



Max M. Kampelman Papers

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AS DELIVERED

"BEYOND PACIFISM TOWARD PEACE"

REMARKS BY

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

TO THE UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE

Airlie House
Airlie, Virginia

June 21, 1988

I was in my late teens, a college student, when I began reading and studying Gandhi, Tolstoy, Nehru, Shridharani, Thoreau, Richard Gregg, A. J. Muste, Evan and Norman Thomas. Pacifism had a strong appeal to the only son of a mother whose dearest brother had been killed in the First World War, a draftee in the Austrian Army. "Wars will cease when men refuse to fight" was the slogan justifying our conscientious objection. "Someday they'll give a war and nobody will come," wrote Carl Sandburg. It was ethics and humanity and, yes, religion that provided the unifying principle for moral behavior.

My school years had included Judaic studies. We each learn different lessons from schools, churches, family, experiences. My exposure taught me that the essence of Judaism could be found in a few words, words that Jewish martyrs cried out in

prayer as they faced punishment for their beliefs: "Hear, oh Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One." If there is only one God, and monotheism was integral to the faith of the ancient Hebrew tribes, then aren't we all children of that one God and thus brothers and sisters to one another? Whether we were black or white, Jew or Christian, German or American, how could we engage in killing one another?

Much has been said about peace as the indispensable ingredient for the evolution of Man from the species homo sapiens to the species "human being." And yet, there is the peace of the grave; the peace that reigns in a well-disciplined prison or gulag; the peace that may plant, with its terms, the seeds of a future war. Is peace synonymous with the absence of war? Is that an adequate definition of what our poets and dreamers have sought?

The discussion of war since the beginning of time has, in the main, been an ethical one. How does one justify the killings that take place in war? From Thucydides to Tolstoy to Churchill, this has been a recurring and dominant theme. Wars could not just be fought or won, except for those people like Bismarck who asked: "Do I want war? Of course not, I want victory," Man has tried to give moral meaning to the tragedy of war and the search for peace.

Ancient Greek philosophers accepted war as a necessary part of nature; Heraclitus said that "all things come into being and

pass away through strife". Acceptance of war as a reality of our nature was also basic to early Christian writers. While Thomas Aquinas regarded peace as the greatest of Man's objectives, he acknowledged a duty to defend the State. Theologians have long debated the "just war". Thomas Hobbes asserted war to be part of nature, although he held out hope that the establishment of a single government with authority over all could abolish fighting. The views of philosophers such as Nietzsche, who glorified war as an instrument for refining the human race, have also had great impact on our history.

During the 5th century A.D., St. Augustine considered the problem of how to reconcile Christian teaching with the use of violence, given the need to protect the Roman Empire from the Vandals. He posited a bystander observing a criminal attacking an innocent victim and concluded the bystander had a right to protect the victim, using only minimal force necessary to deter the criminal. The solution he reached had two important elements which endure in Western culture: first, that force, and, by extension, war, may well be justified in some circumstances; and secondly, given that justification, there must be limitations governing the use and type of force.

There is justification when there is "just cause," defined by St. Augustine as intervention to protect the innocent; by Thomas Aquinas, to punish wrongdoers; for others, simply the

notion of defense. Modern day international law, reflected in the United Nations Charter, embraces the "inherent right of individual or collective self-defense."

There is a related question. If war is to be justified, must it not be authorized by a proper authority so that unrestrained warfare can be controlled? For war to be "right," there had to be a "right authority," -- a Prince, a State. Control introduces the principle of proportionality. Lethal force should not be used against a criminal or aggressor if less force will suffice. Proportionality also suggests that force used in a just cause be directed only at those who perpetrate the injustice, not at innocent noncombatants. The issue is all the more real and difficult with the advances in modern technology.

Today, in a profound way, modern technology enters the discourse -- and it must. Even before the full impact of nuclear weapons could be felt, Reinhold Niebuhr noted that "we have come into the tragic position of developing a form of destruction which, if used by our enemies against us, would mean our physical annihilation; and, if used by us against our enemies, would mean our moral annihilation." He noted "a moral dilemma for which there is no clear moral solution."

There have been two main moral approaches to war taken by those who comprise peace movements. Father Bryan Hehir of the

U.S. Catholic Conference has described them as the position of the pacifist or the moral abolitionist, and the position of the moral architect. "The abolitionists sought to exorcise war, to expunge it from human history," through conscientious objection, non-violent opposition to evil, and personal testimony. In that way, war would not be a part of their lives or the life of the society in which they lived. The moral architects, on the other hand, "sought to build a moral framework in which war could be contained, restrained and, even though it stretches the imagination to think it could be, humanized." Seeking to balance competing values, they accepted the legitimacy of force and its presence in human history. Persuaded that the eradication of war would require a change in human nature as well as structural political change, they were prepared to accept a more immediate remedy, a framework which justified some use of force, all within the moral universe.

The pacifist meets -- some would say avoids -- the Niebuhr dilemma by declaring an absolute principle. War, he says, is a greater evil than any evil it would seek to correct. At this point, variations appear. For some, this principle is enough. It justifies yielding to the lesser evil in the faith that history or a higher moral authority will in the end set things straight. Regrettably, this is also too often accompanied by a reluctance to accept unpleasant realities through a rationalization that the purported enemy or adversary is not evil at all. Thus, the sad alliance of many pacifists with

politically motivated cadres who told us that Hitler was only reflecting rightful German grievances; or that the brutal excesses of Stalin and Mao were simply capitalist exaggerations; or that North Vietnam was seeking to unify and not subjugate the Peninsula; or that the Sandinistas are idealistic liberals rather than totalitarian communists. Thus, a "peace at most any price" evolves. French President Mitterrand had this phenomenon in mind with his sardonic comment some years ago that the Soviet Union produces weapons while the West produces pacifists.

Other pacifists, symbolized by Gandhi, recognize the high moral duty to challenge and attempt to defeat evil. Their premise is that war does not serve that end. Instead, they focus on the power of love and non-violent resistance to evil. The human being, they argue, created in the image of God, has the capacity to respond more to the human force of love and conscience in his fellow man than to coercion and hate, which perpetuate conflict. Lincoln, a champion of peace but not a pacifist, put it that the best way to defeat an enemy is to turn him into a friend. But Lincoln did conclude that a war, a costly one, was necessary to preserve the Union. And modern technology has undermined and by-passed the power of love by depersonalizing and automating the process of war, thereby destroying the opportunity for a human being to test the impact of his love on another human being whom he does not see. The armed adversary in modern war never sees his victim. An

individual has a right to suffer martyrdom for principle, but not to condemn others thereby to that same fate. Here one must remember with Clausewitz that "The aggressor is always peaceloving. He would like to make his entry into our country undisturbed." The Russian proverb goes: "Make yourself into a sheep, and you'll meet a wolf nearby."

Human society, therefore, looks beyond pacifism for the peace with freedom we all seek. We have yet to find the way, but "the moral architects" continue their effort.

Non-intervention historically has had appeal. It was John Stuart Mill, however, who pierced the balloon of simplicity when he wrote: "The doctrine of non-intervention, to be a legitimate principle of morality, must be accepted by all governments. The despots must consent to be bound by it as well as the free States. Unless they do, the profession of it by free countries comes but to this miserable issue, that the wrong side may help the wrong, but the right must not help the right." For many, however, it remains a comfort.

The policy of deterrence is appealing as consistent with the moral requirements of "just war". Deterrence, a defensive posture, meets a primary principle of just war, even though it does not necessarily meet the principle of proportionality and the requirement that innocent noncombatants be immune. Yet deterrence can work only with a credible threat to engage in

war in the event of attack. Therefore, at the strategic nuclear level, it deliberately skates close to the edge of violence. What, of course, undermines this criticism is that it seems to be working. Deterrence has not led to mass, indiscriminate destruction. Rather, it has achieved stability. Michael Walzer, in discussing the ethics of nuclear peace, writes: "Supreme emergency has become a permanent condition. Deterrence is a way of coping with that condition, and though it is a bad way, there may well be no other that is practical in a world of sovereign and suspicious states. We threaten evil in order not to do it, and the doing of it would be so terrible, that the threat seems in comparison to be morally defensible."

We continue to look for other and perhaps better alternatives to assure peace with dignity. The Strategic Defense Initiative is an alternative that must here be addressed. It is defensive in intent. It does not violate the requirements of proportionality and noncombatant immunity. With our SDI program, we are exploring through research whether we can strengthen deterrence through an increased ability to create effective defenses and thereby deny and deter an aggressor from his objectives. People ask of their governments that they be protected from attack, not that their government be able only to avenge them after the attack. The possibility is a real one that defensive technologies, cost effective at the margin and preferably non-nuclear, can be created.

The search, furthermore, is not ours alone. The Soviet Union has for many years been active in building up its defensive capabilities. It has the most comprehensive air defense system in the world; and it has spent enormous resources on passive defenses to protect its leadership, command and control system, industry, and population. It possesses the only operational anti-ballistic missile system in the world, and it has just modernized it. It possesses the only operational anti-satellite system in the world; and it was the first to destroy a satellite in space. The Soviets, furthermore, as Mr. Gorbachev has acknowledged, are proceeding with an intensified program of research on their own version of SDI.

We will continue with our SDI research program since it is not in our interest to permit the Soviets to have the field of strategic defenses all to themselves. It would be highly imprudent for any American President not to pursue such an investigation with vigor. A coordinated effort, if one can be negotiated and devised, holds promise for greater stability and peace through mutual security.

Current United States policy is, furthermore, to reduce risks and tensions while maintaining the strategy of deterrence. We are negotiating to achieve verifiable reductions in nuclear arms, with numbers designed to enhance stability at lower levels of military forces. We are also

preparing for talks to begin later this year or next year to reduce conventional arms. Simultaneously, we are engaged in a process to build realistic, constructive, and more cooperative relations with the Soviet Union. This effort calls for elaboration.

We have no illusions about the nature of the Soviet Union. The tensions that have characterized our relationship with the Soviet Union are real. Our differences are not based on mutual misunderstandings. This is a misleading, naive and patronizing over-simplification. Soviet leaders are not crude peasants who need some reassurance about how well-intentioned we are. Our problems are too profound to be thought of as being resolved by quick fixes, super negotiators, a summit, or a master-draftsman capable of devising language to overcome differences. The leadership of the Soviet Union is serious. Its diplomats are serious and well trained. Their response in a negotiation is motivated by one primary consideration: their perceived national self-interest.

The fundamental challenge to the free world is a principle that has governed Soviet international behavior -- everything that has become Communist remains forever inviolate; and everything that is not Communist is open to change by pressure, subversion, even terror. Gorbachev last year, regrettably, reaffirmed this dangerous Leninist principle when he proclaimed in Warsaw that "socialist gains are irreversible" and warned

that an effort to "undermine" the "international . . . socialist community" would threaten peace. And yet, this year we see that the Soviets are finally withdrawing their troops from Afghanistan -- with a superficial veneer of bravado, but a pullback nevertheless.

No regime can be permitted to propagate its faith with the sword. A Soviet Union which desires to enter the 21st century as a respected and secure member of the international community must reject its old faith that the "irreconcilability" of our two systems means the "inevitability" of war and must repudiate violence as the instrument to achieve its vision of a new society.

The Soviet Union is the last remaining empire of our day. Its empire consists of former states now absorbed within Soviet geopolitical boundaries; contiguous Eastern European states; and states in different parts of the world over which it exercises control. But imperialism comes with a high price tag. The West learned that the price is too high. The Soviet elite may be reaching that conclusion as its third world clients become dependencies lining up for handouts. It is estimated that Vietnam costs the Soviets more than \$3.5 billion annually; Cuba \$4.9 billion; Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia \$3 billion; and Nicaragua close to \$1 billion. The total cost to the Soviets may well reach more than \$35 million a day.

The Soviet economy is working poorly, although it does provide a fully functioning military machine. Massive military power has provided the Soviets with a presence that reaches all parts of the world, but this military superpower cannot hide the fact that its economic and social weaknesses have third world characteristics. The Soviet's awesome internal police force has provided continuity to its system of governance, but a Russia which during Czarist days exported food cannot today feed its own people. And no police can keep out the ideas and developments that are communicated by satellite to all parts of the world, any more than it can by fiat insulate the Soviet Union from the wind currents that circle our globe.

The economic growth rate of the Soviet Union is down to virtually zero; its standard of living is sinking; productivity is dropping. With absenteeism, corruption, and alcoholism widespread, internal morale is bad. Contrary to trends elsewhere in the world, life expectancy for Russian men is actually decreasing. It is estimated that a worker in the Soviet Union must work more than seven times as many hours as a Western European to earn enough money to buy a car.

The new leaders of the Soviet Union are fully aware of its problems. I suspect they are also aware of our strengths, reflecting the vitality of our values and the healthy dynamism of our system. It is increasingly evident to all that there is a moral and practical difference between a dictatorship and

democracy, even as both are powerful nuclear powers, just as there is a difference between a prison yard and a meadow. In the past five years, we have seen 15 million new jobs created in the United States, a 5% drop in our unemployment rate to its lowest level in 8 years, a 17% increase in GNP per capita, and a reduced inflation rate, which had been at double digits, to around 4% annually for the last six years. We have every reason to be proud of our system and of the human values which govern our system.

Democracy works best. A closed, tightly-controlled society tied in knots by a repressive bureaucratic system, cannot compete in a world in which economic development and the power which it produces is all important. Rapid technological change, stimulated by an information explosion that knows no national boundaries, requires the vitality that comes from freedom. Over the long term, there is an inescapable link between human liberty, democracy, and economic well-being.

We hope the time is at hand when Soviet authorities looking at the energy of the West, comprehend that repressive societies in our day cannot achieve economic health, inner stability, or true security. We hope the leadership of the Soviet Union will come fully to accept that it is in its best interest to permit a humanizing process to take place. We hope it has come to understand the need to show the rest of us that cruelty is not indispensable to its system. We hope the ruling elite today

realizes that its historic aim of achieving Communism through violence has no place in this nuclear age. We hope Soviet authorities will join us in making the commitment that our survival as a civilization depends on the mutual realization that we must live under rules of responsible international behavior. We hope -- but as yet we, regrettably, cannot trust.

But even as we cannot yet trust, we have a responsibility to ourselves to observe developments in the Soviet Union carefully and to do so with open eyes, an open mind, and an open heart. There have been changes within the USSR. General Secretary Gorbachev has shown himself in a dramatic way willing to reconsider past views. The words glasnost and perestroika have been repeated so extensively that the ideas they represent may well take on a meaning and dynamism of their own which could become internally irreversible. The political rehabilitation of Bukharin, a Communist Party leader executed by Stalin in the 1930's, is of profound symbolic significance. It opens up for discussion the very sensitive topic of Stalin's legacy. It also helps Gorbachev legitimize for today the principle of economic incentives that Bukharin himself favored in earlier times in the Soviet Union.

We are told that Gorbachev has internal difficulties and rivalries, with neither "reformers" nor their opponents able to gain a decisive victory and break a current stalemate. That may or may not be. It is, however, good, to remind ourselves

of de Tocqueville's dictum that the most dangerous time for an authoritarian regime is when it begins to reform itself.

It is, therefore, also a time when we must maintain our vigilance, in order to maintain our values. We must not forget that on two previous occasions we reached what seemed to be significant positive milestones in our relations with the Soviets, only to lose ground due to regional conflicts. In 1963, we signed an agreement with the Soviet Union banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere. President Kennedy called this agreement a "shaft of light" in the darkness, and some believed it marked the end of the Cold War. But not many months later, the North Vietnam Soviet client state began its aggression, and we were in Vietnam.

Again, in the early 1970's, "detente" with the Soviet Union was marked by the signing of SALT I and other arms control agreements. Again, regional conflicts -- Soviet support for aggression against Israel, Angola, Ethiopia, Yemen, and, finally, and most chillingly, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan - destroyed whatever there was left of "detente". Today, we try again. The changes taking place within the Soviet Union seem to be real and are greatly encouraging. But, having spent all of last week talking to the Nicaraguan freedom fighters and internal opposition leaders, and visiting the democracies in Guatemala, San Salvador, Costa Rica, and Honduras, I urge that so long as the Soviets continue to

destabilize and undermine democracy in Central America, we must not lower our guard. Instead, let us make Central America a test of Soviet bona fides.

For us, peace is not merely the absence of war. A genuine and desirable peace is, to paraphrase Niebuhr, built only on the foundation of justice, freedom, and the rule of law. Our values are at the center of it all. The Nobel Committee shared this insight when it awarded Dr. Andrei Sakharov the Nobel Peace Prize.

All of us and our societies fall short of our aspirations. We grow by stretching to reach them. As we do so, however, let us be reassured by the conviction that the future lies with freedom because there can be no lasting stability in societies that would deny it. Only freedom can release the constructive energies of men and women to work toward reaching new heights. A human being has the capacity to aspire, to achieve, to dream, and to do. We seek these values for all the children of God. Our task is to stretch ourselves to come closer to that realization. With its realization, we not only find the path to peace, we find peace.

Thank you.

ID # 2324

6/22/88

E Airlie House

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August 3, 1988

Hon. Max Kampelman
S. Del. Room 7250
Department of State
2201 C Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20520


Dear Max:

Just a note to tell you again how magnificent I thought your address was at Airlie House on June 21st. It was wonderful having an evening with you and Maggie and to see you both so well.

I am in the process of taking care of my cataract and as soon as I am mobile, I will call you to discuss a number of the current issues.

Meanwhile, Mary joins me in sending you and Maggie our best love.

Always,



MIL:mk

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10 May 1988

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman
Counselor of the Department of State
2201 C Street N.W.
Room 7250
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Max:

I can't tell you how pleased I was to hear that you have agreed to deliver the keynote address at our June conference entitled, "Toward the Twenty-First Century: An Investigation of the Roads to Peace."

The conference, which is the culmination of an 18 month "Intellectual Mapping" project, is taking place over the course of two days (June 20-21) at the Airlie House conference facility in Airlie, Virginia. Four plenary papers and eleven shorter working group papers will be presented and subsequently published, in book form, later this year.

Specifically, we are inviting you to make your presentation at the concluding banquet on the evening of Tuesday, June 21st. The dinner, which is scheduled for 6:30-8:30, will be a relatively informal affair, and will be attended by the principal conference participants as well as a limited number of interested members of the public. At present we are expecting the audience to number approximately 100 individuals.

In terms of the content of your speech, we leave that to your discretion. Suffice it to say, however, that a man of your experience and intimate knowledge of the complicated and arduous processes of achieving a more peaceful international environment will surely not be at a loss for words.

I have included, for your perusal, some background on the project in general as well as the conference itself. As you can see from the list of participants, we are expecting a lively and productive two days. The addition of your name to that list is the finishing

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6/21

Ham rekk non. Scott Thompson
any audience

Arise talk
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Amb. Kitzer
Mrs. Kitzer

703-347-1300

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touch that will no doubt result in the conference being a grand success.

Thank you once again for taking time out of your busy schedule to join us, and I take immense personal pleasure in knowing that I will be seeing you at Airlie in June.

With warmest personal regards,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'S. Lewis', written over a horizontal line.

Samuel W. Lewis
President

SWL/rns
Encls.

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CONFERENCE AGENDA

DATES: Monday, June 20, 1988
Tuesday, June 21, 1988

PLACE: Airlie House, Airlie, Virginia

MONDAY: 20 June

9:00-9:30 John Norton Moore and Samuel W. Lewis
Brief remarks to plenary.

9:30-10:15 "Traditional Approaches": Plenary paper-Professor Edward
Luttwak.

Coffee Break (15 minutes)

10:30-12:30 Break-out sessions on traditional approaches sub-categories:
A.I - "Collective Security and Deterrence"
A.II - "Diplomacy and Negotiation"
A.III - "Strategic Management and Arms Control"

NOTE: Each topic will have a break-out room and participants/public can choose which one(s) they wish to attend. Each of these sessions will have a taxonomic issue presentation and a commentator. The Institute will provide rapporteurs.

12:30-2:15 LUNCH

2:30-3:00 "International Legal Approaches": Plenary paper-Professor
Oscar Schachter.

3:00-5:00 Break-out sessions on legal sub-categories:
B.IV - "International Law"
B.V - "Interstate Organizations"
B.VI - "Third Party Dispute Settlement"

5:00-6:30 Free Time

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TUESDAY 21 June

- 9:00-9:15 President Samuel W. Lewis - Recap.
- 9:15-9:45 "New Approaches": Plenary paper-Robert Pickus.
- 9:45-10:00 Coffee Break
- 10:00-12:00 Break-out sessions on "New Approaches" sub-categories:
C.VII - "Transnationalism"
C.VIII - "Behavioral Approaches"
C.IX - "Conflict Resolution"
- 12:30-2:15 LUNCH
- 2:30-3:00 "System Approaches": Plenary paper-W. Scott Thompson
- 3:00-5:00 Break-out sessions on sub-categories:
D.X - "Internal Systems"
D.XI - "Systemic Theories / World Systems."
- 5:00-6:30 FREE TIME
- 6:30-8:30 Banquet Dinner.
Keynote address: Ambassador Max Kampelman

STRANDS OF THE INTELLECTUAL MAP

Group A. "The Traditional Approaches"

- I. COLLECTIVE SECURITY & DETERRENCE
- II. DIPLOMACY AND NEGOTIATION
- III. STRATEGIC MANAGEMENT AND ARMS CONTROL

Group B. "The International Legal Approaches"

- IV. INTERNATIONAL LAW
- V. INTERSTATE ORGANIZATIONS
- VI. THIRD PARTY DISPUTE SETTLEMENT

Group C. "The New Approaches"

- VII. TRANSNATIONALISM
- VIII. BEHAVIORAL APPROACHES
- IX. CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Group D. "Systems (or Political Philosophy) Approach"

- X. INTERNAL SYSTEMS
- XI. SYSTEMIC THEORIES/WORLD SYSTEMS APPROACH

SCHEDULED PAPER-GIVERS

Group A - Edward Luttwak

- I. Gregory Treverton (Commentator-Bruce Russett)
- II. David Newsom (Commentator-I. William Zartman)
- III. Steven Miller (Commentator-Janne Nolan)

GROUP B - Oscar Schachter

- IV. Myres McDougal (Commentator-Keth Highet)
- V. Edward Luck (Commentator-Roger Hansen)
- VI. Richard Bilder (Commentator-Jeffrey Rubin)

Group C - Robert Pickus

- VII. Joseph Montville (Commentator-Richard Falk)
- VIII. Nazli Choucri (Commentator-Herbert Kelman)
- IX. James Laue (Commentator-Geoffrey Kemp)

Group D. - W. Scott Thompson

- X. Rudi Rummel (Commentator-Elise Boulding)
- XI. Michael Nagler (Commentator-A. Lawrence Chickering)

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INTELLECTUAL MAP SEMINARS

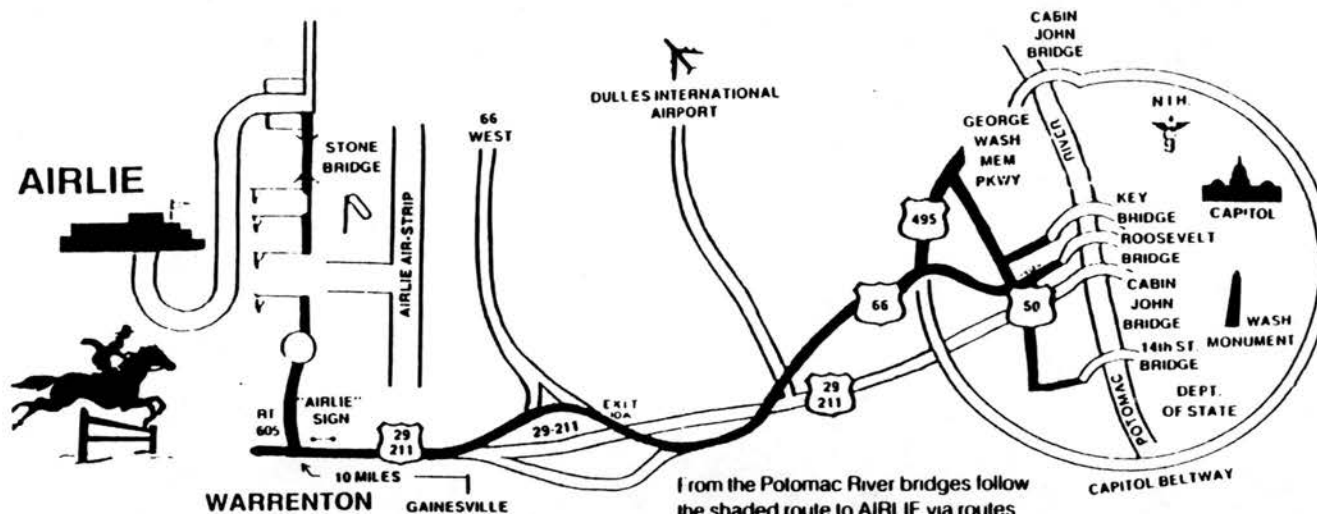
The first Institute project is an exploration of the "intellectual map of the field of international peace and conflict management." To that end, the Institute has initiated an series of public discussions to survey the principal approaches and theoretical foundations of the international peace field. To date, those who have participated in the series are:

Edward E. Azar	Director, Center for International Development University of Maryland (March 24, 1988)*
Richard Bilder	Burrus-Bascom Professor of Law, University of Wisconsin-Madison (January 28, 1988)
Coit Blacker	Senior Research Associate, Stanford University Arms Control Program (February 19-20, 1987)
Lincoln Bloomfield	Professor of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (January 28, 1988)
Adda Bozeman	Professor Emeritus, Sarah Lawrence College (July 9, 1987)
Innis Claude	Professor of Government and Foreign Affairs, University of Virginia (December 5, 1986)
Harlan Cleveland	Professor of Public Affairs and Planning, Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota (January 28, 1988)
Robert Conquest	Senior Research Fellow, The Hoover Institution On War, Revolution and Peace (February 19-20, 1987)
Anthony D'Amato	Professor, Northwestern University Law School (July 9, 1987)
Louis Henkin	Professor, Columbia University School of Law (July 9, 1987)
Daniel Druckman	National Academy of Science (November 19, 1987)
Roger Fisher	Professor, Harvard University Law School (November 19, 1987)
Arthur Hartman	Former U.S. Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. (November 19, 1987)
G. Keith Highet	President, American Society of International Law (July 9, 1987)
Sidney Hook	Senior Research Fellow, The Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace (February 19-20, 1987)
P. Terrence Hopmann	Professor, Brown University (November 19, 1987)
Samuel P. Huntington	Director, Harvard University Center for International Affairs (March 5, 1987)
James H. Laue	Lynch Professor of Conflict Resolution George Mason University (March 24, 1988)
Richard Ned Lebow	Director of the Peace Studies Program Cornell University (March 24, 1988)
Monroe Leigh	Partner, Steptoe & Johnson (July 9, 1987)
Edward Luttwak	Arleigh Burke Chair of Strategy, Center for Strategic and International Studies (December 5, 1986)

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Monroe Leigh	Cornell University (March 24, 1988) Partner, Steptoe & Johnson (July 9, 1987)
Edward Luttwak	Arleigh Burke Chair of Strategy, Center for Strategic and International Studies (December 5, 1986)
Myres McDougal	Professor Emeritus, Yale University School of Law (July 9, 1987)
Joseph V. Montville	Research Director, Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs Foreign Service Institute (March 24, 1988)
David Newsom	Director, Georgetown University's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy (November 19, 1987)
Robert North	Professor Emeritus, Stanford University (February 19-20, 1987)
Robert Pickus	President, World Without War Council (February 19-20, 1987)
Craig Ritchie	Board Member, Beyond War Foundation (February 19-20, 1987)
Henry Rowen	Professor, Stanford University Graduate School of Business (February 19-20, 1987)
Jeffrey Rubin	Professor of Psychology, Tufts University (January 28, 1988)
Robert Scalapino	Director, Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California at Berkeley (February 19-20, 1987)
Steven Schwebel	Justice, International Court of Justice (July 9, 1987)
Gene Sharp	President, Albert Einstein Institute (December 5, 1986)
J. David Singer	Coordinator, World Politics Program University of Michigan (March 24, 1988)
Louis Sohn	Professor, University of Georgia School of Law (December 5, 1986)
Helmut Sonnenfeldt	Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Study (November 19, 1987)
John Stevenson	Partner, Sullivan and Cromwell (July 9, 1987)
Donald Treadgold	Chairman, Russian and East European Studies Department, University of Washington (February 19-20, 1987)
Gregory Treverton	Harvard University, Kennedy School of Government (March 5, 1987)
Brian Urquhart	Scholar in Residence, The Ford Foundation (January 28, 1988)
Vamik Volkan	Professor of Psychiatry, University of Virginia Medical School (March 24, 1988)
Carlos Warter	President, World Health Foundation for Peace (February 19-20, 1987)
Charles Wolf	Senior Fellow, The Rand Corporation (February 19-20, 1987)
Herbert York	Director, Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, University of California at San Diego (February 19-20, 1987)
I. William Zartman	Professor, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Study (November 19, 1987)

* Indicates date of seminar.



From the Potomac River bridges follow the shaded route to AIRLIE via routes 495, 66, and 29-211, to exit 10A at Gainesville. (Approximate driving time 60 minutes) HOV restrictions on Rt 66 during AM and PM rush hours.





Airlie House, is operated by The Airlie Foundation, a non-profit corporation chartered by the Commonwealth of Virginia.

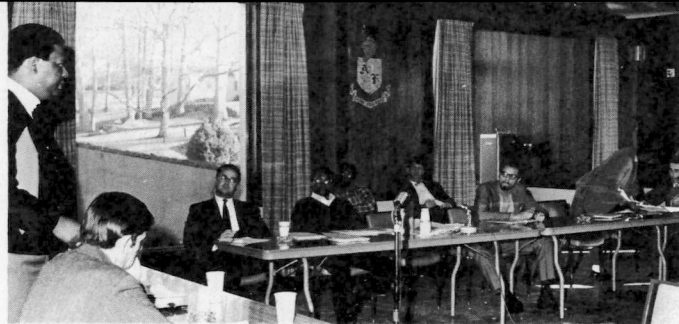
The facility is a conference center, designed to provide a forum for the exchange of ideas in the public interest and the discussion of problems within our society.

Over the years AIRLIE has achieved international distinction in the conference field.

Outstanding groups of academicians, scientists, industrial-business leaders, government officials,

students and diplomats from all over the world have met, studied and conferred here.

Removed from busy offices and urban distractions, AIRLIE is a working conference center. It has been called appropriately "an island of thought" . . . a place where conference participants live, work, relax together; where an effective, productive conference is achieved through total concentration on the subject matter.



A successful conference requires special skills in planning and a special atmosphere to achieve its purpose. The staff at AIRLIE has a wealth of experience in providing the necessary elements for serious conferences. The Foundation itself has been designed specifically to offer visitors the privacy and freedom from interruption that allow them the time and the atmosphere in which to think and to exchange ideas.

Several large conference rooms for groups of up to two hundred and fifty people and a number of smaller rooms for group sessions and smaller meetings are available. Because of the physical relation-

ship of the conference rooms, several groups may meet simultaneously in privacy without interruption.

Projectors, tape recorders, public address systems, audio-visual aids are available, as well as staff photographers.

The AIRLIE staff is prepared to structure a conference independently or to assist the conference director in scheduling, planning and programming.

It is requested that each conference director make a personal visit to AIRLIE to plan his conference in order that the arrangements will be wholly satisfactory.

The AIRLIE table is varied but tends toward food native to Virginia.

The coffee and social hours can be planned out-of-doors or beside open fire-places, depending on season.

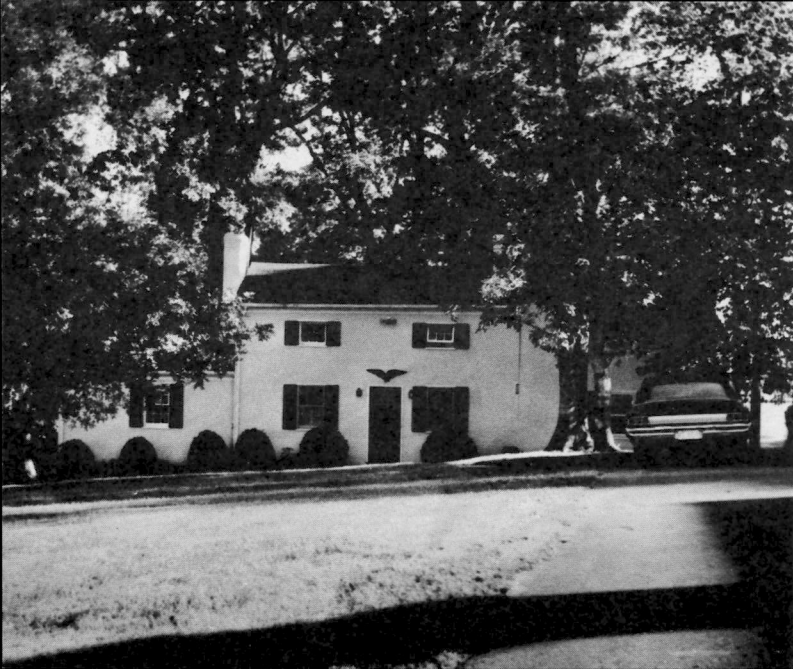
The mild climate permits cook-outs six months of the year.

The unique dining facilities and the really fine cuisine highlight an AIRLIE conference.



Two hundred guests can be lodged at AIRLIE. The guest rooms are modern and air conditioned. They are furnished in a simple, comfortable fashion that befits the country. Additional guests can be accommodated in an excellent nearby motel.





The traditional atmosphere of early Virginia has been preserved through the careful restoration and remodeling of the original Georgian manor houses and farm buildings.



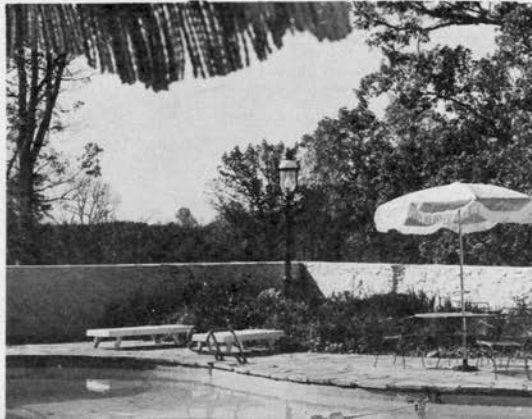
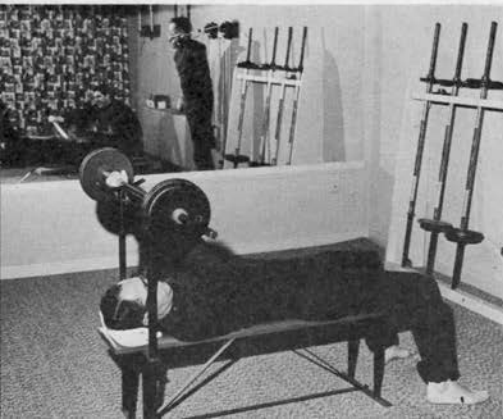




AIRLIE occupies 2,000 acres of Virginia countryside, in the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains.



The Health Center is located in the Silo House, just off the heated swimming pool. A Sauna, steam room, and a completely equipped gymnasium, afford AIRLIE's guests recreation and exercise between conference sessions.



AIRLIE's hard surfaced, lighted airstrip can accommodate executive aircraft. Private air transportation can be arranged upon request.



THE COUNTRY STORE

While at Airlie, take a little time out for a visit to the Country Store which is located just across from the Silo House Pool.

Along with friendly attendants to serve you, many interesting and varied gifts can be found to please everyone; more important, at reasonable prices.



There are so many items in the store it would be difficult to list them individually, so please drop in and browse around during your coffee breaks and leisure time. We also handle drug store items and film.

The Airlie Branch Post Office is located in the Country Store for all your postal needs!



AIRLIE PRODUCTIONS — a division of the Airlie Foundation . . . motion pictures for the theater . . . national television . . . and corporate or private audience viewing.

Airlie Productions has produced more than 250 films in over 70 countries throughout the world and received some 50 International Film Festival Awards in addition to 9 "Emmys" from the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences" for Productions that appear each year in prime evening time . . . nationwide.

Complete motion picture facilities are available on the premises along with a permanent resident staff of professional creative and technical staff necessary to produce media ranging from a one minute spot, to a corporate image film, to a full length theatrical release.

FILMS TO MOVE
PEOPLE
INFORMATION
and IDEAS

PAUL NEWMAN
"Flowers of Darkness"

JOHN WAYNE
"More Than a Paycheck"

RONALD REAGAN
"The Saving of the President"

CANDICE BERGEN
"Each Child Loved"

HUGH DOWNS
"Countdown to Collision"

ROD STEIGER
"Bridge From No Place"

ROBERT MITCHUM
"America on the Rocks"

ROBERT PRESTON
"Beware the Wind"

ARTHUR GODFREY
"Eagles Lament"

DWIGHT EISENHOWER
"Reprieve"



RECREATION INCLUDES:

Health Center — Sauna, steam room and gymnasium . . . all located in the Silo House.

Swimming — A heated pool permits excellent swimming eight-nine months a year.

Tennis — New all-weather courts are adjacent to Health Center.

Shuffleboard — Two courts overlook the lake.

Skeet Range — Equipment and attendant provided.

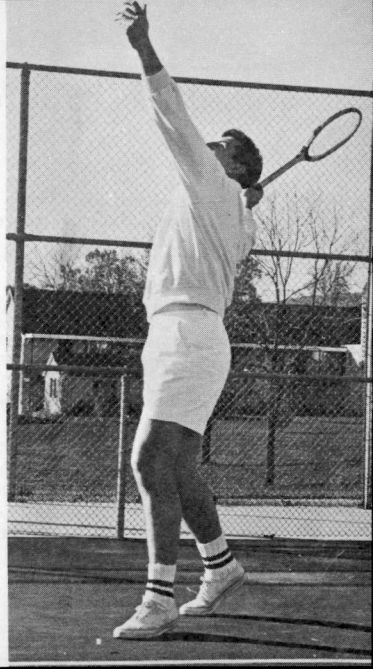
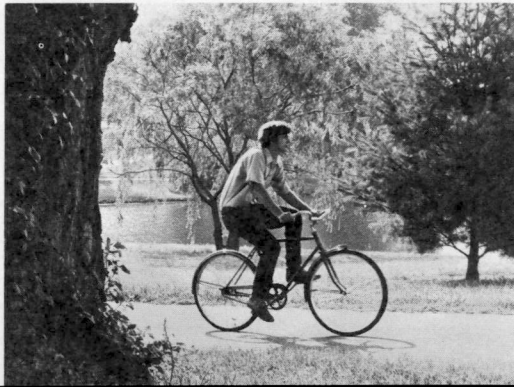
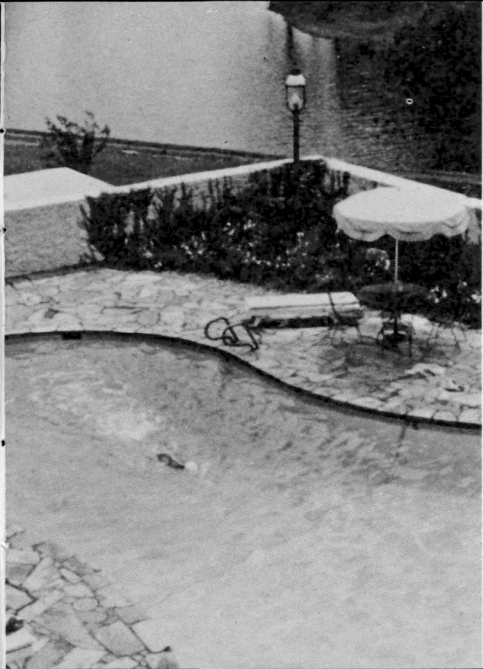
Golf — Two courses are available. Transportation can be arranged.

Fishing — Lakes and streams provide fine fresh water sport.

Hiking — The countryside is ideal for a quiet walk or for hiking through open rolling fields.

Bicycles — AIRLIE has six miles of hard-surfaced roads, excellent for cycling. Bicycles are available at the Country Store.

Side Trips — Trips to the many historic shrines of Virginia may be arranged. The Manassas Battlefield, Thomas Jefferson's "Monticello," Colonial Williamsburg and the Virginia Tidewater country are all accessible from Airlie. The Skyline Drive and Shenandoah National Park are less than an hour away. The city of Washington, with its endless opportunities for sightseeing is forty-five miles away.



CHURCH INFORMATION

Churches of all faiths are located in nearby Warrenton.

DRESS

Guests are requested to wear jackets to the evening meal.

Sport shirts, slacks and outdoor apparel will fill your informal needs while at AIRLIE.

Plan to bring suitable clothing, if you wish to swim, play tennis, fish, etc. A pair of old shoes and a raincoat should be included for a trip to the country.

OTHER RECOMMENDATIONS

It is suggested that guests bring cameras to AIRLIE. The landscape, charm of the restored buildings, offer unusual vistas to the photographer.

Unfortunately, there are no accommodations for children or pets at AIRLIE. Teenagers (age 16 or over) can be accommodated at regular rates if prior arrangements are made with AIRLIE HOUSE management.

LOCATION AND TRANSPORTATION

AIRLIE is located forty-five miles west and south of Washington, D. C., three miles north of Warrenton, Virginia. The Center is accessible throughout the year via new Interstate and State Highways from Washington as well as from Dulles International, Washington National and Friendship International airports. A heliport and a private airstrip are available on the grounds.

AIRLIE limousine service and chartered buses can be arranged. Public buses are regularly scheduled between Washington and Warrenton.

Driving time is 55 minutes from Washington and 30 minutes from Dulles Airport.

For further information, write or call

AIRLIE FOUNDATION

Airlie, Virginia

In Virginia Dial 703-347-1300

**Toll Free — Washington, D. C. Area
273-6554**