



## Max M. Kampelman Papers

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REMARKS

BY

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

TO

CITIZEN EXCHANGE COUNCIL

THE PLAZA HOTEL  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

October 11, 1989

Thank you very much. I accept your award with satisfaction and appreciation. I also welcome the opportunity this evening to associate myself with the fine work in which you are engaged. Not all understanding produces harmony or agreement, but no harmony or agreement is possible without understanding. Your relentless determination to foster human understanding within a context of tension and mistrust warrants our gratitude and recognition. Thank you.

It is also a pleasure for me to be sharing this platform with Dr. Sagdeev, one of the most illustrious leaders of science in the Soviet Union; an effective diplomat, as well as scientist, who has represented his government in many fora with distinction and success. His graciousness combined with his impressive intelligence have earned many friends for himself and for his country. He has most recently added luster to his

accomplishments by courageously becoming a politician, a winning one, with his election to his government's new legislative body.

It has been less than ten months since I left government service with its different, exciting and enriching challenges. As a traditional Democrat who served in a Republican Administration, I would like to share with you my impressions of the rapidly changing world in which we live. The pace of change in the world today is so rapid and dramatic that we can barely see its details let alone its scope. And newer scientific and technological developments on the horizon will probably make all previous discoveries dwarf by comparison.

During my lifetime, medical knowledge available to physicians has increased more than ten-fold. 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.

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

This trend is prompted not only by an abstract love of justice -- although this is undoubtedly present -- but by the growing realization that democracy works best. Governments and societies everywhere are discovering that keeping up with change requires openness to information, new ideas, and the freedom which enables ingenuity to germinate and flourish. Free peoples and free markets go together. State-controlled centralized planning cannot keep up with the pace of change. A closed tightly-controlled society cannot compete in a world experiencing an information explosion that knows no national boundaries.

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. 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 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 learn to live together. Our two countries must come to appreciate that just as the two sides of the human brain, the right and the left, adjust their individual roles within the body to make a coordinated and functioning whole, so must hemispheres of the body-politic, north and south, east and west, right and left, learn to harmonize their contributions to a whole that is healthy and constructive in the search for lasting peace with liberty.

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

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

When I began negotiating with the Soviet Union in 1980, under President Carter, human rights was beginning to be injected as a major item on our country's international agenda. The Soviet Union insisted that the discussion of the subject was an improper interference in their internal affairs. When President Reagan asked me in 1985 to return to government service as head of our nuclear arms reduction negotiating team, an extraordinary change became apparent. Under the leadership of the President and the careful guidance of Secretary of State George Shultz, working closely with Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, the United States enlarged upon what President Carter initiated, and incorporated the concept of human rights as a necessary and ever-present ingredient in the totality of our relations with the Soviet Union.

It does not denigrate the vital importance of arms control for me to assert that if arms reductions are to be real and meaningful, they must be accompanied by attention to the serious problems that cause nations to take up arms. Arms are the symptoms of a disease. Let's treat the disease. We must address and are addressing regional aggression and conflict, where the problems in a number of areas in the world remain serious; bilateral competitive tensions; and, of course, human rights violations. The latter, which undermine the very essence of trust and confidence between nations, have been at the root of much of our historic hostility toward the Soviet system.

Our arms negotiations take place in the context of normalizing and stabilizing our overall relations with the Soviet Union. Last year, we signed and began to implement the historic INF treaty, the first agreement totally to eliminate all nuclear weapons with a range of between 300 and 3,300 miles. We are far along toward completing a START treaty designed to reduce by approximately 50% those nuclear weapons with a range longer than 3,300 miles. We have made unexpectedly rapid progress in our Vienna negotiations designed drastically to reduce conventional arms. We are on the verge of completing a protocol on two nuclear testing agreements. We have yet to overcome the serious verification obstacles in the way of providing the civilized world some peace of mind about chemical and bacteriological weapons, but those talks are underway and serious.

Within this atmosphere of change and constructive movement, the prospects for increased trade and other economic contacts between our two countries obviously look up. Our government, it should be noted, here takes a cautious and sober approach, albeit occasionally contradictory. Economic ties cannot be divorced from the totality of our bilateral relations. Since the military power of the Soviet Union still poses a potential military threat to our country and the evidence of reductions in the Soviet military budget are still meager, we favor the

expansion of non-strategic, mutually beneficial trade with the Soviet Union, but insist that national security controls on sensitive items should remain in place.

Let me also here note a further major concern in the economic area. Our objective is to help the Soviet society evolve toward joining us in becoming a responsible member of the international community. Soviet leaders unabashedly acknowledge the failure to date of their system to meet the economic and social needs of their people. Our hope is to encourage the Soviet system to move away from an emphasis on massive military spending and, with us, shift their resources to meet their vital domestic requirements. This means tough choices. But we must understand that this may not happen if Western capitalist countries rush with cheap credits and price concessions. There has already been an increased flow of foreign loans. It is reported that Soviet external debt has doubled under Mr. Gorbachev. These developments could defer the day of reckoning and permit the system to avoid making the necessary choices. As Senator Bill Bradley recently wrote: "What Moscow needs from the West is not cheap credits but a cooperative road map to a better economy and a safer world."

In his 1975 Nobel Prize speech that he was not permitted to present in person, Dr. Andrei Sakharov, said:

"I am convinced that international trust, mutual understanding, disarmament, and international security are inconceivable without an open society with freedom of information, freedom of conscience, the right to publish, and the right to travel and choose the country in which one wishes to live."

The United States interacts with the Soviet Union in that context. We have faith in our principles as we intensify our efforts, through our negotiations, to find a basis for understanding, stability, and peace with dignity. To negotiate is risky. It is, in the words of Hubert Humphrey, something like crossing a river while walking on slippery rocks. The possibility of disaster is on every side, but it is the way -- 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.

We have begun a historic process. With the complex issues we face, however, coupled with internal political stresses, even with a package of arms reduction agreements -- and we are trying -- we will still be nearer to the beginning than to the end of that process.

Alexis de Tocqueville wrote in the nineteenth century that "it is especially in the conduct of their foreign relations that democracies appear to be decidedly inferior to other governments." With that observation in mind, our task in the United States is to achieve the firm sense of purpose, steadiness, and strength that is indispensable for effective foreign affairs decision-making. Our political community must resist the temptation of partisan politics and institutional rivalry to develop the consensus adequate to meet the challenge of de Tocqueville's criticism.

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.

The process of maturation requires all of us to learn not to be afraid of the dark. In this period of awesome change, I urge my fellow Americans also not to be afraid of the light.

Thank you

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The process of maturation requires all of us to learn not to be afraid of the dark. In this period of awesome change, I urge my fellow Americans also not to be afraid of the light.

VLADIMIR ZVYAGIN

*Bureau Chief,  
Soviet TV & Radio, New York*

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Thursday, October 11

- 9:00 a.m. Breakfast w/Leon  
& Brownell @Yale Club  
50 Vanderbilt
- 10:15 a.m. Michael Jaffe will  
meet you in Yale Club  
lobby
- 10:30 a.m. Alan Greenberg  
Bear Stearns (272-2000)  
245 Park Ave., 2nd fl.
- 11:30 a.m. Sandy Neuman(Jer. Fdn)  
Plaza Lobby
- 12:00 noon Lunch w/ Grumman  
Messrs. Larson &  
Couluris  
Plaza Hotel (Oak Rm.)  
(res. under Couluris)
- ? Return shuttle to DC

Max M. Kampelman Schedule  
10/11 - 10/12/89

Wednesday, October 11

2:30 p.m. Depart DC PanAm

3:30 p.m. Arrive LaGuardia

Met by Dial-a-Car  
Reservations at Plaza Hotel  
Conf. #PL0906CB 759-3000

5:30 p.m. Kennedy Galleries  
40 West 57th, 5th Fl

6:00 p.m. CEC press conf.  
White & Gold Rooms  
1st floor (Plaza)

6:30 p.m. Reception (Grand  
Ballroom)

7:15 p.m. Dinner

7:45 p.m. Presentation to MMK

7:50 p.m. Acceptance (15 min.)

(over)

THROUGH AVON BUILDING

## AMBASSADOR MAX M. KAMPELMAN

The decade of the 1980's has proved to be a critical turning point in the history of U.S.-Soviet relations. Two great nations stand on the threshold of an era of mutual cooperation and responsibility, and share a new, open and respectful dialogue. Ambassador Max Kampelman will stand as an essential figure when the diplomatic history of this decade is complete.

A lawyer, diplomat and educator, Max Kampelman has played a key role in negotiations for arms control and human rights. As Ambassador and head of the U.S. Delegation to the Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Arms in Geneva from 1985 to 1989, he helped achieve the INF treaty signed by President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev. Appointed by President Carter and again by President Reagan to head the U.S. Delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe from 1980 to 1983, Ambassador Kampelman worked to ensure compliance with the Helsinki Accords.

Max Kampelman is a Trustee, by Presidential appointment, of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. He has served as Counsellor to the U.S. Department of State and as Senior Advisor to the U.S. Delegation to the United Nations. On January 18, 1989, President Reagan awarded him the Presidential Citizens Medal, which recog-

nizes "citizens of the United States who have performed exemplary deeds of service for their country or their fellow citizens."

Ambassador Kampelman received his J.D. from New York University and his Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Minnesota. He has served on the faculties and governing boards of a number of universities, has written extensively in scholarly and public affairs journals, and lectures frequently. He was the founder and moderator of the public television program "Washington Week in Review."

In January, 1989, Ambassador Kampelman returned from public service to the law firm of Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson, where he is a partner.

The citizens of all nations are well served by the ideals, resolve and achievements of Ambassador Kampelman.

## ACADEMICIAN ROALD SAGDEEV

Dr. Roald Sagdeev's sense of humanity and our common destiny has made him an eloquent leader of scientists from many nations working on behalf of arms control, international security and protection of the global environment.

Throughout the 1980's, Dr. Sagdeev has been deeply involved in improving U.S.-Soviet relations and promoting a greater role for scientists in the critical issues of our time. During the summit meetings in Geneva in 1985, in Washington in 1987, and in Moscow in 1988 he served as an advisor to Mikhail Gorbachev. He is founder and editor of "Science and Global Security," a new journal which is a joint effort of Soviet and American scientists, and serves on the Board of Directors of the "Bulletin of the Atomic Sciences." He is a founding director of the International Foundation for the Survival and Development of Humanity, and chairs the Committee of Soviet Scientists Against the Nuclear Threat.

Dr. Sagdeev is a graduate of Moscow State University and received his doctoral degree from Novosibirsk. In 1964 he was elected to the USSR Academy of Sciences, where he sits on the Committee on International Security and Arms Control.

The Soviet Union's foremost authority on space sciences, Dr. Sagdeev was Director of the Space Research Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences from 1973 to 1988. Under his leadership, the Institute created and participated in international projects including the highly successful Vega Mission to probe the nucleus of Halley's Comet in 1986. For his role in the Vega Mission, Dr. Sagdeev was awarded his country's prestigious title, Hero of Socialist Labor.

In 1987, Dr. Sagdeev was named a Deputy to the Supreme Soviet. In the same year, he was elected to the U.S. Academy of Sciences, one of only three Soviet physicists to be so honored. A recently elected member of the new Congress of People's Deputies, he serves on the International Affairs Committee of the Supreme Soviet.

Dr. Sagdeev has brought great learning, dedication, and the light of science to the service of cooperation and peace.

## CITIZEN EXCHANGE COUNCIL

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## PROGRAM FOR THE EVENING

### WELCOME

Dr. Irving H. Hamer, Jr.  
*President, Globe Book Company*  
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### OPENING REMARKS

Dr. Michael C. Brainerd  
*President, Citizen Exchange Council*

### DINNER

### AWARDS

*Presented by*

Mrs. Jane K. Lombard  
*Chairman of the Board*  
*Citizen Exchange Council*

Dr. Irving H. Hamer, Jr.

*Presented to*

Ambassador Max Kampelman  
Academician Roald Sagdeev

### CLOSING

Dr. Irving H. Hamer, Jr.



## CITIZEN EXCHANGE COUNCIL

In the dark days of atmospheric hydrogen bomb tests and the Cuban missile crisis, Citizen Exchange Council offered an alternative when government-to-government relations were mired in hostility. It began as a private group named "Hostages for Peace," formed in 1962 to organize large-scale exchanges for ordinary American and Soviet citizens, allaying mutual fears and misunderstanding. CEC's concept won support from the White House, both Houses of Congress and the State Department, as well as representatives of business, the press, religion and educators.

The first nonpartisan American organization to create citizen exchanges with the Soviet Union, CEC was also first to launch a successful program pairing American and Soviet universities for direct exchanges. CEC has now linked twenty-eight partner institutions for ongoing relationships. Current projects include the first uncensored showcase of American documentary films to be shown in the USSR, and high school conferences that encourage young people from both countries to confront tough issues with creative, independent thought.

Drawing on its contacts in dozens of Soviet cities, CEC arranges conferences and group programs that emphasize discussion and a direct exchange of views.

Concentrating in the areas of education, the arts and media, and public diplomacy, CEC now hosts 200 to 300 Soviets a year and arranges meetings in the USSR for up to 900 Americans.

In the era of *glasnost*, it is clear that person-to-person contacts with Americans have played a key role in preparing the transition to a more open and democratic Soviet society. The establishment of reciprocal programs and ongoing relationships will double the impact of US-Soviet exchanges in the years to come. Legal and bureaucratic restrictions have largely dissolved; as with commercial joint ventures, the chief obstacles now are organizational and financial.

Today's push to modernize and open the Soviet economy to foreign investment and trade creates a natural partnership of business and the not-for-profit sector. Due to its essential and effective work, CEC is in a unique position to respond to the challenges and opportunities of rapid change in the USSR. Proceeds from this Dinner, and annual contributions, enable CEC to continue developing successful new programs that meet the evolving needs of both our countries.

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Mrs. Nelson Rockefeller

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Carl Sagan

Thomas L. Shillinglaw  
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Corning Glass Works

Marshall D. Shulman  
Columbia University

Hon. George Shultz  
Stanford University

Richard Snyder  
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Hon. Paul C. Warnke  
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Clifford & Warnke

George Weissman  
Chairman  
Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts

*Прием  
по случаю  
присуждения наград  
за 1989 год  
Совета  
по Обмену  
Гражданами*

THE  
CITIZEN  
EXCHANGE  
COUNCIL  
1989  
AWARD  
DINNER

*October 11, 1989  
The Plaza Hotel*

# 1989 CITIZEN EXCHANGE COUNCIL AWARDS DINNER

---

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## CONTRIBUTORS

Sally Adelsen  
Walter Beebe  
Sarah Carey  
Sandra Carter and Michael Collyer  
Adrian W. DeWind  
Patrick Donaghy  
Finnair  
Ted Hawryluk  
John N. Hazard  
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Arvids and Zigrida Ziedonis



# Citizen Exchange Council

12 West 31st Street • New York, NY 10001-4415  
(212) 643-1985

October 24, 1989

Ms. Sharon Dardine  
Fried Frank Harris Shriver & Jacobson  
Suite 800  
1001 Pennsylvania Av., NW  
Washington, DC 20004-2505

Dear Sharon:

Enclosed please find payment for Ambassador Kampelman's flight to New York and for "round-trip transportation from home to the airport." Does this amount include transportation in New York? We appreciate your taking care of the Ambassador's travel arrangements.

It was certainly a pleasure meeting him, and I can assure you that the room was very quiet as everyone listened to hear his words. Thanks for sending the transcript.

Regards,



Andrea Sengstacken  
Vice President



# Citizen Exchange Council

12 West 31st Street • New York, NY 10001-4415  
(212) 643-1985

10/11

## FAX COVER SHEET

TO: Ms. Sharon Dardine Date: August 11, 1989

OFFICE/ORG: Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson

FAX#: 1 (202) 639-7004 No. Pgs.: 0 + Cover

FROM: Andrea Sengstacken. Note: please call if this is

inaccurate or inappropriate!

\*\*\*\*\*  
AMBASSADOR MAX M. KAMPELMAN

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman, a lawyer, diplomat and educator, has been a leader in fostering better relations between the US and USSR in the areas of human rights and arms control. As Chairman of the US Delegation to the Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Arms in Geneva, he helped achieve the INF treaty signed in 1989. As US envoy to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe from 1980 to 1983, he worked to ensure compliance with the Helsinki Accords on human rights. The citizens of all nations are well served by the ideals, resolve and achievements of Ambassador Kampelman.

DR. ROALD Z. SAGDEEV

Former Director of the Space Research Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, Dr. Roald Z. Sagdeev is the USSR's leading space scientist and promoter of international cooperation in science. A strong advocate of improving US-Soviet relations, Dr. Sagdeev served as an advisor to Mikhail Gorbachev during the summit meetings in Geneva in 1985, in Washington in 1987 and in Moscow in 1988. He was recently elected to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. In both countries, he speaks frankly and articulately to a broad range of audiences on science, arms control, and topics related to improving bilateral relations.



# Citizen Exchange Council

12 West 31st Street • New York, NY 10001-4415  
(212) 643-1985

November 6, 1989

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman  
Fried Frank Harris Shriver & Jacobson  
1001 Pennsylvania Av., NW  
Washington, DC 20004-2505

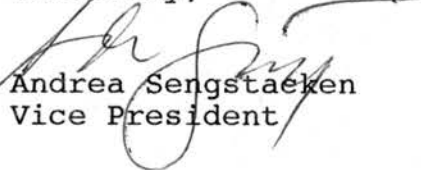
Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

Thank you once again for participating in Citizen Exchange Council's 1989 Awards Dinner.

Michael has asked me to let you know that -- in spite of having declared him PNG while he was Ambassador -- nowadays George Kennan is held in high regard in the Soviet Union. You needn't worry about any negative associations!

The enclosed photos are a memento for you.

Sincerely,



Andrea Sengstaeken  
Vice President

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

October 16, 1989

Ms. Andrea Sengstacken  
Citizen Exchange Council  
12 West 31st Street  
New York, New York 10001-4415

Dear Andrea:

In connection with Ambassador Kampelman's travel expenses in order to attend your award dinner last week, enclosed is the airline flight coupon. In addition, round trip transportation from home to the airport was \$40.

Also enclosed is a copy of Ambassador Kampelman's speech. I understand the evening was lovely.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Sharon H. Dardine  
Assistant to Max M. Kampelman

10/11  
FRIED, FRANK, HARRIS, SHRIVER & JACOBSON

SUITE 800

1001 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N. W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20004-2505

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DEX 6200 (202) 639-7004

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(213) 689-5800

3 KING'S ARMS YARD

LONDON, EC2R 7AD, ENGLAND

(01) 600-1541

TELEX: 887606

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

(202) 639-7020

March 8, 1989

Ms. Andrea Sengstacken  
Vice President  
Citizen Exchange Council  
12 West 31st Street  
New York, New York 10001

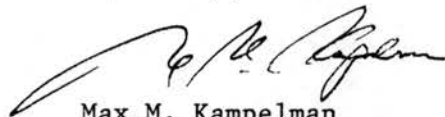
Dear Ms. Sengstacken:

Thank you very much for your thoughtfulness in sending me your letter of February 23. It is good to be kept current. I will hold the October 11 date until further notice.

You have every reason to be proud of the letter you received from the USIA.

All my best.

Sincerely,



Max M. Kampelman



# Citizen Exchange Council

12 West 31st Street • New York, NY 10001-4415  
(212) 643-1985

February 23, 1989

The Hon. Max Kampelman  
3154 Highland Place, NW  
Washington, DC 20008

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

I want to touch base and let you know how your dinner is progressing.

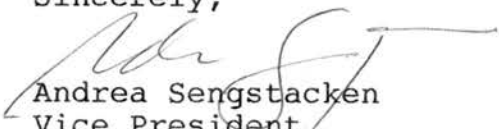
October 11 is the preferred date, and we are holding the Grand Ballroom at the Plaza. The Dinner Chairman is not yet confirmed, so it is still possible that some adjustment would have to be made. We expect to finalize that very soon.

We are beginning to pull together names for the Committee list, and we would like to talk with you in March to get your ideas. The initial planning stages seem to go very slowly, but the pace will pick up shortly.

On March 27, the Soviet Embassy is hosting a reception for CEC's Glasnost Film Festival. Save the date! You might also enjoy the enclosed letter from the USIA.

CEC's Board and staff appreciate your support of our work. Michael Brainerd and I look forward to talking with you in person.

Sincerely,

  
Andrea Sengstacken  
Vice President

Encl: USIA

*President's United States - Soviet  
Exchange Initiative*



Office of the Coordinator

January 27, 1989

Dear Michael:

We appreciated receiving the revised edition of the University Pairing Program Handbook from Stephany Brown. We are always interested in learning of the progress on this expanding exchange initiative.

I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate you and the staff of the Citizen Exchange Council on administering a very successful university exchange program. You are to be commended for launching a program which will result in direct exchanges between paired American and Soviet universities.

To the extent that it is possible, these programs will be unencumbered by central agencies and political problems between the United States and the Soviet Union. Once these U.S. and Soviet universities are paired, exchanges of students, professors and curricula can proceed without the intervention of our two governments.

The mandate of the President's U.S.-Soviet Exchange Initiative is to encourage and facilitate exchanges between the American private sector and the Soviet Union. We applaud CEC's success in launching academic exchanges between 21 American and 21 Soviet universities. These permanent linkages between universities and communities can only result in a better understanding between our two countries, improved language comprehension and the sharing of very diverse cultures.

Thank you for your continued efforts to expand the number and scope of U.S.-Soviet exchanges.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'G. Guroff', written over a horizontal line.

Gregory Guroff  
Coordinator

Mr. Michael Brainerd  
President  
Citizen Exchange Council  
12 West 31st Street  
New York, NY 10001-4415



# Citizen Exchange Council

12 West 31st Street • New York, NY 10001-4415  
(212) 643-1985

December 21, 1988

The Honorable  
Max Kampelman  
3154 Highland Place, NW  
Washington, DC 20008

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

Citizen Exchange Council is delighted that you have agreed to accept our award at a dinner in 1989.

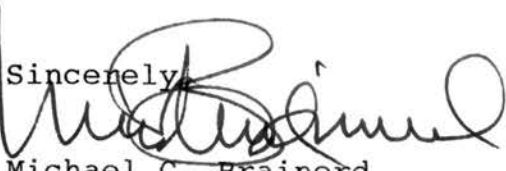
Citizen Exchange Council was founded in 1962 to enable citizens of both superpowers to meet face-to-face, supplementing the limited exchanges of scholars, performers and government officials. We now organize programs in the Soviet Union for several hundred Americans each year and host Soviet groups in return. In recent years we have concentrated on developing reciprocal exchanges that lead to ongoing relationships between citizens of both countries.

We feel that the best time for the dinner would be late October. I will call you during the first week of January to discuss possible dates and other specifics.

We understand that you have many commitments and will not be directly involved in the fundraising aspect of this event. CEC generally selects as Dinner Chairman a corporate CEO who can take the lead in that area. At the same time, we do hope that your friends and associates can be offered an opportunity to participate. Your family, of course, will be invited as our guests.

I am enclosing background information on CEC's programs and past dinners. We will be planning this year's dinner with the assistance of the Southall Group, a consulting firm that specializes in fundraising events.

Sincerely,

  
Michael C. Brainerd  
President

Enclosures

## **Who's Who at Citizen Exchange Council**

### Jane Kettering Lombard

Jane has been Chairman of the Board since 1971. She has been a regular observer at the annual "Dartmouth Conferences" (high-level policy discussions between American and Soviet opinion leaders) since they began in 1960.

### Michael Brainerd

Mike has been President of CEC since 1981. He holds a doctorate in Russian History from Columbia University. He was Assistant to Marshall Shulman as Director of the Russian Institute, taught at Middlebury College, and worked on adult education projects for the College Board. Mike is Treasurer of the International Exchange Association.

### Andrea Sengstacken

Andrea, Vice President, directed CEC's program activities for six years and has recently been named Development Officer. She has a degree in Russian Studies from Colgate University.

### Christine Hess

Chris joined CEC this Fall as Assistant to the President. She received her degree in Political Science from the University of Michigan.

TO: Sharon Dardine  
FROM: Molly Murray Zeender  
DATE: 6 October 1989  
RE: CEC Award Dinner

The Plaza Hotel

A room is reserved in Ambassador Kampelman's name at The Plaza Hotel (confirmation #PL0906CB). The room charge will be billed directly to CEC.

Press Conference

A press conference will be held in The Plaza's White & Gold Rooms on the first floor at 6:00 pm.

Dais

Ambassador Kampelman will be seated at the Dais. Other Dais guests include:

Dr. Roald Sagdeev  
Mrs. Jane K. Lombard, Chairman of the Board, CEC  
Dr. Michael C. Brainerd, President, CEC  
Dr. Irving H. Hamer, Jr., Co-Chairman, CEC Award Dinner  
and President, Globe Book Co.  
Ambassador & Mrs. Thomas Pickering, Permanent Representative  
to the UN  
Ambassador & Mrs. Alexander M. Belonogov, Permanent  
Representative of the USSR to the UN  
Ambassador & Mrs. Oudovenko, Permanent Representative of the  
Ukraine to the UN

Schedule

A detailed schedule is attached.

Meal

A low cholesterol meal has been ordered for Ambassador Kampelman.

Awards Presentation

Awards will be presented after dinner. Prior to presentation an announcement will be made that the awards have now been named the "George F. Kennan Awards."

Ambassador Kampelman's award will be presented first. He will have 15 minutes for remarks.

Contact

If there are any problems with the hotel you may call Larry Harvey, Director of Catering, 546-5485, or his assistant Nancy Golar. I will be in the hotel by 4:00 pm and can be reached via Mr. Harvey's office.

THE CEC AWARD DINNER

The Plaza Hotel  
October 11, 1989

Schedule

6:00pm	Press Conference	The White & Gold Room (1st Fl.) Amb. Kampleman, Dr. Sagdeev, Dr. Brainerd, Dr. Hamer, Mrs. Lombard, Ms. Sengstacken, Ms. Zeender and Press
6:30	Reception	The Terrace Room (first floor)
7:15	Dinner - guests enter	The Grand Ballroom
7:30	Welcome	Dr. Irving Hamer, Jr. Co-Chairman, CEC Award Dinner
7:35	Opening Remarks	Dr. Michael Brainerd
7:40	Dinner	Entertainment provided by the Universal Symphony
8:45	Presentation of CEC Award to Amb. Kampelman	Mrs. Jane Lombard Chairman of the CEC Board, & Dr. Hamer
8:50	Acceptance remarks	Ambassador Max Kampelman
9:05	Presentation of CEC Award to Dr. Sagdeev	Mrs. Lombard & Dr. Hamer
9:10	Acceptance remarks	Academician Roald Sagdeev
9:25	Closing	Dr. Hamer



# Citizen Exchange Council

12 West 31st Street • New York, NY 10001-4415  
(212) 643-1985

12/89

December 21, 1988

The Honorable  
Max Kampelman  
3154 Highland Place, NW  
Washington, DC 20008

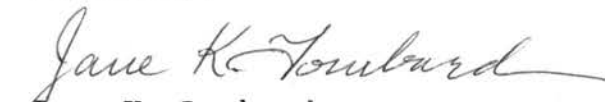
Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

We were pleased to hear from Ambassador Hartman that you have agreed to be honored at CEC's award dinner in 1989. Thank you! This is also an honor for us.

CEC is engaged in U.S.-Soviet exchange programs, and our Honorees are selected for their contributions to the development of a realistic, balanced working relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union. Your achievements in arms control negotiations and your work for human rights speak for themselves. Past recipients of CEC's award are W. Averell Harriman, C. William Verity, Jr. and Gerald R. Ford.

We look forward to meeting you and will be in touch shortly after the holidays.

Sincerely,

  
Jane K. Lombard  
Chairman

From the Desk of SHARON DARDINE

10/11

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

MMK:

See attached. Note the dinner is black tie and Sagdeev is also being honored. Did you know this? It's at the Plaza. They made a reservation for you. Speech is 10-15 minutes. Depending upon his health at the time, George Kennan may present the award.

Sharon

*Founded in 1962, Citizen Exchange Council was the first nonpartisan American organization dedicated to person-to-person exchanges with the Soviet Union.*

*Independent and nonprofit, CEC creates programs that bring together students and professionals in the fields of education, the arts and media, and public diplomacy. CEC's experience and reputation have enabled it to establish ground-breaking exchanges in advance of similar government-sponsored programs. CEC pioneered direct pairing relationships between American and Soviet secondary schools and universities. For 1990, CEC is developing the first uncensored showcase of American documentary films to be shown throughout the Soviet Union.*

*Under CEC's auspices, more than 10,000 Americans and hundreds of Soviet citizens have visited each other's country to exchange views and gain first-hand impressions. By promoting communication among individuals, CEC increases understanding and co-operation between our two great nations.*

YOU ARE CORDIALLY INVITED  
to the  
CITIZEN EXCHANGE COUNCIL  
AWARD DINNER  
honoring

AMBASSADOR MAX KAMPELMAN  
and  
DR. ROALD SAGDEEV

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1989

*Cocktail Reception 6:30 pm*

*Dinner 7:30 pm*

GRAND BALLROOM  
THE PLAZA HOTEL

RSVP

*Black Tie*

HONORARY CHAIRMEN  
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Hon. C. William Verity, Jr.

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*The American Soviet Youth Orchestra*

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*American Management Associations*

Christopher Kennan  
*Rockefeller Family and Associates*

Robert Knight  
*Shearman & Sterling*

Susan S. Lotarski  
*US Department of Commerce*

Ambassador William H. Lucers  
*The Metropolitan Museum of Art*

Jeffrey Malakoff  
*Security Pacific Trade Finance, Inc.*

Robert Malott  
*EMC Corporation*

William J. McCune, Jr.  
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*American Committee on US-Soviet Relations*

Gerard Piel  
*Scientific American, Inc.*

John B. Rhinelander  
*Shaw, Pittman, Potts & Trowbridge*

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Robert V. Roosa  
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Carl Sagan

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Richard E. Snyder  
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Andrew Somers  
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Johannes van Straalen

\*Committee in formation

OF course, the Dinner Program list will be complete