



Max M. Kampelman Papers

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"PROSPECTS FOR FURTHER US/USSR COOPERATION"

REMARKS

BY

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

AT

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN DIPLOMATS

PALO ALTO, CALIFORNIA

February 6, 1989

Thank you very much. The Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats has for some time now played a key role in providing the international diplomatic community service in the United States and the leadership of the American business community with insights and pivotal understandings about American foreign policy. I am pleased to be with you again.

It is also a pleasure for me to be sharing this platform with my friend Ambassador Yuri Dubinin of the Soviet Union, an extraordinary diplomat who is representing his government in Washington with distinction and effectiveness. His charm and graciousness, as well as his wife's, are winning friends for them and their country. My wife and I met the Dubinins in Madrid in 1980 when we both represented our respective governments at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. We are pleased to have them now as our neighbors and friends.

It has only been a few weeks since I left government service with its different, exciting and enriching challenges. As a traditional Democrat who served in a Republican Administration, it is useful for me to stand back and evaluate our country's evolving role as a leader 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 today. The pace of change between 1900 and today is beyond calculation, probably greater than has taken place in all of mankind's previous history combined. And newer scientific and technological developments on the horizon will probably make all previous 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. More than 80% of all scientists who ever lived are alive today. 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. Advanced computers, new materials, new bio-technological processes are altering every phase of our lives, deaths, even reproduction. 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. Our science is indeed a drop, our ignorance a sea.

These changes in science and technology are producing fundamental changes in our material lives; and in our social and political relationships as well. There is a global trend toward democracy which holds the promise of great forward movement toward freedom and human rights. Almost unnoticed, the numbers of people and the numbers of nations now freely electing their governments or moving with vitality in that direction are greater than ever in the history of the human race. When permitted, and sometimes even when not, people are choosing liberty.

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. Free peoples and free markets go together. State-controlled centralized planning cannot keep up with the pace of change. A closed tightly-controlled society cannot compete in a world experiencing an information explosion that knows no national boundaries.

A truly global economy, furthermore, is emerging. Today, in fact, the very process of production crosses international lines

in ways that make it very difficult to identify clearly a country of origin. Secretary Shultz' favorite example is a shipping label he saw for integrated circuits made by an American firm which read: "Made in one or more of the following countries: Korea, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore, Taiwan, Mauritius, Thailand, Indonesia, Mexico, Philippines. The exact country of origin is unknown."

We are in a time when no society can isolate itself or its people from new ideas and new information anymore than one can escape the winds whose currents affect us all. National boundaries can keep out vaccines, but those boundaries cannot keep out germs or ideas. One essential geo-political consequence of that 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. There can be no real security for the people of Iran, unless there is security for the people of Iraq. There can be no security for the people of Lebanon or Jordan unless there is security for the people of Israel - and vice versa.

And there can be no security for anyone unless there is a concerted effort to eradicate terrorism, which, by definition, strikes at the uninvolved, the innocent victim. The danger is

real and we have a long way to go. Political opportunism and fear stand in the way of effective international action. The most recent outrage by the Government of Greece was brazenly to permit a suspected terrorist to go to Libya, rather than extradite him to Italy, where he was wanted for attacking a synagogue, killing a two-year old child, and wounding 37 people. The statement of the Greek Minister of Justice that such an attack would "fall within the domain of the struggle to regain a homeland" is shocking and deplorable and illustrates the way some so called "civilized" states cooperate with and condone terrorism.

In this world of increasing interdependence, 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.

We are told by Soviet leaders that through the process of internal transformation that is demanded by the new technologies, the time is at hand when the Soviet system comprehends that repressive societies in our day cannot achieve inner stability or true security; that it is in their best interest to permit a humanizing process to take place. Certainly, to strive for national or ideological goals through violence is an abomination in this nuclear age. Soviet security as well as ours depends on a willingness to be governed by rules of responsible international behavior.

We hear the Soviet words with hope that the deeds and the reality will indeed follow the rhetoric. There are significant and dramatic changes taking place in the Soviet Union, potentially massive changes. But Mr. Gorbachev's task is a formidable one. Since early 1985 when he assumed office, the Soviet Union's internal problems have sharpened, with an economy very slow to respond and scarcities continuing to be serious. But there is the beginning of change. We must be open to that change and evaluate its effect with open eyes and an open mind. The words "glasnost" and "perestroika" are being repeated so extensively in the Soviet Union that they may well take on a meaning and dynamism of their own which could become difficult to reverse.

When I began negotiating with the Soviet Union in 1980, under President Carter, human rights was beginning to be injected as a major item on our country's international agenda.

The Soviet Union insisted that the discussion of the subject was an improper interference in their internal affairs. When President Reagan asked me in 1985 to return to government service as head of our nuclear arms reduction negotiating team, an extraordinary change became apparent. Under the leadership of the President and the careful guidance of Secretary of State George Shultz, working closely with Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, 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.

It does not denigrate the vital importance of arms control for me to assert that if arms reductions are to be real and meaningful, they 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: regional aggression and conflict, bilateral competitive tensions, and, of course, human rights violations. The latter, which undermine the very essence of trust and confidence between nations, have been at the root of much of our historic hostility toward the Soviet system.

Our arms negotiations take place in the context of normalizing and stabilizing our overall relations with the Soviet Union. Last year, we signed and began to implement the historic INF treaty, the first agreement totally to eliminate

all nuclear weapons with a range of between 300 and 3300 miles. The treaty provides a stringent regime for verification, including on-site inspection. The INF agreement also stands for the principle of asymmetrical reductions to attain equality; it calls for the Soviets to destroy missiles capable of carrying four times as many warheads as those destroyed by the United States.

These features of the INF Treaty provide important precedents in our START negotiations, where our goal is to make deep 50% reductions in strategic long-range weapons, those capable of a sudden, trans-oceanic surprise attack.

Within this atmosphere of change, the prospects for increased trade and other economic contacts between our two countries obviously look up. Our government, it should be noted, here takes a cautious and sober approach, albeit occasionally contradictory. Economic ties cannot be divorced from the totality of our bilateral relations. Since the military power of the Soviet Union still poses a potential military threat to our country, we favor the expansion of non-strategic, mutually beneficial trade with the Soviet Union, but insist that national security controls on sensitive items should remain in place.

Let me also here note a further major concern in the economic area. Our objective is to help the Soviet society evolve toward joining us in becoming a responsible member of the

international community. Soviet leaders unabashedly acknowledge the failure to date of their system to meet the economic and social needs of their people. Our hope is to encourage the Soviet system to move away from an emphasis on massive military spending and, with us, shift their resources to meet their vital domestic requirements. This means tough choices. But we must understand that this may not happen if Western capitalist countries rush with cheap credits and price concessions. These would defer the day of reckoning and permit the system to avoid making the necessary choices. As Senator Bill Bradley recently wrote: "What Moscow needs from the West is not cheap credits but a cooperative road map to a better economy and a safer world."

In his 1975 Nobel Prize speech that he was not permitted to present in person, Dr. Andrei 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 interacts with the Soviet Union in that context. We have faith in our principles as 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 river while walking on slippery rocks. The possibility of disaster is on every side, but it is the way to

get across. The object of our diplomacy and the supreme achievement of statesmanship, is patiently, through negotiation, to pursue the peace with dignity we seek, always recognizing the threat to that peace and always protecting our vital national interests and values.

We have begun a historic process. It is working. With the nature of our adversary and the complex issues we face, however, coupled with our own internal political stresses, even with a package of arms reduction agreements -- and we are trying -- 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." With that observation in mind, our task is to achieve the firm sense of purpose, steadiness, and strength that is indispensable for effective foreign affairs decision-making. Our political community must resist the temptation of partisan politics and institutional rivalry to develop the consensus adequate to meet the challenge of de Tocqueville's criticism.

Abraham Lincoln in his day said that "America is the last great hope of mankind." 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 should look upon it as an exciting opportunity.

Thank you

James Stoutenberg
President

February 27, 1989

The Honorable Max M. Kampelman
Partner
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Suite 800
Washington, D. C. 20004

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

Participants in the Council's U.S.-U.S.S.R. Relations Conference at Stanford were honored to have you address the group on such an important subject as the future of arms control negotiations.

Your accomplishments are deeply respected by the leaders in government, business, diplomacy and education who took part in the program. And few men could bring your breadth of experience to the subject.

Under Dwayne Andreas' leadership, the Council began developing our Economics and National Security program with Stanford more than two years ago. Your contribution to a secure peace stands as a model for those who follow after you. Thank you very much for sharing with us your thoughts on the future of U.S.-Soviet affairs.

With kind personal regards to you and to Mrs. Kampelman.

Sincerely,

Jim *You really are extraordinary.*

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Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats

One Byram Brook Place
Armonk, NY 10504
(914) 273-9100

James Stoutenberg
President

March 17, 1989

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

Enclosed is our check for \$7,050 to cover your fee and ground transportation expenses in connection with our Stanford program.

*I have
sent*

Your participation in the Conference made it an outstanding and memorable event. Thank you very much.

With kind regards and appreciation.

Sincerely,

Jim

*Hope you had
a great vacation*

The Honorable Max M. Kampelman
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson
Suite 800
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20004-2505



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DWAYNE O. ANDREAS
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD
AND CHIEF EXECUTIVE

February 28, 1989

The Honorable Max M. Kampelman
Partner
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Suite 800
Washington, D. C. 20004

Dear Max:

Please accept my personal thanks for traveling to California to address the foreign diplomats, U. S. Government officials and business executives with the Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats earlier this month.

I can think of no more fitting or interesting start to a conference on the future of U. S. - Soviet relations than having you and Ambassador Dubinin speak in succession. Apparently the diplomats were honored you arranged to join them. They often referred to your remarks in the conference sessions that followed -- you no doubt sparked excellent discussions.

The Executive Council brings together diplomats, U. S. Government officials and business executives in a unique way that allows free and useful exchange on issues of tremendous international importance. This recent conference on East - West relations, I am told, was outstanding. Your comments contributed to its great success and I appreciate it.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Dwayne O. Andreas
Chairman, Board of Overseers
Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats

Enclosure

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ON WAR, REVOLUTION AND PEACE

Stanford, California 94305-6010



GEORGE P. SHULTZ, HONORARY FELLOW

February 22, 1989

Dear Dwayne:

I want to express my personal appreciation for your making it possible for Max Kampelman and Ambassador Dubinin to come to Stanford for the Executive Council's recent U.S.-Soviet affairs program.

Max and the Ambassador speaking face-to-face made clear the importance of the conference. I could tell when I met with the group later in the week that the program had an impact -- they were starting to think fresh about the future.

The Council is doing outstanding work under your leadership, and all Americans benefit from it. For myself and on behalf of Stanford University, our thanks.

I enjoyed seeing you and Inez and the Strausses last Saturday and look forward to additional chances to visit.

Sincerely yours,

George P. Shultz

Dwayne O. Andreas
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer
Archer Daniels Midland Company
Post Office Box 1470
4666 Faries Parkway
Decatur, Illinois 62525

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February 22, 1989

Mr. James Stoutenberg, President
Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats
One Byram Brook Place
Armonk, New York 10504

Dear Mr. Stoutenberg:

In connection with Ambassador Kampelman's speech to your group in Palo Alto on February 6, 1989, this letter is to request his fee of \$7,000 and expenses of \$50 for round trip transportation to National Airport from his home.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Sharon H. Dardine
Assistant to Max M. Kampelman

**The Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats
and
Stanford University**

are honored to welcome
Ambassador and Mrs. Dubinin
and
Ambassador and Mrs. Kampelman
to the opening of

**CONFLICT AND COOPERATION:
THE FUTURE OF U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS**

Host:

Dr. Richard Lyman
Director, Institute for International Studies
Stanford University

Welcome:

James Stoutenberg
President
Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats

Speakers:

His Excellency Yuri V. Dubinin
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The Honorable Max Kampelman
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Department of State

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February 6, 1989

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN DIPLOMATS

Economics and National Security:
The Future of U.S.-Soviet Relations
and
Regional Briefing in
San Francisco and the Napa Valley

February 6-12, 1989

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1978-1988

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Secretary of the Treasury

1987-1989

Senator John G. Tower

Secretary of Defense

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN DIPLOMATS**ITINERARY**

**The Honorable Max M. Kampelman and Mrs. Kampelman
February 5-6, 1989**

Sunday, February 5:

11:45 AM

Meet at Butler Aviation, Washington National Airport for departure from Washington DC for San Francisco. Flight departs at 12 Noon. Luncheon served on plane.

**Met by: Jerry Flaughner
(pilots) Randy Flaughner**

**Contact: Robert Cavey
Executive Council
914/271-8138 (home)**

**Claudia Madding
217/424-5560 (home)
217/428-1559 (home)**

*Anne
Marcelli
213-9100
1 Byram Brook Pl.
Armonk NY
10504*

3:30 PM

Arrive San Francisco International Airport. Travel to Stanford Park Hotel.

**Met by:
James Stoutenberg
President, Executive Council on
Foreign Diplomats**

**Hotel:
Stanford Park Hotel
100 El Camino Real
Menlo Park, CA
415/322-1234**

**Contact: Robert Cavey (in Wash. D.C.)
Dulles Airport Marriott
703/661-8411**

**Dr. & Mrs. Sidney Drell will escort
Mr. & Mrs. Kampelman to the reception
at Secretary Shultz's home.**

**Dr. Drell is available to meet with
Mr. Kampelman at any time before the
reception. Call at 415/325-0565.**

PAGE 2

5:30 - Cocktail reception at home of
7:00 PM George P. Shultz, former U.S.
Secretary of State.

Monday, February 6:

10:00 - Seminar at Stanford University
11:30 AM Center for International Security and
Arms Control.

11:30 PM Luncheon: Faculty Club
Stanford University.

6:00 - Dinner and Address by
8:30 PM Ambassadors Max Kampelman
and Yuri Dubinin
Stanford Park Hotel

6:00 Cocktails with participants in
the Executive Council's U.S.-
Soviet Affairs Briefing and
Stanford University faculty.

6:30 Dinner begins.

7:10 Max Kampelman introduced.

7:15 Remarks by ^{Mr.} Kampelman.

7:35 Ambassador Dubinin Introduced.

7:40 Remarks by Ambassador Dubinin.

8:00 Questions and Answers.

~~8:30~~ PM Closing.

8:30

REVERSE
ORDER

Tuesday, February 7

9:00 AM Depart for San Francisco Airport,
Butler Aviation.
Met by pilots: Jerry Flaughner
Randy Flaughner

Contact at Stanford University:
Marilyn Benefiel
415/725-1493/4

PAGE 3

10:00 AM

Departure from San Francisco
for Washington, D.C.

~~6:00~~
~~8:00 PM~~

Arrival in Washington, D.C.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN DIPLOMATS

Economics and National Security:
The Future of U.S.-Soviet Relations
and

Regional Briefing in
San Francisco and the Napa Valley

February 6-12, 1989

FOREIGN DIPLOMATS

DIPLOMATS	COUNTRY	POSITION	POST
Pierre Brochand	France	Ambassador	U.N.
Derek H. Burney	Canada	Ambassador	D.C.
Yves L. Fortier	Canada	Ambassador	U.N.
Friedrich Hoess	Austria	Ambassador	D.C.
Andrew J. Jacovides	Cyprus	Ambassador	D.C.
Eigil Jorgensen	Denmark	Ambassador	D.C.
Tommy T. S. Koh	Singapore	Ambassador	D.C.
Dragoslav Pejic	Yugoslavia	Ambassador	U.N.
Jukka R. Valtasaari	Finland	Ambassador	D.C.
Mihail A. Srebrev	Bulgaria	Charge d'Affaires, ad interim	D.C.
Jonathan Wutawunashe	Zimbabwe	Charge d'Affaires, ad interim	D.C.
Tiddo P. Hofstee	Netherlands	Deputy Chief of Mission	D.C.
Abdul Majid bin Ahmad Khan	Malaysia	Deputy Chief of Mission	D.C.
Zhao Xixin	China	Deputy Chief of Mission	D.C.
Istvan Pataki	Hungary	Deputy Chief of Mission	D.C.
Brian L. Crowe	United Kingdom	Minister	D.C.
Celso Marcos Vieira de Souza	Brazil	Deputy Chief of Mission	D.C.
Gunter Pleuger	Federal Republic of West Germany	Minister-Counselor	D.C.
Jiri Michovsky	Czechoslovakia	Deputy Chief of Mission	D.C.
John H. M. Hagard	Sweden	Counselor	D.C.
Christian Monnoyer	Belgium	Counselor	D.C.

U.S. GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

U.S. GOV'T OFFICIALS	DEPARTMENT	POSITION
Curtis W. Kamman	Department of State	Intelligence and Research, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary
Nelson Ledsky	National Security Council	Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for European and Soviet Affairs
James M. Murphy, Jr.	Office of the U.S. Trade Representative	Assistant U.S. Trade Representative for Europe and the Mediterranean
Michael H. Van Dusen	House Committee on Foreign Affairs	Staff Director, Subcommittee on European and Middle Eastern Affairs
Michael Guhin	Arms Control and Disarmament Agency	Counselor
Jeffrey Salmon	Department of Defense	Senior Fellow, Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University

BUSINESS EXECUTIVES

BUSINESS EXECUTIVES	COMPANY	POSITION
William J. Bogaard	First Interstate Bancorp	Executive Vice President
John D. Moore, Jr.	R. A. Rowan & Co.	Executive Vice President
Richard R. Davis	Inspiration Resources	Senior Vice President and General Counsel
Malcolm P. Friedman	Bechtel Financing Services, Inc.	Vice President
O. M. Roetman	The Boeing Company	Vice President, Government and International Affairs
Gary M. Connell	Chevron Corporation	General Manager, Foreign Operation Staff

GEORGE P. SHULTZ

Mr. Max Kampelman
Counselor of the Department of State
Department of State
2201 C Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Max:

You probably have already heard separately from Dick Lyman about the visit to Stanford next week of Soviet Ambassador to the United States, Yuri Dubinin. Ambassador Dubinin and his party, including his wife and granddaughter, have accepted our invitation to meet a few University officials, faculty, and guests Sunday evening, February 5.

O'Bie and I hope very much that you will join us at our campus home, 776 Dolores, for cocktails Sunday, 5:30 - 7:30 P.M., to meet Ambassador Dubinin and to welcome him and his party to Stanford.

Sincerely yours,



George P. Shultz

RSVP: Phyllis Whiting (415) 725-3493

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN DIPLOMATS**ITINERARY**

The Honorable Max M. Kampelman and Mrs. Kampelman
February 5-6, 1989

Sunday, February 5:

11:45 AM

Meet at Butler Aviation, Washington National Airport for departure from Washington DC for San Francisco. Flight departs at 12 Noon. Luncheon served on plane.

Met by: Jerry Flaughner
(pilots) Randy Flaughner

Contact: Robert Cavey
Executive Council
914/271-8138 (home)

Claudia Madding
217/424-5560 (home)
217/428-1559 (home)

3:30 PM

Arrive San Francisco International Airport. Travel to Stanford Park Hotel.

Met by:
James Stoutenberg
President, Executive Council on Foreign Diplomats

Hotel:
Stanford Park Hotel
100 El Camino Real
Menlo Park, CA
415/322-1234

Contact: Robert Cavey (in Wash. D.C.)
Dulles Airport Marriott
703/661-8411

Dr. & Mrs. Sidney Drell will escort Mr. & Mrs. Kampelman to the reception at Secretary Shultz's home.

Dr. Drell is available to meet with Mr. Kampelman at any time before the reception. Call at 415/325-0565.

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5:30 - Cocktail reception at home of
7:00 PM George P. Shultz, former U.S.
Secretary of State.

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