Max M. Kampelman Papers

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AS READ

THE HENRY M. JACKSON MEMORIAL LECTURE

"ARMS CONTROL AND THE SOVIET UNION: A PERSPECTIVE"

AN ADDRESS BY

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

COUNSELOR OF THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE

HENRY M. JACKSON FOUNDATION
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

October 20, 1988

I am immensely proud to be on this dais tonight delivering a lecture which bears the name of my dear friend, one of our nation's most able and dedicated leaders of this century, Henry M. Jackson. It is appropriate in these closing days of a Presidential election year for me to assert in his home state of Washington that the American people suffered a loss of gigantic proportion with Scoop's premature death. Henry Jackson, as a President of the United States, would have been a blessing for the American people, our government, our security, and our values. I was fortunate to be able to work and identify myself with that aspiration and doing so has been among the proudest and most cherished of my political memories. And, I say without hesitation, no first lady would have been more intelligent or more dedicated to her responsibilities than Helen Jackson.

An educational foundation which bears the name of Henry M. Jackson carries with it a high standard to which it must reach. The world knows of "Scoop" Jackson as one of our lifetime's most courageous and dedicated public servants. To those of us who knew him and loved him, however, the essence of his being was much more complex.

Dedicated to public service, Scoop understood that his greatest task was to rededicate this country to the cause of democracy. If America was to fulfill its responsibility in the evolutionary struggle of civilization toward an order based on the sanctity of the human being, Scoop was convinced that the political process had to become a process for the education and edification of the body politic. Thus he looked upon politics and public service as inseparable from education.

In that spirit and in this very distinguished forum, it is important to remember that the object of our nation's diplomacy is peace. But, like all words, this proud word too has run the risk of being corrupted. 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. Certainly those are not what our dreamers and philosophers have yearned for. It is peace with dignity that we seek. It is peace with liberty that is the indispensable ingredient for the evolution of Man from the species <u>homo sapiens</u> to the species "human being."

This is a goal easy enough to state, but difficult to attain. Men and women seem capable of mobilizing their talents to unravel the mysteries of their physical environment. We have learned to fly through space like birds and move in deep waters like fish. But how to live and love on this small planet as brothers and sisters still eludes us. In every age, that has been the essence of the challenge. The immense challenge to the next President -- and this President has made an extraordinary beginning -- is to find and develop the basis for lasting peace among the peoples of the world so that they might live in dignity. In this nuclear age, the significance of that goal cannot be overstated.

It is my intention this evening, imbued as we are by the spirit of Henry Jackson, to engage in some personal retrospection and analysis. Within a few short months, I will be leaving the State Department with its different and exciting challenges that have enriched my life. As a traditional Democrat serving in a Republican Administration, I see the need to stand back and evaluate our country's evolving role as a responsible member of an international community in a world that is changing so fast and so dramatically that we can barely see its details let alone its scope.

The pace of change in the world today is so rapid that any statement we make about tomorrow is likely to be obsolete even before the day is over. 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, . . . the tension and vibration and volume and so-called progression of society were fully a thousand times greater in 1900 than in 1800".

Using that measure, the pace of change between 1900 and today is totally beyond calculation, probably greater than has taken place in all of mankind's previous history put together. And newer scientific and technological developments on the horizon will probably make all similar discoveries, from the discovery of fire through the industrial and commercial revolutions, dwarf by comparison. During my lifetime, medical knowledge available to physicians has increased more than ten-fold. The average life span is now nearly twice as great as it was when my grandparents were born. The average world standard of living has, by one estimate, quadrupled in the past century. More than 80 percent of all scientists who ever lived are alive today. In this century, our country's frontiers of exploration have gone from Alaska to the far side of the moon, and beyond. New computers, new materials, new bio-technological processes are altering every phase of our lives, deaths, even reproduction. World communications are now instantaneous, and transportation is not far behind.

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."

These changes in science and technology are producing fundamental changes not only in our material lives, but also in our economic, social and political relationships. We are brought up to believe that necessity is the mother of invention. I suggest the corollary is also true: invention is the mother of necessity.

Global economic, technological, and communication advances have made global interdependence a reality. Economic power and industrial capacity are ever more widely dispersed around the globe. Our political and economic institutions are feeling the stress of these pressures as they try to digest their implications. 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; while the economies of South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore have moved, in the space of a generation, to international influence far beyond their relative size. And we have yet to settle on a legal and regulatory framework to cope with a world where economic interdependence blurs the origin of products, and where international financial flows in a single day (about $1 trillion) equal the U.S. government's annual budget.

There is no escaping the fact that the sound of a whisper or a whimper in one part of the world can immediately be heard in all parts of the world. But the world body politic is not keeping pace with those realities. What we have instead been observing is an intense fractionization, as large numbers of peoples permit their emotions to be inflamed by nationality and religious appeals. It is as if a part of us is saying: "not so fast. We are not ready. Our religious and communal culture has not prepared us for this new world we are being dragged into. We will resist the pressures by holding on tight to the familiar, the traditional; and we will do so with a determined frenzy!"

But the inevitable tomorrow is appearing. There are new sounds and among those most clearly and loudly heard are the sounds of freedom and democracy. The striving for human dignity is universal because it is an integral part of our human character. We see it in Burma, Pakistan, Korea, the Philippines, South Africa, Chile, Poland. A larger part of the world's population is today living in relative freedom than ever before in the history of the world. Almost unnoticed, the numbers of people and the numbers of nations now freely electing their governments or vitally moving in that direction are greater than ever in the history of the human race. Indeed, according to Freedom House, an organization I have had the privilege of serving as Chairman, in the past fifteen years the number of countries which can be called "free" or "partly

free" has climbed from 92 to 117, with about 63% of the world's population living in these countries, while the number of "not free" declined from 71 to 50, with China and the Soviet Union representing more than 70% of those not living in freedom. Even in Latin America, a region of the world we grew up believing to be governed by military dictatorships, more than 90 percent of its people today live, though still precariously, 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 germinate and flourish. State controlled centralized planning cannot keep up with the pace of change. Formerly state controlled economies in Africa, Latin America and Asia are relying more and more on free markets and individual initiative. Even in China and the Soviet Union, there is growing, albeit hesitating, recognition of the relationship between freedom and economic dynamism, a realization that a closed, tightly-controlled society cannot compete in a world experiencing an information explosion that knows no national boundaries.

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 any more than one can escape the winds whose currents affect us all. Let us remember that even though national boundaries can keep out vaccines, those boundaries cannot keep out germs.

One essential geo-political consequence of the new reality is that there can be no true security for any one country unless there is security for all. Unilateral security 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.

The lessons for the United States and the Soviet Union -- the most important security relationship in the present era -- are evident. We cannot 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. We must learn to live together. 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 attain them, given our cultural, political and social differences. But, as it must under the laws of nature, today will soon be yesterday; and tomorrow will soon be with us. Change is inevitable. We must not fear it. We must influence it.

The tensions that have characterized our relations with the Soviet Union are real. 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 formulating language to overcome differences. The leadership of the Soviet Union is serious. Its diplomats are 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 in our day has been a Soviet principle that everything that has become Communist remains forever inviolate; and everything that is not Communist is open to change by pressure, subversion, even terror. We, therefore, observe with keen interest and approval that the Soviets are withdrawing their troops from Afghanistan. Its leaders now say -- and we are encouraged to hear -- that they are modifying their old faith that the "irreconcilability" of our two systems means the "inevitability" of war.

Yet, even today under Gorbachev, the Soviets and Cubans are providing more than a billion dollars a year in economic and military assistance to Nicaragua; more than a billion dollars worth of military equipment was sent to Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia in the first six months of last year; more than four billion dollars in military equipment has been sent to Angola since 1984. Cuba gets about seven billion dollars in Soviet support each year. At a time of economic stress at home, these commitments may well speak clearly about Soviet priorities.

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 are deep, with many 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. Productivity is low. With endemic absenteeism, corruption, and alcoholism, internal morale is bad. Contrary to trends elsewhere in the world, life expectancy 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. One Russian recently said: "There have been many books written on the transition for capitalism to socialism but not one on the transition from socialism to capitalism."

The new leaders of the Soviet Union are fully aware of its problems. No police can keep out unwelcome 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 unwelcome germs that circulate in the world's air. They are also aware of our strengths, reflecting the vitality of our values and the healthy dynamism of our system.

In the past six years, we have seen 17.8 million new jobs created in the United States, a 5.6% drop in our unemployment rate to its lowest level in 14 years, a 26% increase in real GNP per capita, and a reduced inflation rate, which had been at double digits, to an average of 3.4%. We have every reason to be proud of our system, even with its remaining inadequacies, and of the human values which govern our system.

It is our profound hope that through the process of internal transformation that is demanded by new technologies, 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 Soviet leadership has come to realize that it is in its best interest to permit a humanizing process to take place so that it can show the rest of us that cruelty is not indispensable to its survival. We hope that leadership comes to realize that its historic requirement to achieve Communism through violence is an abomination in this nuclear age. We hope the Soviet decision-makers 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 we cannot yet 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 and an open mind. There are significant and dramatic changes taking place in the Soviet Union, potentially massive changes. We must challenge Soviet rhetoric into reality; and we must not fear those changes no matter how they may require us to alter our own rhetoric and modify our own perceptions. We can welcome Soviet use of words such as "democracy" and "glasnost"; and even though we must remind them that their words are too often contradicted by deeds, the continued use of the words may create standards that will more firmly establish them in their society. We welcome the news that Soviet military doctrine will in the future be a defensive one, but since we have not yet seen evidence of this change in the structure of their forces, we must keep a healthy skepticism as we challenge them to make the promised changes.

President Gorbachev's task is a formidable one. He has shown himself in a dramatic way willing to reconsider past views. But the USSR is not apt easily or quickly to undergo what Jonathan Edwards called a "great awakening," or see a blinding light on the road to Damascus. Their heavy

bureaucratic crust of tradition is thick and not easily cracked. The fundamental nature of their system is the fact they and we must still face. But there is the beginning of real change. We must be open to that change, evaluate its effect, and not blind ourselves to it. We must have confidence in our vitality and our strength, because it is these attributes which have contributed to the changes and opportunities opening up before us.

Our ability to influence Soviet internal developments is likely to be limited, but we are not totally without influence. The Soviet Union and its people in many ways measure themselves by Western standards. The United States is the Soviet Union's principal rival, but we are also its standard for comparison. Language used by us to characterize our values, such as "human rights" and "democracy" are adopted by the Soviets, because they satisfy the deepest aspirations of the Soviet peoples as well.

When I began negotiating with the Soviet Union in Madrid in 1980, under the Helsinki Final Act, human rights was maturing as a major item on our country's international agenda. Henry Jackson, with his Jackson-Vanik Amendment, was fundamental to that American commitment by relating Soviet immigration practices to our Soviet policy. We prevailed in that Madrid negotiation, but the Soviet Union stubbornly insisted that the discussion of the subject was an improper interference in their

internal affairs. When, in 1985, I returned to government service as head of our nuclear arms reduction negotiating team, an extraordinary change became apparent. Under the leadership of President Reagan and the careful guidance of Secretary of State George Shultz, the United States enlarged upon what President Carter initiated, and incorporated the concept of human rights as a necessary and ever-present ingredient in the totality of our relations with the Soviet Union. The events of the summit in Moscow four months ago, with, for example, Anatoliy Dobrynin and Dr. Andrei Sakharov sitting at my table at a dinner for General Secretary Gorbachev hosted by President Reagan and with a Sakharov sitting at every table alongside Soviet officials -- were a dramatic and effective illustration of this commitment.

Yes, we are prepared to reduce arms; and we want to normalize and stabilize our relations with the Soviet Union. But, we insist, the pursuit of arms reductions must be accompanied by attention to the serious problems that cause nations to take up arms. Arms are the symptoms of a disease. Let's treat the disease as well as the symptoms: regional conflicts, bilateral tensions, and, of course, human rights violations. The latter, we explained, are at the root of much of our hostility toward the Soviet system, and undermine the very essence of trust and confidence between nations.

In his 1975 Nobel Prize speech that he was not permitted to present in person, Dr. Sakharov said:

"I am convinced that international trust, mutual understanding, disarmament, and international security are inconceivable without an open society with freedom of information, freedom of conscience, the right to publish, and the right to travel and choose the country in which one wishes to live."

The United States negotiates with the Soviet Union in that context. We intensify our efforts, through our negotiations, to find a basis for understanding, stability, and peace with dignity. Yes, to negotiate is risky. It is, in the words of Hubert Humphrey, something like crossing a rapid stream by walking on slippery rocks. The possibility of a fall is on every side, but it is the only way to get across. The object of our diplomacy and the supreme achievement of statesmanship, is patiently, through negotiation, to pursue the peace we seek, always recognizing the threat to that peace and always protecting, with fully adequate military, social, and economic strength, our vital national interests and values.

We want our negotiating efforts to produce results. For the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age, we have produced a treaty completely eliminating to zero two entire categories of nuclear missiles. A total of 2096 warheads -- 1667 Soviet and 429 U.S. -- will disappear. We have already started to destroy these missiles. We are continuing to make progress in Geneva where we have completed more than 300 pages of a joint draft text of a treaty which would achieve 50% reductions in

longe-range strategic nuclear weapons, the most dangerous and destabilizing nuclear forces on this planet. We are on the verge of completing two treaties on nuclear testing. We are completing in Vienna the mandate for talks on reducing conventional arms, negotiations which may well begin next year. We are deeply in the mist of chemical weapons negotiations.

We have obviously begun a historic process, all in the context of change. With the complex issues we face, however, even with full arms reduction agreements, we will still be nearer to the beginning than to the end of that process.

Alexis de Tocqueville wrote in the nineteenth century that "it is especially in the conduct of their foreign relations that democracies appear to be decidedly inferior to other governments." The challenge remains a real one and, I believe, the jury is still out. In recent weeks, writing in Foreign Affairs magazine, former Secretaries of State Henry Kissinger and Cyrus Vance expressed their "deep belief" that "(T)he security of free peoples and the growth of freedom both demand a restoration of bipartisan consensus in American foreign policy."

With these warnings in mind, can we achieve the firm sense of purpose, steadiness, and strength that is indispensable for effective foreign affairs decision-making? Can our political community resist the temptation of partisan politics and

institutional rivalry to develop the consensus adequate to meet the challenge of de Tocqueville's criticism?

Effective diplomacy requires the availability of power. Indeed, it has been said that diplomacy without arms is like music without instruments. But power today cannot be exercised effectively in our democracy without a broad consensus in support of that policy. Consensus -- not unanimity -- requires broad agreement and understanding between the President and the Congress. This in turn means that our policies require an identification with our country's values and aspirations. We are as a nation painfully coming to that realization. Neither the diplomat nor the politician in a democracy can afford to ignore the moral dimension of foreign policy. With the clearly devastating character of modern weapons, conventional and nuclear, no democracy can effectively pursue its diplomacy, where the availability of force is an indispensable ingredient, unless there is a broad consensus supported by a moral foundation behind that policy.

G.K. Chesterton summarized his studies of our country by declaring that the United States is a "nation with the soul of a church." This must be understood as we seek the basis for national consensus in foreign policy. We require moral justifications for our actions.

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."

Pacifism produces an absolute standard for the behavior of nations. I was in my college years, when I began reading and studying Gandhi, Tolstoy, Shridharani, Thoreau, Richard Gregg, A. J. Muste, Evan Thomas. "Wars will cease when men refuse to fight" was the slogan. "Someday they'll give a war and nobody will come," wrote Carl Sandburg. But the pacifist principle that war is a greater evil than any evil it would seek to correct came to justify for some yielding to the lesser evil in the faith that history or a higher moral authority will in the end set things straight. Regrettably, this then led to a rationalizing that the purported enemy is not so evil after 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 its peninsula; or that the Sandinistas are idealistic revolutionaries rather than totalitarian communists. The Clausewitz reminder was ignored that "The aggressor is always peaceloving. He would like to make his entry into our country undisturbed."

Society, therefore, looks beyond pacifism for the peace with freedom and dignity we all seek. Non-intervention as a course has historically had its advocates. 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."

The modern policy of deterrence as an approach has been a post-World War II development with widespread support. A defensive posture, it has its appeal. Yet, deterrence can work only if it is accompanied by a credible threat to engage in war in the event of attack. Thus, it deliberately skates close to the edge of nuclear catastrophe and thereby raised moral questions. But 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."

Society continues to look for other and perhaps better alternatives to assure peace with liberty. The Strategic Defense Initiative increasingly presents itself as an alternative that must here be addressed. 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. Its appeal is that 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 and successful in building up its defensive capabilities. This includes, as Mr. Gorbachev has acknowledged, proceeding with an intensified program of research on their own version of SDI. We must seek a coordinated effort, with its promise for greater stability and peace through mutual security. We must remind ourselves of the new reality that there can be no true security for any one country or people unless there is security for all.

In the meantime, as we continue to search for this goal, current United States policy is to reduce risks and tensions while maintaining the strategy of deterrence. We are engaged in a process to build realistic, constructive, and more cooperative relations with the Soviet Union.

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. Last year, President Chaim Herzog of Israel was in Washington. In a speech before both 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. Democracy is a great ideal and deserves passionate devotion. It is the political embodiment of our religious values. In fulfilling our responsibility as citizens of this democracy, there is no room for moral neutrality. 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. There is an unmistakable difference between a prison yard and a meadow.

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 or 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.

Abraham Lincoln in his day said that "America is the last great hope of mankind." It still is. Our political values have helped us build the most dynamic and open society in recorded history, a source of inspiration to most of the world. It is a promise of a better tomorrow for the hundreds of millions of people who have never known the gifts of human freedom. The future lies with liberty, human dignity, and democracy. To preserve and expand these values is our special responsibility. We cannot escape that burden. We should look upon it as an exciting opportunity as well.

Thank you

October 18, 1988
ID # 117

SD

THE HENRY M. JACKSON FOUNDATION

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November 21, 1988

The Honorable Max M. Kampelman
3154 Highland Terrace Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

Enclosed please find a check in the amount of $1418.00 to cover the cost of your wife's travel to Seattle.

We so enjoyed having the two of you with us in Seattle.

With warmest regards,

Susan Gould

Susan H. Gould
Office Manager

GEORGE S. WEIGEL, JR, President

THE JAMES MADISON FOUNDATION

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KALE WILLIAMS

21 October 1988

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman
S/C
U.S. Department of State, room 7250
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Max:

Barry Goren was telling me over the phone this morning about your fine speech in Seattle last night. I'd be eager to see a copy of it, if you'd be kind enough to pass one along.

Best regards.

As ever,

George Weigel
President

1030 15TH STREET NW SUITE 412 WASHINGTON DC 20005 202-842-1514

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October 10, 1988

Ambassador Max Kampelman
3154 Highland Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

I am sending you the proposed schedule for your visit to Seattle on October 20 and 21 and copies of some of the promotional materials related to your lecture.

Please let me know if you wish any modification in the plans. We are looking forward to your arrival.

With warmest regards,

Robin K. Pasquarella

Robin K. Pasquarella
Executive Director

10/20

THE COUNSELOR
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

June 28, 1988

Ms. Robin K. Pasquarella
Executive Director
The Henry M. Jackson Foundation
1001 Fourth Avenue
Suite 3317
Seattle, WA 98154

Dear Ms. Pasquarella:

Thank you very much for your most gracious letter of June 15. I look forward to being with you, Helen Jackson, and your associates. I have, therefore, put aside the evening of ~~Thursday, October 20~~ for the lecture and would be pleased to accept your proposed schedule and program suggestions. We will hold open for the time being whether I return to Washington on Friday afternoon or extend my stay on the West Coast. My wife, incidentally, will join me.

All my best.

Sincerely,

Max M. Kampelman

THE
HENRY M. JACKSON
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL
STUDIES

October 25, 1988

Ambassador Maxwell Kampelman
3154 Highland Place NW
Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

Please accept the thanks of both the students and faculty of the Jackson School for your having taken the time and effort out of a busy schedule to visit the campus and the School. Many of those who crowded in to hear you have made a point to tell me how well the session went and how much they appreciated your remarks.

If they were anything like your comments that evening - both at dinner and the lecture - I understand their applause. I was especially moved by your lecture. It has been a long, long time since I was reminded - eloquently at that - why I pounded the pavement in the Democratic precincts of New Haven as a law student and young Democrat in support of Hubert Humphrey. And I will be an equally long time remembering. So with personal as well as institutional appreciation,

Sincerely,

John O. Haley
Director

cc: Helen Jackson

University of Washington
Thomson Hall, DR-05
Seattle, Washington 98195

(206) 543-4370

United States Department of State

The Counselor

Nancy:

Would you do a letter to Robin Pasquerella for resimbursement for MBK's round trip first class airfare in the amount of $1,418. MMK cleared this with the Jackson Foundation with the thought that he would then make a contribution to them in December.

Sharon

THE COUNSELOR
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

November 2, 1988

Ms. Robin K. Pasquarella
Executive Director
The Henry M. Jackson Foundation
1001 Fourth Avenue
Suite 3317
Seattle, WA 98154

Dear Ms. Pasquarella:

I am enclosing the corrected copy of the speech delivered by Ambassador Kampelman which you requested. I am sorry for the delay, but he just returned to the office on Monday and, needless to say, had a good bit of other work to clear up.

I also understand that the Jackson Foundation had agreed to reimburse Ambassador Kampelman for his wife's airfare. The cost of the ticket was $1,418.

Thank you again for all your help in arranging the Ambassador's schedule.

Sincerely,

Nancy C. Tackett

Nancy C. Tackett
Staff Assistant

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June 15, 1988

The Honorable Max M. Kampelman
3154 Highland Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

Helen Jackson asked me to follow up with you and your staff regarding your potential visit to Seattle this October to deliver the Henry M. Jackson Memorial Lecture. Helen and all of us at the Foundation are delighted that you are willing to try to work this engagement into your very busy schedule. Today I spoke with Sharon Dardine in your office, and we have scheduled tentatively the evening of Thursday October 20 for the lecture.

If this timing is acceptable to you, we would suggest that you plan to fly from Washington, D.C. Thursday morning which would allow you some time here in the afternoon to relax before the evening event. We would hold a small dinner in your honor preceding the lecture which will be open to the general public.

The following morning would provide an opportunity to schedule a breakfast session with the World Affairs Fellows which Helen mentioned in your telephone conversation. This is a group of approximately twenty community leaders drawn from local business, government, the press and the non-profit sector who participate in a year long seminar series on international policy issues. In addition, we would be pleased to arrange an informal seminar discussion with students at the Jackson School of International Studies if this would be of interest to you. This proposed schedule would allow you to schedule a return flight Friday afternoon or alternatively extend your stay in the Northwest through the weekend.

We, of course, are very flexible and can modify this schedule as you desire. We understand that at this point the October 20 date is tentative, subject to final confirmation six weeks prior to the event. At that time, however, we will need to fix the date so that invitations and public announcements can be distributed.

We look forward to hearing from you and hopefully to your visit to Seattle this fall.

Sincerely,

Robin K. Pasquarella

Robin K. Pasquarella
Executive Director

Washington World Affairs Fellows

1514 NE 45th Street, Seattle, WA 98105
(206) 523-4755

1988-89 Fellows

Pat Carr
Manager, Business Development, Honeywell Marine Systems

Victor Ericson
Director of Economic Development, U.S. West Communications

William Golding
Chairman of the Board, Forest Grove Industries

Lynn Howgate
Director, Public Relations, American Automobile Association of Washington

Sarah Jewell
Senior Vice President, Credit Administration, Rainier National Bank

Harold Kawaguchi
General Partner, Trinus Partners

Laurence Killeen
Executive Director, Port of Tacoma

Sam McCullum
Director, Traffic Safety Commission, State of Washington

Connie Niva
Everett City Councilmember

Jane Noland
Seattle City Councilmember

J. Thurston Roach
Vice President and Chief Financial Officer, Simpson Investment Company

Paul Schell
Partner, Perkins Coie

Deborah Shey
Manager, Regional Personnel Community Affairs, Sea-Land Services Inc.

Andrew Stefan
Director, Program Management, Boeing

Paul Suzman,
Managing Director, Business Space Resources


THE
HENRY M. JACKSON
FOUNDATION

THE HENRY M. JACKSON MEMORIAL LECTURE

PRESENTING

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

October 20, 1988
8:00 p.m.

The 5th Avenue Theatre
Seattle, Washington

The Henry M. Jackson Memorial Lectures are presented periodically by the Henry M. Jackson Foundation to advance public discussion of important national and international concerns. The purpose of the Jackson Memorial Lectureship is to provide a significant forum in which major issues of public policy may be forthrightly addressed and critically examined. Views expressed in the lecture series are those of the speakers.

Max M. Kampelman, lawyer, diplomat and educator, is Counselor of the Department of State and Ambassador. He has headed the United States negotiating team on nuclear and space arms in Geneva since his appointment by President Reagan in January 1985.

In addition to his role as delegation chief, Kampelman was given specific responsibility for talks on defense and space weapons, an area in which many differences remain between the United States and the Soviet Union. The widely heralded Intermediate-Range Nuclear Force (INF) Treaty with the Soviet Union, which eliminates a whole class of nuclear missiles, has been the major outcome of the talks to date.

Prior to his current diplomatic assignment, Kampelman was appointed by President Carter and reappointed by President Reagan to serve as Ambassador and Head of the U.S. Delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe which took place in Madrid from 1980 to 1983. He previously was a Senior Advisor to the U.S. Delegation to the United Nations and once served as Legislative Counsel to U.S. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey.

Kampelman received his J.D. from New York University and his Ph.D. in political science from the University of Minnesota, where he taught from 1946 to 1948. He has also served on the faculties of Bennington College, Claremont College, the University of Wisconsin and Howard University. He lectures frequently in this country and abroad and has written extensively in scholarly and public affairs journals. He holds honorary doctorates from eight institutions and has received the Knight Commander's Cross of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Ambassador Kampelman was the founder and moderator of the public affairs program on public television, "Washington Week in Review." He was chairman of the Washington public broadcasting radio and television stations from 1963 to 1970. His activities, until his current diplomatic assignment, included service as chairman of Freedom House, vice chairman of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority, executive committee of the Committee on the Present Danger, honorary vice chairman of the Anti-Defamation League, chairman of the National Advisory Committee of the American Jewish Committee, and vice president of the Jewish Publication Society.

A partner in the law firm of Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Kampelman until his retirement in 1985, he has lived and worked in Washington since 1949. His family includes his wife, Marjorie, and five children.

PROGRAM

MODERATOR:

Mike James
News Anchor, KING Television

INTRODUCTION:

Helen H. Jackson, Chairman
Henry M. Jackson Foundation

THE HENRY M. JACKSON
MEMORIAL LECTURE

Arms Control and the Soviet Union:
A Perspective

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

Presented by

THE HENRY M. JACKSON FOUNDATION

With the sponsorship of the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*

The Henry M. Jackson Foundation was established in 1983 following the death of its namesake. It is a non-profit, charitable organization which supports educational programs related to fields where Senator Jackson played a major leadership role. These include international affairs; public service; the environment, natural resources and energy; and human rights.

"ARMS CONTROL AND THE SOVIET UNION: A PERSPECTIVE"

An Address by

AMBASSADOR MAX M. KAMPELMAN

Head of the United States Delegation to the negotiations on nuclear and space arms in Geneva

In the Second

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Thursday,
October 20, 1988
8:00 pm
The 5th Avenue Theatre
Seattle, Washington

Open to the Public
Admission Free

Doors open at 7:15
For further information, call 682-8565.

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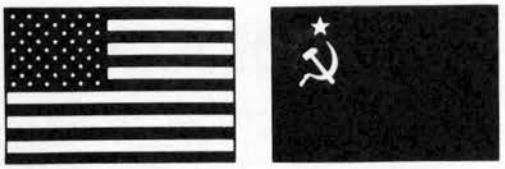

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