



Max M. Kampelman Papers

Copyright Notice:

This material may be protected by copyright law (U.S. Code, Title 17). Researchers are liable for any infringement. For more information, visit www.mnhs.org/copyright.

AS READ

"THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION: A COMMENCEMENT?"

REMARKS BY AMBASSADOR MAX M. KAMPELMAN
HEAD OF U.S. DELEGATION TO THE NUCLEAR AND SPACE ARMS TALKS

University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota

December 12³, 1987

Thank you. Congratulations to all of you - students, parents, faculty - on this commencement day. It is a pleasure for me to be returning to this campus and a privilege to be receiving an honorary degree from the University. My public life and activities are solidly rooted in this university, where I spent a number of years learning and teaching, and where I met my dear friend and mentor, the late great Senator Hubert H. Humphrey. No matter how cold it gets outside - and I remember the cold - I have a warm place in my heart for this community and campus.

This has been a historic week - a meeting between President Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, and an agreement which will, for the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age, eliminate an entire category of nuclear missiles. Hopes have been rekindled that the world is entering a safer and more stable course. These events, which just three years ago would have been unthinkable, are the stimulus which prompts me to share with you some thoughts on the challenges we face in seeking to safeguard our security and carry forward our values.

My purpose today is to raise our sights beyond the preoccupations of the moment, with the full awareness that the pace of change is so rapid that any statement we make about tomorrow is likely to be obsolete even today. But several augurs of the future deserve to be noted.

First is the fact that much of the change accelerating around us is driven by scientific and technological advances that are challenging our imagination in ways never before known to man. Henry Adams wrote in 1909 that "the world did not double or treble its movement between 1800 and 1900, but, measured by any standard known to science...the tension and vibration and volume and so-called progression of society were fully a thousand times greater in 1900 than in 1800." I suggest that we are today seeing more changes before our eyes than have taken place in all of mankind's previous history put together. New computers, new materials, new bio-technological processes are altering every phase of our lives, deaths, even reproduction. In fact, we have seen so much change in our lifetime that nothing seems outside the realm of the possible. These developments are stretching our minds and our grasp of reality to the outermost dimensions of our capacity to understand them. Moreover, as we look ahead, we must agree that we have only the minutest glimpse of what our universe really is, for as Adams said, "Our science is a drop, our ignorance a sea."

Second, while these accelerating technological changes are transforming the world economy and producing fundamental changes in our material lives, our social and political relationships have lagged behind. Global economic interdependence, long a topic of debate among scholars, has become a reality, sometimes in ways that are unsettling to the forces that promoted it. Economic power and technological capability are ever more widely dispersed around the globe, and this has begun to place great stress on the post-war political and economic institutions created to manage them. We have yet to come to grips with a world in which the combined gross national product of Europe, for example, exceeds that of the United States; and the gross national product of Japan exceeds that of the Soviet Union. Small countries such as Korea, Brazil, and Singapore have moved, in the space of a generation, to international influence beyond their size as a result of their possession of technological know-how. All these changes have immense implications which have yet to be digested.

Third, the technological and scientific changes taking place are supporting a global trend toward democracy which holds the promise of great movement forward for freedom and human rights. More people today live in democracies than at

any time in the history of the world. Indeed, in the past fifteen years alone, according to Freedom House, the number of countries which can be called "free" or "partly free" has climbed from 92 to 115, while the number of "not free" declined by almost a quarter, from 71 to 52. Only a few years ago, democracy was under attack throughout Latin America; today, more than 90% of its people live in democracies or countries well on their way to it. When permitted, and sometimes even when not, people are choosing freedom.

This trend is prompted not only by an abstract love of justice -- although this is undoubtedly present -- but by the growing realization that democracy works best. Governments and societies everywhere are discovering that keeping up with change requires openness to information, new ideas, and the freedom which enables ingenuity to flourish. State controlled, centralized planning cannot keep up with the pace of change. Even in China and the Soviet Union, there is growing recognition of the relationship between freedom -- with its attendant openness -- and economic dynamism. It is fair to say that much of the impetus to internal reform in both those countries comes from an appreciation that a closed, tightly-controlled society cannot compete in a world experiencing, for example, an information explosion that knows no national boundaries.

Scientific and technological movements are most likely in open societies where new ideas and discoveries can germinate and flourish. No country can avoid being affected by the relentless pace of change. Indeed, we are already on the verge of the day when no society will be able to isolate itself or its people from new ideas and new information anymore than one can escape the winds whose currents affect us all. The social and political consequences of these developments have yet to be fully explored. But one thing is clear: new realities require deep adjustments in our way of thinking about the profound questions of peace and war. New concepts are required to define how we can achieve in this nuclear age the peace with dignity that we seek.

Technology and science are themselves neutral. They can be used for good or ill. Some developments have the potential to improve our material well-being beyond anything that has ever been available to mankind. But they also have the potential of destroying civilization as we know it. One essential consequence of this reality is that there can be no true security for any one country unless there is security for all. Unilateral security is an anachronism: it will not come from either withdrawing from the world or attempting national

impregnability. Instead, we must learn to accept in each of our countries a mutual responsibility for the peoples in all other countries. This means there can be no real security for the people of Iran, unless there is security for the people of Iraq. There can be no security for the people of Iraq unless there is security for the people of Israel, and so on.

The lessons for the United States and the Soviet Union -- the most important security relationship in the present era -- are evident. We cannot avoid or escape from one another. We are bound together in an equation that makes the security of each of us dependent on that of the other. The awesome potential of the nuclear arsenals we both possess add special urgency to the realization that we must learn to live together on this small planet, whatever our differences - and they are very significant.

Our two countries must come to appreciate that just as the two sides of the human brain, the right and the left, adjust their individual roles within the body to make a coordinated and functioning whole, so must hemispheres of the body-politic, north and south, east and west, right and left, learn to harmonize their contributions to a whole that is healthy and constructive in the search for lasting peace with liberty.

It is easy to verbalize these verities. It is much more difficult to realize them given the totalitarian character of the Soviet regime. It is my profound hope that through the process of internal transformation that is demanded by the new technologies, the time will come when Soviet authorities themselves will comprehend that repressive societies in our day cannot achieve inner stability or true security. We hope the time will soon come when a leadership will evolve that will come to understand that it is in its best interest to permit a humanizing process to take place in Soviet society, so that it can show the rest of us that cruelty is not indispensable to that system. I hope that leadership will come to realize that the Leninist aim of achieving Communism through violence is an abomination in this nuclear age; and that our survival as a civilization depends on the realization that we can only live together on this small planet if we accept rules of responsible behavior.

We can hope, for the sake of the Soviet peoples, and for our own, that openness, democratization, and restraint will become part of the Soviet system. But we cannot trust. The record of seventy years of Soviet rule must inject a profound note of caution into our hopes. There are changes taking place in the Soviet Union, perhaps even profound changes, but we must be able to distinguish rhetoric from reality. We can welcome their use of words such as "democracy" and "glasnost," but we dare not forget that the words are too often contradicted by

their deeds and practices. It is interesting in this connection to note some recent words from General Secretary Gorbachev: "We are now, as it were, going through the school of democracy afresh. We are learning that our political culture is still inadequate. Our standard of debate is inadequate; our ability to respect the point of view of even our friends and comrades -- even that is inadequate." Mr. Gorbachev's task is a formidable one. We Americans must appreciate that the USSR is not likely soon to undergo what Jonathan Edwards called a "great awakening," or see a blinding light on the road to Damascus. The fundamental nature of the system is the reality we must still face.

The problem is not the character and culture of the peoples that make up the Soviet Union. The Soviet peoples are proud and talented, with a rich history and culture. The ordinary Muscovite desires peace and human dignity as much as any Minnesotan. But it is the government which sets policy, and that government remains, in its essential elements, a dictatorship controlled by the Communist Party. Despite its professions of peaceful intent, we still see troubling signs of its commitment to the use of force to help history along toward its historic destiny. The continued presence of 115,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan, brutalizing its people and turning millions of its population into refugees, is an illustration of that commitment. For me the speedy withdrawal of these troops is a litmus test of ultimate Soviet intentions.

That ideological commitment to force is one of the underlying sources of tension between our two countries. It has not prevented us from seeking and reaching agreements when our interests coincide, but it hangs over the relationship like the sword of Damocles, ready to cut through whatever fragile understandings emerge.

Almost every one of us longs to end the state of mutual mistrust that characterizes our relationship with the Soviet Union. We Americans hate to think we have enemies. We would rather not spend large amounts of money on armaments. We, therefore, eagerly look for evidence that our adversary is "mellowing." The reality of our relationship, however, cannot be based on hope alone. That is why we must insist on deeds.

Today, we have an INF agreement that sets a number of important precedents. It will, for the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age, eliminate an entire category of U.S.-Soviet nuclear missiles, all those nuclear weapons with a range from about 300 to 3300 miles. It will require the Soviet Union to eliminate four nuclear warheads for every one of ours. It will preserve, indeed strengthen, the integrity of the cooperative military programs we have with our Allies; and it will have the most stringent verification provisions ever, including several kinds of on-site monitoring.

Furthermore, we may be on the road toward another more significant agreement aimed at reducing our two countries' massive and highly destructive strategic nuclear forces by 50%. But even with these very important agreements, we will still be nearer the beginning of our task than the end. Reaching arms control agreements is only a part -- albeit an important part -- of a larger task, the task of reaching understanding.

My colleague, Dr. James Billington, the new Librarian of Congress, recently pointed out that while our ability to influence Soviet internal developments is likely to be limited, we should not ignore the things we can do to encourage the evolution of Soviet policy in directions that are constructive and responsible. Our military strength is obviously indispensable. But so is our role as a world leader and as an example.

The United States is the Soviet Union's principal rival. We are also its standard for comparison. We thus have a responsibility to make it clear to the leadership of the Soviet Union what we expect and require for increasing trust. We must urge them to develop stronger legal and structural restraints on their power, both internal and external. We must insist that they abjure the use or threat of force to extend and expand their system. We must persuade the Soviet Union to join

us in a commitment to "rules of the game" for responsible international behavior. Ultimately, the only battlefield that is rational in this nuclear age is the battlefield of ideas.

We stand high in the area of ideas. The American experience is relevant to world thinking and is undoubtedly the aspiration of peoples in the Soviet Union and all over the world. In contrast, the Communist system wherever it has been incorporated has not been a model of accomplishment but of failure. The Soviet Union cannot exempt itself from the slow but stubbornly growing insistence of human beings for political systems that provide dignity for themselves and their families.

The tremendous vitality of our democratic values is central to any agenda for the future. I have sometimes been asked why we risk allowing our concern about human rights get in the way of negotiating arms control agreements or other security objectives. As the Nobel Laureate Andrei Sakharov has so often pointed out, however, the cause of human rights and peace is indivisible. It is worth remembering the words of John Stuart Mills, who, after studying theoretical socialism seriously and sympathetically more than a century ago, concluded that the contest he saw ahead between democracy and socialism would probably hinge on "which of the two systems is consistent with the greatest amount of human liberty and spontaneity."

The great challenge of our day is whether a soft landing from the cold war is possible. I suggest it is our responsibility to work toward that end. This requires a steady America, strong but confident, conscious of the reality of its own interest in a stable peaceful world. Will we be able to play our part?

Alexis de Tocqueville wrote more than two centuries ago that "in control of society's foreign affairs, democratic governments do appear decidedly inferior to others." Can we achieve the firm sense of purpose and strength that is indispensable for foreign affairs decision making? Can our political community resist the temptation of partisan politics and develop consensus adequate to meet the challenge of de Tocqueville's conclusion? The verdict is not yet in.

On the one hand, divisive partisanship has become increasingly evident in foreign policy. On the other hand, there are signs of movement toward greater responsibility and coalescence. Political liberals may well be returning to the traditions of Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, John Kennedy, Hubert Humphrey, and Henry Jackson as they come to feel the need to demonstrate a realistic and hard-headed albeit reluctant appreciation of military strength as a way to meet and also reduce the Soviet danger to our security and our values. At the same time, conservatives, led by President Reagan, seem increasingly to appreciate the need to articulate

a vision of global democratization, respect for human rights, and dialogue with our chief adversary to reduce the risk of war.

Our political values and the character traits that have helped us build the most dynamic and open society in recorded history is a source of inspiration to most of the world. It should be a source of inspiration for us as well. We cannot take it for granted. A few weeks ago, President Chaim Herzog of Israel was in Washington. In a speech before the two Houses of Congress he sought to encourage the American people by reminding us that we have every right to be proud of our country and our democracy. There are, he said, hundreds of millions of people in our world "who suffer bondage, inhumanity, poverty." They "have never known and do not experience the gifts of human freedom." To these people, the United States is "a shining beacon of hope." They draw courage and inspiration from our moral fabric. These people, he urged us to remember, realize what the American dream means to the world.

Let us not forget our good fortune as Americans and our obligations. Democracy is a great ideal and deserves passionate devotion. It is the political embodiment of our religious values. Democracy, unlike the utopias which have dotted the history of Man, promises what can be delivered. Let us break away from the philosophic relativism and moral

neutrality which distorts our sense of purpose. The idea that somehow power is bad, that superpowers are worse, with one superpower more or less as bad as the other, is a nihilistic formula for defeat.

Our way is best. Let us say so. What democracy promises and delivers is to put the fate of peoples in their own hands, with a chance for success, for happiness, for self-fulfillment. It is not arrogant for us to proclaim the virtues of our own system because it casts no credit on us. We are not the ones who created American democracy. We are merely its beneficiaries with an opportunity to strengthen it for succeeding generations. It is only understandable, furthermore, for us to wish similar blessings for other peoples.

The struggle for liberty and human dignity is a continuous one. Today it is being fought in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Chile, Haiti, Ethiopia, South Africa, Cambodia, Angola and other places. If we wish to see the world a safer, more secure and civilized place, we have to be prepared to contribute to the process, to make sacrifices, and bear the costs. Somerset Maugham wrote, "If a nation values anything more than freedom, it will lose its freedom; and the irony is that if it is comfort or money that it values more, it will lose that, too."

Lincoln in his day said that "America is the last great hope of mankind." It still is. The future lies with freedom, human dignity, and democracy. To preserve and expand these values is the special challenge of every generation. You cannot escape that burden and that extraordinary opportunity. My faith is in you.



THE COUNSELOR
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

March 2, 1988


Ms. Claudia Wallace-Gardner
Assistant Director
University Relations
University of Minnesota
6 Morrill Hall
100 Church Street S.E.
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

Dear Ms. Wallace-Gardner:

You were very thoughtful to send me those wonderful photographs from the Commencement. I will put them in my memory book. I also appreciate your warm words of congratulations.

All my best.

Sincerely,


Max M. Kampelman



UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
TWIN CITIES

University Relations
6 Morrill Hall
100 Church Street S.E.
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455
(612) 624-6868

February 23, 1988

Dr. Max M. Kampelman
Counselor of the Department-Designate
1206 Department of State
2201 C Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Dr. Kampelman:

Congratulations on your recent honorary degree, Doctor of Humane Letters, from the University of Minnesota.

I have enclosed some photographs of the presentation for your records.

Our best wishes to you and your future endeavors. We are proud to add your name to our list of honorary degree recipients.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading 'Claudia Wallace-Gardner'.
Claudia Wallace-Gardner
Assistant Director

encl.



UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
TWIN CITIES

Office of the Dean

College of Liberal Arts
215 Johnston Hall
101 Pleasant Street S.E.
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

January 5, 1988

Ms. Nancy C. Tackett
U.S. Department of State
Room C-7250
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Nancy:

I am enclosing clippings from the Minneapolis Star and Tribune and the St. Paul Pioneer Press Dispatch with stories of Ambassador Kampelman's talk. The television coverage was even better with stories on both Saturday and Sunday.

Thank you again for your help planning his visit.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Joyce'.

Joyce L. Wascoe
Assistant to the Dean



UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
TWIN CITIES

Office of the Dean

L

College of Liberal Arts
215 Johnston Hall
101 Pleasant Street S.E.
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

December 22, 1987

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman
United States Department of State
Room C-7250
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Max:

Your speech at our CLA Commencement was very well received and commanded a lot of attention by the local media. I sent copies of your speech to professors I knew would be interested in your comments.

Joyce Wascoe will send you clippings from the Twin Cities newspapers. I know she would like to run your speech in the winter issue of the CLA alumni newsletter.

Barbara and I enjoyed meeting you and having a chance to talk at the dinner at the Rappaports. It was our pleasure to have you as our commencement speaker. Your success reflects honor on the University and serves as an inspiration for our students.

Best wishes for continued success in the upcoming negotiations.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Fred Lukermann".

Fred E. Lukermann
Professor and Dean

Gary B. Rappaport
1600 Second Street South, Hopkins, Minnesota 55343

2

December 22, 1987

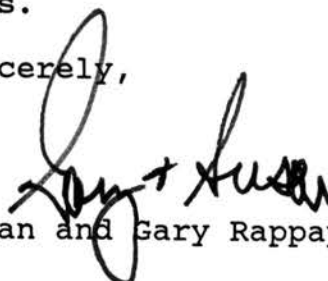
Ambassador Max M. Kampelman
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Max:

Susan and I are still "high" from the wonderful evening you created. You sent us the Humphrey book as a thank you and we're both very much looking forward to reading it, but it wasn't necessary. We thank you for giving us the opportunity to hear firsthand about your negotiations and your views on the future relationships with the Soviets. If the opportunity arises again, we'd be most happy to host you.

Our best wishes for the new year to you, Maggie and your kids.

Sincerely,


Susan and Gary Rappaport



UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
TWIN CITIES

Office of the Dean

College of Liberal Arts
215 Johnston Hall
101 Pleasant Street S.E.
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

*Minn. (F)
Trip*

December 22, 1987

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman
United States Department of State
Room C-7250
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

It was my pleasure to assist with the arrangements for your recent visit to the University. As you can see by the enclosed clippings, you got good press. The coverage by the four local television stations was even better.

I plan to run excerpts from your speech in the next issue of CLA Today, our alumni newsletter. I will send you a copy when it is printed in March.

It was generous of you to donate your \$200 honorarium to the Humphrey Center. I have asked our budget office to transfer the funds.

Nancy and Sharon on your Washington staff were especially helpful in making arrangements for your visit. Please extend my thanks to them.

The staff of the University News Service who organized the press conference on Saturday enjoyed meeting and working with you. We all thought it was wonderful having such a gracious guest.

I hope your continuing negotiations get off to a good start in the new year.

Sincerely,

Joyce L. Wascoe
Assistant to the Dean



UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
TWIN CITIES

Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs
Humphrey Center
301 19th Avenue South
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455
(612) 625-9505

(F)

December 23, 1987

The Honorable
Max Kampelman
Counselor
2201 C Street
S/DEL Rm 7208
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Max:

I am grateful to you for handing me a copy of what you said to the assembled multitude at the College of Liberal Arts Commencement on Sunday, December 13. You will see from the attached clipping that I made good use of it the following Sunday.

It was good to catch up with you if only for a few moments. Good luck with your interesting and important work, and warmest regards.

Sincerely,


Harlan Cleveland

HC:kj

Enclosure

THE COUNSELOR
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

December 23, 1987

Ms. Joyce L. Wascoe
Assistant to the Dean
College of Liberal Arts
215 Johnston Hall
101 Pleasant Street S.E.
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

Dear Ms. Wascoe:

I would like to thank you for your assistance in working out the details of Ambassador Kampelman's recent trip to Minnesota. It was a pleasure working with you and I understand that everything went very smoothly.

I am enclosing the two passenger coupons for the Ambassador's flights to and from Minneapolis and would appreciate reimbursement. There were no additional expenses.

Thank you again.

Sincerely,

Nancy C. Tackett

Nancy C. Tackett
Staff Assistant



Omitted Material

This page has not been digitized due to copyright considerations. The original can be viewed at the Minnesota Historical Society's Gale Family Library in Saint Paul, Minnesota. For more information, visit

www.mnhs.org/library/.



UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
TWIN CITIES

Office of the Dean

College of Liberal Arts
215 Johnston Hall
101 Pleasant Street S.E.
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

December 11, 1987

TO: Ambassador Max M. Kampelman
FROM: Joyce L. Wascoe *JLW*
Chair, CLA Commencement Committee
RE: Schedule for Saturday and Sunday, Dec. 12-13

Welcome back to the University of Minnesota. We take great pride in having you as our commencement speaker and we are honored to present you with the Honorary Degree. We couldn't be presenting it at a better time after the culmination of your work this week at the Summit.

The following is the schedule we have set up for you for the next two days. I will meet you backstage of Northrop about 12:30 Sunday. Nina Shepherd of the University News Service will assist you today, Saturday, for the media interviews. Prof. Phillip Shively will escort you on Sunday to the Commencement, to the reception, and to the airport.

I am enclosing the Honorary Degree invitation and a commencement script. Please take a few moments to review the script. It outlines your part in the program. If you have any questions, you can reach me at home, 588-3543, Saturday, or at Northrop Auditorium, 626-1502, Sunday.

SATURDAY INTERVIEWS

3:00 -- or slightly earlier. Tom Hamburger, Star-Tribune

3:25 -- Ellen Tomson, St. Paul Dispatch-Pioneer Press

3:50 -- David Olson, KUOM Radio; Mark Planke, KMSP-TV; and WCCO-TV

4:10-5:00 Mark Heistad, Minnesota Public Radio, interview about Hubert H. Humphrey KSTP 290-1592

5:00 -- or slightly later. Phone interview in your room, KAREN BOOTH Bob Ryan, Minnesota News Network 290-1482

SATURDAY -- Dinner

6:45 p.m. Dean Fred Lukermann and his wife Barbara

Lukermann will pick you up at the hotel and take you to dinner.

SUNDAY

- 12:00 Prof. Phillip Shively will call for you at the hotel
- 12:30 Arrive backstage of Northrop Auditorium to dress in cap and gown
- 1:00 Commencement
- 3:00 Reception -- University-Radisson Hotel, Regents' Room
- 4:30 Depart for the airport
- 5:40 Airplane to Washington, D.C.

enclosures

College of Liberal Arts

COMMENCEMENT PROCEDURES, DECEMBER 13, 1987

1. Events will follow the order in this script and in the printed program. Participants and faculty representatives in the ceremony are to meet backstage in Northrop Auditorium by 12:30 p.m.; they will march into the auditorium at 1 p.m.
2. This pamphlet provides guidelines to procedure. Substantial departure from them is to be avoided, though participants are invited to phrase what they say in their own way.
3. Those on stage should stand for the singing of "America the Beautiful" and sit down when the soloist returns to her chair. Men should remove their caps for singing of "America the Beautiful" and "Minnesota, Hail to Thee." Women do not remove their caps.
4. Those on stage are to stand for singing "Minnesota, Hail to Thee" and are to remain standing after it concludes. Dean Lukermann and Associate Dean Swan will lead all those on stage in a procession down the stairways and out through the auditorium. Each row should split in half and follow Dean Lukermann and Associate Dean Swan.

DEAN BILLMEYER and ROB WALSER

1. The printed program announces the music for the Processional and the Recessional.
2. The degree candidates and faculty will file into the auditorium beginning at 1:00. A light, flashed from backstage, will alert you. The students will enter first. Continue playing until all faculty are on stage; the light will again inform you. About a half hour of organ music should precede the ceremony.
3. After a brief pause, you are to play opening chords for "America the Beautiful." The soloist will step to a microphone at the lectern and will lead the singing of one verse and chorus.
4. After the degrees have been conferred, Dean Lukermann will ask the audience to join in singing "Minnesota, Hail to Thee." The soloist will go to the microphone, lead the singing of two stanzas, and return to her seat.
5. After the soloist has returned to her seat (she will remain standing), you are to move into music for the

Recessional. This continues until the audience has left the auditorium.

AMERICAN FLAG MARSHAL (JANE CARLSTROM)

1. After you have been cued, you will begin your march down the center aisle to the brass rail. Turn LEFT and, using the left stairs, walk to the flag stand and place the flag in the stand. Hold the flag while the graduates march in and everyone sings "America the Beautiful." After the song has been sung, place your flag in the flag stand and go to your seat.

STATE FLAG MARSHAL (CURTIS HOARD)

1. After you have been cued, proceed down the aisle with the marshal carrying the Regents' flag. When you reach the brass rail, you turn RIGHT (the state flag leads) and go up the stairs to the flag stand closest to the lectern. Hold the flag (slightly lower than the American flag) while the graduates march in and everyone sings "America the Beautiful." When "America the Beautiful" is over, place the flag in the flag stand and go to your seat.

REGENTS' FLAG MARSHAL (GERHARD WEISS)

1. After you have been cued, proceed down the aisle with Marshal Hoard (state flag). When you reach the brass rail, you both turn RIGHT. The state flag should lead up the stairs to the flag stand closest to the lectern. Hold the flag (slightly lower than the American flag) while the graduates march in and everyone sings "America the Beautiful." When "America the Beautiful" is over, place your flag in the flag stand and go to your seat.

MACE BEARER (BRUCE LINCOLN)

1. After you have been cued, walk down the center aisle to the brass rail, turn LEFT. Go up the stairs and walk across the stage toward the center until you reach the table with the red velvet mace cradle on it. Hold the mace while the graduates march in and everyone sings "America the Beautiful." When "America the Beautiful" is over, place the mace in the cradle and go to your seat.
2. When Dean Lukermann asks the audience to join in singing "Hail! Minnesota," step forward, pick up the mace, and stand at attention until the song is over. Return to your chair with the mace. Carrying the mace, join the faculty procession as it proceeds down the stairs and out through the auditorium.

MS. HARDY

1. You will march in with the faculty and be seated at stage right, front row.

2. As Mr. Billmeyer plays opening chords for "America the Beautiful," you go to the microphone at the lectern and lead the singing of one verse and chorus. You then return to your seat and sit down.
3. You go to the lectern after Dean Lukermann asks the audience to join in singing "Minnesota, Hail to Thee." You then return to your seat, remain standing, and file out in the procession.

DEAN FRED LUKERMANN

1. Following "America the Beautiful," go to the lectern, identify yourself, acknowledge Ambassador Kampelman, Regent Elizabeth Craig, and Regent Wendell Anderson. Introduce the faculty and welcome the graduates and guests.
2. You then say a word about Distinguished Teacher Awards. Allen Isaacman was out of the country last June when the awards were given, so he will receive his award today. Introduce Katherine Hystead, president of the CLA and University College Alumni Society, who will present the CLA Distinguished Teacher award.
3. Say a few words about honoring alumni of the college. Explain that the Honorary Degree is the highest award given by the Board of Regents of the university and that very few are given. Ambassador Max Kampelman is to receive the Doctor of Humane Letters. Introduce Ambassador Kampelman and also say he will give the Commencement address. Call him to the podium. Then introduce Regent Elizabeth Craig and say "Regent Craig will assist me with the presentation."
4. After Regent Craig has read the certificate, assist her with hooding Ambassador Kampelman. PLEASE HOLD FOR PICTURES. After the applause, take your seat.
5. After the speech, introduce Gail Peterson, associate professor of Psychology and Chair of the CLA Honors Committee, and Elaine May, associate dean, who will introduce the graduates. Then go to the table at stage right.
6. As Peterson and May introduce the degree candidates, hand each candidate a letter of acknowledgement.
7. After the last candidate has left the stage, May will present the graduating class to you. You introduce Regent Craig by saying, "These are the candidates who have completed requirements for College of Liberal Arts degrees." As she takes the lectern, you return to your seat.
8. Invite guests to join the graduates and faculty for the reception in the lobby. Introduce the entertainment, Paul Heffron Dixieland Jazz Band.

9. Ask the audience to rise and join in singing "Minnesota, Hail to Thee." Return to your seat for the song and then lead half the faculty down the stairs in a procession (at the same time the students are exiting). Each row on stage will split, half following you and half following Craig Swan. Lead your line down the stairs and down the left center aisle -- one over from the center aisle (which the students will use to exit).

REGENT M. ELIZABETH CRAIG

1. You will be introduced by Dean Fred Lukermann who will ask you to participate in the presentation of the Honorary Degree to Max M. Kampelman. Please remain seated until Dean Lukermann introduces Ambassador Kampelman and calls him and you to the podium. You read the certificate. Present the certificate to Ambassador Kampelman. Assist Dean Lukermann in hooding the Ambassador. PLEASE HOLD FOR PICTURES. After the applause, go to your seat.
2. After the last candidate has left the stage, Associate Dean Elaine May will present the graduating class to Dean Lukermann, at the lectern. Dean Lukermann will introduce you and present the candidates to you; he will return to his seat. You may make remarks if you like and then you are to make the formal statement of degree conferral. First, ask the graduates to rise. Then give the traditional statement:

Upon the recommendation of the faculty and by the authority of the Regents, I now confer upon you the degrees for which you have qualified.

You then go to your seat.

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

1. Dean Lukermann will introduce you and then call you to the podium. He will then call Regent M. Elizabeth Craig to the podium to read the official certificate. After Regent Craig reads the certificate, she will give you the certificate and assist Dean Lukermann with your hood. PLEASE HOLD FOR PICTURES.
2. You are invited to make brief remarks acknowledging the award. Then, please begin your commencement address. At the conclusion, please be seated.

KATHERINE HYSTEAD

1. Dean Lukermann will introduce you. Explain the award and introduce Allen Isaacman. Call him to the podium and present the award. Allow Prof. Isaacman to say a few words.

ALLEN ISAACMAN

1. After you have been presented with your award, you are invited to say a few words acknowledging the award. Because of the time, your comments should be extremely brief, only a sentence or two. Then, please return to your seat.

GAIL PETERSON

1. You will be seated in the front row at stage left. The name cards collected from the candidates will be delivered to you by a marshal.
2. Dean Lukermann will introduce you and Associate Dean Elaine May. You then go to the podium and give a brief explanation of the Honors Program and ask the Honors graduates to cross the stage as their names are called. (Do not shake hands with the students; allow them to pass behind you. You read both the name and major. When you have finished the Honors students, please take your seat.)

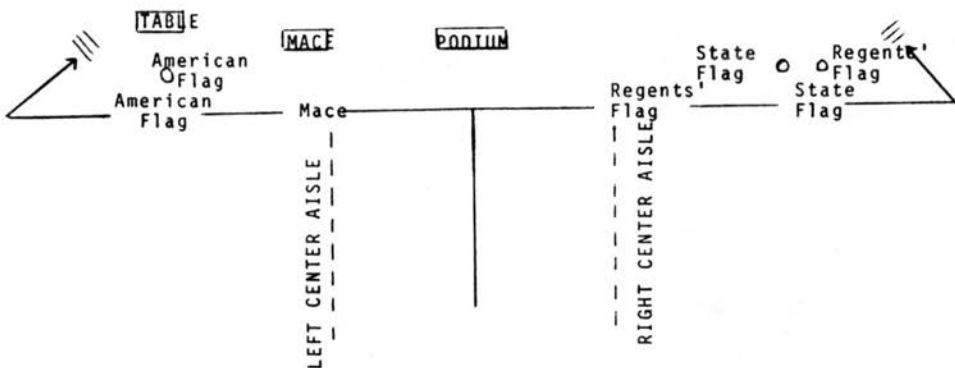
ELAINE MAY

1. You will be seated in the front row at stage left. The name cards collected from the candidates will be delivered to you by a marshal.
2. After Gail Peterson finishes introducing the honors graduates, you say a few words about graduating from CIA and then call the names and majors.
3. When you have called the last name, you turn to Dean Lukermann and say, "Dean Lukermann, it is my pleasure to present the 1987 College of Liberal Arts candidates." You then return to your seat.

CRAIG SWAN

1. At the close of the ceremony, each row on stage will split, half following you and half following Fred Lukermann. Lead your line down the stairs and down the right center aisle -- one over from the center aisle.

Kathleen Hardy	Jane Carlstrom	Bruce Lincoln <i>W. Phillips Shively</i>	Katherine Hystead	Allen Isaacman	Wendell Anderson	Max Kampelman	Fred Lukermann	Craig Swan	Elizabeth Craig <i>HARLAN CLEVELAND</i>	Julieann Carson	Rick Asher	Elaine May	Gail Peterson	Curtis Hoard	Gerhard Weiss
----------------	----------------	---	-------------------	----------------	------------------	---------------	----------------	------------	--	-----------------	------------	------------	---------------	--------------	---------------



- Jane Carlstrom (American Flag)
- Bruce Lincoln (Mace)
- Craig Swan
- Elizabeth Craig
- Julieann Carson
- Rick Asher
- Elaine May
- Gail Peterson
- Gerhard Weiss (Regents' Flag)
- Curtis Hoard (State Flag)
- Fred Lukermann •
- Max Kampelman •
- Wendell Anderson •
- Allen Isaacman •
- Katherine Hystead •
- Kathy Hardy •

12/9/87

MMK:

Re Minnesota trip:

1. Should we charge the tickets on a credit card and then ask for reimbursement? They will only pay for coach fare.
YES
2. Do you have any objections to having your speech tape recorded? There will also probably be television cameras there for newsbriefs -- not actually filming the entire commencement.
OK
3. Can we please send out with you several additional copies of your speech for the University.
OK
4. Joyce Wascoe has arranged for some press -- they requested -- on Saturday afternoon. It will be in the sitting room of your suite at the hotel.
OK
TELL WASCOE IF THEY WANT TO
11:00 AM
BUSINESS
OUT, 12:15 AM
- 3:00-4:00 - Interviews with the Star Tribune and St. Paul paper. They are currently scheduled separately. If there are additional requests, I suggested a press pool at this same time.
- 4:00 - Mr. Heistad from public TV doing a piece on Humphrey
- 5:00 - a telephone interview from a Minnesota News Network.
5. Dean Lukermann will pick you up to go to the Rappaport's dinner.
OK

6:45 pm.

Also, Rudy Boschwitz' press officer called to say that you had agreed to do a joint new conference with the Senator. He will contact Joyce Wascoe about available time. Saturday will probably not work for him because they may still be in session. They may try something before or after the commencement on Sunday.

Nancy

RESERVE 2 COACH SEATS - UP FRONT

IF POSSIBLE - DO THEY HAVE



BUSINESS??

United States Department of State

The Counselor

NW 737-7333

MMK

From what I can see, you do not have enough points w/Northwest for anything. Their first award level is 20,000 miles and you have something just over 1,600

Sharon

Raddison University Hotel
615 Wash avenue S.E.
will be picked up

12/11

NW #1651

departs National 5:10, arrives (6:50)

12/13

NW #1640

departs Minnesota (5:40), arrives 8:55

coach - \$660 RT

first \$980 RT

Hotel reservations will be made by the University for Friday and Saturday evenings at the Raddison University Hotel

Sharon

plots aisle & middle
going 8D + E
returning 11B + C
meal ✓



United States Department of State

The Counselor

MMK:

Univ. of Minn. called again. They would like title of your speech to be used in their program.

Sharon

"THE SOVIET UNION: A COMMENTARY?"

RAPPAPORT, GARY and SUSAN
JOSHUA, BURTON and GORI
NAFTALIN, ARTHUR and FRAN
MONDALO, FAITZ and JOAN
THE DEAN and HIS WIFE
FRASER, DON and ADVONNE
BOSCHWITZ, RUDY and MRS (?)



UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
TWIN CITIES

Office of the Dean

College of Liberal Arts
215 Johnston Hall
101 Pleasant Street S.E.
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

November 10, 1987

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

Your assistant Sharon Martin had not received a copy of this letter when I talked with her today. She suggested that I send a copy of it to your home.

We are looking forward to the presentation of your honorary degree at our Dec. 13 commencement.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Joyce L. Wascoe".

Joyce L. Wascoe
Assistant to the Dean



UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
TWIN CITIES

Office of the Dean

College of Liberal Arts
215 Johnston Hall
101 Pleasant Street S.E.
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

12/13

Main 625-5000
Joyce - 624-2848

November 2, 1987

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman
United States Department of State
Room C-7250
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

It is with great pleasure that I offer my congratulations upon your selection as a recipient of the honorary degree, Doctor of Humane Letters, from the University. An honorary doctorate is a very special award at Minnesota. In its entire 136 history, the University has given fewer than 75.

We would be honored to have you attend our December 13 College of Liberal Arts Commencement to receive the honorary degree. I am pleased that I can now reiterate my earlier invitation to you to speak at the ceremony. This is a unique time in the history of nuclear disarmament negotiations and our graduates, faculty, and guests would be very interested in hearing about your experiences and philosophy as the United States' arms negotiator.

The ceremony will be held at 1 p.m. in Northrop Memorial Auditorium. A reception will follow the commencement.

My assistant, Joyce Wascoe, is in charge of the commencement ceremony and will work out the details with you. I understand she has already been in touch with Sharon Martin in your office.

I hope your schedule will permit you to attend the ceremony to speak and receive your honorary degree. Again, my warmest congratulations.

Sincerely,

Fred E. Lukermann
Professor and Dean



*Nina Shepard - Room -
At meeting Room -
Escort for mess*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

12/12/87

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

RESERVATIONS

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 12:

*Virginia Gray
Chair - Political Science Department*

NW Flight 315

Depart National 12:00

Arrive Minn. 1:35

Seat assignment - 2B

Special meal requested

Will be met at airport and taken to
Raddison University Hotel
615 Washington Avenue SE

Saturday evening: Dinner at the Rappaport's home

Guests: Burton and Geri Joseph
Arthur and Fran Naftalin
Fritz and Joan Mondale
Don and Arvonne Fraser
Fred and Barbara Lukermann

Sunday: Commencement

Escort will be Philip Shively
He will pick you up at hotel
escort you to commencement-to
reception and to airport.

SUNDAY, December 13

NW Flight 1640

Depart Minn. 5:40

Arrive Wash. 8:55

seat assignment 2B

Special meal requested

Nancy - TALK TO ME ABOUT SCHEDULE



United States Department of State

The Counselor

MMK:

I spoke to the people at the University of Minnesota. It is apparently a relatively short commencement and she suggested that your speech be limited to about 20 minutes -- give or take a few.

They have also received some press inquiries and wondered if you would be willing to do some type of press conference on Saturday.

Also, Dean Lukermann received your letter about the dinner on Saturday evening -- asking that he join you and your friends -- and they were wondering if there were any specifics available.

Nancy

Call Joyce Wascoe with responses:
612 624-2848

Philip Shively -

Sunday's Escort
pick up - take to ABC - Hotel - Airport



United States Department of State
The Counselor

December 4, 1987

Sir:

Mr. Gary Rappaport's telephone numbers are:

(O) Napco Industries 612-931-2400
(h) 612-473-3065

Val

Dean Lu (Barbara)
215 Johnston Hall
101 Pleasant St SE
Univ of Minn.
Minn, 55455



United States Department of State

C - Room 7250
Washington, D.C. 20520

November 12, 1987

Dean Fred E. Lukermann
University of Minnesota
College of Liberal Arts
215 Johnston Hall
101 Pleasant Street, S.E.
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

Dear Dean Lukerman:

Thank you very much for your letter of November 2, which has just arrived. My wife and I do plan to be present at the December 13 commencement. We are, obviously, very much honored by the award and pleased at the opportunity to attend.

My plan is to arrive in Minnesota on Friday evening, and leave on Sunday in the late afternoon.

It is my understanding that you were gracious enough to invite me to dinner on Saturday evening. I had already notified some of our friends that we were arriving and had agreed to join them for dinner that evening. I certainly hope that you can hold yourself free that evening so that you can join us. I would be pleased to be available for a reception after the commencement exercises since my plane does not leave until 5:40.

All my best.

Sincerely,

Max M. Kampelman
Counselor of the Department



UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
TWIN CITIES

Office of the Dean

College of Liberal Arts
215 Johnston Hall
101 Pleasant Street S.E.
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

November 2, 1987

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman
United States Department of State
Room C-7250
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

It is with great pleasure that I offer my congratulations upon your selection as a recipient of the honorary degree, Doctor of Humane Letters, from the University. An honorary doctorate is a very special award at Minnesota. In its entire 136 history, the University has given fewer than 75.

We would be honored to have you attend our December 13 College of Liberal Arts Commencement to receive the honorary degree. I am pleased that I can now reiterate my earlier invitation to you to speak at the ceremony. This is a unique time in the history of nuclear disarmament negotiations and our graduates, faculty, and guests would be very interested in hearing about your experiences and philosophy as the United States' arms negotiator.

The ceremony will be held at 1 p.m. in Northrop Memorial Auditorium. A reception will follow the commencement.

My assistant, Joyce Wascoe, is in charge of the commencement ceremony and will work out the details with you. I understand she has already been in touch with Sharon Martin in your office.

I hope your schedule will permit you to attend the ceremony to speak and receive your honorary degree. Again, my warmest congratulations.

Sincerely,

Fred E. Lukermann
Professor and Dean

MINNESOTA TRIP

Saturday, December 12, 1987

NW Flight 315

Depart National 12:00

Arrive Minn. 1:35

Seat 2B

special meal requested

You will be met by Virginia Gray - Chair of the Political
Science Department

Raddison University Hotel (612) 379-8888

615 Washington Avenue, SE

3:00 - 4:00 - Interviews with Star Tribune and St. Paul Paper

4:00 - Interview with Mr. Mark Heistad - re Humphrey

5:00 Telephone Interview

Nina Shepard will be at the Hotel to handle the press and
give you any assistance. They were unable to get a suite
so they have two rooms - one for you and one for interviews.
You can give her copies of the speech.

6:45 Dean Lukermann will pick you up to attend
the dinner at the Rappaport's home 612 473-3065

Sunday, December 13, 1987

Commencement 1:00 p.m. at Northrop Memorial Auditorium.
You will be escorted by Phillip Shively. He will pick you
up at hotel, and stay with you until you catch your plane.
Reception 3:00 p.m.

NW Flight 1640

Depart Minn. 5:40

Arrive Wash. 8:55

Seat assignment 2B

Special meal requested

Ask MMK about this

~~OK~~

MMK: This may have to be moved but
is it okay in principle?

shm

Sharon/MMK:

A Mark Heistad called from St. Paul. He is doing a documentary for Public Radio on the life of Hubert H. Humphrey and asked if he could see MMK. He was planning to be in Washington from November 18 - Nov. 24. I have tentatively scheduled it for Tuesday, Nov. 24 at 10:30. He will call us on Monday, the 23rd to reconfirm. He had asked about December 13 when MMK was in Minnesota, but I did not think he would have enough time to do it then. He can be reached at (612) 290-1443.