

Max M. Kampelman Papers

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A TOAST BY

MAX M. KAMPELMAN, COUNSELOR TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

LUNCHEON SPONSORED BY THE CENTER FOR DEMOCRACY

CHAUTAUQUA CONFERENCE ON US-SOVIET RELATIONS

RAYBURN OFFICE BUILDING WASHINGTON, D.C.

AUGUST 31, 1987

WELCOME TO WASHINGTON.

OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS AND OUR PEOPLES ARE ATTEMPTING TO UNDERSTAND AND COME TO GRIPS WITH A NEW WORLD WHICH IS EVOLVING SO RAPIDLY BEFORE OUR EYES THAT IT CHALLENGES OUR IMAGINATION IN WAYS NEVER BEFORE KNOWN TO MAN. IN OUR VERY LIFETIMES, WE ARE SEEING MORE CHANGES IN TECHNOLOGY TAKING PLACE THAN HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN ALL OF MANKIND'S PREVIOUS HISTORY ON THIS EARTH PUT TOGETHER.

NEW COMPUTERS ARE STRETCHING OUR MINDS AND OUR GRASP OF
REALITY TO THE OUTERMOST DIMENSIONS OF OUR CAPACITY. WE ARE ON
THE VERGE OF THE DAY WHEN NO SOCIETY CAN EVER ISOLATE ITSELF OR
ITS PEOPLE FROM THE REST OF US, BECAUSE NEW IDEAS AND
INFORMATION WILL MOVE AS RAPIDLY AND AS RELENTLESSLY AS THE
WINDS WHOSE CURRENTS AFFECT US ALL.

NEW SCIENTIFIC DISCOVERIES ARE SIMULTANEOUSLY COMPLICATING
AND THREATENING, AND PROMISE TO STRENGTHEN OUR LIVES IN WAYS
THAT STILL DEFY DESCRIPTION. WHAT WE DO KNOW IS THAT NATIONAL
BOUNDARIES, WALLS AND VISA REQUIREMENTS CANNOT RESTRICT OR
EXCLUDE VIRUSES AND THE ANTIBODIES THAT CURE THEM, WHETHER THEY
BE VIRUSES OF THE BODY OR THE MIND. A NEW FLASH OF INSIGHT MAY
BEGIN ONE PLACE ON THE GLOBE, BUT WILL SOON SPREAD OUT AND
INTERRELATE WITH ITS KINDRED SPIRITS ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD.

THE RAMIFICATIONS THAT FLOW FROM THESE TRUTHS ARE MANIFOLD AND ARE BEYOND OUR CURRENT WISDOM. WE KNOW THAT MAN, IN AN OVERSIMPLIFIED WAY, HAS LEARNED TO FLY IN THE AIR LIKE A BIRD AND TO SWIM UNDER THE OCEAN LIKE A FISH, BUT MAN HAS NOT LEARNED HOW TO LIVE AND BREATHE AND LOVE ON THE EARTH LIKE A HUMAN BEING. THIS IS THE CHALLENGE.

THE REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES WE ARE EXPERIENCING WILL UNDOUBTEDLY REQUIRE DRAMATIC NEW CONCEPTS OF HOW TO ACHIEVE THE SECURITY THAT WE SEEK FOR OURSELVES, OUR FAMILIES, AND OUR NEIGHBORS. THE DAY WILL SOON COME WHEN WE WILL UNDERSTAND THAT THERE CAN BE NO SECURITY FOR THE PEOPLE OF IRAN UNLESS THE PEOPLE OF IRAQ FEEL SECURE; THAT THERE CAN BE NO SECURITY FOR THE PEOPLE OF IRAQ UNLESS THERE IS SECURITY FOR THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL.

THE LESSONS FOR THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION ARE EVIDENT. IN THIS NUCLEAR AGE, WE MUST COME TO DEVELOP A SENSE OF COMMON SECURITY AND COMMON DEFENSE. THERE CAN BE NO -- ABSOLUTELY NO -- JUSTIFICATION FOR VIOLENCE AND TERROR IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE IDEALOGICAL GOALS, NO MATTER HOW NOBLE THEY MAY APPEAR TO BE. ONE'S FAITH CANNOT TODAY BE PROPOGATED BY THE SWORD. UNILATERAL SECURITY CAN NO LONGER BE ACHIEVED EITHER BY WITHDRAWING FROM THE WORLD OR BY ATTEMPTING TO ATTAIN NATIONAL IMPREGNABILITY. WE MUST LEARN TO ACCEPT IN EACH OF OUR COUNTRIES A MUTUAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE LIVES OF PEOPLE IN ALL OF OUR COUNTRIES.

IT IS EASY FOR US TO VERBALIZE THESE VERITIES; IT IS MUCH MORE DIFFICULT TO REALIZE THEM. THERE IS DEEP MISTRUST BETWEEN US. WE AMERICANS ARE A RELIGIOUS PEOPLE AND LOOK UPON ALL DICTATORSHIPS, INCLUDING THE SO-CALLED DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND ITS RELATED GOVERNANCE, AS AN ABOMINATION THAT DOES VIOLENCE TO HUMAN DIGNITY AND TO OUR VALUES. I SUSPECT THAT THOSE WHO GOVERN THE SOVIET UNION ARE PERSUADED OF OUR ARROGANCE AND HYPOCRISY AND LOOK UPON US AS A SOCIETY EAGER TO PRESERVE OUR WEALTH AND ADVANTAGES AT THE EXPENSE OF OTHERS. THIS IS NOT THE OCCASION TO DEBATE THESE PERCEPTIONS AND MISPERCEPTIONS; IT IS RATHER THE OCCASION TO RECOGNIZE THAT THEY EXIST. I APPRECIATE AS MUCH AS ANY OTHER THE VALUE OF

DIALOGUE AS A WAY TO ACHIEVE UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN PEOPLES.

LET THAT DIALOGUE, HOWEVER, BE AN HONEST ONE. OTHERWISE, WE

WILL BE BUILDING ON SAND, AND WHAT WE BUILD WILL DISINTEGRATE

WITH THE FIRST STRESS. TO BUILD A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN US DOES

NOT ONLY REQUIRE THE COURAGE THAT COMES WITH HONESTY; IT

REQUIRES THE ENERGY AND STRENGTH THAT COMES WITH PATIENCE.

DURING YOUR DAYS IN THE UNITED STATES, THOSE OF YOU WHO

COME FROM THE SOVIET UNION HAVE HEARD A GREAT VARIETY OF

OPINIONS EXPRESSED BY AMERICANS BOTH PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY,

SOME FAVORABLE TO OUR GOVERNMENT'S POLICIES AND OTHERS NOT. IN

THAT CONNECTION, INCIDENTALLY, A NUMBER OF AMERICANS WHO WERE

IN CHAUTAUQUA TELL ME THEY SAW AND HEARD NO SUCH DIFFERENCES

EXPRESSED BY THEIR SOVIET COLLEAGUES. BUT, WHATEVER OUR

DIFFERENCES AS AMERICANS ARE WE EXERCISE OUR FREEDOM TO EXPRESS

THEM, ONE THING THAT UNITES US IS OUR FUNDAMENTAL BELIEF IN THE

VALUE OF REAL OPENNESS AND DIALOGUE TO AIR OUR DIFFERENT

VIEWS. CANDOR BETWEEN US AND WITH YOU IS A MARK OF TRIBUTE TO

OUR COMMON HUMANITY AND RELATIONSHIP OF EQUALITY.

LET ME PARENTHETICALLY, IN THAT CONNECTION, SAY THAT
YESTERDAY I SHARED A NATIONWIDE TELEVISION PROGRAM WITH MR.
CHURKIN, AN EXTREMELY ABLE AND EFFECTIVE SOVIET SPOKESMAN. A
FEW WEEKS AGO, I SHARED ANOTHER NATIONWIDE TELEVISION PROGRAM
WITH ONE OF MY SOVIET COLLEAGUES IN GENEVA, AMBASSADOR

OBUKHOV. HARDLY A WEEK GOES BY THAT A SOVIET SPOKESMAN IS NOT INVITED TO EXPLAIN HIS GOVERNMENT'S VIEWS TO A LARGE AMERICAN TELEVISION OR RADIO AUDIENCE. YET, MY AMERICAN COLLEAGUES AND I ARE NOT AFFORDED THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS OUR VIEWS VIA YOUR TELEVISION TO THE CITIZENS OF THE SOVIET UNION. I, FOR ONE, WILL COME TO BELIEVE THAT YOU HAVE DECIDED TO JOIN US IN THE SEARCH FOR UNDERSTANDING AND COMMON SECURITY BETWEEN US WHEN OUR SPOKESPERSONS ARE INVITED TO EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS WITHIN THE SOVIET UNION AS FREQUENTLY AS SOVIET REPRESENTATIVES ARE INVITED TO DO SO IN THIS COUNTRY. WE DON'T FEAR YOUR VIEWS. LET US HAVE AN OPEN COMPETITION OF VIEWS. OUR CHALLENGE TO YOU AND TO THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP IS THERE FOR YOU TO ACCEPT.

I CONCLUDE BY PROPOSING A TOAST TO THE HUMANITY THAT IS COMMON TO ALL OF OUR PEOPLES AND TO THE PROCESS TOWARD PEACE WITH HUMAN DIGNITY THAT WE HAVE BEGUN TOGETHER IN GENEVA, IN MOSCOW, IN CHAUTAUQUA, HERE IN WASHINGTON, AND WHEREVER WE ADDRESS OUR COMMON CONCERNS.

THANK YOU.



United States Department of State The Counselor

Judyt:

MMK has agreed to this. For your information. Please return to me.

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NOT TRANSFERABLE

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LUNCHEON & DIALOGUE

with

The Soviet Delegation

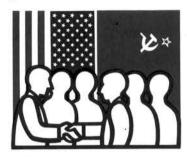
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CHAUTAUQUA CONFERENCE ON U.S. SOVIET RELATIONS

House Foreign Affairs Committee Hearing Room Rayburn House Office Building 2172

R.S.V.P. 429-9141 Monday, August 31 11:30 a.m.-1:00 p.m.

THIRD GENERAL CHAUTAUQUA CONFERENCE ON U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS



IMMK

UPDATE: July 31, 1987

August 23-28, 1987

240 SOVIETS ANTICIPATED

Over 240 Soviet leaders, entertainers and citizens are coming to the Chautauqua Conference on U.S.-Soviet relations in upstate N.Y., Aug. 23-29, 1987. The Soviet delegation will be the largest assemblage of this kind ever to meet in the U.S.

The conference will feature morning lectures by eminent experts on topics of mutual concern; afternoon seminars and informal roundtable discussions on medicine, law, culture and youth; and evening performances by outstanding artists. There will also be the unprecedented opportunity for the Soviet participants to stay in American homes during the conference.

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- Leader of the delegation, Valentina Tereshkova first woman to orbit the earth; chairperson, Presidium of the Union of the Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries
- Efim Basin deputy minister of the USSR for Transport Construction and head of the Baikal-Amur Railway Construction Project
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- Valery Chibisenkov secretary general, USSR-USA Society
- Vitaly Churkin staff member, CPSU Central Committee
- Vladimir Dobrenkov deputy rector, Moscow State University and vice president, USSR-USA Society
- Leonid Dobrokhotov staff member, CPSU Central Committee
- Sergei Dronov secretary, Union of the Soviet Societies for Friendship

More than 200 Soviet leaders, performing artists and citizens will be at Chautauqua Institution for this comprehensive program of diplomacy as well as political, academic, artistic and people-to-people discussions. The conference, which is a vital part of the Exchange Initiatives between the two super powers, will also feature leading American speakers and artists. John Wallach, foreign affairs editor of the Hearst Newspapers, is program consultant for the week.



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not provided luncheon
quest list, but
They expect 25
Societs grown
Official Chauteugua
delegation (list
attached).

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- Konstantin Kharchev - chairman, Council on Religious Affairs of USSR Council of Ministers

- Natela Lagidze - deputy mayor, Tbilisi City Council

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- Victor Malkov - professor and head of section, Institute of General History

- Alexander Mikheev - interpreter, Moscow College of Foreign Languages

- Evgeny Milovanov - deputy chairman, Council on Religious Affairs of USSR Council of Ministers

- Nikolai Neiland - member, Presidium of the Latvian Friendship Society

- Nikolai Nikolopov - member, USSR Academy of Sciences; director, Institute of Synthetic Materials; and member, Soviet Peace Fund

- Vladimir Petrovsky - deputy minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR

- Archbishop Yuvenaly/Vladimir Poyarkov - Archbishop of Kolomna and Krutitsk

- Vladimir Pozner - political observer, Gosteleradio (Soviet State Radio and Television)

- Evgeny Primakov - director, Institute of World Economy and International Relations; member, USSR Academy of Sciences

- Sergei Romanov - staff member, USSR-USA Society

- Roald Sagdeev - director, Institute of Space Studies and member, Supreme Soviet of the USSR

- Nikolai Shishlin - staff member, CPSU Central Committee

- Yuri Smirnov - deputy chairman, Presidium of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship

- Zhanis Zakenfeld - chairman, Presidium of the Lat-

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- Tatiana Zaslavskaya - head of the Section of the Institute of Economy and Industrial Production, Siberian Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences and member, USSR Academy of Sciences

Vitaly Zhurkin - deputy director of the U.S. and Canada Studies, Institute of Economy and Industrial Production, Siberian Branch of the USSR of the Academy of Sciences

- Sergei Zimenko deputy secretary general, USSR-USA Society
- Samuel Zivs professor of law and Vice President of the USSR-USA Society

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The ten leading Soviet cultural figures being sent by the Ministry of Culture include:

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- Tengiz Abuladze film director/producer of "Repentance"
- Irina Antonova director, Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow
- Irina Arkhipova People's Artist of the USSR, soloist, Bolshoi Opera and president, Soviet Musical Society
- Alexander Flyarkovsky composer
- Alexander Gelman playwright and secretary, USSR Theatrical Workers Union
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- Vladimir Minin director, Moscow Choir
- Genrikh Petrov deputy head, International Division of the USSR Ministry of Culture
- Afanasy Salynsky editor-in-chief, "Theater" magazine

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- Daniel L. Bratton President, Chautauqua Institution, conference director
- John Chrystal chairman of the board, chief executive officer of Bankers Trust Co., Des Moines, Iowa, speaker
- Esther Coopersmith Washington, D.C., coordinator
- John Denver entertainer, speaker
- Edward Djerejian senior deputy assistant secretary, Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs, Dept. of State, program participant
- Fritz W. Ermarth special assistant to the President and senior director for European and Soviet affairs, National Security Council, speaker
- Gregory Guroff deputy coordinator, President's U.S.-Soviet Exchange Initiative, U.S. Information Agency speaker
- Mark Palmer United States Ambassador to Hungary, program participant
- John Rhinelander partner, Shaw, Pittman, Potts and Trowbridge, speaker
- Stephen H. Rhinesmith coordinator, President's

U.S.-Soviet Exchange Initiative, U.S. Information Agency, speaker

- Thomas B. Robertson, Office of Soviet Union Affairs, Dept. of State, program participant

- Olin C. Robison - President, Middlebury College

- Marshall D. Shulman director emeritus, Harriman Institute for Advanced Study of the Soviet Union, Columbia University, speaker
- Thomas W. Simons Jr. deputy assistant secretary for European and Canadian Affairs, Dept. of State, program participant

- John P. Wallach - foreign editor, Hearst newspapers, program consultant

- John Whitehead - deputy secretary of state, speaker

U.S.-Soviet Highlights at Chautauqua, August 24 - August 28**

Sunday, August 23

- 2:00 Welcoming Festivities. Bestor Plaza.
- 4:00 Opening Ceremony. Amphitheater.
- 5:30 Barbecue given by Verna Harrah for the official Soviet and U.S. delegations. *

Monday, August 24

- 10:30 Lecture. "Historical and Psychological Aspects of U.S.-Soviet Relations." Gregory Guroff, deputy coordinator, President's U.S.-Soviet Exchange Initiative, with Soviet speaker. Amphitheater.
- 2:30 Conversations. Morning conference speakers. Norton Memorial Hall.
- 3:45 Seminar. "Soviet-American Relations since 1945." Marshall
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- 8:30 Concert. Music Director Joseph Silverstein, conductor and violinist, and Members of the Chautauqua Symphony Orchestra, with Soviet Artists. Amphitheater.

 After concert Reunion reception for '86 conference delegates. Home of Chautauqua President Daniel Bratton. *

Tuesday, August 25

- 10:30 Lecture. "Current State of U.S.-Soviet Relations." Fritz W. Ermarth, special assistant to the president and senior director for European and Soviet affairs, National Security Council.
 - 2:30 Conversations. Morning conference speakers. Norton Memorial Hall.
- 3:45 Seminar. "Citizen-to-Citizen Diplomacy." Ambassador Stephen H. Rhinesmith, coordinator, President's U.S.-Soviet Exchange Initiative. Norton Memorial Hall.
- 7:00 Ice Cream Social. All invited. Bestor Plaza.
- 8:30 Concert. Karen Akers and Ron Richardson in concert, with Soviet artists. Amphitheater.

- Wednesday, August 26
 10:30 Lecture. "Trade and Business Relations." John Chrystal, chairman of the board and chief executive officer, Bankers Trust, Des Moines, Iowa. Amphitheater.
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 - Seminar. "Business Contacts." John Rhinelander, partner, Shaw, Pittman, Potts and Trowbridge; Olin C. Robinson, president, Middlebury College. Amphitheater.
 - 8:30 Concert. John Denver in concert, with Soviet artists. Amphitheater.

Thursday, August 27

- 10:30 Lecture. "Soviet-American Relations: A Congressional View." Bill Bradley, U.S. senator, New Jersey, with Soviet speaker. Amphitheater.
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- 3:45 Seminar. Panel on artistic and cultural exchange, to include John Denver and Soviet speakers. Norton Memorial Hall.
- 6:00 Banquet for all Soviets and U.S. official delegation. Athenaeum Hotel. *
- 8:30 Concert. Grover Washington Jr. in concert, with Soviet artists. Amphitheater. After concert - Big E Empire of America reception for Soviets, entertainers and U.S. official delegates. Chautauqua Golf Club. *

Friday, August 28 10:30 Lecture. "The Future of Soviet-American Relations." John Whitehead, U.S. deputy secretary of state.

FOR ACCOMODATIONS PHONE 716/357-6204

* Private session. Not open to general public. ** Schedule as of July 31 Subject to change.

CAL JOHN

Boston University

The Center for Democracy 1101 15th Street, N.W. Suite 505 Washington, D.C. 20005 202/429-9141



Pending 8/31

14 August 1987

Ambassador Max M. Kampleman Department of State Counselor's Office Room 7250 2201 C Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Max,

I write to confirm our telephone conversation earlier today inviting you to join our distinguished guests on Monday, August 31, from noon to 1:30 p.m. at a luncheon for the fifty delegates to the Chautauqua Conference U.S.-Soviet Exchange program. The luncheon will be held in Rayburn House Office Building 2172, the House Foreign Affairs Committee Room.

I enclose some material from the Chautauqua organizers listing some of those in attendance, though I have not yet been provided with a complete list of the fifty. I will send it along once available.

Considering your manifold obligations at the Department, I appreciate your willingness to take time out to break bread with our Soviet guests. As I said when we spoke, I will leave it to you to determine whether or not you wish to say a few words or simply—as I am certain will happen, given the interest in you among the group—greet some of them individually during the luncheon.

I look forward to seeing you on that occasion or sooner to talk about the 1988 program which I mentioned on the phone and our other shared interests. It's been too long.

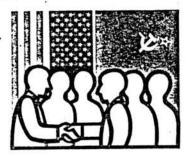
All the best,

Allen Weinstein

President of the Center

Enclosure

THIRD GENERAL CHAUTAUQUA CONFERENCE ON U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS



Esther Coopersmith 293-145

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- 3:45 Seminar. Panel on artistic and cultural exchange, to include John Denver and Soviet speakers. Norton Memorial Hall.
- 6:00 Banquet for all Soviets and U.S. official delegation. Athenaeum Hotel. *
- 8:30 Concert. Grover Washington Jr. in concert, with Soviet artists.

 Amphitheater.

 After concert Big E Empire of America reception for Soviets, entertainers and U.S. official delegates. Chautauqua Golf Club. *
- Friday, August 28.

 10:30 Lecture. "The Future of Soviet-American Relations." John Whitehead,
 U.S. deputy secretary of state.

FOR ACCOMODATIONS PHONE 716/357-6204

* Private session. Not open to general public.



NEWS SERVICE

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The Chautauqua Conference on U.S.-Soviet Relations Aug. 23-29

CHAUTAUQUA, N.Y.--Gregory Guroff, Fritz Ermarth, John Chrystal, Bill Bradley and John Whitehead will appear with Soviet speakers during the Third General Chautauqua Conference on U.S.-Soviet Relations Aug. 23-29. Each 10:30 a.m. lecture will be held in the Amphitheater.

Soviet participants during the week will include Nikolai Chervov, vladimir Petrovsky, Valentina Tereshkova, Vladimir Pozner and Tatiana Zaslavskaya. Colonel General Chervov is the major Soviet spokesman on arms control. Petrovsky is deputy minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union. Tereshkova was the first woman cosmonaut to orbit the earth. She is the chairperson of the Presidium of the Union of the Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, which is the Soviet sponsor for this conference. Pozner is a well-known political observer in the Soviet Union. He is a commentator on Gosteleradio, the Soviet State Radio and Television. Acamedician Zaslavskaya, an economic sociologist at the Academy of Science Institute of Economics' Siberian branch in Novosibirsk. She is a major intellectual force in the restructuring of the Soviet economy.

Guroff, the deputy coordinator of the President's U.S.-Soviet Exchange Initiative will speak Monday, Aug. 24. Guroff has served as chief of Soviet and East European Research for the Office of Research of the U.S. Information Agency, and the cultural affairs officer from 1982-1985 at the American Embassy in Moscow. He has also served as a member of the delegation negotiating new U.S.-Soviet cultural exchange agreements. Guroff spent 10 years on the faculty of Grinnell College and during that time participated in numerous academic exchanges with the Soviet Union. The topic of his lecture will be "Historical and Psychological Aspects of U.S.-Soviet Relations."

Ermarth, Tuesday morning's speaker, is currently one of eight

members of the National Security Council staff serving as special assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. Ermarth is senior director of Soviet and European Affairs for the National Security Council. He has served as the National Intelligence Officer under the Director of Central Intelligence. Ermarth is a specialist in Soviet affairs, strategic planning and regional security issues. He will discuss "The Current State of U.S.-Soviet Relations."

Wednesday morning Chairman of the Board of Bankers Trust Co., John Chrystal, will discuss "Trade and Business Relations." He is a frequent traveler to the Soviet Union and is an expert on Soviet agriculture. Previously the president and director of lowa Savings Bank, Chrystal was named president of Bankers Trust in 1984, and chairman of the board in 1986. In addition to his duties at Bankers Trust, he is also president of the Iowa Independent Bankers Association.

New Jersey Senator Bill Bradley was the Senate's youngest member when elected at the age of 35 in 1979. He is presently the chairman of two subcommittees; the Water and Power Subcommittee of the Energy Committee and the International Debt Subcommittee of the Finance Committee. Bradley is the only American and only elected official to serve on a select seven-person international panel to advise the General Agreement on Tarriffs and Trade. Bradley has traveled to the Soviet Union on three separate occasions. The topic of his lecture will be "Soviet-American Relations: A Congressional View."

Bringing the Third General Chautauqua Conference to a close will be Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead, who will discuss "The Future of Soviet-American Relations." He was sworn in on July 9, 1985. As the former president of the International Rescue Committee, Whitehead traveled around the world for the cause of political refugees. He is currently a member of the Conference Board and the Council on Foreign Relations.