



Max M. Kampelman Papers

Copyright Notice:

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

AS READ

RESPONSE TOAST

BY MAX M. KAMPELMAN

U.S. SENATE ARMS CONTROL OBSERVER GROUP

Washington, D.C.

January 31, 1989

Thank you very much. To Ted Stevens, Ted Kennedy, Alan Simpson, Alan Cranston, George Mitchell, Sam Nunn, Oren Hatch, Yuli Dubinin, to all of you -- I enjoyed every one of your lovely exaggerations. My special appreciation to the two Teds who are hosting this lovely dinner tonight and to the Members of the Senate Observer Group for being a part of this evening. We have together proved that bi-partisanship and non-partisanship in foreign policy, even in highly technical and complicated areas, does work.

Ted Stevens -- you as the first Chairman, set the tone and the course. You and Cathy took your responsibilities seriously and impressively. I believe that we have together, perhaps inadvertently, found a constitutional way to strengthen the fabric of our democratic decision-making process in this new

age. Claiborne Pell -- you not only helped Ted fashion this relationship, but then you built on it with dedication, earnestness, and energy. You and your Senatorial colleagues have been of immense value as you diligently helped me and my colleagues represent our country and its security interests in Geneva. We have spent many hours together in Geneva and in Washington and it has been worth it. Thank you. And as you have all told me on more than one occasion, none of this would have been possible without the green light and active encouragement of Bob Byrd and Bob Dole.

As for you, Ted Kennedy, who held no title other than friend and patriot, only a few know how helpful you have always tried to be quietly, privately, and unostentatiously. Thank you.

Alexis de Tocqueville concluded in the last century, with great foresight and understanding, "that it is especially in the conduct of foreign relations that democracy appears to be decidedly inferior to other governments." He was concerned that divisiveness and openness and amateurishness were incompatible with growing requirements of foreign policy, particularly against systems that could act quickly, decisively, and without consultation. I know that all of us here tonight understand it is our responsibility to make certain that democracy can prevail as it grows and gropes to find a method of functioning efficiently and intelligently in this world of danger and complexity. We must prove that our

system will serve the interest of our nation and its values. Somebody once said that our political campaigns provide the poetry, but that the governing that follows must be in prose. The period for serious prose for us now is at hand.

The tensions between the executive and legislative branches, and within the branches, are not new and they are healthy. To Jim Baker let me say it was not a Congressman, it was FDR who in World War II stated that he hoped the State Department would at least remain neutral in the war. John Kennedy, when he was President, reportedly told a visitor: "I agree with you. But I don't know if the government will."

But the system can work and is working. We must all appreciate that Senators do not mind being in on the crash landing if they are in on the take-off. We must also appreciate the frustration on the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue that comes from would-be Secretaries of State in the Congress apparently running for the job in future administrations. A member of the Executive Branch once told me Will Rogers said that he did not know before he got there that Rome had Senators. Now he knows why it declined. Let me in that connection remind you of the Secretary of State who said "Anyone will support us when we are right. But it is when we are wrong that we need the backing."

George Washington pointed out that 100,000 men coming one after another cannot move a ton weight, but the united strength of 50 can transport it with ease. What we need is the united strength of an executive and a legislative body working together.

Franklin Roosevelt was able to prevail at a crucial period of international crisis when he obtained a one vote margin in the House of Representatives. Successful diplomacy today cannot function without a broad consensus. This is particularly true given the harsh and unpleasant reality that diplomacy without the availability of force is somewhat like trying to play music without an instrument. In this day of awful weaponry and rapid and open communication, the availability of force is not a realistic option without a broad consensus behind its potential use. Furthermore, that consensus will not be available unless the policy is clearly identified with our national security and is consistent with our moral values. Chesterton was correct when he stated that "America is a country with the soul of a church." The task of formulating, defending, supporting, and asserting such a foreign policy must be looked upon as a joint one of the Congress and the President.

It is here relevant to note the message of Alexander Hamilton in Federalist No. 23 when he warned that the circumstances which may threaten the safety of nations are

infinitely varied. They cannot be defined in advance with precision and certainty. We should avoid the temptation to try.

I conclude with a personal word. My introduction to Washington was through the Senate when Maggie and I came for three months in January 1979 to help my dear friend Hubert Humphrey organize his office. I stayed in the Senate for six and a half years. We had met when I was teaching political science and earning my doctorate at the University of Minnesota. When Hubert called I was teaching at Bennington College in Vermont. Since then, I have had the privilege of meeting or working with, or dining with, every President since Harry Truman, Democrat and Republican. I have been in and out of government. These have been exciting and fulfilling years for Maggie and for me. I now leave again. And to those of you who inquired this evening, let me tell you the story of the drunk who called the hotel switchboard at 6 a.m. to ask when the bar would open. The telephone operator replied, "9 a.m." A half hour later the drunk called again and repeated the question in thicker tones. He got the same answer. When, unmistakably drunk, he called again at 7 a.m. the operator said in exasperation, "for the third time, you can get in the bar at 9 a.m.!" The drunk replied, "Get in? I want to get out."

It is time for me to get out and get refreshed. The President and Jim Baker and Larry Eagleburger know that I am available whenever there is a need. I do know our government.

Having taught and written on the subject, I know the Soviet Union. And I know how to negotiate. All of this is, as appropriate, available to our government, but I'd rather not any longer do it on a full-time basis and I would rather not get paid for it.

I am proud of our system of government. Democrat or Republican, the President of the United States is always MY President and so is the Secretary of State MY Secretary of State. I have confidence in our government. James Russell Lowell was once asked how long the American republic would endure. He answered, "As long as the ideals of its leaders reflect the ideals of its founders." That is our strength and our reality just as it was yesterday and the years before yesterday.

Our system of government, is based on the principle illustrated by a pair of scissors. The two blades, the executive and the legislative, working in harmony can cut through our problems and create a fabric of fashion and strength. Separately, the blades can only do damage. I, therefore, raise my glass and ask you to join me in a toast to the President of the United States and to the Senate of the United States, all in the service of our country and the aspirations of our people for peace with dignity and human liberty.

Revised 1/26/89

GUEST LIST

MAX KAMPELMAN DINNER
JANUARY 31, 1989: 7:30 p.m.
636 Chain Bridge Road, Mc Lean, Virginia

EMK

Senator Ted Stevens
Mrs. Catherine Stevens

Hon. Max Kampelman
Mrs. Marjorie Kampelman

Hon. James Baker
Mrs. Susan Baker

Mr. Gregory Craig
Mrs. Derry Craig

Senator Alan Cranston

Ms. Elizabeth Drew
Mr. David Webster

Ambassador Dubinin
Mrs. Liana Dubinin

Senator Richard Durenberger

Hon. Lawrence Eagleburger
Mrs. Marlene Eagleburger

Ms. Judy Fahys/Press for Stevens

Senator John Glenn
Mrs. Annie Glenn

Senator Al Gore
Mrs. Tipper Gore

Senator Orrin Hatch
Mrs. Elaine Hatch

Senator John Heinz
Mrs. Theresa Heinz

Senator Ernest Hollings
Mrs. Peatsy Hollings

Mr. Larry Horowitz

Senator Bennett Johnston
Mrs. Mary Johnston

Senator John Kerry

Senator Patrick Leahy
Mrs. Marcelle Leahy

Senator Richard Lugar
Mrs. Charlene Lugar

Mr. William Lynn

Senator George Mitchell

Senator Daniel Moynihan
Mrs. Elizabeth Moynihan

Mr. Jack Nelson
Ms. Barbara Matusow

Senator Don Nichols
Mrs. Linda Nichols

Senator Sam Nunn
Mrs. Colleen Nunn

Senator Bob Packwood
Mrs. Georgie Packwood

Senator Claiborne Pell

Senator Larry Pressler
Mrs. Harriet Pressler

Vice President Daniel Quayle
Mrs. Marilyn Quayle

Senator Warren Rudman

Senator Paul Sarbanes
Mrs. Christine Sarbanes

Senator Richard Shelby
Mrs. Annette Shelby

Senator Alan Simpson
Mrs. Ann Simpson

Ms. Nancy Soderberg

Senator Arlen Specter
Councilwoman Joan Specter

Senator John Warner

TOTAL: 62

THE COUNSELOR
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

January 9, 1989

The Honorable Ted Kennedy
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear Ted:

I want to thank you again for your telephone call proposing the dinner you and Ted Stevens are planning to have for me and the members of the Senate Observer Group. It is extremely thoughtful, and I am deeply appreciate of the honor. Most particularly, I am pleased at the reaffirmation of our friendship, which I cherish. I want you to know, however, that I realize there are always difficulties in arranging dinners with members of the Senate, and if this should prove to be one of those difficult to arrange, I would fully understand. In the meantime, however, I have set aside the evening of January 31.

Ms. Delorey of your office had asked whether there were others that I would like to have included among the invitees. I am assuming she was referring to other members of the Senate. We, therefore, suggested that the following Senators be invited:

Senate Observer Group

Senator Byrd
Senator Dole
Senator Pell
Senator Lugar
Senator Nunn
Senator Warner
Senator Gore
Senator Moynihan
Senator Nickels
Senator Wallop

The Honorable Ted Kennedy
United States Senate

January 9, 1989
Page Two

The following Senators were designated by either Senator Dole or Senator Byrd for specific visits accompanying the official Senate Observer Group:

Senator Glenn
Senator Johnston
Senator Pressler
Senator Rockefeller
Senator Rudman
Senator Specter
Senator Wilson

The following Senators visited our delegation in Geneva other than with the Senate Observer Group:

Vice-President-Elect Quayle
Senator Hollings
Senator Kerry
Senator Levin
Senator Sarbanes
Senator Shelby

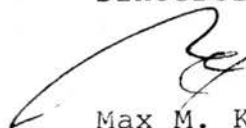
Lastly, the following Senators have expressed keen interest in the negotiations by spending extensive time with me.

Senator Boren
Senator Boschwitz
Senator Bradley
Senator Cranston
Senator Durenberger
Senator Hatch
Senator Heinz
Senator Kassebaum
Senator Leagy
Senator Packwood
Senator Simpson

Whether you want to add any of these names is, of course, totally up to you and will, of course, be a factor of space availability.

All my best.

Sincerely,



Max M. Kampelman

Active Senate Members:

- ✓ Richard Lugar (R-Indiana)
- ✓ Claiborne Pell (D-Rhode Island)
- ✓ Ted Stevens (R-Alaska)
- ✓ John Warner (R-Virginia)
- ✓ Malcolm Wallop (R-Wyoming)
- ✓ Sam Nunn (D-Georgia)
- ✓ Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-New York)
- ✓ ~~John Kerry~~ (D-Massachusetts)
- ✓ Don Nickles (R-Oklahoma)
- ✓ Ted Kennedy (D-Massachusetts)
- ✓ ~~Larry Pressler~~ (R-South Dakota)
- ✓ Robert Dole (R-Kansas)
- ✓ Robert Byrd (D-West Virginia)
- ✓ Albert Gore (D-Tennessee)

Served as designees:

- ✓ Jay Rockefeller (D-West Virginia)
- ✓ Arlen Specter (R-Pennsylvania)
- ✓ John Glenn (D-Ohio)
- ✓ Bennett Johnston (D-Louisiana)
- ✓ JOHN KERRY (D-MASSACHUSETTS)

visited NST:

- 143
- ✓ ~~WALKER RUSH~~
 - ✓ ~~Gary Hart~~ (D-Colorado)
 - ✓ Dan Quayle (R-Indiana)
 - ✓ Richard Shelby (D-Alabama)
 - ✓ Fritz Hollings (D-South Carolina)
 - ✓ Paul Sarbanes (D-Maryland)
 - ✓ ~~Carl Levin~~ *Charles Grassley*
- House of Representatives

Norm Dicks (D-Washington)
Jack Kemp (R-New York)
Jim Moody (D-Wisconsin)
Les Aspin (D-Wisconsin)