



Max M. Kampelman Papers

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REMARKS

BY

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

AT

VIRGINIA JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

SCHOOL OF LAW
UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA
MARCH 31, 1989

It has only been two months or so 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.

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. Certainly, our international body of law has not.

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.

These changes in science and technology are producing fundamental changes in our material lives; and in our social and political relationships as well. A global trend toward democracy and the promise of greater forward movement toward freedom and human rights is a symbol and part of that dramatic change. 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. A favorite example is a shipping label 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. The world has not even been able in its international institutions to arrive at an agreed upon

effective definition of "terrorism" thereby making efforts to outlaw it spurious.

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 try to 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. Without doubt that leadership is totally absorbed with the urgent need

for drastic internal changes if the Soviet Union is to be a significant part of the 21st Century we are about to enter.

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 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.

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.

We hear the Soviet words with hope that the deeds and the reality will indeed follow the rhetoric. 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.

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 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 with the objective 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, already incorporated in a joint draft 300 page treaty text, 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 may be 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." It still is! Our political values have helped us build the most dynamic and open society in recorded history, a source of inspiration to most of the world. It is a promise of a better tomorrow for the hundreds of millions of people who have never known the gifts of human freedom. The future lies with liberty, human dignity, and democracy. To preserve and expand these values is our special responsibility. We should look upon it as an exciting opportunity.

Thank you

VIRGINIA JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

Twenty-eighth Annual Banquet

Friday, March 31, 1989

The Boar's Head Inn

Charlottesville, Virginia

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VIRGINIA JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW ^{or}

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3 October 1989

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

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

Enclosed please find the penultimate round of proofs of your Commentary. As we hope to go to final proofs late next week, I would appreciate it if you could review the Commentary and inform me of any comments or revisions you might have. If we do not hear from you we will presume you are satisfied with the piece as is.

You may reach me at the Journal office at 804-924-3415.

Yours respectfully,

Edwin L. Fountain

Edwin L. Fountain
Executive Editor

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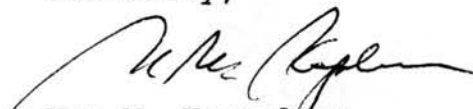
August 18, 1989

Mr. Edwin L. Fountain
Executive Editor
Virginia Journal of International Law
University of Virginia School of Law
Charlottesville, Virginia 22901

Dear Mr. Fountain:

Thank you for your letter of August 6. I am pleased that you are proceeding and I look forward to receiving the galley proofs when they are available.

Sincerely,



Max M. Kampelman

INCORPORATE INTO MASTER
P 2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 12

VIRGINIA JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

University of Virginia School of Law
Charlottesville, Virginia 22901 U.S.A.
(804) 924-3415

6 August 1989

Amb. Max M. Kampelman
Fried, Frank, Harris,
Shriver & Jacobson
Suite 800
1001 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Washington, D.C. 20004

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

We have completed our editing of your speech, save for a few footnotes yet to be added, and would like you to review the current version. We have made some structural changes in the early part of the text in order to highlight and give some more continuity to the themes you address, but have I think remained faithful to your tone and style.

Although the summer has naturally slowed our editing process, we are now well into the printing stages. We will be sending you a copy of the galley proofs in a few weeks, and expect to meet our scheduled publication date of late September.

Please feel free to give us any comments or suggestions you might have.

Yours respectfully,

Edwin L. Fountain

Edwin L. Fountain
Executive Editor



White Burkett Miller Center Of Public Affairs

The University Of Virginia

January 6, 1988

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

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

Thank you for your welcome letter of December 21. By now, you have heard from Paul and Opal David hoping you might visit us but after their return from travel abroad.

May I make a specific suggestion, in fact two. We have been conducting a series of Forums and Lectures on arms control and have published approximately ten volumes, e.g., SAM NUNN ON ARMS CONTROL, GERARD SMITH ON ARMS CONTROL, etc. Each volume contains an edited version of a presentation by a visitor to the Center plus other papers, interviews and addresses the person allowed us to include. Our role is to provide an audience of informed questioners, tape, transcribe, do preliminary editing, send the author the transcript, prepare the manuscript and send it to the publisher. At that point, the author takes over and deals with the publisher on contract and receives all royalties. I am sending you one of our volumes in the series. I might add that General Burns has a manuscript in preparation.

Secondly, I also hope you might participate in our Reagan oral history. We have done oral histories on each postwar president through Carter. I am sending you one. John Block, Tom Griscom, Don Reagan and others have already participated in the Reagan history. You can see from the Ford volume the type of format we have used.

Ideally, we would like you to participate in both the arms control and oral history projects but at least one of them. Charlottesville is 30 minutes by plane and a little over 2 hours by car. (We could help with transportation.) It would be an honor and a pleasure to entertain you for a day or two in "Mr. Jefferson's academical village."

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Ken

Kenneth W. Thompson
Director

KWT/sk

University of Virginia
Post Office Box 5106
2201 Old Ivy Road
Charlottesville, Virginia 22905

804.924.7236

I'm sure after all your official travel, another trip seems one too many. However, I believe these two projects can have enduring value. They can help the historians "get the story right," as the British say.

VIRGINIA JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

University of Virginia School of Law
Charlottesville, Virginia 22901 U.S.A.
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May 24, 1989

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman
Freid, Frank, Harris, Shriver and
Jacobson
Suite 800
1001 Pennsylvania Ave, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

Dear Ambassador Kampelman,

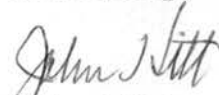
The Members of the Article Review Board have asked me to thank you once again for submitting the text of your speech for publication. I am writing to confirm its acceptance for publication in the Summer issue (volume 29, issue 4).

We have already begun the initial editing process for the Summer issue, which is scheduled for publication in late September. Edwin Fountain will be the Executive Editor assigned to supervise the editing of your manuscript.

I am enclosing copies of the Journal's Reprint Policy, Editorial Policy, Transfer of Copyright Form, and Westlaw Author Release Form. Please return the forms to me when you have completed them.

Once again, the Journal is delighted to be publishing the text of your speech. If you have any questions please feel free to contact either Edwin at Jones, Day in Washington, D.C. or me at Schiff, Hardin & Waite in Chicago.

Sincerely,



John Hitt
Editor-in-Chief

CHECK / NSZITP
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VIRGINIA JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

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3/31

February 7, 1989

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver and Jacobson
600 New Hampshire Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037

Dear Ambassador Kampleman:

Thank you for expressing initial interest in speaking at our annual banquet. We have delayed the banquet until late March in hopes that you will be able to come down. Either a weekday or a weekend would be fine, though our preference would be for Friday, March 24. Our second preference would be Friday, March 31. Both occasions would allow you to spend the weekend in Charlottesville, should you choose. We would pay for Friday night accommodations for you and your immediate family, as well as providing transportation to and from Charlottesville.

The event is now scheduled to take place at the large ballroom of the Boar's Head Inn. We will gladly arrange to have the media there, or if you prefer a smaller event no media coverage is necessary to us. In either case, the Journal would like to publish your remarks as a commentary.

Since we have delayed this event already we will need an answer fairly soon, so that we can line up a back-up speaker. However, we understand the difficulty of scheduling since you have just moved back to private practice. If you need time please let us know of your continuing interest. I know that Professor Moore hopes that you will come and we eagerly await your response.

Sincerely,



Ben Sparks
Editor-in-Chief

cc: John Norton Moore

McCulloch
MOTT
PUBLIC AFFAIRS FORUM
DAVID
LANEUVION-



White Burkett Miller Center Of Public Affairs The University Of Virginia

February 27, 1989

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

I'm thrilled to know of your
visit to U Va on March 31 - April 1.

Opal David and I have talked and
she suggested Paul call you. I'll also be in
touch with Frank and Edith McCulloch - also good
friends. Opal suggests they take you to Monticello
first thing Saturday morning and that we
hold our Forum at 11:00 a.m. I would propose
lunch after that perhaps to discuss the
Reagan presidency if you were agreeable (it
might be a low key and informal discussion).

I'll check with the Legal Forum. If you
wanted a witness to our format, you might
talk with General Burns. You have many
admirers among faculty and retired public
officials in the Charlottesville area.

Sincerely
Ken Thompson

University of Virginia Post Office Box 5106 Charlottesville, Virginia 22905 804/924.7236

P.S. I've just talked with Mr. Sparks.

3/31

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MAX M. KAMPELMAN

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February 22, 1989

John Hitt

Mr. Ben Sparks
Editor-in-Chief
Virginia Journal of International Law
University of Virginia School of Law
Charlottesville, Virginia 22901

Dear Mr. Sparks:

Thank you very much for your gracious invitation of February 7. It would be possible for me to accept your invitation to speak at the annual banquet on Friday, March 31. Regrettably, I have a conflict for the weekend of March 24. Let me know if this is still convenient for you.

I have had a previous inquiry from Ken Thompson, Director of the White Burkett Miller Center of Public Affairs. My wife and I would plan to arrive in Charlottesville sometime on Friday afternoon and I would be available to meet with Dr. Thompson and any of his students on Saturday morning if that is convenient for him. I am, therefore, sending him a copy of this letter for his consideration.

I am also sending a copy of this letter to our old friends, Paul and Opal David, who had written to me about Dr. Thompson's interest. I would, therefore, hope to have an opportunity to meet with them and with some other old friends who now live in Charlottesville, Frank and Edith McCulloch.

It is my hope that my wife and I can spend a little time sightseeing on Friday afternoon and on Saturday morning. We would then plan to return to Washington after lunch on Saturday. Paul David, incidentally, suggested that we might enjoy staying at the Boar's Head Inn, which would be fine with us, particularly since your banquet is scheduled to be held there as well.

Please send my warmest best wishes to John Norton Moore.

Sincerely,

Max M. Kampelman
Max M. Kampelman

*Cocktails at 7
dinner 7:30
speak for 20 min.*

cc: Dr. Kenneth Thompson
Dr. Paul R. David
Mr. Frank McCulloch
Adm. William C. Mott

MMK:

Re: Charlottesville Trip

1. You have a reservation at the Boar's Head Inn. The AAA map should get you to Charlottesville without a problem. Look for the bypass around Charlottesville marked 29South/250West. There will be signs to Boar's Head and it is on 250West.
2. The Davids will pick you and MBK up at 2 p.m. at the Hotel. Weather permitting, you will visit Monticello, Univ. of Va. campus and then to tea with Adm. Mott. Neither Ken Thompson nor John Norton Moore will be able to be at tea. (Thompson has a class and Moore is in Washington for the weekend finishing project for ACDA).
3. Ben Sparks from the Virginia Journal will come to the hotel to escort you to the dinner. He'll arrive about 6:30. Your speech is after dinner followed by Qs and As.
4. On Saturday morning, Ken Thompson will pick you up at 9:15 to go to White Burkett Center which is set for 9:30 a.m. Since all there still think you have to be back in Washington for your flight to New York, they have suggested that you follow them over to the campus. You can play that one by ear.

Telephone numbers: (all area code 804)

Adm. Mott:	296-4362
Boar'd Head Inn:	296-2181
Davids:	293-6508
Ben Sparks:	924-3415
Ken Thompson:	924-7236



THE COUNSELOR
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

December 21, 1988

Dr. Kenneth Thompson
White Burkett Miller Center
on Public Affairs
University of Virginia
Post Office Box 5106
2201 Old Ivy Road
Charlottesville, Virginia 22905

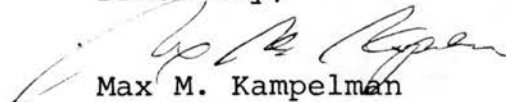
Dear Dr. Thompson:

Thank you very much for your gracious note of December 12. John Whitehead, after receiving your invitation, asked me if I could possibly stand in for him since he was not in a position to accept your invitation. I said I would, of course, be pleased to do so out of courtesy for him as well as respect for your Center on Public Affairs.

The fact of the matter is that I am attempting to curtail, rather than extend, my speaking activities. My plan is to leave government service on January 20 and then consider the various options that have presented themselves to me. Traveling in connection with speaking engagements is not a particularly attractive option to me. Nevertheless, if there is a specific suggestion, I would very much like to hear from you. I have never visited the campus at Charlottesville and I understand it is quite beautiful. I, therefore, look forward to hearing from Paul and Opal David. In the meantime, please send them my warmest greetings. It has been many years.

All my best.

Sincerely,



Max M. Kampelman



December 12, 1988

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

I wrote this note in haste before running to a Departmental meeting.

I've heard that you might be willing to visit the Center to discuss "Arms Control and the Reagan Administration." We'd be delighted to schedule such a visit anytime. Perhaps sometime after January 20 would be best for you but you can pick the date.

You will probably be hearing from Paul and Opal David

I can only say we'll be thrilled.

Sincerely,

Ken Thompson

VIRGINIA JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

University of Virginia School of Law

Charlottesville, Virginia 22901 U.S.A.

(804) 924-3415

February 27, 1989

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson
Suite 800
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005-2505

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

YES We are elated that you are available to speak on March 31, 1989 at our annual banquet. We have taken the liberty of finalizing our reservations with the Boar's Head Inn for the large ballroom on that evening. Cocktails will be served at 7:00, with dinner starting at 8:00 and your speech to follow. We hope that you would like to take a few questions after your speech.

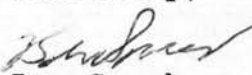
OK NO We have reserved a room at the Boar's Head Inn that evening for you and your wife. The room is a "Hunt Club King" with one king size bed and balcony with a view of the lake. Should you prefer, we would gladly book you a suite, however we looked at both and thought the Hunt Club rooms significantly better because of the balcony. Additionally we will gladly pay your transportation costs.

✓ I spoke with Ken Thompson today and invited him to the dinner at the Journal's expense. He expressed an interest in meeting with you Saturday morning. I assume that you would rather meet with your friends, Mr. and Mrs. David, Mr. and Mrs. McCulloch and Admiral Mott at some other time, but should they like to attend the dinner we would welcome them also at our expense.

LET THEM DECIDE - I'M NOT RUNNING FOR OFFICE AND CAN DO WITHOUT IT Should you prefer to have press coverage of the event, I am sure that local television would be present. In the past C-Span has expressed some interest in Law School speakers and we would gladly contact them if you wish. We do not see a need for press coverage, however, it is only if you would prefer to have it.

✓ Once again, thank you for fitting us in to your schedule. We are absolutely ecstatic to have you speak and will do everything we can to make your stay at Mr. Jefferson's university enjoyable.

Sincerely,


Ben Sparks
Editor-in-Chief

cc: John Norton Moore
Kenneth Thompson

(F)

FRANK W. MCCULLOCH
104 FALCON DRIVE
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA 22901

February 28th.

Dear Max -

Many thanks for sending me the copy of your letter with details of the plans for your late March appearances here.

Since I normally receive notices of the VJL and Miller Center programs, the opportunity for us to see both of you would flow naturally after the precise dates and times are fixed.

Regrettably, however, my overdue surgery - hip-replacement - also at the end of March will prevent our availing ourselves of that opportunity.

We lament this and must find consolation in realizing that at least some audiences here - small, but select - will hear you.

The McCullochs will have to
find some other way, later, to renew
their conspiracy with the Kampelmans
for the public good.

With warmest regards and
appreciation to both of you,

Sincerely,

Frank

52 / LBY 7A4C
Crosscut Acres / Route 5, Box 335-B / Charlottesville, Virginia 22901

March 21, 1989

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

Dear Max:

You will have heard from Ken Thompson by now about the various events planned for your visit on March 31 and April 1. Now maybe I should fill you in on when and where Opal and I will be involved. Friday, we plan to pick you and Maggie up at the Boar's Head at 2:00 o'clock for a visit to Monticello, where special arrangements have been made for your visit. If time permits, we might also look around Mr. Jefferson's Academical Village a little. If there is any last minute change of schedule, our local telephone is 293-6508.

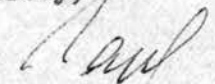
Ken said you had thought of trying to have Admiral Mott meet you for tea, so we will plan to get you back by 4:30 for that or any other such arrangement you may want to make.

We have been invited to the dinner Friday evening and look forward to hearing you then, as well as at the Miller Center on Saturday morning.

You probably recall Robert O'Connell, author of the new book, "Of Arms and Men," who may have been with you in Geneva. He lives here and will probably be at the Saturday session. He is talking himself at the Miller Center on April 3 on the subject of his new book.

We are delighted that you are going to be here; wish you were able to stay longer; and hope you will be coming back later. I know that Ken Thompson and others at the Miller Center would like to have more time with you, especially in connection with their Oral History project on the Reagan Administration, which is now well started.

Sincerely,



Paul T. David



THE COUNSELOR
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

January 4, 1989

Dr. Paul R. David
Crosscut Acres
Route 5
Box 335-B
Charlottesville, Virginia 22901

Dear Paul:

That was a lovely letter of December 28. Thank you very much. We ought to try to work something out for Charlottesville either during the Spring, Summer or Fall. Thank you for your suggestion that we stay with you, but I do believe that Maggie and I would prefer to stay at the Inn. It has been a long time since we have seen you and Opal. It will be good to visit with you again.

All my best.

Sincerely,

Max M. Kampelman

Crosscut Acres / Route 5, Box 335-B / Charlottesville, Virginia 22901

December 28, 1988

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

Dear Max:

Now that you have shaken loose from the U. S. Government, Opal and I hope that you will give some more thought to the possibility of a visit to Charlottesville some time in the coming months. Early Spring may be the best time, both for scenic beauty and having the University still in session. We are sure that Kenneth Thompson would like very much to get you involved in the Miller Center program of studies and reports on aspects of the Reagan Administration and its diplomatic relationships with the Soviets and others.

The Center offers opportunities for Forums in its conference room at Faulkner House with people like us, lectures in the Dome Room of Thomas Jefferson's Rotunda, and Conversations at Monticello, the latter especially good in nice Spring-time weather. You and Maggie may prefer to stay at the Boar's Head Inn, but our guest room with its view of the Blue Ridge will certainly be available if you choose to come and stay with us for whatever time you can. We hope you are planning a more relaxing way of life in the coming months, although we are sure that you will continue to be much in demand in all sorts of ways.

We are just about to leave town for a month in Texas and Mexico, but will be back by mid-February and from then on.

With cordial regards from both of us, and best wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely,



Paul T. David

Cc. Kenneth Thompson



Wm
United States Department of State

Deputy Secretary of State

December 7, 1988

Ambassador Kampelman:

As you see, JCW has declined this invitation to Charlottesville. If this interests you, we can tell Thompson that JCW regrets but suggest your name. If this does not interest you, we will simply regret.

J.P. Timbie



White Burkett Miller Center Of Public Affairs The University Of Virginia

December 2, 1988

Deputy Secretary John C. Whitehead
Department of State
2201 C Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Secretary Whitehead:

I am writing in the hope that you might visit the Miller Center to lead a discussion on arms control. General Burns recently met with us to share his insights on the INF Treaty and START negotiations. His contribution is only the latest by arms control observers and practitioners who have visited the Center. We have also entertained Edward Teller, Edwin Yoder, General Abrahamson and Sam Nunn. We sponsored a public debate between Dr. Kosta Tsipis of MIT and Dr. Gerald Yonas of the SDI research team.

I know that your experience would offer a unique and important perspective to our understanding of the arms control process.

Our calendar for the winter and spring months is relatively open and I am sure we can fit our schedule to yours. If you think a visit to Charlottesville is possible, either now or in the future, please let us hear from you. My colleagues and I are eager to welcome you to our corner of Mr. Jefferson's "academical village."

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Kenneth Thompson

Kenneth W. Thompson
Director

KWT/sk

I would also welcome a chance to discuss with you our oral history project on the Reagan administration.

University of Virginia
Post Office Box 5106
2201 Old Ivy Road
Charlottesville, Virginia 22905

804.924.7236

Reps. I am not an expert on arms control. Suggest Kumpelmann, Kitzel, Timko

phd
DEC 1988
J.C.W.
has seen

(f)

VIRGINIA JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

University of Virginia School of Law
Charlottesville, Virginia 22901 U.S.A.
(804) 924-3415

April 6, 1989

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman
Freid, Frank, Harris, Shriver and
Jacobson
Suite 800
1001 Pennsylvania Ave, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

I just wanted to send you a short letter to again thank you for coming to our annual dinner. We were elated to have you as our guest and as our speaker. Thank you also for forgiving my mistake on the invitations. As you well saw, the whole matter was rather informal, but for me to put you in an awkward situation is rather bad form.

I think the one of the most interesting things I heard from you all evening was your comment about learning by listening. I'm not sure I do a very good job at that, but I sure listened to you and I really enjoyed it.

*I did send
shd*
As you know we are very proud of the Journal and would love to have your comments to publish. We were also thrilled to hear you speak so candidly both at dinner and during the course of the conversation. Again, we fully realize the great number of prestigious forums you could have chosen to speak at and we thoroughly appreciate your choosing to come to Charlottesville.

Sincerely,



Ben Sparks
Editor-in-Chief