITH EVERYTHING I'VE SAID, SO YOU

WON'T HAVE ANY QUESTIONS ON ANY OF THOSE

MATTERS. BUT PERHAPS YOU WILL HAVE A QUESTION OR

TWO ON SOMETHING ELSE.



## ADVISORY BOARD MEETING Washington, D.C. April 4-5, 1990

## PARTICIPANTS

Dinner Table # The Honorable and Mrs. David M. Abshire (DMA - 6)(Carolyn) (Mrs. - 3)President CSIS The Honorable Anne Armstrong 5 Chairman, Board of Trustees CSIS Ms. M. Delal Baer Fellow, Latin American Studies and Director, Mexico Project, CSIS The Honorable Doug Barnard, Jr. U.S. House of Representatives The Honorable Steve Bartlett U.S. House of Representatives Mr. Donald R. Beall Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer Rockwell International Corporation The Honorable Helen Delich Bentley U.S. House of Representatives Mr. Craig L. Berkman

4

The Honorable Robert D. Blackwill

Chairman of the Board Synektron Corporation

The Honorable Thomas J. Bliley, Jr. U.S. House of Representatives	
Mr. J. Neal Blue Chairman and President General Atomics	6
Mr. Lindon Blue	4
The Honorable Sherwood L. Boehlert U.S. House of Representatives	
The Honorable William E. Brock President The Brock Group	
Ms. Nancy Brugger Associate Director of Development, CSIS	2
The Honorable Zbigniew Brzezinski Counselor, CSIS	
Mr. Janusz Bugajski Fellow, East European Studies, CSIS	12
Mr. Carter Cafritz Carter Cafritz Corporation	
The Honorable Leo Cherne Executive Director The Research Institute of America, Inc.	
The Honorable W. Graham Claytor, Jr. Chairman of the Board and President National Railroad Passenger Corporation	9
Mr. and Mrs. Marshall A. Cohen (Judi) President and Chief Executive Officer The Molson Companies Limited	6
The Honorable William S. Cohen United States Senate	
Mr. William F. Connell Chairman and Chief Executive Officer Connell Limited Partnership	4
The Honorable Jerry Costello U.S. House of Representatives	
Mr. Leo J. Coughlin Executive Assistant to the Executive Vice President, CSIs	

04/04/90 10:25

Managing Partner Paul, Hastings, Janofsky & Walker	4
Dr. Georges A. Fauriol Director and Senior Fellow Latin American Studies, CSIS	8
Mr. Ludlow Flower, III Council of the Americas	
Mr. Stephen Friedman Vice Chairman Goldman, Sachs and Company	6
Mr. James Frierson The Brock Group	
The Honorable Martin Frost U.S. House of Representatives	
Dr. Richard Gardner Professor of Law Columbia University Law School	12
The Honorable Pete Geren U.S. House of Representatives	
Mr. David Gergen U.S. News & World Report	
Mr. Philip L. Geyelin Editor in Residence School of Advanced International Studies Johns Hopkins Foreign Policy Institute	7
Ms. Georgie Anne Geyer	
Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth O. Gilmore (Janet) Editor in Chief The Reader's Digest	4
The Honorable Bob Graham United States Senate	
Sir John Graham Bt GCMG Director The Ditchley Foundation	
The Honorable Bill Green J.S. House of Representatives	3

04/04/90

10:26

12

7

3

1

Jacobson

Mr. Phillip A. Karber Senior Vice President BDM International, Inc.	3
Mr. and Mrs. William E. Kimberly (Elena) The Manchester Group, Ltd.	
The Honorable Alfred H. Kingon Kingon International, Inc.	
The Honorable Dennis Kloske Under Secretary for Export Administration U.S. Department of Commerce	9
Mr. Morton Kondracke The New Republic	
Ms. Christa D. Konrad Vice President for Administration, CSIS	2
The Honorable George Landau President Americas Society	i k
Mr. Morris I. Leibman Sidley & Austin	6
Ms. Eva Loser Fellow, Latin American Studies, CSIS	
The Honorable Richard Lugar United States Senate	
Mrs. Pamela Scholl Mahaffee Director, Special Projects, CSIS	
Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mallchok (Lorie)	2
Dr. and Mrs. Harald B. Malmgren (Linda) President Malmgren, Inc.	7
Mr. Paolo Mancinelli Secretary-General Olivetti & Co., S.p.A.	5
The Honorable Leonard Marks Cohn and Marks	5
The Honorable Romano L. Mazzoli U.S. House of Representatives	

The Honorable James A. McClure United States Senate

The Honorable C. Thomas McMillen U.S. House of Representatives

General Edward C. Meyer
U.S. Army, (Ret.)

Mr. A. Slade Mills, Jr.

Mrs. Georgette Mosbacher 6 Chairman, La Prairie

Sir James Murray, KCMG
Hanson Industries

The Honorable John P. Murtha U.S. House of Representatives

The Honorable Richard E. Neal
U.S. House of Representatives

The Honorable Gregory Newell
President
DLA International

Mr. Kuniaki Nozoe

General Manager

Fujitsu Limited

Mr. David Olive Fujitsu Limited

The Honorable Mark Palmer
Former Ambassador to Hungary

The Honorable and Mrs. Ronald Palmer (Intan) 1 Former Ambassador to Mauritius

Mr. P. Robert Philp
President
First Tennessee Bank National Assoc.

Mr. Stephen Porter Dunnells, Duvall, Bennett & Porter

Mr. Heinz Prechter
ASC, Inc.

The Honorable Ernest H. Preeg
Holder of The William M. Scholl Chair
in International Business, CSIS

Ms. Karen Prowe Tokyo Electric Power Company	11
The Honorable Otto Reich Vice Chairman, National Leadership Council on Latin America, CSIS	
The Honorable Don Ritter U.S. House of Representatives	
The Honorable Charles S. Robb United States Senate	
Mr. and Mrs. J. Hugh Roff, Jr. (Ann) Chairman PetroUnited Terminals, Inc.	2
Mrs. Margaret Jonsson Rogers	5
Mr. Robert D. Rogers President and Chief Executive Officer Texas Industries, Inc.	5
Mr. L. Francis Rooney President Manhattan Construction Company	8
The Honorable Marge Roukema U.S. House of Representatives	
The Honorable Michael A. Samuels Senior Vice President Hill and Knowlton	4
The Honorable Tom Sawyer U.S. House of Representatives	
The Honorable James Schlesinger Counselor, CSIS	3
Dr. Stephen R. Sestanovich Director, Soviet and East European Studies CSIS	
Mr. Frank Shrontz Chairman and Chief Executive Officer The Boeing Company	6
The Honorable Joseph J. Sisco Sisco Associates	
The Honorable David Skaggs U.S. House of Representatives	

The Honorable Louise M. Slaughter U.S. House of Representatives

Mr. Walter Slocombe Caplin and Drysdale

The Honorable and Mrs. John R. Stevenson (Ruth) 5 Sullivan & Cromwell

Mr. Bruce Stokes National Journal

The Honorable and Mrs. Robert D. Stuart, Jr. 3 (Barbara)
North Star Investments

Mr. Konosuke Sugiura
Director & General Manager
Tokyo Electric Power Company

Mr. Koichi Suzuki
Chief Economist
Daiwa Institute of Research, Ltd.

Mr. Takeo Tanaka

Senior Vice President & General Manager
Marubeni America Corporation

Dr. William J. Taylor, Jr.
Vice President for International Security
Programs, CSIS

Dr. Penelope Hartland-Thunberg Senior Associate, CSIS

General Maxwell Thurman Commander SOUTHCOM

Admiral Lloyd R. Vasey
President, Pacific Forum, CSIS
(ex officio)

The Honorable Paul A. Volcker 6
Chairman
James D. Wolfensohn, Inc.

Dr. Gustavo J. Vollmer
Chairman
Banco Mercantil

Toyota Motor Corporation  Dr. Sidney Weintraub Visiting Fellow, Latin American Studies CSIS  Mr. and Mrs. Warde Wheaton (Dode) Honeywell Consultants, Ltd.  Sir David Wills CBE TD DL (Lady Wills) President The Ditchley Foundation  The Honorable Pete Wilson United States Senate  The Rt Hon. The Lord Windlesham CVO Vice Chairman The Ditchley Foundation  The Honorable Curtin Winsor, Jr.  Kendall and Associates, Inc.  Mr. Curtin Winsor, III Executive Assistant George Washington Banking Corp.  Mr. Vincent A. Wolfington Chairman of the Board Carey International, Inc.  Mr. John Yochelson Vice President International Business and Economics CSIS  Ar. and Mrs. Gordon B. Zacks (Sue)  Chairman & President	Mr. and Mrs. M. Jon Vondracek (Isa) Vice President The Johnson Foundation	7
Senior Fellow, International Business and Economics, CSIS  Mrs. French Wallop Corporate Travel Services  Mr. Koichi Watanabe Senior Vice President Toyota Motor Corporation  Dr. Sidney Weintraub Visiting Fellow, Latin American Studies CSIS  Mr. and Mrs. Warde Wheaton (Dode) Honeywell Consultants, Ltd.  Sir David Wills CBE TD DL (Lady Wills) President The Ditchley Foundation  The Honorable Pete Wilson United States Senate  The Rt Hon. The Lord Windlesham CVO Vice Chairman The Ditchley Foundation  The Honorable Curtin Winsor, Jr.  Kendall and Associates, Inc.  Mr. Curtin Winsor, III Executive Assistant George Washington Banking Corp.  Mr. Vincent A. Wolfington Chairman of the Board Carey International, Inc.  Mr. John Yochelson Vice President International Business and Economics  SIS  Mr. and Mrs. Gordon B. Zacks (Sue) Chairman & President	His Excellency Berndt von Staden	
Mr. Koichi Watanabe Senior Vice President Toyota Motor Corporation  Dr. Sidney Weintraub Visiting Fellow, Latin American Studies CSIS  Mr. and Mrs. Warde Wheaton (Dode) Honeywell Consultants, Ltd.  Sir David Wills CBE TD DL (Lady Wills) President The Ditchley Foundation  The Honorable Pete Wilson United States Senate  The Rt Hon. The Lord Windlesham CVO Vice Chairman The Ditchley Foundation  The Honorable Curtin Winsor, Jr. Kendall and Associates, Inc.  Mr. Curtin Winsor, III Executive Assistant George Washington Banking Corp.  Mr. Vincent A. Wolfington Chairman of the Board Carey International, Inc.  Mr. John Yochelson Vice President International Business and Economics CSIS  Ar. and Mrs. Gordon B. Zacks (Sue) Chairman & President	Senior Fellow, International Business	1
Senior Vice President Toyota Motor Corporation  Dr. Sidney Weintraub Visiting Fellow, Latin American Studies CSIS  Mr. and Mrs. Warde Wheaton (Dode) Honeywell Consultants, Ltd.  Sir David Wills CBE TD DL (Lady Wills) President The Ditchley Foundation  The Honorable Pete Wilson United States Senate  The Rt Hon. The Lord Windlesham CVO Vice Chairman The Ditchley Foundation  The Honorable Curtin Winsor, Jr. Kendall and Associates, Inc.  Mr. Curtin Winsor, III Executive Assistant George Washington Banking Corp.  Mr. Vincent A. Wolfington Chairman of the Board Carey International, Inc.  Mr. John Yochelson Vice President International Business and Economics CSIS  Mr. and Mrs. Gordon B. Zacks (Sue) Chairman & President	Mrs. French Wallop Corporate Travel Services	
Visiting Fellow, Latin American Studies CSIS  Mr. and Mrs. Warde Wheaton (Dode) Honeywell Consultants, Ltd.  Sir David Wills CBE TD DL (Lady Wills) President The Ditchley Foundation  The Honorable Pete Wilson United States Senate  The Rt Hon. The Lord Windlesham CVO Vice Chairman The Ditchley Foundation  The Honorable Curtin Winsor, Jr.  Kendall and Associates, Inc.  Mr. Curtin Winsor, III Executive Assistant George Washington Banking Corp.  Mr. Vincent A. Wolfington Chairman of the Board Carey International, Inc.  Mr. John Yochelson Vice President International Business and Economics CSIS  Mr. and Mrs. Gordon B. Zacks (Sue)  3	Senior Vice President	11
Sir David Wills CBE TD DL (Lady Wills) President The Ditchley Foundation The Honorable Pete Wilson United States Senate The Rt Hon. The Lord Windlesham CVO Vice Chairman The Ditchley Foundation The Honorable Curtin Winsor, Jr. Kendall and Associates, Inc.  Mr. Curtin Winsor, III Executive Assistant George Washington Banking Corp. Mr. Vincent A. Wolfington Chairman of the Board Carey International, Inc. Mr. John Vochelson Vice President International Business and Economics CSIS  Mr. and Mrs. Gordon B. Zacks (Sue) Chairman & President	Visiting Fellow, Latin American Studies	
The Ditchley Foundation  The Honorable Pete Wilson United States Senate  The Rt Hon. The Lord Windlesham CVO Vice Chairman The Ditchley Foundation  The Honorable Curtin Winsor, Jr.  Kendall and Associates, Inc.  Mr. Curtin Winsor, III Executive Assistant George Washington Banking Corp.  Mr. Vincent A. Wolfington Chairman of the Board Carey International, Inc.  Mr. John Yochelson Vice President International Business and Economics CSIS  Mr. and Mrs. Gordon B. Zacks (Sue)  Chairman & President	Mr. and Mrs. Warde Wheaton (Dode) Honeywell Consultants, Ltd.	11
The Rt Hon. The Lord Windlesham CVO Vice Chairman The Ditchley Foundation The Honorable Curtin Winsor, Jr. Kendall and Associates, Inc.  Mr. Curtin Winsor, III Executive Assistant George Washington Banking Corp.  Mr. Vincent A. Wolfington Chairman of the Board Carey International, Inc.  Mr. John Yochelson Vice President International Business and Economics CSIS  Mr. and Mrs. Gordon B. Zacks (Sue) Chairman & President	riestdent	
The Ditchley Foundation  The Honorable Curtin Winsor, Jr.  Kendall and Associates, Inc.  Mr. Curtin Winsor, III  Executive Assistant  George Washington Banking Corp.  Mr. Vincent A. Wolfington  Chairman of the Board  Carey International, Inc.  Mr. John Yochelson  Vice President  International Business and Economics  CSIS  Mr. and Mrs. Gordon B. Zacks (Sue)  Chairman & President	The Honorable Pete Wilson United States Senate	
Mr. Curtin Winsor, III Executive Assistant George Washington Banking Corp.  Mr. Vincent A. Wolfington Chairman of the Board Carey International, Inc.  Mr. John Yochelson Vice President International Business and Economics CSIS  Mr. and Mrs. Gordon B. Zacks (Sue) Chairman & President	Vice Chairman	
Executive Assistant George Washington Banking Corp.  Mr. Vincent A. Wolfington Chairman of the Board Carey International, Inc.  Mr. John Yochelson Vice President International Business and Economics CSIS  Mr. and Mrs. Gordon B. Zacks (Sue) Chairman & President	The Honorable Curtin Winsor, Jr. Kendall and Associates, Inc.	8
Carey International, Inc.  Mr. John Yochelson Vice President International Business and Economics CSIS  Mr. and Mrs. Gordon B. Zacks (Sue) Chairman & President	Executive Assistant	11
International Business and Economics  SIS  Ar. and Mrs. Gordon B. Zacks (Sue)  Chairman & President	Chairman of the Roard	2
Mr. and Mrs. Gordon B. Zacks (Sue) 3	Vice President International Business and Eggmania	4
	fr. and Mrs. Gordon B. Zacks (Gua)	3

04/04/90 10:30

Mr. Stanley R. Zax Chairman and President Zenith National Insurance Corporation

5



## Center for Strategic & International Studies Washington, DC

## TELEFAX TRANSMISSION COVER

	Date: 4/4/90	
GOING TO: Senator Robert Dole (Attn:	Joyce1	
TELEFAX NBR: 224-3163		
NBR PAGES: 12, including	cover page	
FROM:		
NAME: Judy Harbaugh	Account#: 5010	
CSIS TELEFAX NBR: (202)- 775-3199		
MESSAGE:		
NOTE: If all pages are not received clearly Name: Cora B. Mendoza		
	Phone#:775-3269	