



Max M. Kampelman Papers

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AS READ

"ARMS CONTROL IN THE YEAR 2000"

REMARKS BY

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

ASSOCIATION OF THE BAR OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Great Hall
New York, New York

October 24, 1989

It is a privilege for me to be sharing your platform this evening with Marshall Shulman and Paul Warnke, two veteran members of the aristocratic arms control fraternity. Marshall and I and our families first met and became good friends 40 years ago when I came to Washington to work as newly-elected Hubert Humphrey's legislative counsel, and he came to serve as Secretary of State Dean Acheson's speech writer and confidant. I have since received many a vicarious satisfaction as I observed the flourishing of his splendid career in academic life and the broad recognition he has earned as a Soviet expert.

Paul Warnke and I practice law in the same city, a practice and a city that have been good to both of us. We have never had the occasion to work together, but I know him as a citizen-patriot of great ability and distinction. I look forward to learning a great deal from him this evening about "arms control in the year 2000." I shall provide an introduction for his talk.

It does not denigrate the importance of arms control to say that for arms control to be meaningful, it must be accompanied by resolution of the serious problems that cause nations to take up arms. Arms are the symptoms of a disease, whose pains and strains must be treated within the context of broader international relations.

Our world is changing so fast and so dramatically that we can barely see its details let alone its scope. During my father's day, there was no income tax; no Federal Reserve; no vitamin tablets; no refrigerators; no transcontinental telephones; no plastics; no man-made fibers; and no fluorescent lights. When I was a child, Americans still had no Social Security; no unemployment insurance; no airmail; no airlines; no Xerox; no air-conditioning; no antibiotics; no frozen foods; no television; and no transistors.

During my lifetime, medical knowledge available to physicians has probably increased more than ten-fold. More than 80% of all scientists who ever lived are alive today. More than 100,000 scientific journals annually publish the flood of new knowledge that pours out of the world's laboratories. The average life span is now nearly twice as great as it was when my grandparents were born. 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.

Global economic, technological, and communication advances have made global interdependence a reality. Economic power and industrial capacity are ever more widely dispersed around the globe. Our political and economic institutions are feeling the stress of these pressures as they try to digest their implications. We have yet to come to grips with a world in which the combined gross national product of Europe, for example, exceeds that of the United States; and the gross national product of Japan exceeds that of the Soviet Union; while the economies of South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore have moved, in the space of a generation, to international influence far beyond their relative size. And we have yet to settle on an international legal and regulatory framework to cope with a world where economic interdependence blurs the origin of products, and where international financial flows in a single day (about \$1 trillion) equal our government's annual budget.

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.

Developments in science and technology are fundamentally altering our material lives; and our social and political relationships as well. There are new dominant sounds and among those most clearly and loudly heard today are the sounds of freedom and democracy. When given the chance -- and sometimes when not -- people across the world are standing for liberty. 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.

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 seems to work 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 clearly in a time when no society can isolate itself or its people from new ideas and new information any more 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.

A further word about sovereignty is appropriate for this audience of lawyers. We learned in the classroom that sovereignty was once lodged in the emperor by divine authority. This personal concept evolved into a territorial one and with the emergence of the nation state in the 17th

century, it became identified with a political entity. By the 19th century, "sovereignty," "statehood" and "nation" became intertwined. Today, we see further change under way.

We in the United States have lived with this ambiguity. Our Declaration of Independence places sovereignty in the people. Much of our early political theory looked at sovereignty as residing in our states. Yet, our nation, like others, is a sovereign nation. It is clear that the concept of divided and shared sovereignty, our American pattern, is now spreading within the international community. The requirements of our evolving technology are increasingly turning national boundaries into patterns of lace through which flow ideas, money, people, crime, terrorism, ballistic missiles -- all of which know no national boundaries.

In response to these realities, nations are by agreement curtailing their sovereign powers over many of their own domestic and security affairs. Article 9 of the Constitution of Japan provides that "the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation." Under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Final Act, nations undertake to behave humanely toward their own citizens and recognize the rights of other states to evaluate that internal behavior. Observers and on-site

inspectors are given the right to inspect military facilities and maneuvers under the guise of confidence-building measures or to verify agreements made. The Soviets are struggling and anguishing over how to adjust the doctrine of sovereignty to the Baltic republics and to other national groups crying for independent recognition.

[In the Middle East, it is becoming increasingly obvious that the 19th century concept of sovereignty is an obstacle to conflict resolution. It represents a slogan rather than a solution. The solution of that problem requires a vision that transcends traditional nation state boundaries. Within the universal principle of security for all the people in the area, the realities of water, power, access to trade routes, communication -- these require regional rather than state approaches for solution. Responsibilities and rights must be shared within a framework of confederation so that the people of the area enter the 21st century and its opportunities.]

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. The politics of persuasion and consent must prevail over the politics of coercion and terror.

Let me here pause a moment on the word "terror" and the political movement "terrorism" which supports and perpetuates it. Logic and reason and humaneness and even self-interest demonstrate the dire need for a concerted international effort to eradicate terrorism. It is today universally understood that no one can be safe from this dangerous and destabilizing phenomenon. Yet, there is no effective international action in place and, I reluctantly suspect, none in the offing. A recent illustrative outrage of the political opportunism and fear that stand in the way of coordinated anti-terrorism was the previous Greek government's brazen release of a suspected terrorist to Libya, rather than extraditing him to Italy where he was wanted for killing a two-year old child and wounding 34 people in an attack on a synagogue. The myopic statement of the Greek Minister of Justice that such an attack fell "within the domain of the struggle to regain the independence of . . . [a] homeland" demonstrates the deplorable way some so-called "civilized" states, whether out of fear or sympathy, cooperate with and condone terrorism. The world has not even been able in its international institutions to agree upon a definition of "terrorism," making efforts to outlaw it spurious.

Yet the danger is a real and potentially increasing one. Nuclear weapons and the skills necessary to build them are no longer the exclusive possession of the superpowers. These, along with ominous chemical and bacteriological weapons, are today capable of being acquired by the irresponsible and the lawless. Furthermore, as Senator Sam Nunn recently stated in an important speech, our society is a society of vulnerable networks -- electricity grids, water systems, pipelines, telecommunication links. Modern society is seriously vulnerable to catastrophic disruption. I suggest that here we have an immediate test of the effectiveness of our evolving relationship with the Soviet Union.

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. For nearly half a century, we have looked at international relations through the prism of our relations with one another. 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. 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, 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, Soviet leadership faces the urgent need for drastic internal changes if the Soviet Union is to play a significant role in the 21st century. The Soviet economy is working poorly, although it does provide adequate sustenance for itself and its fully functioning military machine. Massive military power has provided the Soviets with a presence that reaches all parts of the world, but this military superpower cannot hide the fact that its economic and social weaknesses are deep. The Soviet's awesome internal police force has provided continuity to its system of governance, but a Russia which during Czarist days exported food cannot today feed its own people. Productivity is low. With absenteeism,

corruption, and alcoholism, internal morale is bad. 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 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 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, or be certain we understand ultimate Soviet intentions behind their search for "breathing space", we have a responsibility to observe developments in the Soviet Union carefully and to do so with open eyes and an open mind. It will not be easy for many of us to change the prism of our accustomed spectacles for clearer viewing. It is difficult to believe what we see. Our need is to replace our microscope with a wide-angle lens. Change is inevitable and it is underway. We must not fear it. We must influence it.

Our ability to influence Soviet internal developments is likely to be limited, but we should not ignore the steps we can take to encourage the evolution of Soviet policy in directions that are constructive and responsible. Our military strength is obviously indispensable as is the need to speak openly and candidly of why we remain skeptical of Soviet behavior. We must assume a role as a world leader and as a vital example if we are to influence Soviet developments.

The United States is the Soviet Union's principal adversary. We are also its standard for comparison. We thus have a responsibility to make it clear to the leadership of the Soviet Union what we expect and require for increased trust; and we must be ready to help. Fundamentally, we urge them to develop stronger legal and structural restraints on their power, both internal and external. Our lawyers, scholars and economists are beginning to assist in that effort. Let us hope that by the year 2000 we will look at our efforts and be proud of them.

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 as we seek to find a basis for understanding, security, 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 aim 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 should recall the message of Winston Churchill that diplomatic negotiations "are not a grace to be conferred but a convenience to be used."]

The United States and the Soviet Union have begun a historic process. Given the nature of our adversary and the complex issues between us, coupled with the stresses of our own internal politics, even with the package of arms reduction agreements now being discussed, we are still nearer the beginning than the end of that process. The process, furthermore, is likely to be a difficult and murky one. The great challenge to our diplomacy is how to effect a soft landing from the cold war without endangering our security and our

values. It is our responsibility to work toward that end. This requires a steady America, strong but confident, conscious of the reality of its own interest in a stable peaceful world.

Will we be able to play our part? Will we be sufficiently sensitive to the judgment of history and take heed lest future generations condemn us for having missed a decisive opportunity for peace with dignity? Will we be wise enough to know how to assist the historic developments now under way in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe? Will we be sufficiently alert and forthcoming to grab the opportunity presented to us? Are we adequately bold and imaginative to adjust our security interests to the new world we are entering? It is on the basis of these criteria that history will judge us.

Arms control in the year 2000? I do not know, but I have shared with you the context in which I believe we should examine that question. We are on the threshold of a great opportunity. May the efforts of our nation contribute to its realization. Let us resist the temptation of partisan politics and institutional rivalry as we develop the national consensus adequate to fulfill that responsibility.

Thank you

MMK SCHEDULE
October 24, 1989

10:15a.m. Red Top to Nat'l.
11:00a.m. Trump Shuttle to NY
12:00noon Arrive LaGuardia
Met by Dial-a-Car
1:00p.m.- UNA Bd. Mtg.
5:00p.m. 485 Fifth Ave.
ABA Great Hall Program
5:45p.m. Cocktails *EVARTS RM*
6:10p.m. Dinner
7:00p.m. Public Program
42 West 44th Street
2nd floor

10:25p.m. American Eagle #4896
departing KENNEDY
11:55p.m. Arrive Nat'l.

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October 30, 1989

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jackson
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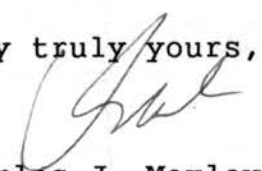
Re: October 24, 1989 Great Hall Program of
the Committee on International Arms
Control and Security Affairs of the
Association of the Bar of the City of
New York

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

On behalf of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York and the Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control, I would like to thank you very much for participating in the Great Hall program on "Arms Control in the Year 2000" last Tuesday evening. Your remarks were most fascinating and helpful to our understanding of current developments in the arms control area.

Again, thank you very much.

Very truly yours,


Charles J. Moxley, Jr.

CJM:lrp
4379v

(F)



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RUTH WEDGWOOD
Associate Professor of Law

(203) 432-4946

October 27, 1989

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

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

Your remarks at the City Bar Association's Great Hall Program were most eloquent. Thank you for honoring us.

And thanks especially for saying hello to my dad. I never suspected that an I.L.G.W.U. member was going head to head with the Russians. (All the best arms agreements are union-made.)

Yours truly,

RUTH GLUSHIEN WEDGWOOD
Chair, Committee on International
Arms Control and Security Affairs
Association of the Bar of the City of New York

10/24/89

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April 24, 1989

VIA FAX

Ambassador Paul C. Warnke
Clifford & Warnke
815 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20006

Re: October 24, 1989 Great Hall Program of
the Committee on International Arms
Control and Security Affairs of the
Association of the Bar of the City of
New York

Dear Ambassador Warnke:

This is to follow up on my conversations last Thursday and Friday with Ms. Billie Bowen of your office.

On behalf of the Committee on International Arms Control and Security Affairs of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York and of the Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control, I would like to express our gratitude that you have consented, subject to unexpected developments in your schedule, to speak at the Great Hall Program we are organizing at the Association for the evening of October 24, 1989.

As you know, Ambassador Max M. Kampelman has also consented to appear on this program.

The focus of the program, as we envision it, will be:
"Arms Control in the Year 2000: Where We Want To Be Then and How We Can Get There." We are confident that the presentations

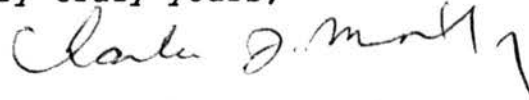
April 24, 1989

by you and Ambassador Kampelman will be of considerable interest and make a major contribution to public understanding of these issues.

The evening will begin at approximately 5:45 p.m., with a cocktail party and dinner with representatives of our Committee, of the Association and of LANAC, to be followed at 7:00 p.m. with the public program. We would also be most delighted if Mrs. Warnke would attend as our guest.

We are delighted that you are interested in participating in this program and look forward to finalizing arrangements.

Very truly yours,



Charles J. Moxley, Jr.

CJM:lrp
3544v

cc: Ambassador Max M. Kampelman
John B. Rhineland, Esq.
Donald H. Rivkin, Esq.
Sheldon Oliensis, Esq.
Leonard M. Marks, Esq.
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April 3, 1989

BY FAX

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman
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Washington, D.C. 20004-2505

Re: October 1989 Great Hall Program
of the Committee on International
Arms Control and Security Affairs
of the Association of the Bar of
the City of New York

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

On behalf of the Committee on International Arms Control and Security Affairs of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York and of the Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control, I would like to express our gratitude that you have consented to speak at a Great Hall Program to be presented by us at the Association in October 1989.

Per my discussions with Sharon Dardine of your office, we have reserved the Great Hall of the Association for the evenings of October 24, October 30 and October 31 and hope to work out a firm date as soon as your schedule permits.

Ambassador Max Kampelman

- 2 -

March 31, 1989

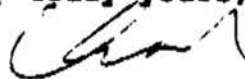
The evening will begin at approximately 5:45 pm with a cocktail party and dinner with representatives of our Committee, of the Association and of LANAC, to be followed at 7:00 pm with the public program. We would also be most delighted to have Mrs. Marjorie Kampelman as our guest.

The general topic of the program will be an overview of arms control developments, with a focus on the desirability and prospects of further arms control agreements with the Soviet Union.

We are confident that there will be very substantial interest in this program and look forward to finalizing a date with you as soon as possible.

Best personal regards.

Very truly yours,



Charles J. Moxley, Jr.

CJM:tn

cc: John B. Rhineland, Esq.
Donald H. Rivkin, Esq.
Sheldon Oliensis, Esq.
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March 21, 1989

BY FAX

Charles J. Moxley, Jr., Esq.
Jones Hirsch Connors & Bull
101 East 52nd Street
New York, New York 10022

Re: "Tessa"

Re: June 15, 1989 Great Hall Program of the
Committee on International Arms Control and
Security Affairs of the Association of
the Bar of the City of New York

Dear Mr. Moxley:

Thank you very much for your most gracious letter of
March 17. I would consider it an honor to be your guest
speaker in the Great Hall Program of the Association.
Regrettably, however, the date conflicts with prior
commitments. I assume that this will be your last meeting
prior to the summer session. I, therefore, suggest
that should you want to arrange for such a meeting in
the fall, I would be very pleased to have your invitation.

All my best.

Sincerely,


Max M. Kampelman

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March 17, 1989

BY FAX

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

Re: June 15, 1989 Great Hall Program
of the Committee on International
Arms Control and Security Affairs
of the Association of the Bar of
the City of New York

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

On behalf of the Committee on International Arms Control and Security Affairs of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, I am delighted to invite you to be guest speaker at a public program in the Great Hall of the Association on the evening of June 15, 1989. Our working topic for the program is: "Arms Control in the Year 2000: Where We Want To Be Then and How We Can Get There."

The evening would begin at 6:00 p.m. with a dinner at the Association. The public program would commence at 7:00 p.m. and run until approximately 9:00 p.m.

Ambassador Max Kampelman

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March 17, 1989

As you may know, our committee has been privileged to present a number of outstanding public programs over recent years. Last year, Ambassadors Ronald F. Lehman, II and Paul C. Warnke spoke at our Great Hall program which was moderated by John B. Rhineland. Other speakers at our monthly meetings have included General Brent Scowcroft, General Bernard G. Rogers, Ambassador Herbert S. Okun and McGeorge Bundy.

The program will be co-sponsored by the Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control (LANAC), which has co-sponsored a number of our Great Hall programs, including the one last year with Ambassadors Lehman and Warnke.

Please let us know if any further information about the program would be of interest.

Needless to say, we would be extremely honored if you would accept our invitation.

Very truly yours,


Charles J. Moxley, Jr.

CJM:tn

cc: Donald H. Rivkin, Esq.
John B. Rhineland, Esq.
Leonard Marks, Esq.

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10/24

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July 21, 1989

VIA FAX

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

Re: October 24, 1989 Great Hall Program
of the Committee on International
Arms Control and Security Affairs of
the Association of the Bar of the
City of New York

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

The purpose of this letter is to confirm our scheduled October 24, 1989 arms control program at the Great Hall of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York. We are delighted that you have consented to participate in this program and look forward very much to the event.

As you know, the program is co-sponsored by the Committee on International Arms Control and Security Affairs of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York and by the New York Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control. Ambassador Paul C. Warnke has also consented to appear in the program. Marshall Shulman will be the moderator.

As previously discussed, the focus of the program, as we envision it, will be: "Arms Control in the Year 2000: Where We Want To Be Then and How We Can Get There."

Ambassador Max M. Kapelman

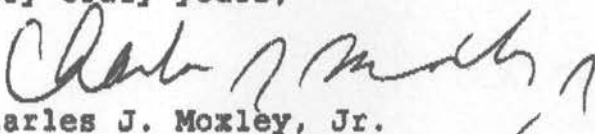
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July 21, 1989

The evening will begin at approximately 5:45, with a cocktail party and dinner with representatives of our Committee, of the Association, and of NYLANAC, to be followed at 7:00 p.m. with the public program. We also hope that Mrs. Kampelman will be able to attend as our guest.

We look forward to hearing your presentation.

Very truly yours,


Charles J. Moxley, Jr.

CJM:eh
3904v

cc: Dr. Ruth Wedgewood
Sheldon Oliensis, Esq.
Leonard M. Marks, Esq.
Flora Schnall, Esq.