



Max M. Kampelman Papers

Copyright Notice:

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

LAW OFFICES

ROSENN, JENKINS & GREENWALD

15 SOUTH FRANKLIN STREET

WILKES-BARRE, PENNSYLVANIA 18711

TELEPHONE
717-826-5600

TELECOPIER
717-826-5640

DIRECT DIAL
826-5635

PUBLIC SQUARE OFFICE:
717-825-3495

408 WILKES-BARRE CENTER
WILKES-BARRE, PA 18701

PITTSBURGH OFFICE:
717-654-3733

49 SOUTH MAIN STREET
PITTSBURGH, PA 15201

JOSEPH J. SAVITZ
EUGENE ROTH
HARRY R. HISCOX
†JOHN J. APONICK, JR.
DANIEL G. FLANNERY
MARSHALL S. JACOBSON
MURRAY UFBERG
†JOSEPH J. MUSTO
BRUCE C. ROSENTHAL
DONALD H. BROBST
PAULA G. BREGMAN
JOSEPH L. PERSICO
HOWARD M. LEVINSON
ALAN S. HOLLANDER
JOHN G. WHELLEY, JR.
GARRY S. TAROLI
RICHARD A. RUSSO
JAMES P. VALENTINE
MARK A. VAN LOON
LEE S. PIATT
DAVID B. HISCOX

OF COUNSEL
HENRY GREENWALD
HAROLD ROSENN

†FORMERLY GRIFFITH, APONICK & MUSTO, P.C.

ROBERT SPIELMAN
†FRANCIS G. WENZEL, JR.
MICHAEL A. SHUCOSKY
CARL J. STEINBRENNER
†HARRY V. CARDONI
JAMES F. MANGAN
WILLIAM L. HIGGS
†SUSAN M. ROONEY
FRED A. PIERANTONI, III
BRIAN C. CORCORAN
ROBERT D. SCHAUB
DAVID J. HARRIS
†MARSHA ANN BASCO
GEORGE F. SHOVLIN
NORMAN D. NAMEY
ROBERT N. GAWLAS, JR.
RUTH C. HUGHES
GERARD M. MUSTO, JR.
ANN M. MALTESE
JAMES C. OSCHAL
MARY BETH CONNOLLY
DAVID E. SCHWAGER
STEVEN P. ROTH

September 8, 1989

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

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

It was a real pleasure to listen to your superb speech last night at Temple B'nai B'rith in Kingston. We are grateful to Henry and Sylvia Greenwald for sponsoring this program and for bringing you here as the distinguished scholar to give us some perspective on what we can look forward to in "a new world".

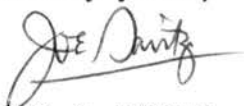
We were also delighted to hear our own Jonny Greenwald introduce you to the packed audience and to know that he was associated with you during your Ambassadorship in Madrid. Our firm's loss is the United States Government's gain in having Jonathan's outstanding abilities giving service in the State Department.

My wife and I enjoyed dining with you at Henry and Sylvia's home and to hear your intimate "war stories" concerning Washington's political environment. We are indeed proud to have a professional of your capacity representing our country in international negotiations. After hearing you last evening, we are comfortable that our government is in good hands when it has your outstanding leadership representing us.

May we extend our thanks to you for making the Henry and Sylvia Greenwald Endowment such a rewarding experience for our community.

With warmest regards, we are

Sincerely yours,



JOSEPH J. SAVITZ

JJS:hmb

(F)

LAW OFFICES

ROSENN, JENKINS & GREENWALD

15 SOUTH FRANKLIN STREET

WILKES-BARRE, PENNSYLVANIA 18711

TELEPHONE
717-826-5600

TELECOPIER
717-826-5640

DIRECT DIAL
717-826-

HENRY GREENWALD
COUNSEL TO THE FIRM

HAROLD ROSENN
JOSEPH J. SAVITZ
PERRY J. SHERTZ
EUGENE ROTH
HARRY R. HISCOX
DAVID E. KOFF
DANIEL G. FLANNERY
MARSHALL S. JACOBSON
MURRAY UFBERG
BRUCE C. ROSENTHAL
DONALD H. BROBST
PAULA G. BREGMAN
JOSEPH L. PERSICO
HOWARD M. LEVINSON
ALAN S. HOLLANDER
JOHN G. WHELLEY, JR.

GARRY S. TAROLI
RICHARD A. RUSSO
JAMES P. VALENTINE
MARK A. VAN LOON
LEE S. PIATT
DOROTHY LANGE MOYER
DAVID B. HISCOX
EDWARD A. MONSKY
WILLIAM L. HIGGS
MARK P. McNEALIS
THOMAS H. DINKELACKER
RAYMOND P. WENDOLOWSKI
ROBERT D. SCHAUB
LAUREN A. ZACCARELLI
RICHARD M. FERGUSON
ROBERT M. DANENBERG
DAVID J. HARRIS
ROBERT N. GAWLAS
JEFFREY A. ROCKMAN

April 15, 1987

Ms. Sharon E. Martin
Staff Assistant to
Ambassador Max M. Kampelman
S/DEL, Room 7208
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Ms. Martin:

I was thrilled to receive the Ambassador's moving letter and your letter of the 9th on his behalf.

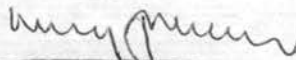
You might tell the Ambassador that our son, Jon, was home for the Passover Seder and he brought your messages with him to show me and Sylvia. (Apparently the mail service to points in Washington is better than to communities out of it).

Tell him to continue to be the good patient that he has been. From my multiple hospitalizations and surgical procedures just about every year since I came to the Bar, I feel qualified to tell even an Ambassador that rest, quiet and a strict limitation on the best intentioned friends and family is so important to the recovery effort.

Of course, I will communicate with the Ambassador late in the Fall as he suggested and we will join with his thousands of other friends in the hope that his recovery will have continued, and that he might have a clearer picture as to what his schedule will permit as to his visit here in the Spring. Do assure him that just about any date which is most convenient for him will be acceptable to us.

Please give the Ambassador and his family the very best of good wishes from me and my family on this Holiday Season.

Most sincerely,



HENRY GREENWALD

HG:hcb



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

Please respond to:

S/DEL, Room 7208
Washington, D. C. 20520

April 9, 1987

Henry Greenwald, Esq.
Rosenn, Jenkins & Greenwald
15 South Franklin Street
Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania 18711

Dear Mr. Greenwald:

Ambassador Kampelman has asked that I respond to your letter of March 30, 1987.

First, let me say that Ambassador Kampelman is recuperating well and we hope to have him back in the office in a few weeks. And, as you mention, we will make every effort to see that he does moderate his efforts in the future.

In connection with your invitation that he join you next Spring, Ambassador Kampelman would be pleased to do so. May I suggest that you do communicate with him in the late Fall to see if our schedule for the Spring would make this possible.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Sharon H. Martin".

Sharon H. Martin
Staff Assistant to
Ambassador Max M. Kampelman

/sm
Enclosure

PLEASE RETURN FOR
ME AND ENCLOSE TAB FOR ME

LAW OFFICES

ROSENN, JENKINS & GREENWALD

15 SOUTH FRANKLIN STREET

WILKES-BARRE, PENNSYLVANIA 18711

HENRY GREENWALD
COUNSEL TO THE FIRM

HAROLD ROSENN
JOSEPH J. SAVITZ
PERRY J. SHERTZ
EUGENE ROTH
HARRY R. HISCOX
DAVID E. KOFF
DANIEL G. FLANNERY
MARSHALL S. JACOBSON
MURRAY UFBERG
BRUCE C. ROSENTHAL
DONALD H. BROBST
PAULA G. BREGMAN
JOSEPH L. PERSICO
HOWARD M. LEVINSON
ALAN S. HOLLANDER
JOHN G. WHELLEY, JR.

TELEPHONE
717-826-5600

TELECOPIER
717-826-5640

DIRECT DIAL
717-826-

GARRY S. TAROLI
RICHARD A. RUSSO
JAMES P. VALENTINE
MARK A. VAN LOON
LEE S. PIATT
DOROTHY LANGE MOYER
DAVID B. HISCOX
EDWARD A. MONSKY
WILLIAM L. HIGGS
MARK P. McNEALIS
THOMAS H. DINKELACKER
RAYMOND P. WENDOLOWSKI
ROBERT D. SCHAUB
LAUREN A. ZACCARELLI
RICHARD M. FERGUSON
ROBERT M. DANENBERG
DAVID J. HARRIS
ROBERT N. GAWLAS
JEFFREY A. ROCKMAN

March 30, 1987

Honorable Max Kampelman
Head of Delegation
Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Arms
Department of State
Washington, D.C.

Dear Max:

Firstly, Sylvia and I join in expressing our cheer, joy and concern that the heart attack you suffered recently was, as the news media described it, a mild one. We hope you are now moderating your efforts in dealing with the Soviets on behalf of all of us.

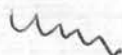
I am directing this note to Washington, hopeful, at least, that you have gone home to rest.

OK
YES
The Lecture Committee at our Jewish Community Center has asked me to tell you that it fully understands that you will not be able to be with us this Spring. It will not seek a replacement, and it and Sylvia and I have chosen to pass this Spring lecture, while hoping that you will be able to give us a date for next Spring. Of course, that is a year away, and we all understand how difficult it is for you to schedule an evening for a year or so later. But would you be willing to try again to make a date for us for then? May I write again in the late Fall?

Jon would likely not be able to present you, as we had hoped, as he now has his new assignment, as you may know, to be the Chief Political Officer in our Embassy in East Berlin.

With all of the best from our house to yours, I am

Most sincerely,



HG:hcb

HENRY GREENWALD

cc: Ms. Shirley Grey, Chairlady
Lecture Committee for the Jewish Community Center
60 South River Street
Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania

LAW OFFICES

ROSENN, JENKINS & GREENWALD

15 SOUTH FRANKLIN STREET

WILKES-BARRE, PENNSYLVANIA 18711

TELEPHONE
717-826-5600

TELECOPIER
717-826-5640

DIRECT DIAL
717-826-

December 1, 1986

HENRY GREENWALD
COUNSEL TO THE FIRM

HAROLD ROSENN
JOSEPH J. SAVITZ
PERRY J. SHERTZ
EUGENE ROTH
HARRY R. HISCOX
DAVID E. KOFF
DANIEL G. FLANNERY
MARSHALL S. JACOBSON
MURRAY UFBERG
BRUCE C. ROSENTHAL
DONALD H. BROBST
PAULA G. BREGMAN
JOSEPH L. PERSICO
HOWARD M. LEVINSON
ALAN S. HOLLANDER
JOHN G. WHELLEY, JR.

GARRY S. TAROLI
RICHARD A. RUSSO
JAMES P. VALENTINE
MARK A. VAN LOON
LEE S. PIATT
DOROTHY LANGE MOYER
DAVID B. HISCOX
EDWARD A. MONSKY
WILLIAM L. HIGGS
MICHAEL T. SAVITSKY
MARK P. McNEALIS
THOMAS H. DINKELACKER
RICHARD P. ROGERS
RAYMOND P. WENDOLOWSKI
ROBERT D. SCHAUB
JAMES E. JOSEPH
LAUREN A. ZACCARELLI
RICHARD M. FERGUSON
ROBERT M. DANENBERG

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

Dear Max:

This being the 1st of December, my diary reminds me to inquire as to whether you are better able now to accept our Community's invitation to be with us almost any night of your choosing in the Spring.

We all recognize that you are most heavily involved, but the Committee wants you so much that it will wait until into February, hopeful that your schedule will release you for a night here.

Jon and Gabby were home for the Thanksgiving holiday, and it was great having them. Jon is now awaiting word as to his next assignment.

With all of my best, I am

Most sincerely,



HENRY GREENWALD

HG:hc

ROSENN, JENKINS & GREENWALD

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

15 SOUTH FRANKLIN STREET

WILKES-BARRE, PA. 18711

F
REMAIL

TELEPHONE

826-5600

AREA CODE 717

Sunday morning

10-19-86

Dear Max

Please excuse the informality & the difficulty
of reading my hand - I came in this morning very briefly
to do a few things before I go to 12th York in the
morning for some ~~more~~ minor surgery, & found your warm
letter of the 10th.

I anticipated that you were important in valuations
would create problems on fixing a date to come here, but I am
glad that you have suggested that we keep it in mind - I'll
track the date to at least the beginning of the year before I look for
a substitute or replacement. Keep well & a Happy New Year
TH



No date yet

**UNITED STATES DELEGATION
TO THE NEGOTIATIONS ON NUCLEAR AND SPACE ARMS WITH THE SOVIET UNION**
Geneva, Switzerland

October 10, 1986

Henry Greenwald, Esq.
Rosenn, Jenkins & Greenwald
15 South Franklin Street
Wilkes-Barre, PA 18711

Dear Henry:

Thank you very much for your letter of September 22, which I found on my desk here in Washington. I have just arrived from Geneva en route to Iceland and I hasten to respond to you.

Your invitation is a compliment to me and I am grateful to you for that compliment. It would be particularly pleasing to have Jon introduce me.

The problem is that I am simply not free now to commit myself to a date. I expect that our current round of negotiations will end sometime in November of this year. As of today, we still do not have a date for the Washington Summit. Our next round is likely to begin sometime in January which will require me to leave the country again at that point. I don't know when that round will end. You can see, therefore, that my schedule for the Spring is quite uncertain. In principle, I would be delighted to come to Wilkes-Barre but I don't know what I can do at this stage. Let's both of us keep this invitation in mind and let me see what I can do once the various dates get placed in some kind of a rational order.

All my best.

Sincerely,

Max (net)

Max M. Kampelman
Head of Delegation
Negotiations on Nuclear
and Space Arms

(dictated but not read)

LAW OFFICES

ROSENN, JENKINS & GREENWALD

15 SOUTH FRANKLIN STREET

WILKES-BARRE, PENNSYLVANIA 18711

TELEPHONE
717-826-5600

TELECOPIER
717-826-5640

DIRECT DIAL
717-826-

HENRY GREENWALD
COUNSEL TO THE FIRM

HAROLD ROSENN
JOSEPH J. SAVITZ
PERRY J. SHERTZ
EUGENE ROTH
HARRY R. HISCOX
DAVID E. KOFF
DANIEL G. FLANNERY
MARSHALL S. JACOBSON
MURRAY UFBERG
BRUCE C. ROSENTHAL
DONALD H. BROBST
PAULA G. BREGMAN
JOSEPH L. PERSICO
HOWARD M. LEVINSON
ALAN S. HOLLANDER
JOHN G. WHELLEY, JR.

GARRY S. TAROLI
RICHARD A. RUSSO
JAMES P. VALENTINE
MARK A. VAN LOON
LEE S. PIATT
DOROTHY LANGE MOYER
DAVID B. HISCOX
EDWARD A. MONSKY
WILLIAM L. HIGGS
MICHAEL T. SAVITSKY
MARK P. McNEALIS
THOMAS H. DINKELACKER
RICHARD P. ROGERS
RAYMOND P. WENDOLOWSKI
ROBERT D. SCHAUB
JAMES E. JOSEPH
LAUREN A. ZACCARELLI
RICHARD M. FERGUSON
ROBERT M. DANENBERG

September 22, 1986

Mr. Max Kampelman
Department of State
Room 7208 S-DEL
2201 C Street NW
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Max:

I do hope that this finds you and your family in good health and that you are not suffering too many frustrations in Geneva. I find very little in the press about the meeting.

Max, a few years ago Sylvia and I funded a sum to finance the cost of bring to our Jewish Community Center on an annual or bi-annual basis a speaker of prominence in the world of public affairs. We traded on Jon's relationship to bring Justice Arthur Goldberg. He enjoyed it and our Community was highly pleased.

Now, leaning heavily on your relationship to Jon, I wrote to ask you if you would do us the great honor to come at any date in the Spring which you would select. Please give us some alternative dates in the Spring so that we can avoid a conflict here.

The fund generates about \$750.00, and we could arrange for a little more for you. Of course, we would take care of all of the expenses and you would stay with us. We could arrange for a private plane to bring you up and take you back that very evening on a one hour flight, if you had to return that very evening.

Of course, Jon would introduce you, and you would honor us and our Community.

I am mindful of your heavy involvement with your present responsibility, but I am writing in hope that you would and could come.

ROSENN, JENKINS & GREENWALD

Mr. Max Kampelman
September 22, 1986
Page 2

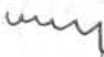
Jon has shown us a draft of an article he hopes to have published, and it pleased us so much that he wrote of you as he did.

With the Holidays just a bit away, this may find you in Washington, and hopefully make it possible for you to respond favorably and relatively soon.

Of course, the invitation to stay with us applies to both you and Mrs. Kampelman.

With all of the best for the New Year, I am

Most sincerely,



HENRY GREENWALD

HG/ae

THE COUNSELOR
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

October 7, 1987

private plane

6:45 into Bldg

7:50 into Bldg

8:45

8:55 Connection into Bldg

10:55

(through Newark)

Henry Greenwald, Esq.
Rosenn, Jenkins & Greenwald
15 South Franklin Street
Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania 18711

Dear Henry:

Thank you very much for your gracious letter of September 17. You are a good friend and a patient man. I will ask my assistant, Sharon Martin, to try to come up with some dates in May, 1988. She will probably add a postscript to this letter. We can then see where it takes us.

I was not at all aware of your surgery. I do wish for you a speedy recovery and hope that all of the pain has disappeared. You and I have both had our hands full with hospitals.

When you write to Jon, please send him and Gaby our very best. I had no doubt in my mind but that he would do well in East Berlin.

All my best.

Sincerely,



Max M. Kampelman

PUT IN MMK "IN" Box

LAW OFFICES

ROSENN, JENKINS & GREENWALD

15 SOUTH FRANKLIN STREET

WILKES-BARRE, PENNSYLVANIA 18711

TELEPHONE
717-826-5600

TELECOPIER
717-826-5640

DIRECT DIAL
717-826-

HENRY GREENWALD
COUNSEL TO THE FIRM

MARK A. VAN LOON
LEE S. PIATT
DOROTHY LANGE MOYER
DAVID B. HISCOX
EDWARD A. MONSKY
WILLIAM L. HIGGS
RAYMOND P. WENDOLOWSKI
ROBERT D. SCHAUB
RICHARD M. FERGUSON
ROBERT M. DANENBERG
ROBERT SPIELMAN
CARL J. STEINBRENNER
DAVID J. HARRIS
ROBERT N. GAWLAS, JR.
JEFFREY A. ROCKMAN
RUTH C. HUGHES

HAROLD ROSENN
JOSEPH J. SAVITZ
PERRY J. SHERTZ
EUGENE ROTH
HARRY R. HISCOX
DAVID E. KOFF
DANIEL G. FLANNERY
MARSHALL S. JACOBSON
MURRAY UFBERG
BRUCE C. ROSENTHAL
DONALD H. BROBST
PAULA G. BREGMAN
JOSEPH L. PERSICO
HOWARD M. LEVINSON
ALAN S. HOLLANDER
JOHN G. WHELLEY, JR.
GARRY S. TAROLI
RICHARD A. RUSSO
JAMES P. VALENTINE

September 17, 1987

The Honorable Max M. Kampelman
The Counselor
Department of State
Washington, D.C.

Dear Max:

At most infrequent intervals, I have caught limited glimpses of you on TV. Sylvia and I are so happy for you, your family and all of the Country that you look so well, and that the heart attack is now history.

Max, the Lecture Committee met yesterday, and again, and most emphatically, voted that it wanted you as its next speaker. We all recognize how difficult it is for you to pick a date, what with your responsibilities in Geneva as Arms Control Negotiator and in Washington as Counselor to the State Department.

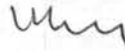
Your suggestion that your visit here be made in May 1988. Would you be willing to select a date in that month, we being mindful that it may have to be changed. We all want you so bad.

You should know that I had major abdominal surgery again in May, was hospitalized for 5 weeks, and now come in the office on a restricted and limited basis.

You undoubtedly know that Jon and Gaby are now in East Berlin, where he is Chief Political Officer in our Embassy. They seem to be very happy with the assignment.

With all of the best from our house to yours, I am

Most respectfully yours,



HENRY GREENWALD

HG:hmb

9/7

FRIED, FRANK, HARRIS, SHRIVER & JACOBSON
SUITE 800
1001 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20004-2505
(202) 639-7000

CABLE "STERIC WASHINGTON"
TELEX 892406

DEX 6500 (202) 639-7008
DEX 6500 (202) 639-7003
DEX 6200 (202) 639-7006
DEX 6200 (202) 639-7004

ONE NEW YORK PLAZA
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10004-1980
(212) 820-8000
TELEX: 620223

725 S. FIGUEROA
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90017-5438
(213) 689-5800

3 KING'S ARMS YARD
LONDON, EC2R 7AD, ENGLAND
(01) 600-1541
TELEX: 887606

MAX M. KAMPELMAN
(202) 639-7020

July 12, 1989

Mr. Henry Greenwald, Esq.
Rosenn, Jenkins & Greenwald
15 South Franklin Street
Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania 18711

Dear Henry:

I am dictating this letter to you from Martha's Vineyard, where Maggie and I are spending a few days. An issue of potential embarrassment has been brought to my attention and the best way I know how to handle it is to be direct with you about it.

You and I have had extensive correspondence about your gracious invitation that I speak in your community. I had put it off during the Geneva days because of my overseas schedule. When I left government service on January 20 of this year, I found myself inundated with speaking invitations. This led me to work out a relationship with a lecture bureau, and they agreed to take over that headache from me. I turned over all outstanding invitations to them, but I am fairly certain that our correspondence was not involved. Yet I have just learned they have been in touch with you and that a fee has been discussed. When you and I were in touch with each other, I certainly did not intend to suggest a fee. I was making this commitment out of friendship. Now I find that since the lecture agent is involved, there is obviously a fee.

What I want you to know is that I intend to accept the fee, minus the agent's percentage, and apply it toward either or both a charity in your community or a national charity with which I am involved.

All my best.

Sincerely,

Max M. Kampelman

*\$ 3,000
+ private plane*



ARTISTS, LTD. 40 WEST 57TH STREET, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10019 • [212] 556-5600

Writer's Direct Dial No.
[212] 556-

CABLE: ICMARTISTS
TELEX: 645054
FAX: [212] 556-5677
ADDITIONAL TELEX: 125422

August 16, 1989

Returned
8/17/89

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

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

I hope you are doing well.

I am enclosing four copies of the contract for your upcoming lecture engagement with the Jewish Community Center of Wyoming Valley in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania on September 7, 1989. The yellow copy is for your files. Please sign and return the other three as soon as possible.

With thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely,

Jim Jermanok

Enclosure

LOS ANGELES • LONDON • PARIS • ROME • MADRID • MUNICH

A MEMBER OF THE *Josephson* TALENT AGENCY GROUP

ICM ARTISTS, LTD.

A MEMBER OF THE *Josephson* TALENT AGENCY GROUP

40 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y. 10019
(212) 556-5600

Lecture Division

2136
89/90

Agreement made this 21 day of July 1989
for services of Max Kampelman

by and between Max Kampelman

herein called "Speaker" contracting through

ICM ARTISTS, LTD., herein called "Speaker's Manager" and J.C.C. of Wyoming Valley
herein called "Sponsor" whose address is

60 South River Street

Wilkes-Barre

PA 18702

It is mutually agreed between the parties as follows:

The Sponsor hereby engages the Speaker and the Speaker agrees hereby to perform the engagement hereinafter provided, upon all of the terms and conditions herein set forth, including those on the reverse side hereof entitled "Additional Terms and Conditions."

1. Engagement Information:

Date	Time	Hall/Location
September 07 1989	07:30 PM 8:00	Jewish Community Center, Wilkes-Barre, PA TEMPLE B'NAI B'RITH 408 WYOMING AVENUE KINGSTON, PA 18704

2. Topic:

Date	Time	Hall/Location
------	------	---------------

3. Compensation: The Compensation to be paid by the Sponsor shall be

\$3,000.00

THREE THOUSAND DOLLARS plus Roundtrip private plane service and Ground Travel Expenses. THIS FEE IS STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

4. Payment Schedule: All payments shall be paid by certified check, money order, bank draft or cash as follows to ICM ARTISTS, LTD.:

Fifty (50%) percent of fee (\$1,500) is due upon signing of contract with the balance due prior to lecture date. These checks are payable to ICM Artists.

5. Additional Conditions:

ICM ARTISTS LTD.
LECTURE DIVISION

J.C.C. of Wyoming Valley

by

by

[Signature]
Judy Seller

ADDITIONAL TERMS AND CONDITIONS

The parties hereto acknowledge that the following terms and conditions are incorporated and made part of the Agreement between the parties hereto:

1. REQUIREMENTS:

- (a) SPONSOR agrees to furnish at its own expense all that is necessary for the proper presentation of the SPEAKER, including:
 - (i) a suitable theatre, hall or auditorium, well-heated, lighted, clean and in good order;
 - (ii) stage curtains;
 - (iii) a microphone on the stage of the theatre, hall or auditorium and a sound system in good order, if required;
 - (iv) comfortable, lighted, dressing rooms and space for equipment;
 - (v) all necessary stage personnel, as required;
 - (vi) all lights, tickets, and house programs;
 - (vii) all licenses;
 - (viii) special police, ushers, necessary assistants, ticket sellers for advance or single sales (wherever sales take place), and ticket takers; and
 - (ix) appropriate and sufficient advertising in the principal newspapers.
- (b) SPONSOR shall pay all other necessary expenses in connection therewith, including all amusement taxes.
- (c) SPONSOR agrees to comply with all regulations and requirements of any national or local union(s) that may have jurisdiction over any of the materials, facilities, services and personnel to be furnished by SPONSOR or by SPEAKER.
- (d) No seats will be positioned on the stage without the consent of the SPEAKER.
- (e) SPONSOR will supply SPEAKER'S MANAGER with a copy of the lease for the theatre, hall or auditorium at which engagement is to be played, upon request.

2. ADVERTISING, PUBLICITY AND PROGRAM:

- (a) SPEAKER may elect to furnish copy of the program which is to be printed and distributed by the SPONSOR.
- (b) SPONSOR agrees to use only photographs and likenesses furnished by SPEAKER.
- (c) SPEAKER shall supply the usual quantity of printing and advertising material as available.
- (d) All advertisements and house programs must carry the line "ICM ARTISTS, LTD. Lecture Division PRESENTS" or "ICM ARTISTS, LTD. Lecture Division MANAGERS," as SPEAKER'S MANAGER may elect. Such credit shall be in such size, place and prominence as SPEAKER'S MANAGER shall specify. Such additional credits as SPEAKER'S MANAGER may reasonably request shall also be included.

3. CONDITIONS OF SPEAKER'S OBLIGATIONS:

- (a) SPEAKER'S obligations hereunder are subject to delay or prevention by sickness, inability to perform, accident, failure of means of transportation, Acts of God, riots, strikes, labor difficulties, epidemics, any act or order of any public authority or any other cause, similar or dissimilar, beyond SPEAKER'S control.

4. RESTRICTIONS:

- (a) SPONSOR shall not have the right to broadcast, televise, photograph, record or otherwise reproduce the performance hereunder, or any part thereof or to permit others to do the same.
- (b) SPONSOR shall not have the right to assign this agreement, any provision hereof or any of its rights or obligations hereunder.
- (c) Nothing herein contained shall be construed so as to constitute the parties hereto a partnership or joint venture.
- (d) Neither SPEAKER nor SPEAKER'S MANAGER shall be liable in whole or in part for any liability incurred by SPONSOR carrying out the provisions hereof, or otherwise.
- (e) The person executing this agreement on SPONSOR'S behalf warrants his authority to do so, and such person hereby personally assumes liability for the payment of said price in full.
- (f) No other speaker(s) shall be presented at the performances (whether prior to, simultaneous with or following SPEAKER'S performance) unless SPEAKER shall have first consented in writing to the appearance by, and identity of, such speaker(s).

5. FAILURE BY SPONSOR:

If before the date of any schedule performance,

- (a) SPEAKER or SPEAKER'S MANAGER finds that SPONSOR has not performed fully its obligations under any other agreement with any party for another engagement or
- (b) SPEAKER or SPEAKER'S MANAGER determines that the financial credit of the SPONSOR has been impaired or
- (c) SPONSOR breaches, or fails to perform fully in accordance with, the terms and conditions of this Agreement (including, without limitation, all representations, warranties and other undertakings of SPONSOR herein contained).

SPEAKER shall have the option to terminate this Agreement. If SPEAKER shall so terminate this Agreement, SPEAKER shall be excused from the performance of any and all of SPEAKER'S obligations hereunder. In the event of such a termination, in addition to all other rights and remedies SPEAKER may have against SPONSOR with respect to the subject matter thereof, SPEAKER shall have the right to retain all amounts previously paid to SPEAKER hereunder and SPONSOR shall immediately pay to SPEAKER all other amounts that would have been payable to SPEAKER hereunder had this Agreement remained in full force and effect.

6. MISCELLANEOUS:

This constitutes the sole, complete and binding agreement between the parties hereto. ICM ARTISTS, LTD. acts only as agent and manager for SPEAKER and assumes no liability hereunder. This Agreement may not be changed, modified or altered except by an instrument in writing signed by the parties. This agreement shall be construed in accordance with the laws of the State of New York. Nothing in this Agreement shall require the commission of any act contrary to law or to any rule or regulation of any union, guild or similar body having jurisdiction over the performances hereunder or any element thereof and wherever or whenever there is any conflict between any provision of this Agreement and any such law, rule or regulation, such law, rule or regulation shall prevail and this Agreement shall be curtailed, modified, or limited only to the extent necessary to eliminate such conflict.

7. REPRESENTATIONS, WARRANTIES AND INDEMNITIES:

SPONSOR hereby represents and warrants the following:

- (a) that it has the right to enter into this Agreement and undertake the performance of all obligations on its part to be performed; and
- (b) that it currently has or will obtain a lease for the theatre, hall or auditorium which will remain in full force and effect for the full period of rehearsal(s) and performance(s).

SPONSOR agrees to indemnify SPEAKER and/or SPEAKER'S MANAGER from and against any breach or alleged breach of any of SPONSOR'S representations, warranties, and agreements contained in this Agreement and from any and all claims of third parties in connection with the performance and other activities contemplated hereby unless said claim is proven to be due solely to the intentional malfeasance of SPEAKER in which event SPEAKER similarly



Jewish Community Center

60 SOUTH RIVER STREET • WILKES-BARRE, PA 18702-2493
Phone: 717-824-4646

DANIEL FALKOWITZ, President

OFFICERS

Paul Lantz
Vice President
Murray Miller
Vice President
Howard Newman
Vice President
Robert Greenwald
Treasurer
Joan Meyer
Secretary

September 18, 1989

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Stephen Alinikoff
Elaine Amdur
* Larry Amdur
* Terry S. Baltimore
Max Bartikowsky
Miriam Berley
Jonathan Blum
* Ralph Brandwene
Jeffrey Davidowitz
William Davidowitz
Joy Davis
* Seymour Dimond
Dr. Leon Ellman
Jonathan R. Elyachar
Ellen Feder
Dr. Peter Feinstein
Dr. Gil Fleischman
Pauly Friedman
* Robert Fortinsky
Judy Fremont
* Richard M. Goldberg
David Heyden
Alan Hollander
George Kaufer
Larinda Kaufer
Connie Krotick
* Nathan I. Kuss
Sanford Lasman
Howard Levinson
Edward H. Lidz
Roy Liese
Joseph Mitchneck
Phil Moseman
Brian Nachlis
Dr. Gary Natausky
* Charles Nelson
Marty Nelson
Samuel H. Nelson
Stan Pearlman
Larry Rifkin
Sandy Rifkin
Miriam Ross
Connie Roth
* Eugene Roth
Jill Schwartz
Susan Shoval
Marvin Smith
Alfred Stern
* Sue Strassman
* Murray Ufberg
Sandy Warshal
Leonard Wilson
Susan C. Yelen

* Past President

Jim Jermanok
ICM Artists, Inc.
40 West 57th Street
New York, New York 10019

Dear Mr. Jermanok,

Thank you for your assistance in arranging the Max M. Kampelman lecture. We look forward to working with you and ICM in the future.

Mr. Kampelman's lecture was exceptional; the auditorium was filled to capacity, and then some. After 3/4 of an hour, plus 25 minutes of questions, the audience departed with an increased awareness of the difficulties involved in world peace negotiations.

Thank you again for all your help.

Sincerely,

Judy Geller
JUDY GELLER
Adult and Cultural Director



From the Desk of SHARON DARDINE

Suite 800
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004
(202) 639-7366

September 12, 1989

Dear Jim:

Attached are Amb. Kampelman's expenses in connection with Wilkes-Barre speech. In addition to the two receipts (\$14 cab and \$90 airfare) I do not have a receipt for the cab ride to the airport for an additional \$14.

Thanks.

PRINTED IN U.S.A. BY RAND McNALLY

PASSENGER TICKET AND BAGGAGE CHECK SUBJECT TO CONDITIONS CONTAINED IN THIS TICKET

UNITED AIRLINES

PASSENGER NAME: KAMPELMAN/HOX HONORABLE NOT TRANSFERABLE

DATE OF ISSUE: 09/07/89

ORIGIN/DESTINATION: WASH DC PHILADELPHIA

FLIGHT: UA 2275 DATE: 07 SEP TIME: 420P STATUS: OK

FARE: VOID BAGGAGE CHECKED: VOID UNCHECKED: VOID

EQUIV FARE PO: 1405 UA 09/08/89 09:00 CTD

TAX: VOID

TOTAL: VOID

FORM OF PAYMENT: VOID

ORIGINAL ISSUE: VOID

TOUR CODE: VOID

IT IS UNLAWFUL TO PURCHASE OR RESELL THIS TICKET FROM ANY ENTITY OTHER THAN THE ISSUING CARRIER OR ITS AUTHORIZED AGENTS

DATE AND PLACE OF ISSUE: 09/07/89

See below for Airline Form, Serial Number

THE LAWYERS

TRAVIS B. GIBBY

WASHINGTON, D.C.

CPN

02 56793-07

DO NOT MARK OR WRITE IN THE WHITE AREA ABOVE

TAXICAB RECEIPT

Date: 9/7/89

Time: 11:30 PM I.D. # 14

Cab # 14 Company 14

Origin of trip AIRPORT

Destination HOME

Fare 14 Tip 14 Total 28

Driver 14 Sign 14



THE COUNSELOR
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

August 3, 1987

Henry Greenwald, Esq.
Rosenn, Jenkins & Greenwald
15 South Franklin Street
Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania 18711

Dear Henry:

I don't want you to think that I have forgotten about your most gracious invitation that I meet with you and your friends and speak at the Wilkes-Barre Jewish Community Center. I am sure that you can appreciate that with my recent heart attack, I have found it necessary to cut back on activities not directly related to my responsibilities in Geneva as Arms Control Negotiator or responsibilities in Washington as Counselor of the Department.

I believe it is best if we now assume that I will not be able to make the Wilkes-Barre trip before some time next year. I have deliberately restricted my travel to the required trips to Europe.

I look forward to our meeting at some time in the future. In the meantime, thank you for your friendship and your many gracious comments.

Sincerely,

Max M. Kampelman

THURSDAY SEPTEMBER 7

4:20 p.m. DEPART DULLES UNITED STATES
5:28 p.m. ARRIVE WILKES-BARRA

DINNER AT GREENWILLOWS

7:40 p.m. MEDIA CONF
8:00 p.m. TALK

9:15 p.m. DEPART WILKES BARRA
PRIVATE PLANE

10:30 p.m. ARRIVE BUTLER
OVER

OR

SPEND THE NIGHT AND

FRIDAY SEPT 8

10:00 am DEPART W.B.

10:55 am arrive B.W.A.



**EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

Berlin, September 27, 1989

Dear Max,

I had meant to write immediately upon returning to Berlin but let myself be sucked too quickly back into the little whirlpool we have had going here since Honecker's illness and the dramatic emigrations merged to produce a German variant of the Eastern European crisis.

I must write, however, to say something about all that you did in Wilkes-Barre the other evening. No one who heard you will doubt the adjectives "warm" and "wise" that the area's best political commentator used in the enclosed column. For me, what was simply wonderful was the joy you brought my parents. I can never thank you adequately for that, certainly not by words.

Please give my best to Mrs. Kampelman. Gaby sends fond wishes also. Berlin is not the least interesting capital in Europe these days, and she joins me in hoping that we shall see you again soon, perhaps here.

Sincerely,

Jon Greenwald

Please give our good
wishes to your wife and let
us know when she has her
surgery. We wish her well,
and a speedy and complete
recovery.

I hope that we have the
great pleasure of seeing you
soon again.

Fondly,
Sylvia

SGG

Henry is so happy to have
the copy of your speech and
he has read and re-read it
many times. I, too, am enjoying
once again the wisdom of your
words and deeply appreciate
your kindness in sending it.

Thank you for your thought-
fulness.

I hope your trip back to
Washington was comfortable and
that you found all well at home.

Sept. 15, 1989

(F)

Dear Max,

I have been kept busy
all week answering phone
calls from people who are
absolutely thrilled at having
heard you speak.

You were a joy to have
here. We have never had a
speaker who has received the
acclaim that you did.



ARTISTS, LTD. 40 WEST 57TH STREET, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10019 • [212] 556-5600

Writer's Direct Dial No.
[212] 556-

CABLE: ICMARTISTS
TELEX: 645054
FAX: [212] 556-5677
ADDITIONAL TELEX: 125422

October 2, 1989

Ambassador Max Kampelman
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson
Suite 800
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue N.W.
Washington, DC 20004-2505

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

I hope you are doing well.

I have enclosed a copy of a congratulatory letter for your recent appearance at the Jewish Community Center of Wyoming Valley on September 7, 1989.

Once again, my personal congratulations on a superb job.

Kindest regards,

Jim Jermanok

Enclosure

LOS ANGELES • LONDON • PARIS • ROME • MADRID • MUNICH

A MEMBER OF THE *Josephson* TALENT AGENCY GROUP

REMARKS BY

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTER OF WYOMING VALLEY

TEMPLE B'NAI BRITH
KINGSTON, PENNSYLVANIA

SEPTEMBER 7, 1989

It has been eight months since I left government service with its different, exciting and enriching challenges. My appearance before you this evening provides me with the opportunity to stand back and evaluate the dramatic world changes I have had the privilege of observing and experiencing.

Before I do so, however, please permit me a personal word of tribute and appreciation to Henry Greenwald, who has for a number of years been encouraging me to visit your community. I did not need to be persuaded. I needed the time. My wife and I owned a country home in the Pocono Mountains while our children were growing up so we knew the beauties and attractions of the area. Now that I am here, I want publicly to express my appreciation to Henry and to Sylvia Greenwald for their friendship. And now a word about their son, Jon, whose most gracious and beautifully exaggerated introduction of me this evening is one I will cherish.

Jon and I, as he has told us, first met in 1980 when I became Head of the American Delegation to the Madrid European Security Conference under the Helsinki Final Act. Those meetings were a success for the United States, but success has deep roots and requires joint effort. Jon Greenwald, who had been assigned to me by the State Department to serve as the Secretary of our Delegation, was a real blessing. Always quiet and restrained, I came to depend on his good judgment. At first skeptical of me as a newcomer to diplomacy and critical of my use of soft diplomatic language to communicate harsh undiplomatic judgments about the evil behavior of the Soviet Union, Jon soon chipped in. With his brilliant writing ability and unusual refined sense of humor, he helped us persuade Washington and our allies that we were on the right track.

We became good friends. I later saw him grow in effectiveness in Hungary as our highly successful political officer there. And now he and Gaby are in the hot spot of Berlin serving our country there with distinction. To all the Greenwalds - thank you.

My fundamental theme this evening relates to the consequences flowing from the fact that the world is changing so fast and so dramatically that we can barely see its details let alone its scope. The changes are beyond calculation, greater than have taken place in all of mankind's previous history, with newer, greater scientific and technological

developments on the horizon that will probably make the awesome discoveries of our time dwarf by comparison.

During my lifetime, medical knowledge available to physicians has increased conservatively more than ten-fold. We are told that 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 an ocean.

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 - we have seen ample evidence of that in the Middle East. And yet the world body politic is not consistently 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 and with a determined frenzy to the familiar, the tribal, the traditional!"

But the inevitable tomorrow is appearing. Developments in science and technology are fundamentally altering our material lives; and our social and political relationships as well. There are fresh 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 China, Burma, Korea, the Philippines, South Africa, Chile, Paraguay, the Soviet Union, Hungary, 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. I suggest, my friends, that the Middle East -- Libya, Saudi Arabia, Syria -- will not be exempt from this rapidly growing phenomenon. Today, it is in Israel with some beginnings in Jordan where Arabs may freely vote. Tomorrow, the Arabs of the West Bank and Gaza may freely vote. On the day after tomorrow, who knows?

This development is of special significance to those of us who try to carry forward the values of our Jewish traditions so that we may have the right to be called "The People of the Book." If there is any meaning to the term "chosen people" and if there is any justification for the inexplicable survival of the Jewish people over the ages, when they could have been just a footnote in the pages of history, it must be in our identification with the lessons and values of the Book. The ancient Hebrew tribes made their historic contribution to civilization by proclaiming to their neighbors that there was only one God. The immense significance of that insight was in the concept that if there is only one God, then all of us are His children and, thus, brothers and sisters to one another. Thus, the Talmud question: "Why did God create only one man?" And the response: in order that all men would have the same ancestor, and no man could claim superiority over another.

Democracy is the political expression of that religious ethic. The notion that human beings are the children of God and that they thus have the potential for developing that which is God-like within them is clearly anathema to any political system which does not respect the human being. The development of democracy as a political philosophy and system of governance was an inevitable outgrowth of the belief in the integrity of the human being.

There is one other related ingredient of religious belief. It is that the human being is not only capable of reaching God-like dimensions through the process of growth, experience, performance and faith, but that there is also a baser and lesser part of the human being. The ancient Jewish Rabbis referred to that in the soul which was good and that in the soul which was evil, "Yaitzer Hatov" and "Yaitzer Harah." Reinhold Niebuhr, the great Christian theologian, called it "Children of Light and Children of Darkness." We have here as well the root of modern psychiatry.

This dichotomy in the human being is understandably also found in the societies which the human being creates. Thus, just as democracy is the political expression of the religious notion of human brotherhood, so is dictatorship an expression of the destructive side of us. This explains the horrors of the Nazi phenomenon, as well as the brutalities of the Soviet system.

Throughout the ages, forces have arisen determined to resist and turn back the forward movement of civilization. But history has demonstrated that the power of Man to stretch himself into a more God-like form of self cannot be permanently denied. Within every age the drive for human dignity is dominant.

The trend toward freedom and democracy is prompted not only by a deep inner drive for human dignity, 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. 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 or broadcasts. This suggests, among many other implications, the need to reappraise our traditional definitions of sovereignty. The Government of Bangladesh, for example, cannot prevent tragic floods without active cooperation from Nepal and India. Canada cannot protect itself from acid rain without collaborating with the United States. The Mediterranean is polluted by 18 different countries. An essential geo-political consequence of this new reality is that there can be no true security for any one country in isolation. 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 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. On a smaller scale, the lessons for Israel and its Arab neighbors are also becoming increasingly 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 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. The Soviet economy is working poorly, although it does provide adequate sustenance and 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. 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 hope that the deeds and reality will indeed increasingly 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 and preserving 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 observe developments in the Soviet Union carefully and to do so with open eyes and an open mind. It is not proving easy for many of us to change the prism of our accustomed spectacles for

clearer viewing. It is difficult to believe what we see. But 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. Dramatic changes are under way, and we must contribute to that process, because, as we have learned from recent tragic developments in China, the process is not inevitable or necessarily smooth.

When I began negotiating with the Soviet Union in 1980, under President Carter, human rights was beginning to be injected as a major item of 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 President Reagan and 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.

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, security, 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 - sometimes the only 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. I respectfully suggest to you that the same principle is applicable to Israel as it searches for a context within which to pursue the peace with dignity that it seeks for itself and its neighbors.

The United States and the Soviet Union have begun a historic process. We are still much nearer to the beginning than to the end of that process. The process, furthermore, is likely to be a difficult and murky one. The fundamental nature of the Soviet system is the reality that they and we must still face. Their problems are real and overwhelming. Ethnic 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 the Soviet Union, with more than 100 nationalities and widely disparate cultures living in 15 Republics, contain the 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 now the governing instrument in Poland, with one of its leaders as Prime Minister; the prospect of Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola; 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, of course, the basis for skepticism also remains as we look at Cuba, Soviet military assistance to Nicaragua, the awesome Soviet military budget, the Soviet's missile 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. This is the essence of our awesome current challenge. Will we be wise enough to know how to assist the historic developments now underway in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe? Will we be sufficiently alert and forthcoming to grab the opportunity presented to us? Are we adequately bold and imaginative to adapt our values and security interests to the new world we are entering? It is on the basis of these criteria that history will judge us.

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." We have had reason to take that warning seriously. With that perceptive de Tocqueville 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 policy 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.

Our country is today the oldest democracy in the world. 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, the fulfillment of our religious ethic, is our special responsibility. We should look upon it as an exciting opportunity.

Thank you