



Max M. Kampelman Papers

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COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

JENNIFER SEYMOUR WHITAKER
Director
Committees on Foreign Relations

September 16, 1988

Hon. Max M. Kampelman
Counselor, Department of State
S/DEL, Room 7208
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

I'm very pleased that you have been able to coordinate your schedule to include a visit to the Philadelphia Committee on Foreign Relations. The date for your dinner session on December 1 has been confirmed by the Committee leadership and they are looking forward to it a great deal.

I sent them some biographical information on you, and let them know your topic will be "Arms Control and the Soviet Union: A Perspective." Your thoughts on arms control and on U.S.-Soviet relations -- especially given the dynamic state of politics in both countries -- will be of great interest to the Committee. As you know, the Committee is a non-expert but well-informed group, so a fairly brief presentation (about 20-25 minutes) would be optimum. A discussion period of about an hour will follow.

Now the Committee leader, Karl Spaeth, will be contacting you directly regarding arrangements for the meeting, and media contacts if you so desire. If there is anything else we can do to facilitate your trip, please let me know.

Once again, I'm very glad you will be able to participate in our program.

Sincerely yours,

Jennifer Whitaker
Jennifer Seymour Whitaker



12/1
United States Department of State

Room 7250
Washington, D.C. 20520

September 14, 1988

Ms. Jennifer Seymour Whitaker
Director
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York, New York 10021

Dear Ms. Whitaker:

As you may know by now, Ambassador Kampelman has agreed to meet with the Philadelphia Committee of the Council on Foreign Relations on Thursday, December 1, 1988.

Enclosed is a copy of Ambassador Kampelman's biography and a photo. The title of his speech is "Arms Control and the Soviet Union: A Perspective."

We look forward to hearing from the Philadelphia Committee on final details as we come closer to the date.

Sincerely,

Sharon H. Dardine
Staff Assistant to Amb. Kampelman

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

JENNIFER SEYMOUR WHITAKER
Director
Committees on Foreign Relations

August 1, 1988

Hon. Max M. Kampelman
~~S/DEL, Room 7208~~ C, Rm 7250
Department of State
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Mr. Kampelman:

I received your response to our invitation for you to speak to the Committees on Foreign Relations, and am delighted about your interest in participating in our program. I understand that your schedule makes it difficult for you to plan extensive travels, but we would be eager to arrange a session for you with one of our Committees along the Eastern corridor. Thus I would like to suggest a meeting with the Philadelphia Committee the first week of December, or, if that date is not possible, they would also be eager to arrange a session in January. 11/14

Philadelphia's dinner meetings usually begin with cocktails at about six pm, adjourning around nine o'clock. Therefore it would be possible for you to make it back to Washington the same night, or early the next morning. I very much hope this possibility may work -- as do the leadership of the Philadelphia Committee. We look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Jennifer Whitaker
Jennifer Seymour Whitaker
Coleen Grove

12/1

THE COUNSELOR
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

July 19, 1988

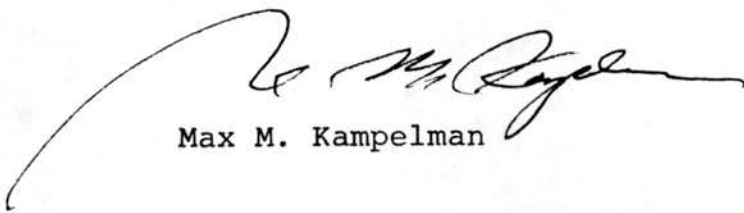
Ms. Jennifer Seymour Whitaker
Director
Council on Foreign Relations
58 East 68th Street
New York, New York 10021

Dear Ms. Whitaker:

Thank you very much for your most gracious letter of July 7 which I found on my desk upon my return from Geneva. The idea of speaking to the Committees on Foreign Relations of the Council is an attractive one and has some advantages for me over a public forum dealing with matters currently under review around the Geneva negotiating table. The primary problem would be a meeting which would require extensive travel. In view of my duties as Counselor of the Department, in addition to whatever I must do in Geneva, it is not very practical for me to think about making a serious trip of of Washington. In the event there was a session in the Washington area or along the Eastern corridor, that would be preferable. Why don't I withhold final judgment until I hear further from you.

All my best.

Sincerely,



Max M. Kampelman

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

July 7, 1988

JENNIFER SEYMOUR WHITAKER
Director
Committees on Foreign Relations

Hon. Max M. Kampelman
S/DEL, Room 7208
Department of State
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Mr. Kampelman:

I am writing to extend an invitation to you to speak to the Committees on Foreign Relations of the Council on Foreign Relations.

As you may know, the Committees, which are modeled after and affiliated with the Council on Foreign Relations, serve as the Council's main form of outreach and are located in major cities throughout the country. As with the Council, their members are selectively chosen from among leading figures in the community, with a cross-section from the professions, government, academia and the media. At their meetings they focus in some depth on current issues vital to the formation of U.S. foreign policy. The Committees, like the Council, try to encourage candid discourse by holding their meetings on a not-for-attribution basis.

I realize that the Council has invited you to speak at the Harold Pratt House in New York, but I hope you may also be interested in the different sort of opportunity offered by the Committees' program -- a chance to meet with influential groups outside the Boston/New York/Washington corridor. Given the important fruits of this Administration's efforts on arms control, your views on the future challenges facing the United States would be of great interest to our participants. The next few months seem to us an ideal time for summing up and moving beyond today's headlines. In view of your extensive experience and particular responsibility on arms control issues, your voice would have particular resonance. We would be eager to provide a sounding board for candid, in-depth discussion of your thoughts.

Thus I hope it may be possible to discuss the possibility of meshing your plans for the upcoming program year with the agendas of one or more of the major Committees. Media and other contacts could certainly be arranged during your visit, if you so desired. We will be in touch with your office in the near future.

Thank you.

Sincerely,



Jennifer Seymour Whitaker

ARMS CONTROL AND THE SOVIET UNION: A PERSPECTIVE

ADDRESS BY

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

THE PHILADELPHIA COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

December 1, 1988

Within a few short months, I will be leaving the State Department with its different and exciting challenges that have enriched my life. In this election year, 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 this century is greater than in all of mankind's previous history combined. And newer scientific and technological developments on the horizon will probably make all previous discoveries 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% of all scientists who ever lived are alive today. 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 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 our universe. Indeed, "Our science is a drop, our ignorance a sea."

Much has been said, and much more must be said, about the significance of those awesome changes. But today, I would like to address this question in the context of "peace", understandably considered to be the ultimate objective of diplomacy. It is a goal easy enough to state, but difficult to attain or even define. 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. It is the primary challenge facing the next President -- and he builds on an extraordinary beginning by President Reagan and Secretary of State Shultz.

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. Technology and communication have made the world smaller. 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. And yet the world body politic is not keeping pace with those realities. What we have instead been observing is an intense fractionalization, as large numbers of peoples have had their emotions 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 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. Even in Latin America, a region of the world we grew up believing to be governed by military dictatorships and tyrannies, more than 90% of the people today live, though still precariously, in democracies or near democracies.

There is alongside the cry for freedom also the clamoring sound for peace. Peace is the indispensable ingredient for the evolution of Man from the species homo sapiens to the species "human being." But what does it mean? 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 that is not the peace our dreamers and philosophers have yearned for.

The discussion of war since the beginning of time has been surrounded by ethical considerations. Theologians have long debated the "just war". From Thucydides to Tolstoy to Churchill, it was understood that wars could not just be fought without justification. Ancient Greek philosophers and early Christian writers accepted war as a necessary part of nature. St. Augustine found justification for war in intervening to protect the innocent; Thomas Aquinas, in punishing 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."

Today, as it must, modern technology profoundly enters the discourse. 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."

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 behind that policy. Certainly for the United States, that consensus requires a moral foundation.

Non-intervention as a moral approach 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 current widespread support. A defensive posture, it meets a primary requirement of "just war". 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. 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 than war to assure peace with liberty. The Strategic Defense Initiative increasingly presents itself as an alternative that must here be addressed. It is defensive in intent. With our SDI program, we are exploring through research whether we can strengthen deterrence through an increased ability to create non-nuclear 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. The new reality is that there can be no true security for any one country or people unless there is security for all. We must learn to accept in each of our countries a mutual responsibility for peoples in all other countries.

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 have achieved and are negotiating toward further verifiable and stabilizing reductions in nuclear arms. We are preparing for talks to begin next year to reduce conventional arms and deal with the scourge of chemical and biological weapons. Simultaneously, we are engaged in a process to build realistic, constructive, and more cooperative relations with the Soviet Union.

The tensions that have characterized our relations with the Soviet Union are real. Our problems are too profound to be

thought of as capable of being resolved by quick fixes, super negotiators, a summit, or a master-draftsman skilled in 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 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 that the Soviets have begun to withdraw their troops from Afghanistan, a process we hope will continue. Its leaders now say -- and we are encouraged to hear -- they are modifying their old faith that the "irreconcilability" of our two systems means the "inevitability" of war.

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. 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 absenteeism, corruption, and

alcoholism, internal morale is bad. Contrary to trends elsewhere in the world, life expectancy has been 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. 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. They are also aware of our strengths, reflecting the vitality of our values and the healthy dynamism of 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 creative 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. 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 Soviet leadership 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 -- and there are encouraging signs to bolster that 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 and an open mind. There have been significant changes within the USSR. President 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 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. To negotiate is risky. It is, in the words of Hubert Humphrey, something like crossing a rapid stream while walking on slippery rocks. The possibility of a fall is on every side, but it is the only way to get across.

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. These are not merely abstract ideals. These are real living values that have guided our nation since its founding.

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. 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.

The major obstacle in the path toward that realization is within ourselves as we note de Tocqueville's 19th century observation that "it is especially in the conduct of their foreign relations that democracies appear to be decidedly inferior to other Governments." We must achieve the firm unifying sense of purpose, steadiness and strength that is indispensable for effective foreign policy decision-making. We must insist that our political community resist the temptation of partisan politics and institutional rivalry to develop the consensus adequate to meet our responsibilities.

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 not 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. But more than a burden and responsibility, we should look upon it as an exciting opportunity.

Thank you

12/1/88

ID # 222

**COUNCIL
ON FOREIGN
RELATIONS**

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Philadelphia

JENNIFER SEYMOUR WHITAKER
Director
Committees on Foreign Relations

December 21, 1988

Hon. Max Kampelman
Counselor, Department of State
S/DEL, Room 7208
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

On behalf of the Council on Foreign Relations, I want to add my thanks to that of the Philadelphia Committee for your superb contribution to their program early this month. They found you candid, disarming, and extremely cogent. The director of the Committee told me he now understands very well why you are such a great negotiator!

I greatly appreciate your making time in your busy schedule to address their group. Again, many thanks.

Yours truly,

Jennifer Whitaker
Jennifer Seymour Whitaker



THE COUNSELOR
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

January 5, 1989

Philadelphia

12/1/88

Mr. Joseph K. Gordon
Philadelphia National Bank
P.O. Box 7618
Philadelphia, PA 19101-7618

Dear Mr. Gordon:

That was a most thoughtful of December 13.
Thank you very much for writing. I am pleased to
enclose the talk that I made before the Philadelphia
Committee on Foreign Relations.

My very best wishes to you and your family
for a good year ahead.

Sincerely,



Max M. Kampelman

Philadelphia National Bank
FC 1-22-1
PO Box 7618
Philadelphia PA 19101-7618
215 973-3100

Office of Resident Counsel

Joseph K Gordon
Executive Vice President
and Chief Counsel

Elizabeth M Barbis
Ruth J Brader
S W Holt
David B Lipkin
David J Martin
Barbara M Rothenberg
Anne Wallace
Counsel

John F Stefanowicz
Associate Counsel

Maryann L Natarella
Administrative Officer



CoreStates

**Philadelphia
National Bank**

December 13, 1988

Hon. Max M. Kampelman
Counselor
Department of State
S/DEL, Room 7208
Washington, D.C. 10520

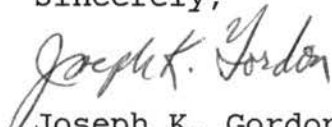
Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

I am writing to tell you how much I enjoyed and admired your talk before the Philadelphia Committee on Foreign Relations at the Philadelphia Club on Thursday, December 1, 1988. It was very well done and, with the answers to the questions following your talk, was very informative.

Would it be possible to receive a copy of your talk? I think that some of my associates as well as members of my family would enjoy and benefit from your comments.

Once again, congratulations on the excellent job that you did at our meeting.

Sincerely,


Joseph K. Gordon

PHILADELPHIA COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

12/1
6:30-
9:00

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

THEODORE FRIEND, Chairman
RAUL BETANCOURT
RICHARD P. BROWN, JR.
R. JEAN BROWNLIE
FREDERICK HELDRING
WILLIAM F. MACHOLD
HOWARD C. PETERSEN
ANDREW M. ROUSE
ROBERT STEVENS
ELLA R. TORREY
LEWIS H. VAN DUSEN, JR.
KARL H. SPAETH, Secretary

(F)

OFFICE OF SECRETARY

Karl H. Spaeth
Quaker Chemical Corp.
Elm & Lee Streets
Conshohocken, PA 19428
Tel: 215 828-4250

November 14, 1988

Honorable Max M. Kampelman
Counselor, Department of State
S/DEL Room 7208
Washington, D. C. 10520

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

I am enclosing a copy of the notice that was sent to all members of the Philadelphia Committee on Foreign Relations on November 9, 1988, concerning your presentation on December 1.

As we get closer to the date of the meeting, I will be in touch with your office to discuss any logistical matters that require attention.

In the meanwhile, we are looking forward to hearing you on Thursday, December 1.

Yours very truly,



KHS/sr

P.S. I have just noted a typographical error contained in the notice, for which I must apologize. In the title of your discussion, the word "in" seems to have been substituted for the word "and."

K.H.S.

PHILADELPHIA COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

THEODORE FRIEND, Chairman
RAUL BETANCOURT
RICHARD P. BROWN, JR.
R. JEAN BROWNLEE
FREDERICK HELDRING
WILLIAM F. MACHOLD
HOWARD C. PETERSEN
ANDREW M. ROUSE
ROBERT STEVENS
ELLA R. TORREY
LEWIS H. VAN DUSEN, JR.
KARL H. SPAETH, Secretary

OFFICE OF SECRETARY

Karl H. Spaeth
Quaker Chemical Corp.
Elm & Lee Streets
Conshohocken, PA 19428
Tel: 215 828-4250

November 9, 1988

A meeting of the Philadelphia Committee on Foreign Relations is scheduled to be held on Thursday, December 1, 1988 at 6:00 p.m. The meeting will be held at the Philadelphia Club, 1301 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Our speaker will be the Honorable Max M. Kampelman. The topic of his discussion will be:

"Arms Control in the Soviet Union: A Perspective"

Max M. Kampelman, lawyer, diplomat, and educator, is Counselor of the Department of State and Ambassador and Head of the United States Delegation to the Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Arms in Geneva. He was earlier 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. Before that, he served as Senior Advisor to the U.S. Delegation to the United Nations.

In addition to his diplomatic career, he was, until 1985, a partner in Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Kampelman, in Washington D.C. and very active in the world of academia. Currently, he serves as a Trustee, by Presidential appointment, of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, of which he previously served as Chairman. He has served on the faculties of the University of Minnesota, Bennington College, Claremont College, the University of Wisconsin, and Howard University. He has lectured frequently here and abroad, and has written extensively in scholarly and public affairs journals. He served on the governing board of Georgetown University, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Haifa University, the University of Tel Aviv, New York University School of Law, amongst others. Educated at New York University (A.B. and J.D.) and at the University of Minnesota (M.A. and Ph.D.), he has been awarded doctoral degrees by no less than eight universities.

Ambassador Kampelman was the founder and moderator of a public affairs program on public television. His other activities have included service as Chairman of Freedom House, Vice Chairman of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority, and Chairman of the National Advisory Committee of the American Jewish Committee. From the foregoing, it will be obvious that Ambassador Kampelman's insights into the recent arms control negotiations reflect a background and expertise which is of exceptional scope.

The secretary would appreciate it if you would notify him by use of the enclosed card no later than Tuesday, November 29th if you plan to attend the meeting. As is our custom, once a reservation is made, the Secretary must be notified by 12 noon of the day prior to the meeting if a cancellation is necessary. Otherwise you will be charged for the dinner.

Karl H. Spaeth, Secretary

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PHILADELPHIA COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS 12/1

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

THEODORE FRIEND, Chairman
RAUL BETANCOURT
RICHARD P. BROWN, JR.
R. JEAN BROWNLIE
FREDERICK HELDRING
WILLIAM F. MACHOLD
HOWARD C. PETERSEN
ANDREW M. ROUSE
ROBERT STEVENS
ELLA R. TORREY
LEWIS H. VAN DUSEN, JR.
KARL H. SPAETH, Secretary

OFFICE OF SECRETARY

Karl H. Spaeth
Quaker Chemical Corp.
Elm & Lee Streets
Conshohocken, PA 19428
Tel: 215 828-4250

October 4, 1988

Honorable Max M. Kampelman
Counselor, Department of State
S/DEL Room 7208
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

I am delighted to learn that you have agreed to make a presentation to the Philadelphia Committee on Foreign Relations on Thursday, December 1, 1988; and that the topic of your discussion will be "Arms Control in the Soviet Union: A Perspective."

Typically, our meetings commence at 6:00 p.m. with cocktails, followed by dinner (at 6:30), after which the speaker of the evening makes a presentation, which is followed by a question and answer period. Our meetings end promptly at 9:00 p.m. Many of our speakers from Washington find that the train schedule is such that they can comfortably return to Washington by train the same evening; but if you wish to spend the night in Philadelphia, we will be glad to arrange a hotel room for you.

I will, in due course, be sending to you a copy of the notice which is sent to all of the members of our Committee, so that you are fully advised. Incidentally, the meeting will be held at The Philadelphia Club, 1301 Walnut Street.

We look forward to your presentation with great interest.

Yours very truly,

Karl H. Spaeth

KHS/sr

12/1
4:00-6:15

UNIVERSITY of PENNSYLVANIA

The Law School
3400 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia, PA 19104-6204
215-898-7463

Robert H. Mundheim, *Dean*
Bernard G. Segal Professor of Law

August 4, 1988

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

Dear Max:

Thank you very much for your letter and particularly for your willingness to consider a Fall date. Monday, November 7, and Monday, November 14, are two dates which would work well for us. Would either of them work out for you? If these dates are not congenial, let us work on some Spring dates.

We all very much look forward to your being here.

Sincerely,



RHM:rdh

THE COUNSELOR
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

July 21, 1988

12/1/88
Connie Kessler
898-9135

Dean Robert H. Mundheim
University of Pennsylvania
The Law School
3400 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia, PA 19104-6204

will be met
Capitol Walnut
Street
4-6:15

Dear Bob:

I am sorry for the delay in responding to your letter of June 22 but I did not see it until I returned from Geneva this week. I hasten to respond.

I would like to accept your invitation, although I recall with sadness and some guilt, the necessity for me to cancel our previous engagement. I am, therefore, a bit wary about establishing a firm date now. Let me, therefore, think out loud with you.

We are now in the closing months of my government service. I serve as Head of the negotiating team in Geneva, as well as Counselor for the Department of State where I am involved in many other areas in addition to arms control. A few weeks ago, for example, I found myself spending a week in Central America. There is now some talk of my going to Japan sometime in September. The Secretary has also suggested that I be with him in New York while the United Nations General Assembly is meeting in late-September and early-October, and I don't know what else may come up. Under these circumstances, I am afraid to set dates between now and December.

My own thinking, therefore, is that we should not plan anything between now and January. My present plans are to leave government service at the end of this Administration. That should make life a great deal more flexible for me. We could, therefore, set something up for the winter or spring. I do hope this can fit in with your plans. If, on the other hand, you prefer my appearance as an incumbent, let's think about November.

All my best.

Sincerely,

Max M. Kampelman

UNIVERSITY of PENNSYLVANIA

The Law School
3400 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia, PA 19104-6204
215-898-7463

Robert H. Mundheim, *Dean*
Bernard G. Segal Professor of Law

June 22, 1988

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

Dear Max:

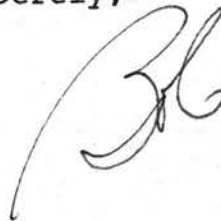
I am trying to develop our speaker schedule for the next academic year. I hope that you will have time during the Fall to talk with our students about arms control and your experiences in negotiating with the Russians and with the representatives of differing views in the United States.

You will recall that our format is a public talk at 4:00 p.m., followed by a reception and then an informal dinner with a group of students.

Our students and I very much looked forward to the date we had previously scheduled, and I hope we can find a mutually convenient date for the coming year.

With best wishes for a pleasant summer.

Sincerely,



RHM:rdB

PHILADELPHIA COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

DECEMBER 1, 1988

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December 2, 1988

Honorable Max M. Kampelman
Counselor, Department of State
S/DEL Room 7208
Washington, D. C. 10520

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

On behalf of the Philadelphia Committee on Foreign Relations, I wish to thank you for a most interesting presentation on December 1. You put the matter of arms control and the Soviet Union in a perspective quite unlike anything that we have seen before.

As I am sure you realized from the question and answer period, your presentation provoked real depth of thought, which I am sure will be a continuing result of your comments. I think that some of us probably feel somewhat more optimistic about the future of arms negotiations with the Soviet Union; but I am sure that all of us have a much better sense of what has been accomplished, possible or likely future scenarios, and--perhaps most importantly -- the relationship between negotiations and the overall, longer-term objectives.

Again, many thanks for a most enlightening presentation.

Yours very truly,



KHS/sr

cc: Ms. Jennifer Seymour Whitaker

UNIVERSITY of PENNSYLVANIA

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3400 Chestnut Street
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215-898-7463

Robert H. Mundheim, *Dean*
Bernard G. Segal Professor of Law

December 7, 1988

Honorable Max M. Kampelman
3154 Highland Place, NW
Washington, DC 20008

Dear Max:

It was great fun seeing you on Thursday. You really did capture the enthusiasm of your audience. I think the students would have liked to keep you here for a week.

I hope the program at the Philadelphia Club was also fun and that you got to the train on time.

I was glad to get confirmation of the "rumors" that I had heard and I look forward to our spending more time together over the next years.

Sincerely,



RHM:rdh