



## Max M. Kampelman Papers

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AMERICAN VALUES AND STRENGTH IN A CHANGING WORLD

REMARKS BY

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

TO

THE JAMESTOWN FOUNDATION

WASHINGTON, D.C.

MAY 2, 1989

It is an honor to receive your award this evening. I shall cherish it. The Jamestown Foundation represents the essence of the American commitment to freedom and human dignity for all. There are heroic men and women here tonight and large numbers not able to be with us who are living proof of that commitment. Their courage, lives, and accomplishments demonstrate the wisdom and virtue of that commitment. With enthusiasm, I hail Bill Geimer and his leadership.

To share this dais and your honors with my friend, Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney, is a special privilege for me. My wife and I value our friendship with Lynn and Dick Cheney, both of whom represent the best traditions of good citizenship and public service. All Americans have reason to be both proud and enthusiastic as we see the strengths, the experience, the values, the good sense, the superb leadership talents that Dick Cheney brings to his new awesome responsibilities. We also have reason to be optimistic for our future as we note his relative youth and the open vistas ahead for him and for us as he continues to grow toward even greater opportunities for leadership in behalf of a free world.

It has been less than four months since I left government service with its different, exciting and enriching challenges. As a traditional Democrat who has 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, greater 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. 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.

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. Stop the world. We want to get off. We are not ready. We are not prepared for this new world we are being dragged into. We will 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. Changes in science and technology are producing fundamental changes in our material lives; and in our social and political relationships as well. There are new dominant 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, China, Chile, Paraguay, the Soviet Union, Poland -- different cultures, different parts of the world. A larger part of the world's population is today living in relative freedom than ever before in the history of the world.

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. 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.

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.

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.

We are told by Soviet leaders that through the process of internal transformation that is demanded by the new technologies, they comprehend 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; and that their domestic requirements are their highest priority.

Without doubt, that leadership faces 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. I recall hearing the quip in Moscow: "We pretend to work and they pretend to pay us."

The new leaders of the Soviet Union are fully aware of its problems. 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 the hope that the deeds and reality will indeed follow the rhetoric. We hope the time is at hand when Soviet authorities, looking at the energy of the West, comprehend the systemic weakness that corrodes their society. 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. It will not be easy for many of us to change the prism of our comfortable spectacles for clearer viewing. There have been significant developments 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 soon became apparent. Under the leadership of the President, 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: aggression, poverty, intense bilateral competitive tensions, and, of course, violence against human dignity. The latter, which undermine the very essence of trust and confidence between nations, has been at the root of much of our historic hostility toward the Soviet system.

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 and negotiates 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 my dear friend, 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. It is in all of our interests to try to make it work. With the nature of our adversary and the complex issues we face, however, coupled with our own internal political stresses we are still much nearer to the very beginning than to the end of that process.

The process, furthermore, is likely to be a difficult and murky 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 reality that they and we must still face. During a recent trip to Moscow, I heard it 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 problems are real and at times appear overwhelming.

We are also struck by the depth of ethnic nationalism that has survived the Marxist and Leninist revolutions in the Soviet Union. That nationalism at times appears to be tearing at the fiber of the Soviet empire. There is violence, demonstrations, curfews, and the recurring question: "How tolerant can Moscow afford to be?" Can Glasnost survive this strain and onslaught? Can the Soviet Union, with more than 100 nationalities and widely disparate cultures living in 15 Republics, contain these demands for local sovereignty?

Just as the strains must not blind us to the changes so should the changes not blind us to the difficulties that still remain. Yes, the changes are stunning -- Soviet troops out of Afghanistan; Solidarity legally recognized in Poland with free elections on the horizons; the prospect of Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola; Vietnam's agreement to withdraw from Cambodia; Communist Party officials challenged and defeated in Soviet elections; the beginning of a two party system in Hungary; interesting Soviet proposals to reduce conventional arms along lines proposed by the West.

But the basis for skepticism also remains: The Soviets and their allies continue to provide more than half a billion dollars a year in military assistance to Nicaragua; Cuba continues to receive \$7 billion in Soviet support annually; the Soviet military budget has still not been reduced; we have still

not been able to observe a promised shift in Soviet military philosophy from an offensive to a defensive posture; and, as a dramatic reminder of our need to be wary, the Soviet's sale to Libya of bomber aircraft capable of threatening and further destabilizing the Middle East. We could go on.

The great challenge to our diplomacy is how to adjust to a rapidly changing Soviet Union in a rapidly changing world without endangering our security and our values. As we do so, we must at the same time be sensitive to the judgment of history and take heed, lest future generations condemn us for having missed a decisive opportunity for peace with dignity.

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, readiness, steadiness, and strength that is indispensable for effective and timely foreign affairs decision-making. Our political community must resist the temptation of partisan politics and institutional rivalry as we develop the consensus adequate to meet the challenge of de Tocqueville's criticism.

Two hundred years ago this week George Washington took the oath of office as the first President of the United States. Our country, today the oldest democracy in the world, came into being. Our forefathers 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

## Vladimir Morozov

Journalist

Author

While on vacation in West Germany with a group of Soviet journalists in October, 1986, Vladimir Morozov defected and sought political asylum in the United States in December, 1986.

From 1970-1971, Morozov wrote for "Gudok", a newspaper published by the Ministry of Railroads in Moscow. As a correspondent for "Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya" (Soviet Industry), published by the Central Committee of the CPSU from 1971-1976, Morozov travelled throughout the Soviet Union reporting on problems and achievements in Soviet heavy industry.

From 1976-1977, Morozov was editor of "Nash Sovremenik" (Our Contemporary), a literary magazine published by the Union of Writers in Moscow. As Assistant Editor to "Sovietskiye Profsoyuzy (Soviet Trade Unions) in Moscow from 1977-1986, he investigated and wrote about conflicts between labor and management in the Soviet Union. In 1980, Morozov took a one year economics course at the State Planning Department in Moscow.

Since his defection, Morozov has worked as Editor of "Novoye Russkoye Slovo" (New Russian Word), writing commentary on the labor movement and trade unions in the Soviet Union. He has also published articles in numerous daily U.S. newspapers and prestigious periodicals on glasnost and Soviet media censorship.

Using his nine years experience as an investigator, Morozov has lectured at the State Department, Columbia University, New York University and other organizations on the Soviet labor movement and trade unions, as well as on the current political situation.

Vladimir Morozov was born in 1939 in Moscow. He attended Moscow State University from 1962-1968 where he received his degree in journalism.

### Suggested Lecture Topics:

1. Soviet trade unions: How they operate.
2. Experiences of a Soviet investigative reporter.
3. How Gorbachev's reforms impact on common Soviet citizens.
4. Relationship between glasnost and censorship in the Soviet mass media.



c/o Farmer  
249 West 11 Street  
New York N.Y. 10014  
apt 2E

## Alexandra Costa (Yelena Mitrokhina)

First Post-WW II Defector from  
Soviet Embassy in USA

Author

Author, lecturer, and computer consultant, Alexandra Costa was raised in Leningrad--a privileged only child of a Soviet Air Force colonel and a journalist. A trained sociologist, Ms. Costa has degrees from the University of Leningrad in Scandinavian languages, and from the Moscow Institute of Sociology.

In the Soviet Union, she taught Marxism at a special institute for foreign communist students.



Ms. Costa and her husband were sent to Washington, D.C. to represent the Soviet Copyright Agency. When the time came to return, she declined; thus becoming the first person since World War II to defect from the Soviet Union in Washington.

Seven years after her defection, Costa became an instant celebrity following her appearance on Nightline, commenting on the sensational defection and redefection of high-ranking KGB officer Vitaly Yurchenko. Ms. Costa had known Yurchenko as the strict head of counterintelligence at the Soviet Embassy in Washington.

In 1986, Ms. Costa told her compelling story in her book, *Stepping Down From the Star*. This Soviet defector tells what it is like after defection to have to make your way in a new world, with a new name, no past, no business experience, no friends, with only your wits, pride, and stubborn independence to help you forge a new life and career.

"The most important thing that brought me into this country," she says, "is the freedom to control my own life. It is not very original, but Americans take so much for granted--especially their freedom".

Following her defection, Ms. Costa earned an MBA at the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School of Business. Presently, she runs her own computer consulting firm. She has appeared on numerous TV and radio shows, including Today, Nightline, MacNeil-Lehrer, and the CNN Larry King Show. In addition to being the author of a series of published articles on current Soviet affairs, Ms. Costa has spoken before many audiences and is completing her second book, an espionage novel.

### Suggested Lecture Topics:

1. The bright and dark side: USSR and USA.
2. The Privileges of the Soviet elite.
3. Women's rights in the Soviet Union: Laws vs. Realities.
4. What it means to be a defector.
5. Soviet Union today: What is happening?



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REMARKS PREPARED FOR DELIVERY BY  
THE HONORABLE DICK CHENEY  
SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
JAMESTOWN FOUNDATION  
WASHINGTON, D.C.  
TUESDAY, MAY 2, 1989

Thank you for that kind introduction. I was honored to receive the Freedom Award in 1988, and feel equally honored to be introducing Max Kampelman as the 1989 award winner.

The people in this audience all know how important is the work of the Jamestown Foundation. I only wish more Americans understood how important it is to assist those who make the choice for freedom.

Maybe you have heard the old story about the potential emigre who applied for an exit visa. "You would be making a great mistake leaving the Soviet Union," the visa official told him. "You know the old saying. It always is better where we are not." "Yes," the applicant agreed. "You're absolutely right. And that is exactly why I want to go somewhere where you are not."

Before anyone can begin to think about making a flight to freedom, however, the idea of freedom must first be planted in his or her mind. That gets us to the main business at hand. For we are here tonight to honor Max Kampelman and, in many ways, Max's life is a symbol of what the Jamestown Foundation stands for. His life is also a symbol of the challenges and opportunities that lie ahead for the United States. So let me say a few things about Max. I want to begin with his first job after college, almost five decades ago.

Max was graduated from New York University in 1940, when he was only 19 years old. At that time, the Battle of Britain was in full sway. Neither the United States nor the Soviet Union was yet in the war, but the United States was edging toward a more open support of Great Britain. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union was a party to a mutual non-aggression pact with Nazi Germany.

In that troubled world, Max took a job as a researcher with the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. That choice of a first job tells us something. The ILGWU's President from 1932 until 1966 was David Dubinsky. By the time Max took that job in 1940, Dubinsky was almost a legendary figure among liberal, anti-Stalinist circles in New York.

MORE

Dubinsky was born in 1892 in Russian Poland. As a teenager, he was arrested several times and sent to Siberia. For what? For helping to organize a labor union. Then, in 1911, Dubinsky escaped from his exile and left Tsarist Russia to come to the United States. So had many of Dubinsky's other colleagues in the ILGWU. From the beginning, therefore, Kampelman was surrounded by people who understood the importance of freedom, and who had left Russia to come to the United States to find it.

And from the beginning, Max also was associated with people who understood the difference between wishful thinking and hard headed reality. Dubinsky was one of the founders of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and was a fierce leader in the CIO's successful efforts to defeat Communist takeover attempts. Dubinsky knew the difference between the Soviet Union's empty promises about worker control, and the reality of freedom in the United States. Max showed what he learned from those battles in his own book, The Communist Party vs. the CIO, published in 1957.

But let us not jump ahead to the 1950's so quickly. By 1945, Max had earned his law degree and decided to attend graduate school at the University of Minnesota. He received a Masters degree from Minnesota in 1946 and a Ph.D. in political science in 1951. In 1947, while he was still an instructor at the University, Max became Vice Chairman of the Mayor's Committee on Charter Reform. The Mayor of Minneapolis at the time was Hubert Humphrey, and this job was the beginning of a thirty year friendship.

From Minneapolis and then Humphrey's congressional staff, Kampelman went on to private law practice in Washington and an active life in Democratic party politics. By the 1970's Max was concerned that some people in his party might be forgetting the foreign policy lessons he and his mentors had once learned so painfully. So, he became one of the founding members of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority and of the bipartisan Committee on the Present Danger.

In September 1980, President Carter gave Max a chance to apply a life's worth of lessons to some direct negotiations with the Soviet Union by appointing him to be Chairman of the U.S. Delegation to the Madrid Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. A few months later, the newly elected President Reagan asked Max to stay on in that job until the conference finished its work in 1983. President Reagan later decided to make Kampelman head of the U.S. Delegation to the Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Arms in Geneva from 1985 through 1989, and Counselor to the Department of State for the last two of those years. Then, this past January 18, as one of his last acts in office, Ronald Reagan awarded Max the Presidential Citizens Medal.

So we come together tonight to recognize some of the same qualities, and some of the same lessons, that the former President praised just a few months ago. To appreciate what those lessons mean, however, it would be worthwhile to remember the situation when Max became head of our delegation to Madrid, in the fall of 1980.

The Madrid meetings were supposed to monitor the 1975 Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe that was signed by 35 NATO and Warsaw Pact countries. The Helsinki Final Act, you may remember, consisted of several so-called "baskets" relating to security, sovereignty, the inviolability of frontiers, nonintervention in internal

affairs, and so forth. Perhaps the most surprising provisions, however, were the ones under the heading: "Respect for Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, including the Freedom of Thought, Conscience, Religion or Belief."

I was working in President Ford's White House at the time this document was signed and I remember the skepticism with which these provisions were greeted. No one really expected the Soviet Union or its allies to change their behavior overnight. Because adherence seemed so unlikely, the skeptics concluded that the human rights provisions in the Helsinki accords were nothing more than a publicity ploy.

That characterization could not have been more wrong. It would have been easy -- and at the time it might well have been fashionable -- to have turned the other cheek and let these provisions slide into a Black Hole. To his credit, President Carter refused to let this happen. When he appointed Max Kampelman to be this country's representative in Madrid, he knew he was appointing a man who would have the strength to stand up for important principles patiently, without feeling tempted to make a bad deal just to show some kind of deal-making "progress."

Max kept at this job for almost three years. It was a seemingly thankless task but one that he understood to be crucial in "the battle for hearts and minds." For that reason, he worked tirelessly with our allies to present a fully documented record of:

- Soviet slave labor camps;
- psychiatric hospitals used for political punishment;
- government-sponsored anti-Semitism; and
- armed aggression in Afghanistan and Poland.

He also helped expose:

- the religious persecution of evangelical Christians, Baptists, Seventh Day Adventists, Pentacostals, and Catholics;
- the strangulation of scientific freedom;
- the decimation of cultural and national heritages; and
- the Soviet defiance of agreements against the use of chemical and biological weapons.

"Our uniform message," Kampelman said in a 1984 speech about Madrid, "was that the Soviets had to comply with the agreement they made in 1975 if they wished to be accepted as a responsible member of the international community."

As always, Max gave out nothing but straight talk. But straight talk does not always sit well with some people -- those who believe that whatever exists, must be inevitable -- and that if it is inevitable, you may as well go-along and get-along. Some of these people raised questions about Max's basic approach.

To no one's surprise, Max had an answer. I want to quote that answer to you because I think it is a crucial lesson we all ought to keep in mind for the future: (This quotation is from the same speech about Madrid:)

"Negotiation without confrontation, where the objective facts require blunt talk, is not a serious negotiation at all; it is a charade.... Absent this clarity, there is no reason for the other side to take seriously the depth of our commitments and perceptions."

The United States and our NATO allies chose to be clear. As a result of that clarity, the Madrid conference made clear why NATO was disappointed by the Soviet Union's lack of action in implementing the Helsinki agreements.

That was just six years ago. Today, a great deal appears to have changed. General Secretary Gorbachev has started the Soviet Union on what is potentially a promising path. Soviet troops have left Afghanistan. Some political prisoners have been released. Emigration has increased. And who would have believed that I would have been able to visit with the Soviet Ambassador, as I did recently, and talk about their election returns.

Of course, we cannot say that Max Kampelman was the sole cause for all of this change. President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev must be given their due. But we can say that these changes might never have happened if people like Max had not stood up a few years ago to insist upon clarity when so many around them accepted inertia. There can be no doubt that the clear and forceful articulation of our commitment to freedom helped Gorbachev see how badly his country was losing ground to the West.

What precisely do all of these Soviet changes mean for the long term? We do not really know. We see from what happened after Helsinki and Madrid that it would have been a mistake ten years ago to accept the Soviet status quo fatalistically. Let us be equally on our guard against the charming sirens of inevitability today. The Soviet Union may continue to make positive changes, but then again, it may not. We have to be open to the best, but prepared for the worst.

And how should we prepare? Let me return one final time to Max's 1984 speech. "The Soviet Union respects military strength," he said. "Its incentive for negotiating an agreement is greater when the positions taken by its negotiating partner have the added dignity of being supported by that strength."

In the years since Max's speech, the success of the INF Treaty and the progress we have made in other negotiations -- some of which he participated in -- all show how right he was. We prepare for the best and for the worst in exactly the same way: by keeping our guard up, and by making our commitments and our principles clear.

Let us all hope that one day, there will be real freedom and democracy in the Soviet Union. Let us even dare to hope that, some day, organizations such as the Jamestown Foundation will be unnecessary. But as we hope for and work toward the expansion of freedom elsewhere, we must always be vigilant to defend freedom where it exists. And so, let us salute Max Kampelman. We salute Max not only to honor a job that was well done, but to remind ourselves of the job that remains to be done -- a job that transcends political parties, a job that reflects the best of what we stand for as a free people.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 28, 1989

I am delighted to join with the members of the Jamestown Foundation as you honor Ambassador Max Kampelman.

Throughout our nation's history, extraordinary Americans have dedicated their lives to advancing the cause of freedom around the world. Max Kampelman is such an individual. As an attorney, scholar, diplomat, and confidant to several Presidents, Max has long devoted his talent and energy to defending human rights and democratic principles. I proudly add my hurrah to all of yours tonight as you salute Max on a job well done.

I also want to take this opportunity to applaud the magnificent work of the Jamestown Foundation. Its commitment to promoting human rights and individual freedom stands as a shining example to people everywhere. Those of you who fled persecution and oppression in your native lands and have since devoted your lives to speaking out against totalitarianism are extraordinary individuals. Thank you for sharing your knowledge and experience with us. Your courageous efforts have made our world a better place.

Barbara joins me in offering Max our heartfelt congratulations, and in sending best wishes to all for a wonderful event and every future happiness.

God bless and keep you.

*George Bush*

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Walter P. Kennedy  
Minority Sergeant at Arms

5/30/89

Sent copy of  
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LJ



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5/2

THE JAMESTOWN FOUNDATION

January 30, 1989

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

Dear Max:

I want to tell you again how pleased we are that you've agreed to be Jamestown's principal honoree at our May 2nd dinner at the Mayflower. When I reported your acceptance at last week's meeting of our Board of Directors, they were unanimously delighted.

BOARD OF ADVISORS:

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I've enclosed some background material, including a program from last year's dinner, which will give you a feel for the event. The first of these dinners was held in 1987. It was attended by about 300 people, and Sam Nunn was the honoree. Last year we had well over 400 people, and honored Dick Cheney.

At both of these events, we tried to inject some interesting substance by conducting panel discussions. Half the audiences loved them, and half didn't care for them. This year, in the interest of shortening the program, we decided not to have a panel. But aside from choosing you, that's about all that's been firmly decided concerning this year's affair. As our plans develop, we'll keep you posted.

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I'd like to get together with you to go over this in person, possibly over lunch. I'll contact your office to see if and when this is feasible.

Sincerely,

  
William W. Geimer

WWG/tb

**The Washington Times**

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***FRIDAY, MAY 13, 1988***



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DEAR MAX,  
I WAS VERY HAPPY TO READ IN THE PRESS OF THE HONOR BESTOWED  
UPON YOU IN THE GRANTING OF THE MEDAL OF FREEDOM, YOUR NATION'S  
HIGHEST CIVILIAN HONOR,  
BEST WISHES AND SINCERE CONGRATULATIONS.  
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MGMCOMP

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## THE JAMESTOWN FOUNDATION

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To: Our Friends  
From: Bill Palmer  
Re: Activities Update  
Date: May 17, 1989

### Benefit Dinner

On the evening of May 2, Jamestown held its third annual benefit dinner at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington. Nearly 400 well-wishers turned out in support of the foundation's work. Thirty Jamestown clients mingled with a crowd which included numerous Congressmen, Senators, and members of the Bush Administration.

At the dinner, Jamestown's annual Freedom Award was presented to **Max Kampelman** in recognition of his lifelong dedication to the achievement and preservation of freedom for all peoples.

In his introductory remarks, Jamestown Board Chairman **Jay Van Andel** set the tone for the evening when he said:

"We've lived out the American dream, and I believe that it is my patriotic duty to defend freedom, to preserve the political and economic system of this great country that affords that opportunity. Each and every one of us owes future generations the opportunity to pursue their dreams."

Introducing Max, Secretary of Defense **Dick Cheney** remarked hopefully on the recent changes in the Soviet Union, but cautioned:

"What precisely do all of these Soviet changes mean for the long term? We see from what happened after Helsinki and Madrid that it would have been a mistake ten years ago to accept the Soviet status quo fatalistically. Let us be equally on our guard against the charming sirens of inevitability today. The Soviet Union may continue to make positive changes but, then again, it may not. We have to be open to the best, but prepared for the worst."

Ambassador Kampelman accepted the Freedom Award with a speech filled with the wisdom of nearly fifty years of experience in the struggle for freedom. After reviewing the remarkable pace of change in the world, including the Soviet Union, he too sounded a cautionary note:

"But the basis for skepticism also remains: The Soviets and their allies continue to provide more than half a billion dollars a year in military assistance to Nicaragua; Cuba continues to receive \$7 billion in Soviet support annually; the Soviet



military budget has still not been reduced; we have still not been able to observe a promised shift in Soviet military philosophy from an offensive to a defensive posture; and as a dramatic reminder of our need to be wary, the Soviet's sale to Libya of bomber aircraft capable of threatening and further destabilizing the Middle East. We could go on."

In closing, Ambassador Kampelman nicely stated the theme being celebrated by those in attendance:

"Two hundred years ago this week George Washington took the oath of office as the first President of the United States. Our country, today the oldest democracy in the world, came into being. Our forefathers 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."

### Defection Announced

At the benefit dinner, Bill Geimer announced the defection of Evgueni Novikov who, until recently, worked for the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. You who follow Jamestown through these pages were of course aware of Evgueni's decision, but as far as anyone knows, the Soviets knew only that he'd disappeared in Prague last year - until the announcement, that is.

The physical embodiment of the Jamestown Freedom Award is a gold-lined silver chalice. Each year the chalice is presented to the honoree by one of the most recent defectors. This year the chalice was presented by Evgueni.

### Board of Directors

On April 18, Jamestown's Board of Directors met in Washington. The Board discussed increasing the level of Jamestown's activities by increasing the level of effort

devoted to fundraising. In the near future the Board will review the numerous projects which are currently dormant for lack of funding and staff. At the next meeting of the Board (July 18), the Directors will decide which projects should be funded for the remainder of 1989 and for 1990.

Also at the April meeting, Tom Donohue, President of the American Trucking Association, was elected to the Board. Tom has helped Jamestown informally in many ways and for quite some time. We're happy to have him become an official member of the family.

### Board of Advisors

On April 5, Jamestown's Board of Advisors met at the City Club in Washington. This was the first meeting for new members Jim Burnley, former Secretary of Transportation, and Ken Adelman, former arms control director. The principal subject discussed was the federal government's treatment of defectors. Although reform of the process has been much discussed since the defection of Yurchenko, inequities remain. The Board considered a variety of possible remedies, some which could be effected within the Executive Branch and some which would require legislation.

### New Center

A new Center for Cuban Analysis has been formed by five of Jamestown's clients who once held high positions in Castro's government. General Rafael del Pino; Manuel Sanchez Perez, former Vice Minister of Planning; Luis Negrete, former Vice Minister for Industry; Juan Benemelis, former Chief, Foreign Ministry, Africa Division; and Gustavo Perez Cott, former Vice Minister for Commerce, are the principals.

The Center conducts a wide range of analytical studies and other projects relating to Cuba and Latin America in general. Because of the quality of the expertise embodied by its principals, it is expected that the Center's services will be in considerable demand by government agencies, corporations, and other institutions which need to know more about the present Cuban regime and the future of that unfortunate country.

The Center has compiled a 600-page definitive "who's who in Cuba". The directory is the only one of its kind in existence. This Spanish-language book can be obtained through Jamestown by contacting Program Director, Ute DeFarlo. When the English-language edition is available, we will let you know.



## New Books

The KGB Against the "Main Enemy" by Herbert Romerstein & Stanislav Levchenko has just been published by Lexington Books. It's subtitled "How the Soviet Intelligence Service Operates Against The United States" and is an excellent history of the subterranean struggle. Levchenko, as most will recall, is a former KGB Major. Romerstein is a respected Sovietologist. If your bookstore is sold out, copies can be obtained through Jamestown.

One of the most talked-about recent books is The Grand Failure: The Birth and Death of Communism in the Twentieth Century, by Jamestown Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski. This, as the jacket says, is a book of far-reaching conclusions from one of the most astute foreign policy experts of our time. It's published by Charles Scribner's Sons.

Alexander Ushakov's long awaited In the KGB's Gunsights will be published by Knopf at the end of June. Among other things, this book includes a full account of Alex's harrowing escape over the Caucasus Mountains and across the Turkish border. Look for it.

## Anniversaries

May 11 was the fifth anniversary of the day Alex Ushakov reached freedom. Alex and his wife Irina plan to celebrate by taking a balloon ride above the Virginia mountains. Unusually symbolic.

On March 20, Sieva Lezhnev celebrated the 20th anniversary of his defection to the United States. At the time he was the principal assistant cellist at the Moscow symphony, which was touring the United States. He was the first Soviet musician to defect. He's been a US citizen for a number of years now. Congratulations Sieva!

## Concert Debut

On April 30, Maestro Ruben Vartanyan, formerly of the Bolshoi Opera, made his American debut. At George Mason University he conducted Mussorgsky and Bizet. The concert was extremely well received. Ruben also taught classes in conducting at both George Mason and the Shenandoah Conservatory, which are affiliated institutions.

Incidentally, although there are a few leads, Ruben is still in search of work as a conductor. If you know of any opportunities, please contact Ute DeFarlo at (202) 483-8888.

## Movie Star

Anatoly Davydov is in the Los Angeles area for the summer (and possibly beyond). He's acting in the movie version of Tom Clancy's The Hunt for Red October, and is writing film scripts. He's available to lecture (which he does very well) to groups in the Southern California area. Anyone interested in arranging a lecture for Anatoly should call Jamestown's Communications Director, Leigh LaMora.

## Elaine

Those of you who have been concerned about Elaine Shevchenko's health will be glad to know that she's on the mend and in good spirits.

## Volunteers Needed

A number of projects are stalled because Jamestown lacks the funds to hire translators or editors. We are therefore seeking volunteers to help out. If you can translate Spanish or Russian, or are skilled in editing English, and would like to assist an important manuscript toward publication, please contact Ute DeFarlo.

## Communications Highlights

### Media Appearances

The Soviet elections generated a great deal of media activity by Jamestown clients. Arkady Shevchenko appeared on CNN's International Hour. Stan Levchenko was heard on the American Radio Network, the Mutual Broadcasting System, CNN, Radio America, and the ABC Morning News. Alex Costa appeared on USA Today TV, CNN, the American Radio Network, and NBC radio. Milan Svec was on CNN and C-Span.

Gorbachev's visit to Cuba also created interest in the insights of Jamestown people. Manuel Sanchez's thoughts were aired by CNN and NBC Radio News. Sanchez and Stan Levchenko were heard on several Florida radio stations. Gustavo Cott was interviewed by the American Radio Network.

The resignation of more than a hundred members of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party also brought the media to our doorstep. Alex Costa appeared on CBS radio, NBC Radio News, and the American Radio Network. Jamie Jameson was heard on WJNO radio, West Palm Beach, Florida.

On miscellaneous subjects: **Anatoly Davydov** on the American Radio Network concerning the Soviet media; **Stan Levchenko** on CNN on the subject of Yugoslavia; numerous people on various outlets about the defection of the young Soviet chess player.

### Lectures

**Arkady Shevchenko** addressed audiences at the World Affairs Council of Pittsburgh, Aetna Insurance Company, Redlands University, Kelly Air Force Base, and George Washington University. **Stan Levchenko** spoke at the Houston Action For Soviet Jewry, Darton College, the Association of Old Crows/American Electronics Association conference. **Alexandra Costa** appeared before the Nevada and Virginia Federations of Republican Women, and the Close Up Foundation. **Milan Svec** spoke to several organizations in the Washington area, including the Kiwanis. **Evgueni Novikov** addressed the World Affairs Council of Pittsburgh, the American Enterprise Institute, and the United States Naval Academy. **Anatoly Davydov** spoke at Valparaiso University, and on several occasions at the Close Up Foundation. **Sieva Lezhnev** was heard at the University of Chicago, and at Bolling Air Force Base. **Aradom Tedla** appeared at American University and spoke to the Close Up Foundation.

### Simulations

**Stan Levchenko**, **Evgueni Novikov**, **Lev Alburt**, **Sieva Lezhnev**, **Dmitry Mikheyev**, **Milan Svec**, and **Rossen Vassilev** all participated in two days of simulations and discussions which were co-sponsored by Jamestown. Pretending to be senior Politburo staffers the participants were asked to devise a response to a crisis erupting in the Middle East.

### Articles

"Philanthropy" magazine, published by the Institute for Educational Affairs, featured an article about Jamestown entitled "Helping Soviet Defectors Find New Lives in the West". The article is a very good exposition of the need for a private sector institution to do what Jamestown does.

**Milan Svec** continues in print. On April 10, the Washington Post published an article of his, somewhat misleadingly headlined "Communist Reformers Need Our Help". On April 20, the Christian Science Monitor ran a piece by Milan, "How Gorbachev Juggles the Nationalism Issue".

**Gustavo Perez Cott** made his debut in the American press with a commentary on Gorbachev's visit to Cuba. It appeared



in the April 7 Wall Street Journal and was titled "Will the Paris Club and the US Help Moscow Bail Out Fidel?"

**Peter Nicolae** compared Gorbachev and Ceausescu in a New York Times article entitled "Is He Mikhail Ceausescu?". On May 3, the Washington Times printed the news of **Evgueni Novikov's** defection, which was revealed the night before at the Jamestown dinner. **Stan Levchenko** was quoted extensively in the Houston Chronicle's March 28 piece on religion in the Soviet Union. **Lev Alburt**, chess grand master, commented to numerous publications on the defection of the young Soviet chess prodigy.

### Videos Available

A series of five television programs called "The Soviets at the Crossroads" includes interviews with a number of Jamestown clients. The series is a fresh and informed view of Soviet involvement in the Third World. It was shown on some Public Broadcasting system stations in April. The programs are "The Shattered Dream: Inside Cuba", which includes unique interviews with Cubans in exile and in Cuba, plus excellent recent footage on the country; "Angola", a real contribution to our knowledge of what actually happened when the Communist-backed MPLA seized power; "The Horn of Africa", which documents the fraud committed by the Ethiopian regime in manipulating food distribution during the famine, and the defeat of the Ethiopian army by the Eritrean resistance; and "Witnesses: What Happened in Afghanistan", two programs which are far and away the best reporting available on the struggle of the mujaheddin, and on the brutality of the Soviet army.

All five films are available on BETA or VHS format at \$30 each, or \$100 for the series, from Stornoway Productions, 615 Yonge Street, Suite 200, Toronto, Canada M4Y 2T4.

### Events

Jamestown Director **Clint Smullyan** hosted a dinner for the foundation's benefit at Pittsburgh's Duquesne Club on April 26. A number of Clint's friends came to hear **Arkady Shevchenko** interpret recent events in the Soviet Union and, we hope, developed an interest in becoming supporters of Jamestown.

On June 12, Jamestown Chairman **Jay Van Andel** will gather a group of Jamestown donors for lunch aboard Amway's magnificent yacht Enterprise IV. A number of Jamestown clients will be there to hold a panel discussion on current world events.

## Thanks

We'd like to thank those who have recently made generous contributions to support Jamestown's programs. Among them are BDM International, Inc; Arthur A. Houghton, Jr.; Patrick Henry Foundation; Pittway Corporation Charitable Foundation; Sarah Scaife Foundation; M. A. Self; and The Stans Foundation.

Once again, we'd like to thank our corporate sponsors of the third annual benefit dinner: Aerojet; American Trucking Association; Amway Corporation; Armco, Inc.; Betac Corporation; Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL-CIO; Chateau St. Michelle; Dickstein, Shapiro & Morin; Digital Equipment Corporation; Eastman Kodak Company; Emhart-Planning Research Corporation; Ford Aerospace Corporation; Hill & Knowlton; Integrated Corporation Services; Lockheed Corporation; and McDonnell Douglas Corporation.

Finally, we'd like to express our appreciation to all of the wonderful people, led by Chairmen Marcia Carlucci and Elaine Crispen, who worked so hard to make our benefit dinner the memorable evening that it was.