Max M. Kampelman Papers

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Version 3
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United States Marine Corps

Command and Staff College Foundation

Foundation

Established through a grant from the Vincent Astor Foundation, the Marine Corps Command and Staff College Foundation was incorporated in the Commonwealth of Virginia on June 25, 1980.

Initially, the Foundation provided critical financial assistance only to the Command and Staff College, which is the highest level Marine Corps school for officer professional education and leadership training. One hundred and forty-five U.S. officers and 23 international officers from 22 countries attend this nine-month course each year.

With today's great demand for competent leadership and international understanding at all levels, the Foundation has expanded its focus by supporting significant projects at schools for junior officers and staff noncommissioned officers. This enables 330 U.S. officers, 20 international officers and 1,000 staff noncommissioned officers, as well as more than 2,000 Marine lieutenants at The Basic School to benefit annually from Foundation programs.

The activities of the Foundation are directed by a Board of Trustees — distinguished Americans who are prominent in business and academia across the nation.

Purpose

The Foundation exists to enhance the advanced professional education and leadership development of Marines. Its purpose is to supplement existing Marine Corps programs by providing additional educational resources when, for budgetary or policy reasons, government funding is not available.

By carrying out this mission, the Foundation's efforts and resources provide the "margin of excellence" which is characteristic of the Marine Corps and essential in the education and development of our national security leaders.

How You Can Help

The Foundation receives no government funding. It relies entirely on contributions in the form of cash or securities from private foundations, corporations and individuals. Contributions are accepted in a variety of different forms, including deferred giving and matching gift programs.
The Foundation is a nonprofit tax-exempt organization in accordance with Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code.

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Foundation Trustees

(continued on back panel)

AS READ

"ARMS CONTROL AND SOVIET RELATIONS"

REMARKS BY

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS EDUCATION CENTER

QUANTICO, VIRGINIA MARCH 1, 1989

Mr. Chairman, Mrs. Erskine, distinguished Guests, Friends:

I am pleased to be with you this evening. Yours is a distinguished institution, new but already significant and prestigious. You are dedicated to providing the "Margin of Excellence" which has characterized the Marine Corps since its inception. You do so by training leadership for a dauntingly complex today and the even more complex tomorrow facing our country. America owes you a great debt for that commitment. It is a privilege for me to be delivering tonight's General Graves B. Erskine lecture. I cherish the honor and look upon it as a highlight to an otherwise all too brief period of service as a Marine.

This occasion, in this forum, before this audience, six weeks after leaving Government service, is appropriate for some personal retrospection and analysis. I invite you to join me

as I stand back and evaluate our country's leadership role in an international community in a world that is changing so fast and so dramatically that we scarcely have time to focus on its details let alone its scope.

The pace of change in this century is greater than in all of mankind's previous history put together. Any statement we make today about tomorrow is likely to be obsolete even before the day is over. 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. 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 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. 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 our national security and our quest for "peace", a peace with dignity and liberty, understandably considered to be the ultimate objective of our diplomacy. It is a goal easy enough to state, but difficult to define, let alone 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. It is the primary challenge facing the next President -- and he builds on an extraordinary beginning by President Reagan.]

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 tommorrow is appearing. 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 are, furthermore, 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. In our own hemisphere, fifteen years ago South America had only two functioning democracies. Today it has only two dictatorships; with Paraguay one of them, just getting rid of its dictator, and Chile, the other, recently voting to do so. The Caribbean is today entirely democratic, except for Cuba and Haiti, with the rulers of Haiti now promising early and free elections. In Central America, there are now four democracies, with Nicaragua the blatant exception and the military dictator of Panama

holding on precariously. Mexico completes the hemispheric round-up with indications from its most recent elections that its political system may well be opening up.

[Let me take a moment to elaborate upon this point. I am this month reassuming the Chairmanship of an organization known as Freedom House. The organization, formed at the end of World War II by Eleanor Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie, is a non-partisan one in behalf of liberty all over the world. Freedom House annually publishes the definitive inventory of where democracy and freedom stand in the world. The latest survey released a few weeks ago shows that a higher percentage and a higher number of people live in freedom in 1988 than ever previously recorded -- nearly two billion people. Just under 40% of the world's population lives in 60 countries and 39 related territories that are free. Major advances in freedom were recorded, furthermore, in every part of the world. 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. When permitted, and sometimes even when not, people are choosing freedom.]

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? It is a proud word that has too often been 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 and liberty that we seek.

The discussion of war since the beginning of time has been surrounded by ethical considerations. Theologians have long debated the "just war". From Thucydiudes 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. The citizen does not. 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 the policy. Certainly for the United States, that consensus requires a moral foundation.

The pacifist meets -- some would say avoids -- the Niebuhr moral dilemma by declaring an absolute principle. "Wars will cease when men refuse to fight" is the slogan. "Someday they'll give a war and nobody will come," wrote Carl Sandburg. President Mitterrand had this phenomenon in mind with his sardonic comment that the Soviet Union produces weapons while the West produces pacifists.

The pacifist principle that war is a greater evil than any evil it would seek to correct seemingly justifies yielding to the lesser evil in the faith that history or a higher moral authority will in the end set things straight. Regrettably, this has in recent years led to a rationalization that the purported enemy is not so evil after all. Thus, the sad alliance of some 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. Clausewitz reminds us that "The aggressor is always peaceloving. He would like to make his entry into our country undisturbed."

Pacifists, many but not all of whom recognize the high moral duty to identify, challenge and attempt to defeat evil, focus on the power of love and non-violent resistance to evil. The human being, they argue, has the capacity to respond more to the human force of love and conscience in his fellow man than to coercion and hate, which perpetuate conflict. Modern technology now challenges that pacifist faith by depersonalizing and automating the process of war. The armed adversary in modern war never sees his victim, who, therefore,

cannot reach his adversary to project the power of his love. The human dimension disappears. The Russian proverb goes: "Make yourself into a sheep, and you'll meet a wolf nearby."

Society, therefore, looks beyond pacifism for the peace with freedom and dignity we all seek. Here, those who have been called, "the moral architects", present their case. They seek to build a moral framework in which war could be contained, restrained, and perhaps even humanized. They accept the legitimacy of force and its presence in human history, but within a moral universe.

Non-intervention as an approach has historically also 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."

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 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 defense 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. 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.

We are negotiating. 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 have continued 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 long-range strategic nuclear weapons, the most dangerous and destabilizing nuclear forces on this planet. We are also on the verge of completing two treaties on nuclear testing.

[Current United States policy is to reduce risks and tensions while maintaining the strategy of deterrence. In addition to negotiating toward further verifiable and stabilizing reductions in nuclear arms, we are preparing for talks to begin in a few days to reduce conventional arms and are continuing with talks dealing with the scourge of chemical weapons. Simultaneously, we are engaged in a process to build realistic, constructive, and more cooperative relations with the Soviet Union.]

We have obviously begun an historic process, all in the context of change. Change is inevitable. As it must under the laws of nature, today will soon be yesterday and tomorrow will soon be with us. We must not fear it. We must influence it.

With the complex issues we face, however, even should change bring with it further reduction agreements, we will still be nearer to the beginning than to the end of that process.

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 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 withdrawn their troops from Afghanistan. Moreover, 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 and police 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 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 from 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 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.

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.

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 are 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. The Soviet Government is going through what appears to be an historical strip tease as layer after layer of deceptive myths keep getting removed and replaced with hard unpleasant truths about the past. 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.

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. 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.

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.

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 by 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. I not only refer to the metaphysical or to the nature of man here, whatever that may be. The obstacle is

also structural. I 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.

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.

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.

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 fulfiling 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 home 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

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MARINE CORPS COMMAND AND STAFF COLLEGE FOUNDATION, INC.
Marine Corps Combat Development Command
Post Office Box 122
Quantico, Virginia 22134
Phone (703) 640-3220

12/19/88
Sent bio + photo

December 8, 1988

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

Dear Ambassador Kampelman,

Enclosed is a brochure with background information on the Marine Corps Command and Staff College Foundation, and an Erskine Lecture program. As you can see our Erskine Lecture Series has become a most informative and prestigious event. In addition to the speakers listed we have also had Lawrence Eagleburger, Brent Scowcroft, John McCain III, Graham Allison and Claire Sterling share their thoughts with our audience, which usually numbers between 900 and 1000.

I am confident that your thoughts on arms negotiations with the Soviet Union will be of great value to the many young Marine Corps officers and community leaders in our audience. If you will agree in principle to be our distinguished lecturer, Lieutenant General William Etnyre, the commanding general at Quantico, will send a formal invitation, with a detailed schedule and several dates for your consideration.

I will call your office next week to see if I can provide any additional information.

Sincerely,

Charles J. Goode

Charles J. Goode, Jr.
Executive Director

Enclosures

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United States Department of State

The Counselor

December 8, 1988

MMK:

Col Good from Quantico called. He runs an educations foundation for the Marine Corps which sponsors something they call the Erskine Lecture Series (Nunn, Baker, Walters, etc. have been lecturers) They get about 1,000 people including 250 active and retired generals. Would like you to lecture on your vision of arms control in the 21st century. Would welcome you almost any Tues, Wed. or Thurs from 15 January to 15 March. Dinner for 25 prior to 8-9:30 lecture. Held at FBI Academy at Quantico.

100 or 1000 ??

OK

Would you be interested in principle? Will send letter and more info.

Sharon

Erskine Lecture
1 March 1989
Dinner Guest List

Ambassador and Mrs. Max M. Kampelman - Max and Marjorie

Mrs. Graves B. Erskine - Connie

Major General and Mrs. Robert D. Bohn - Bob and Ann
Vice President, Command and Staff College Foundation

Brigadier General and Mrs. John P. Brickley - John and Maureen
Deputy Director, Marine Air-Ground Training and Education Center

Brigadier General and Mrs. Matthew P. Caulfield - Matt and Pat
Director, Marine Air-Ground Training and Education Center

Mrs. Leonard F. Chapman III - Gayle

Lieutenant General and Mrs. William R. Etnyre - Bill and Penny Sue
Commanding General, Marine Corps Combat Development Command, Quantico

Colonel and Mrs. Charles J. Goode, Jr. - Charlie and Betty
Executive Director, Command and Staff College Foundation

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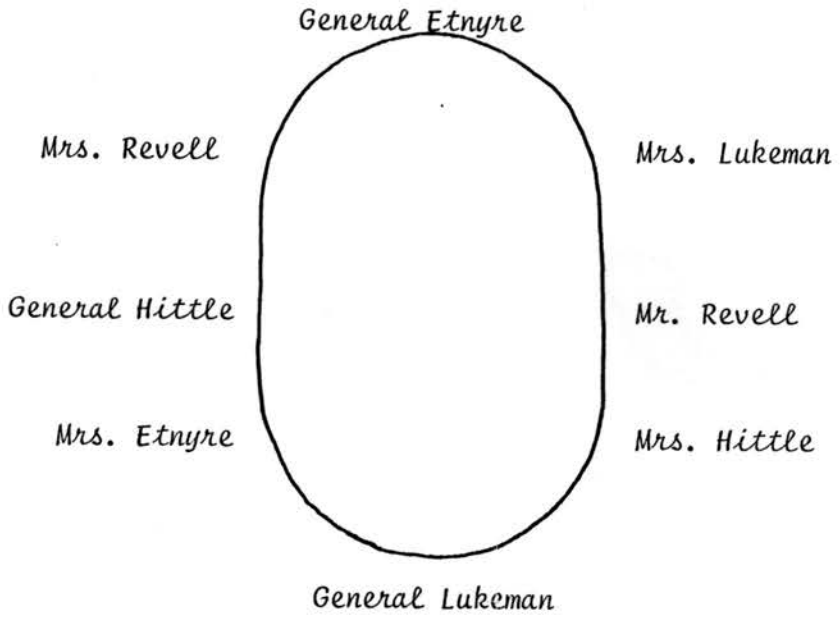
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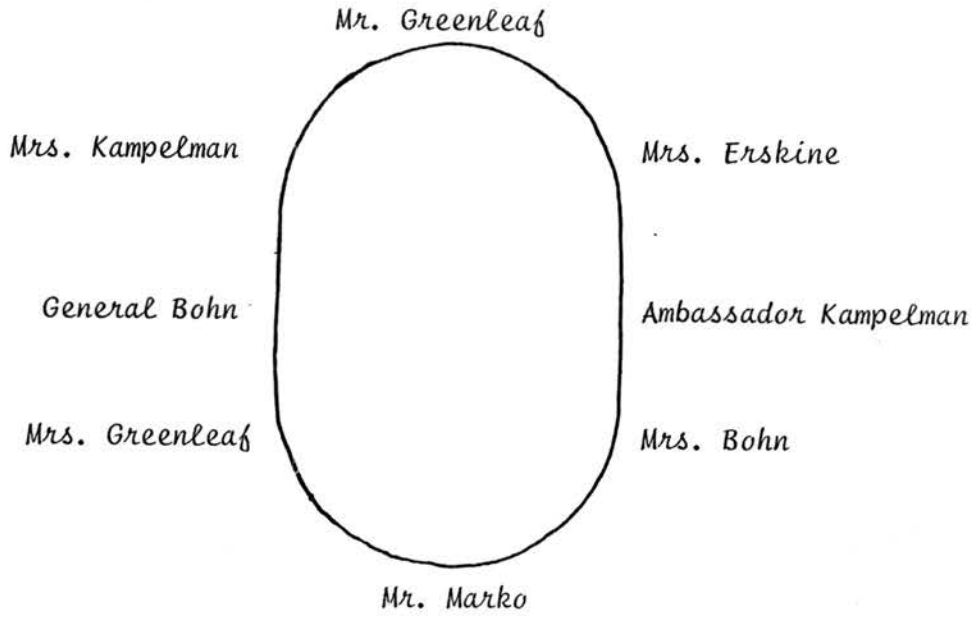
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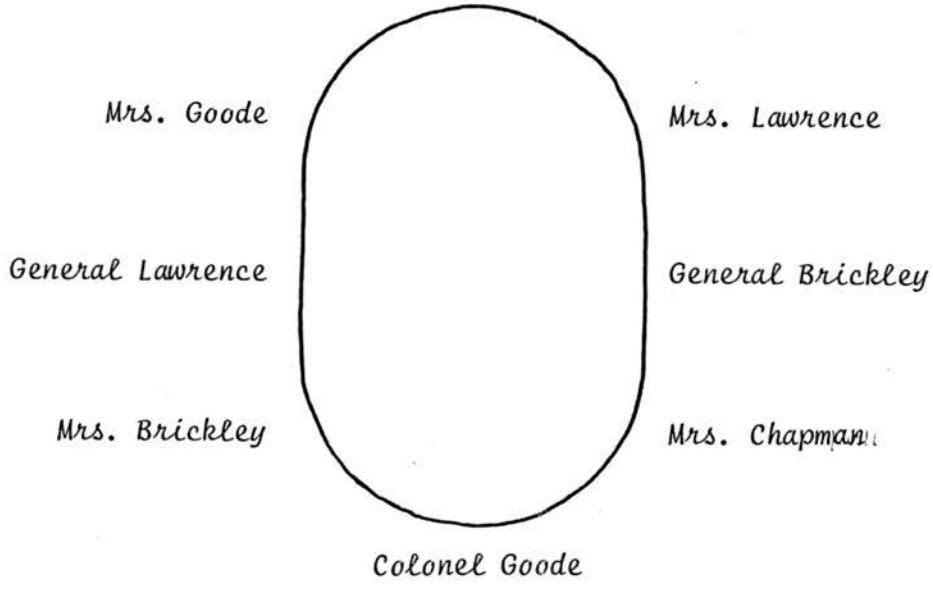
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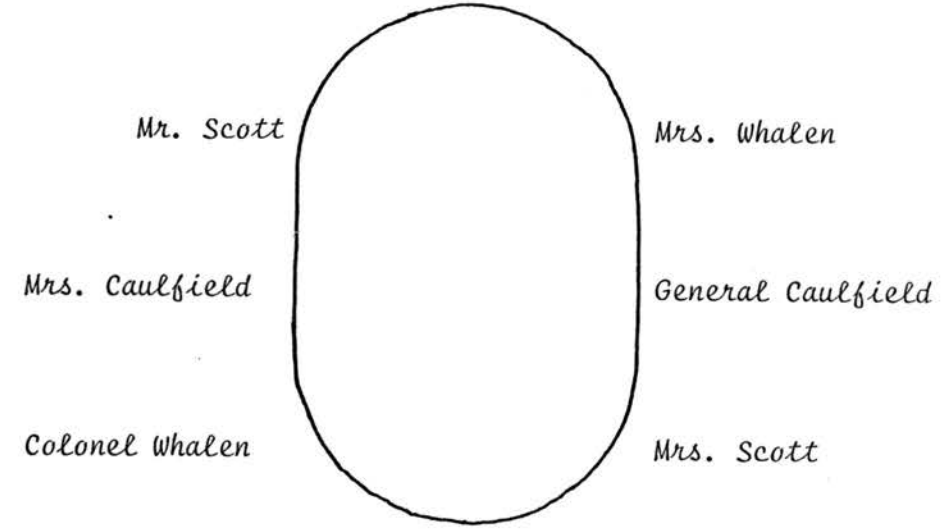

Mr. Scott
Mrs. Whalen
Mrs. Caulfield
General Caulfield
Colonel Whalen
Mrs. Scott

17 March 1989

Dear Ambassador Kampelman,

On behalf of the Marine Corps Combat Development Command, please accept my sincere appreciation for your enthusiastic, thought-provoking lecture Wednesday night, 1 March 1989.

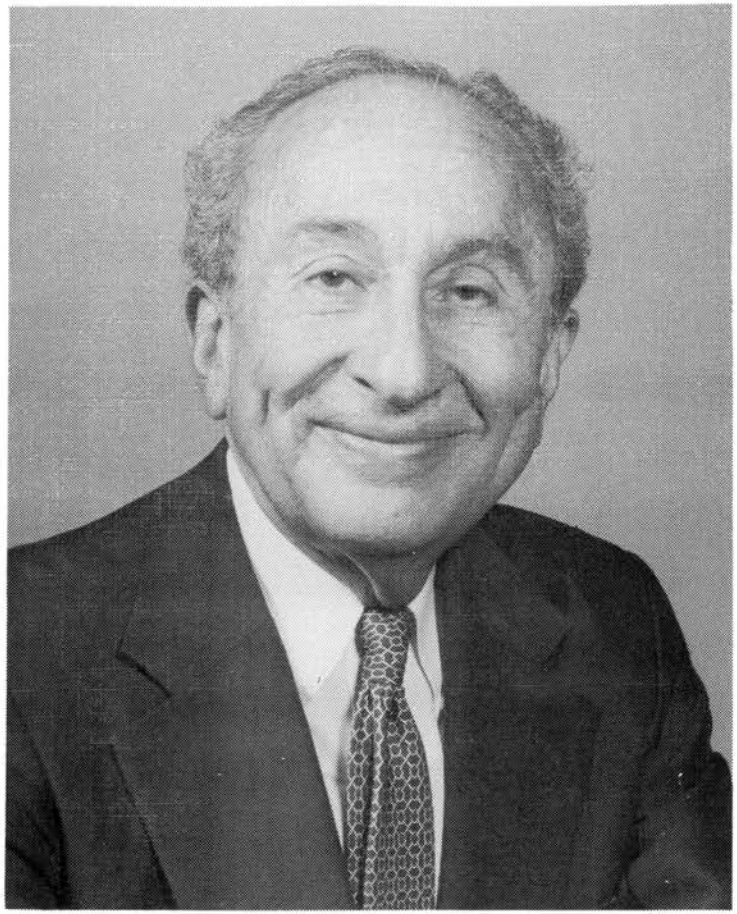
The exchange of ideas following the address was a direct result of your stimulating comments. Your candor in response to the questions was particularly appreciated.

Again, thank you for your personal contribution to the professional education of our Marines and their ladies.

Very respectfully,

W. R. ETNYRE
Lieutenant General, U.S. Marine Corps
Commanding General
Marine Corps Combat Development Command

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman
3154 Highland Place, N.W.
Washington, DC 20008



"Arms Control and Soviet Relations"

Max M. Kampelman

Max M. Kampelman, a lawyer, diplomat and educator, has been, until January 20, 1989, 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. A partner, until his retirement in 1985, in the law firm of Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Kampelman, he has lived and worked in Washington since 1949.

In addition to his recent diplomatic assignment, he is a Trustee, by Presidential Appointment, of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, where he previously served as Chairman. He 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 served as Legislative Counsel to U.S. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey.

An educator, he 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, Clarement College, the University of Wisconsin, and Howard University. He lectures frequently here and abroad and has written extensively in scholarly and public affairs journals. He served on the governing boards of Georgetown University, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Haifa University, the University of Tel Aviv, New York University School of Law, Mt. Vernon College, and the College of the Virgin Islands. He has received honorary Doctorate degrees from New York University, the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, University of Minnesota, Georgetown University, Bates College, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Bar-Ilan University of Israel, and Hebrew Union College. He has also been the recipient of 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. He also served in the United States Marine Corps Reserve and attained the rank of captain.

His activities, until his 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.

ERSKINE LECTURE SERIES

The Erskine Lecture Series was established at the Education Center in February 1984 in honor of the late General Graves B. Erskine who, as one of the foremost proponents of education for servicemen, was instrumental in the development of modern Marine Corps professional military education. General Erskine's military career is an integral part of our Corps' history. He fought at Belleau Wood and St. Mihiel, planned the seizure of Tarawa, accompanied assault forces at Saipan and Tinian, and commanded the 3rd Marine Division during the battle of Iwo Jima. Between World Wars, he served in Haiti, Santo Domingo, Cuba, Nicaragua and China, as well as several Marine Corps posts in the United States. Affectionately known as the "Big E," General Erskine was an instructor at The Basic School and at the Senior Course, which was later designated the Command and Staff College.

Immediately after cessation of hostilities in the Pacific, General Erskine, as Commanding General of the 3rd Marine Division on Guam, organized an extensive educational system to assist his men in their proper reintegration into civilian life. So effective was this program that President Truman, with a special act of Congress, appointed General Erskine as Director of the Retraining and Reemployment Administration. He remained in that post for two years establishing, among other organizations, the President's Committee for Employment of the Handicapped. Returning to active duty, General Erskine commanded the 1st Marine Division, the 3rd Marine Division, and Fleet Marine Forces, Atlantic prior to another special act of Congress in 1953 which authorized his retirement, advancement to four-star rank, and appointment as Assistant to the Secretary of Defense as Director of Special Operations. He retired from this post in 1961 and was employed in private industry until his death in 1973.

Sponsored by the Marine Corps Command and Staff College Foundation, the purpose of this lecture series is to broaden the perspective of officers assigned to schools at Quantico in the social, political and cultural dimensions of this nation and the world. Distinguished representatives from government, education, journalism, and other major fields are featured guests.

MARINE AIR-GROUND TRAINING
AND EDUCATION CENTER

MARINE CORPS COMBAT DEVELOPMENT COMMAND

ERSKINE LECTURE SERIES

March 1, 1989

GENERAL GRAVES B. ERSKINE

James A. Baker, III
Secretary of the Treasury

"The Impact of Economic Interdependency on National Security"

Born in Houston, Texas, Secretary Baker graduated from Princeton University in 1952. After two years of active duty as a U.S. Marine Corps lieutenant he entered the University of Texas School of Law at Austin from which he graduated with honors in 1957.

After practicing law in Houston from 1957 to 1975 Secretary Baker was appointed by President Ford to be the Under Secretary of Commerce. He served as National Chairman of the President Ford Committee in 1976 and as Senior Advisor to President Reagan and Vice President Bush during the 1980 general election campaign.

Secretary Baker served as Chief of Staff to the President of the United States from January 1981 through January 1985. He became the 67th Secretary of the Treasury on February 3, 1985 and also serves as the Chairman of the President's Economic Policy Council.

He is the recipient of the Jefferson Award for distinguished public service and the Woodrow Wilson Award for distinguished achievement in the nation's service. Secretary Baker has received numerous honorary degrees and was selected in 1986 as a Distinguished Alumnus of the University of Texas. He and his wife, the former Susan Garrett, have eight children.

On February 28, 1987 Secretary Baker was honored with the Marine Corps Command and Staff College Foundation's Semper Fidelis Award for his dedicated service to Country and Corps and for exemplifying the high values and principles of the United States Marine Corps.

ERSKINE LECTURE SERIES

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UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS
EDUCATION CENTER
MARINE CORPS COMBAT DEVELOPMENT COMMAND

ERSKINE LECTURE SERIES

April 29, 1988

GENERAL GRAVES B. ERSKINE

3/1

30 December 1988

Dear Ambassador Kampelman,

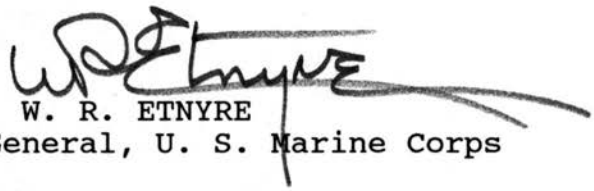
I am delighted you will be able to be the Marine Corps Combat Development Command's distinguished guest speaker at our Erskine Lecture on 1 March 1989. Your comments on "Arms Control Negotiations" will be of enormous value and interest to the Marine Corps officers and their spouses here at Quantico, Virginia.

The General Graves B. Erskine Lecture Series is funded by the Marine Corps Command and Staff College Foundation. The three evening lectures each year are attended by an audience of 800 to 1,000, consisting predominantly of active duty Marine officers and their spouses, but also including foreign officer students, local community leaders, and Foundation guests from the Washington, DC area. This lecture will be hosted by the Communications Officers School and Major Michael Cajohn, USMC, has been assigned as your escort officer.

I have also asked the Foundation's Executive Director, Colonel Charles J. Goode, Jr., USMC (Retired), to contact you and provide a detailed schedule of events and any additional information you may require.

I look forward to seeing you on 1 March.

Very respectfully,



W. R. ETNYRE
Lieutenant General, U. S. Marine Corps

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

The Commanding General
Marine Corps Combat Development Command
cordially invites you to attend the
General Graves B. Erskine Lecture Series
on Wednesday, the first of March
at eight o'clock p.m.
Ambassador Max M. Kampelman
will discuss
"Arms Control and Soviet Relations"
FBI Academy Auditorium
Quantico, Virginia

R.S.V.P. (Acceptances only)
(703) 640-3220 or 640-6835

Civilian Informal

In honor of
Ambassador Max M. Kampelman
The Command and Staff College Foundation
requests the pleasure of the company of

Ambassador and Mrs. Kampelman

at dinner
on Wednesday, the first of March
at half after five o'clock
The Executive Dining Room, FBI Academy
Quantico, Virginia

R.S.V.P.
640-3220

Civilian Informal

Marine Corps Command And Staff College Foundation

3/1

MARINE CORPS COMMAND AND STAFF COLLEGE FOUNDATION, INC.
Marine Corps Combat Development Command
Post Office Box 122
Quantico, Virginia 22134
Phone (703) 640-3220

January 30, 1989

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

Dear Ambassador Kampelman,

This is to provide you with a detailed schedule of events for your General Graves B. Erskine Lecture at Quantico on March 1, 1989, and to get your approval of the arrangements.

As you may already know we use the FBI Academy auditorium for the lecture series and we usually have an audience of 850 to 1000. Prior to the lecture we have cocktails and dinner with the guest of honor and spouse in the Executive Dining Room at the Academy. Fifteen couples are usually invited and include Mrs. Graves Erskine; the Commanding General of MCCDC; the Director of the Training and Education Center; the Director of the FBI Academy, and several Foundation Trustees and their wives. Cocktails begin at 5:30 p.m. and dinner is served at 6:30 p.m.

Hors doeuvres

The lecture and question period begins at 8:00 p.m. and ends at 9:30 p.m. Usually our guests deliver their prepared remarks for 35 to 45 minutes and then go directly to the question and answer period. At the conclusion of the questions and answers we have a brief reception with the guest of honor and 125 students and Foundation guests. This lasts until the guest of honor leaves, which has usually been approximately 10:15 p.m.

May I suggest that we send a sedan and an escort officer to bring you, and hopefully Mrs. Kampelman to and from Quantico. This would facilitate your trip during the rush hour traffic, and bring you to the FBI Academy by the most direct route.

I will call your office next week to see if these arrangements meet with your approval and to provide any additional information you may require.

Sincerely,

Charlie Goode, Jr.

Charles J. Goode, Jr.
Executive Director

major Mike Capon gift