



Max M. Kampelman Papers

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FINAL

"THE WINDS OF CHANGE"
INTERNATIONAL HOUSE OF CHICAGO
DELIVERED BY
MAX M. KAMPELMAN

University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

October 30, 1989

It has been ten months and ten days since I left government service with its different, exciting, and enriching challenges. It has been suggested that I use this occasion to stand back and evaluate the dramatic world changes I have had the privilege of observing and experiencing.

The object of our nation's diplomacy is to preserve our security and our values in a condition of peace. But this proud word, "peace", has historically run the risk of being distorted. There is the "peace" of the grave; the "peace" that reigns in a well-disciplined prison or gulag; the peace that may plant, with its terms, the seeds of a future war. Certainly those are not what our dreamers and philosophers have yearned for. It is peace with dignity that we seek. It is peace with liberty that is the indispensable ingredient for the evolution of Man from the species homo sapiens to the species "human being."

Men and women seem capable of mobilizing their talents to unravel the mysteries of their physical environment. We have learned to fly through space like birds and move in deep waters like fish, but how to live and love on this small planet as brothers and sisters still eludes us. The immense challenge to our society is to find and develop the basis for lasting peace among the peoples of the world so that they might live in dignity. In this rapidly moving nuclear age, the significance of that goal cannot be overstated.

The fundamental fact is that the 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; no fluorescent lights; no Social Security; no unemployment insurance; no airmail; no airlines; no Xerox; no air-conditioning; no antibiotics; no frozen foods; no television; 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.

Economic, technological, and communication advances have made global interdependence a reality. Economic power and industrial capacity are ever more widely dispersed around the world. 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; and, yet, the world body politic is not consistently keeping pace with those realities. There is resistance to change. 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." And this resistance is holding on tight and with a determined frenzy to the familiar, the tribal, the traditional. This phenomenon cannot be ignored as religion, nationalism, fanaticism, race and ethnicity make themselves increasingly felt.

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 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.

Hannah Arendt, the distinguished and perceptive social scientist, reflected the significance of this human ingredient when she wrote in an 1958 epilogue to her Origins of Totalitarianism that the new voices from Eastern Europe

"speaking so plainly and simply of freedom and truth, sounded like an ultimate affirmation that human nature is unchangeable, that Communism will be futile, that even in the absence of all teaching and in the presence of overwhelming indoctrination, a yearning for freedom and truth will rise out of man's heart and mind forever."

Within every age the drive for human dignity has been dominant, but the struggle is a continuing one. Change is inevitable, but we cannot predict its direction. It would be a

mistake to believe that the end point of mankind's ideological evolution has been reached. It would be narrow to assert that Western liberal democracy, desirable as it is, is the final form of human government. Our vigilance is required, for, as the saying goes, "the devil, too, evolves." Aristotle taught us that all forms of government, including democracy, are transitional and vulnerable to the corrosion of time, new problems, and missed opportunities. We are at risk if we remain smug and content about our present strengths and the weakness of our adversaries.

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 pace 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 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.

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 idea 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. 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.

One essential geo-political consequence of this new reality is that there can be no true security for any one country in isolation. Unilateral security for us 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 furthermore, 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 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 cooperate with and condone terrorism. Furthermore, the world has not even been able in its international institutions to agree upon a definition of "terrorism," rendering 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. Senator Sam Nunn recently pointed out in an important speech, that 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 international community and of our developing bilateral relations 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. The Soviet Union, we must remember, is today the only country which can militarily threaten our nation.

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 be a significant part of 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. "We pretend to work and they pretend to pay us" is what I recently heard in Moscow. It is estimated that a worker in the Soviet Union must work more than seven times as many hours as a Western European to earn enough money to buy a car. With absenteeism, corruption, and alcoholism, internal morale is bad. Their traditional family structure shows signs of crumbling, with divorce and abortion rates among the highest of any modern country, rising infant mortality, and

a drug problem brought back from Afghanistan. Contrary to trends elsewhere in the world, life expectancy in the Soviet Union is actually decreasing.

The new leaders of the Soviet Union are fully aware of its problems. One Soviet economist recently said: "There have been many books written on the transition from capitalism to socialism, but not one on the transition from socialism to capitalism." That leadership is also aware of our strengths, reflecting the vitality of our values and the healthy dynamism of our system.

President Gorbachev recently said:

"We are now, as it were, going through the school of democracy afresh. We are learning that our political culture is still inadequate. Our standard of debate is inadequate; our ability to respect the point of view of even our friends and comrades -- even that is inadequate."

Reports indicate Mr. Gorbachev may now have second thoughts about his words, particularly as they apply to press freedoms. But we hear these and other 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.

The problem is not the character and culture of the peoples who make up the Soviet Union. The Soviet peoples are proud and talented, with a rich history and culture. Its citizens desire peace and human dignity as much as any American. But it is the Government which sets policy and their system which causes us concerns.

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 appear to see. Our need, indeed, 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.

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.

The issue of human rights is today a fully-agreed agenda item in our discussions with the Soviet Union. It is discussed thoroughly, frankly and frequently -- and we see results. The results are not yet entirely to our satisfaction, but are, nevertheless, highly significant. There will be further positive results, going in tandem with other items on our agenda.

I do not denigrate the importance of arms control when I say that for arms control to be real and meaningful, it must be accompanied by resolution of the serious problems that cause nations to take up arms. Arms are but the symptoms of a

disease. The remaining items on the U.S./Soviet agenda of talks are designed to try to treat the disease as well as the symptoms, the source of tensions between our two countries.

Our ability to influence Soviet internal developments is likely to be limited, but we should not ignore the things we can do to encourage the evolution of Soviet policy in directions that are constructive and responsible. Our military strength is obviously indispensable. But so is our role as a world leader and as an example.

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. In essence, we urge them to develop stronger legal and structural restraints on their power, both internal and external. We must insist that they abjure the use or threat of force to extend and expand their system in our own hemisphere and elsewhere. We must persuade the Soviet Union to join us in a commitment to "rules of the game" for responsible international behavior. Ultimately, the only battlefield that is rational in this nuclear age is the battlefield of ideas.

Soviet leadership may well be coming to understand that it cannot exempt itself from the stubbornly growing insistence of

human beings for political systems that provide dignity for themselves and their families. The tremendous vitality of our democratic values is central to any agenda for the future. I have sometimes been asked why we risk allowing our concern about human rights to get in the way of negotiating arms control agreements or other security objectives. As the Nobel Laureate Andrei Sakharov has so often pointed out, however, the cause of human rights and peace is indivisible. It is worth remembering the words of John Stuart Mills, who, after studying theoretical socialism seriously and sympathetically more than a century ago, concluded that the contest he saw ahead between democracy and socialism would probably hinge on "which of the two systems is consistent with the greatest amount of human liberty and spontaneity."

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. In the words of that outstanding American public servant, Hubert Humphrey, it is 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 in negotiation, 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 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 as a tumultuous environment develops, with 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 emanating from pent-up resentments and a long-desired opportunity to even things out?

Ken Adelman reminded us in his column a few weeks ago that the Marquis de Custine wrote 150 years ago: "Whenever the right of speech shall be restored to this muzzled people, the astonished world will hear so many disputes arise that it will believe the confusion of Babel again returned."

Jim Billington recently noted De Tocqueville's view that the most dangerous time of an authoritarian regime is when it is undergoing change or reform; and that the most dangerous time in the life of a religion -- and Communism is a secular religion -- is when it has lost its inner faith but retained its outer power. If the current national minority agitation should blend with social upheaval in the USSR, or escalate to the Ukraine or to Moslem Central Asia, there is always the danger that a militaristic xenophobic Russian nationalism could rise.

I note these problems, because 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 in control of government in Poland; the prospect of Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola; Communist Party officials challenged and defeated in Soviet elections; the beginning of a multi-party system in Hungary; important Soviet proposals to reduce conventional and nuclear arms along lines proposed by the West.

But, of course, the basis for international skepticism also remains as we look at Cuba, Soviet bloc military assistance to Nicaragua, continued transfer of much of that supply to the rebels in El Salvador, the awesome Soviet military budget, the Soviet's recent missile sale to Libya of bomber aircraft capable of threatening and further destabilizing the Middle East. We could go on. That skepticism, furthermore, has deep roots. Europeans remember that it was Czar Nicholas I who remarked: "where the Russian flag has once been hoisted, it must never be lowered." Helmut Schmidt in his memoirs quotes a 19th Century Russian statesman that "Russia can feel completely secure only when Russian soldiers stand on both sides of her borders."

The great challenge to our diplomacy is how to adjust to an evolving Soviet Union in a rapidly-changing world without

endangering our security and our values. Our task is to effect a soft landing from the cold war. 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 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 adjust our security interests to the new world we are entering? It is on the basis of these criteria that history will judge us.

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.

You will notice that I now introduce the word "consensus" as an indispensable ingredient for effective foreign policy in our democracy. Effective diplomacy in our world of today requires the realistic availability of power. But power today cannot be exercised effectively in our democracy without a broad consensus in support of the policy that power is designed to advance. Consensus -- not unanimity -- requires, given the limited nature of our political party system, broad agreement and understanding between the President and a bipartisan Congress. This in turn means that our policies require an identification with our country's values and aspirations. We are as a nation painfully coming to that realization. Neither the diplomat nor the politician in a democracy can afford to ignore the moral dimension of foreign policy. With the clearly devastating character of modern weapons, conventional and nuclear, no democracy can effectively pursue its diplomacy, where the availability of force is an indispensable ingredient, unless there is a broad consensus supported by a moral foundation behind the policy.

G.K. Chesterton summarized his studies of our country by declaring that the United States is a "nation with the soul of a church." This must be understood as we seek the basis for national consensus in foreign policy. We require moral justification for our actions.

Our country is today the oldest democracy in the world. Abraham Lincoln of your State of Illinois said that "America is the last great hope of mankind." It still is! Our political values and our character traits have helped us build the most dynamic and open society in recorded history, a source of inspiration to most of the world. It should be a source of inspiration for us as well. We cannot take it for granted. We must realize what the American dream means to us and to the world. In fulfilling our responsibility as citizens of this democracy, there is no room for aloof neutrality. The idea that somehow power is bad, that superpowers are worse, with one superpower more or less as bad as the other, is a nihilistic formula for defeat. There is an unmistakable difference between a prison yard and a meadow.

It is not arrogant for us to proclaim the virtues of our own system because it casts no credit on us. We are not the ones who created American democracy. We are merely its beneficiaries with an opportunity to strengthen it for succeeding generations. The future lies with liberty, human dignity, and democracy. The changes stimulated by modern technology may well assist us to move in that direction, if we permit our democratic values to provide the guidelines for the journey. When we are growing up, we are taught not to be afraid of the dark. I say to you that as our societies mature, we must not be afraid of the light and where it can take us.

Thank you



INTERNATIONAL HOUSE OF CHICAGO

1414 East 59th Street
Chicago, Illinois 60637

August 17, 1989

Memo: TO ALL PARTICIPANTS IN THE OCTOBER 30 "SEARCH FOR SOLUTIONS"

FROM: MARY WARD WOLKONSKY, CHAIRMAN

I am enclosing the wording for the conference brochure, which will go in the mail on September 20.

We will mail you your airline ticket when we know your preferred time of arrival and departure. Please let us know on the enclosed postcard.

not enclosed

The general purpose of the conference, as we have discussed by phone or letter, is to examine, in as much depth as possible, the options open to our government vis-a-vis the Soviet Union, in light of rapidly changing attitudes and perceptions.

The modus operandi of the conference will be as follows:

The chairman will introduce the conference and Dr. Billington.

On the completion of his address the chairman will introduce Mr. Duke, who will introduce the first three panelists. Detailed biographies of the panelists will be printed in the program. The same procedure will apply in the afternoon sessions.

Each panelist should be prepared to speak on his subject for 10 minutes. The moderator will then lead the discussion for 45 minutes, followed by 15 minutes of questions from the floor.

At dinner, guests will be welcomed by Jerald Brauer, Chairman of the Board of Governors of International House, and Mr. Kampelman will be introduced by the chairman.

Following are some of the questions that might be discussed, although I'm sure that Mr. Duke will have more pertinent ones, and you will draw on your own expertise and experience to make your observations and recommendations.

THEY WERE THERE

Did you detect any real longing for political change?
What were your experiences, if any, with the KGB and how strong do you think their influence is today?
How much freedom of action did you have?
How ready did young people, schooled in the Communist doctrine, seem to embrace democracy?

Located at The University of Chicago

(continued)

What was your experience with satellite countries? Did they seem ready for democracy?

(Perhaps this panel should concentrate more on the past and somewhat on the present, leaving future projections to the to the last panel).

SORE SPOTS

East Europe - Svec

Africa - Crocker

Latin America - Coatsworth

Other areas, i.e. Afghanistan, Iran, Israel and other mid-east countries - Anyone

How threatening to the U.S. are Soviet activities in these areas?

Do you sense a reduction of aggressiveness in any of these areas?

Do you think this is due to a genuine change of heart (if so), or is it entirely bred of economic necessity?

What is your opinion of U.S. loans to Soviet satellite countries?

Is increased Soviet participation in mid-east affairs helpful or not?

While still supplying our enemies (Iran, Syria, Cuba) are they to be trusted?

THE ART OF SELF-DEFENSE

Should we continue to maintain a nuclear edge over the Soviets and rely on this as a deterrent, or build up to parity or superiority in conventional weapons?

Do you think there is any possibility of a direct war with the Soviets (as opposed to such indirect encounters as in Nicaragua, Angola, et.al.)?

Do you think the naval mix of submarines, carriers, and aircraft is the best possible? If not, what do you suggest?

In what areas of the world are we most vulnerable?

WHAT IF PERESTROIKA SUCCEEDS?

What do you think of Gorbachev's ambition to join the "Big Seven"?

Comment on the economic potential of the Soviet Union.

What effect will perestroika have on world oil, strategic metals, grain?

What will be the effect of the convertability of the ruble and when could it happen?

Will they renounce communism or allow satellites to do so? Or will they continue to spread Marxism?

IF YOU HAVE NOT ALREADY DONE SO, WILL YOU PLEASE BE SO KIND AS TO SEND ME YOUR CURRICULUM VITAE? THANK YOU!



INTERNATIONAL HOUSE OF CHICAGO

1414 East 59th Street
Chicago, Illinois 60637

A SEARCH FOR SOLUTIONS III: USA/USSR

October 29-30, 1989

October 29

6:00-

9:00pm

Russian Zakuska (dinner) for participants, contributors, faculty and students.

Program: William Endicott, US Olympic Coach, on "Competitive Paddling on the White Waters of Russia."

October 30

// 9:00am

FROM LENIN TO GORBACHEV, James H. Billington, author and historian, Librarian of Congress

// Paul Duke, of "Washington Week in Review", moderator for all panels.

9:30-

11:00

THEY WERE THERE

Nicholas Daniloff, journalist and educator
Alexandra Costa, Soviet defector, author, lecturer and computer consultant

William Luers, President, Metropolitan Museum of Art; former Ambassador to Czechoslovakia

11:00

Coffee Break

11:30

12:30pm

SORE SPOTS

John Coatsworth, Latin American Studies Center, University of Chicago

// Chester Crocker, former Assistant Secretary of State for Africa

Milan Svec, career Czech diplomat; US Defense University

1:00-

2:00

Buffet Luncheon, Reynolds Club (same building)

SEARCH FOR SOLUTIONS III: USA/USSR (CONTINUED)

2:00-

3:30

THE ART OF SELF DEFENSE

// Kenneth Adelman, Director, Institute for Contemporary Studies, former arms negotiator
Michael Moodie, Center for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University
John J. Mearsheimer, Department of Political Science, University of Chicago

*U.S. Arms Control
+ Disarm agency*

3:30-

5:00

WHAT IF PERESTROIKA SUCCEEDS?

James Cracraft, Harvard Center for Russian Studies

Richard P. McMahon, Vice President USSR Affairs, Abbott Laboratories

Stephen Sestanovich, Director of Soviet Studies, Center for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University

5:00-

6:00

Reception, Reynolds Club

6:00-

7:30

Dinner, Hutchinson Commons (same building)

// 7:30

THE WINDS OF CHANGE

The Honorable Max Kampelman, former Chief Negotiator for IMF treaties

*U.S. arms control
nuclear + space arms*

8/89

WMA

per CV

Mandel Hall, University of Chicago, 57th Street & University Avenue.
Parking available at Regenstein Library, entrance on 56th St. east of Ellis,
or at 55th St. and Ellis—after 4:00 p.m.

Paul Duke, moderator for all panel discussions

Washington Week in Review

FROM LENIN TO GORBACHEV

James H. Billington

Author and historian, Librarian of Congress

THEY WERE THERE

Nicholas B. Daniloff

Journalist and educator

Alexandra Costa

Soviet defector, author, lecturer and computer consultant

William H. Luers

President, Metropolitan Museum of Art; former Ambassador to
Czechoslovakia

SORE SPOTS

John H. Coatsworth

Latin American Studies Center, University of Chicago

Chester A. Crocker

Former Assistant Secretary of State for Africa

Milan Svec

Career Czech diplomat; US Defense University

THE ART OF SELF DEFENSE

Kenneth Adelman

Director, Institute for Contemporary Studies, former Director, U.S. Arms
Control and Disarmament Agency

Michael Moodie

Center for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University

John J. Mearsheimer

Department of Political Science, University of Chicago

WHAT IF PERESTROIKA SUCCEEDS?

James E. Cracraft

Harvard Center for Russian Studies

Richard P. McMahon

Vice President USSR Affairs, Abbott Laboratories

Stephen Sestanovich

Director of Soviet Studies, Center for Strategic and International Studies
at Georgetown University

Reception, Reynolds Club

Dinner, Hutchinson Commons

THE WINDS OF CHANGE

The Honorable Max M. Kampelman

Former Chief U.S. Arms Control Negotiator on Nuclear and Space Arms

Mary Ward Wolkonsky, Chairman
Neal Ball and Donald A. Petkus,
Vice-Chairmen and the Board of
Governors of International House

Center for Strategic and International
Studies, Georgetown University
Jamestown Foundation
National Strategy Forum
Prince Charitable Trusts

Albert Pick, Jr. Fund
American Airlines
Arthur Anderson & Co.
Chicago Convention and Visitors
Bureau
Chicago Tribune Foundation
Encyclopaedia Britannica
Ernst & Young
Forest Fund

FMC Corporation
W.W. Grainger
Joyce Foundation
Lloyd A. Fry Foundation
Merrill Lynch Pierce Fenner & Smith
Montgomery Foundation
Prince Charitable Trusts
Walgreen Company

Nina H. and James R. Donnelley
Foundation
Ford Motor Company Fund

Reservation Form

ADMISSION BY TICKET ONLY*

Please send me:

☐

Tickets for Conference

☐

Tickets for Buffet Lunch,
Reception and Dinner @ \$65

\$

Total Enclosed \$

**

Name

Address

City

State

Zip

Phone

Affiliation

*Thanks to a number of generous sponsors there will be no registration fee. To
receive your tickets send a stamped, self-addressed envelope to the address below.

**Make checks payable to International House and mail to:

A SEARCH FOR SOLUTIONS III: USA/USSR

International House

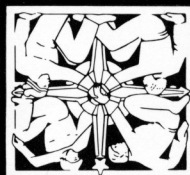
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Chicago, IL 60637

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You are invited to examine the rapidly shifting Soviet scene
through the eyes of fifteen highly experienced observers.
Should optimism or skepticism be the order of the day?
Your participation in this day-long conference can be
helpful in formulating an intelligent public opinion
vis-a-vis our relations with the Soviet Union.

Monday, October 30, 1989
9:00 a.m. - 9:00 p.m.



International House
at The University of Chicago
1414 E. 59th Street
Chicago, Illinois 60637

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A Search for Solutions III: USA/USSR

199

**presented by International House at
the University of Chicago
October 30, 1989, 9:00 a.m. - 9:00 p.m.**

MMK SCHEDULE
October 30, 31, 1989

MONDAY

- 6:45 Depart residence
7:30 Shuttle to NY
~~8:30~~ ~~DIAL A CAR TO CITY~~
9:45 Mtg w/Mayor Kollek in
Ken Bialkin's office
Skadden, Arps 212-735-3000
919 3rd Ave. , 43rd fl.
10:00 Jerusalem Fnd. Bd. Mtg.

2:00 Depart LaGuardia UA#75 #2A
3:16 Arrive O'Hare
Call 643-4003 for limo
Proceed to Park Hyatt
800 No. Michigan 280-2222
5:30 Limo to pick up at hotel
proceed to Internat'l House
for reception
6:00 Dinner
7:30 MMK Address

POC Harriett Clowes
312-753-2286

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June 14, 1989

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.

Enclosed is your copy of the fully executed contract with the International House of Chicago for your lecture engagement on October 30, 1989.

Thanks very much for your cooperation. If you have any further questions, please give me a call.

Sincerely,

Jim Jermanok

Enclosure

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PHONE-O-GRAM[®] for:

2-3:42 5:00
MMK

M Michael Joffe of _____

☒ Telephoned

☐ Returned your call

☐ Came in

☐ Will call again

☒ Please return the call

☒ See me

Message: re timing of board mtg on 10:30

11:00 - 2:00 ? I booked you on United # 00
leaves La Guardia at 3:00, arrives Chicago 4:42
Returning 10/31 at on United 606 at 9:30 arriving
12:08

Phone: _____ Date 7/28 Time pm By she

R

CHARLES BLITZER, DIRECTOR



October 24, 1989

The Honorable Max M. Kampelman
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson
Suite 800
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20004-2505

Dear Max:

Your new idea about our program structure is intriguing and, at least on quick consideration, seems to have much to commend it.

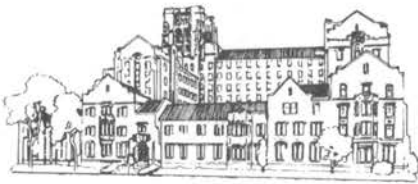
I am rather reluctantly setting off for India on Friday and expect to be back in about ten days. I will ask Sam to try to continue his discussions with our program directors in my absence (although two of them will be in India with me) and hope that after my return we can put together another paper for your Committee discussing the pros and cons of the various ideas that are now on the table.

Perhaps we could then try to arrange for your Committee to meet yet again early in December in the hope of coming up with something that everyone will find satisfactory.

I do hope that Maggie has now recovered, or is well on the way. With warm good wishes to you both,

As ever,

Charles Blitzer



INTERNATIONAL HOUSE OF CHICAGO

10/30

1414 East 59th Street
Chicago, Illinois 60637

Director's Office
(312) 753-2272

March 22, 1989

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Mr. Max Kampelman
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20004-2505

#75 2:01 - 3:16

Dear Mr. Kampelman:

I know that you have left government service but that does not make the slightest difference in our eagerness to have you participate in the Oct. 30 "Search for Solutions: U.S.A./U.S.S.R." at the University of Chicago. You wrote me a most gracious acceptance letter some time ago and of course you would not break a promise, especially to one who is convinced that there is no substitute for your expertise and your fluency.

The honorarium for all of our panelists is \$1500 plus expenses, and if that seems skimpy it is because we are bringing sixteen participants to this event, including the speaker for Sunday night.

I have not heard from your agent, but I do beg you to consider this conference an important commitment.

Sincerely yours,

Mary Wolkonsky
Mrs. Peter Wolkonsky
1040 Lake Shore Drive
Chicago 60611
312-787-9567

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March 1, 1989

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MAX M. KAMPELMAN
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Mrs. Peter Wolkonsky
1040 Lake Shore Drive
Chicago, Illinois 60611

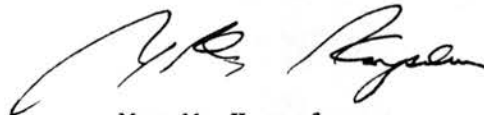
Dear Mrs. Wolkonsky:

Thank you for your letter of February 7, 1989, which was forwarded to me from the Department of State and which has just come to my attention.

I am no longer in government service. In the course of making that transition, it has been necessary for me to rearrange my schedule for the year. In view of the fact that I have been receiving a great many speaking requests, I have found it advantageous to develop a business relationship with a lecture bureau which is now handling all of my speaking engagements. This will probably make October 30th a commitment I will have to forego. Your invitation obviously did not presuppose an honorarium. I am, however, sending a copy of this letter and of our correspondence to my representative and I expect that you will be hearing from ICM Artists, Ltd.

All my best.

Sincerely,



Max M. Kampelman

INTERNATIONAL HOUSE OF CHICAGO

1414 East 59th Street
Chicago, Illinois 60637

Director's Office
(312) 753-2272

February 7, 1989

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The Hon. Max Kampelman
U. S. Dept. of State, Room 7250
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Kampelman:

I am so delighted and heartened by your gracious acceptance to take part in the "SEARCH FOR SOLUTIONS: U.S.A./U.S.S.R." taking place on October 30.

I want to bring you up to date on the progress of the conference so far, and also want to let you know that on Nov. 29 I wrote to Secretary Carlucci, urging him to also take part. Not surprisingly, I have not heard from him, but in case this invitation does ever come to his attention, I would certainly be grateful if you would tell him that you plan to be here, which should certainly prejudice him in our favor. I do realize that with the changing administrations, this is not the most auspicious time to get the attention of high-ranking government people.

If Secretary Carlucci cannot accept, what would you think of Gen. Powell? He is first on my list of alternatives, but you may also think of someone else as qualified. Don't suggest Paul Nitze, though as he has twice turned me down although he is an old friend and stems from the U. of C., his father having been a professor there.

I don't really mean to burden you with replying unless you feel so inclined---but you can't blame me for being appreciative of your ability to be helpful.

Sincerely,

Mary Wolkonsky
Mrs. Peter Wolkonsky
1040 Lake Shore Drive
Chicago 60611
312-787-9567

Program - A SEARCH FOR SOLUTIONS: U.S.A.-U.S.S.R. III

October 29 (at International House)

6:00 - 9:00 p.m. Russian Zakuska for participants, contributors, faculty, and students

~~Program.~~ Suzanne Massie, author, on the restoration of ~~Petrovsk~~ Palace, or William Endicott, Olympic Coach, on competitive paddling on the white waters of Russia

October 30 (at Mandel Hall - University of Chicago)

8:30 a.m. "From Lenin to Gorbachev," by Dr. James H. Billington, Librarian of Congress

Moderator Paul Duke (for all panels)

9:00 - 10:30 a.m. THEY WERE THERE

Nicholas Daniloff

Ambassador Arthur Hartman (tentative)

Alexandra Costa, Soviet defector, author, publisher, lecturer

10:30 a.m. Coffee Break

11:00 a.m. - SORE SPOTS

12:30 p.m.

Prof. John Coatsworth, Latin American Studies Center, University of Chicago

Chester Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa (tentative)

Ambassador Francis J. Meehan (East Germany, retired, not yet invited)

12:30 - 1:30 p.m. Buffet Luncheon, Reynolds Club (same building)

1:30 - 3:00 p.m. THE ART OF SELF-DEFENSE

Max M. Kampelman, former Chief Negotiator, INF Treaty

David M. Abshire, former Ambassador to NATO

Lt. Gen. Colin L. Powell, former National Security Advisor (not yet contacted)

3:00 - 4:30 p.m. WHAT IF PERESTROIKA SUCCEEDS?

Stephen Sestanovich, Director, Soviet Studies, Center for Strategic & International Studies, Georgetown University

James Cracraft, Harvard Center for Russian Studies

Dwayne Andreas, Chairman, Archer-Daniels-Midland Co.

(tentative), ~~or Secretary Clayton K. Yentler~~

5:00 - 6:00 p.m. Cocktail Reception, Reynolds Club

6:00 - 7:30 p.m. Dinner, Hutchinson Commons (same building)

7:30 p.m. Address, THE WINDS OF CHANGE



THE COUNSELOR
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

December 1, 1988

Mrs. Peter Wolkonsky
1040 Lake Shore Drive
Chicago, Illinois 60601

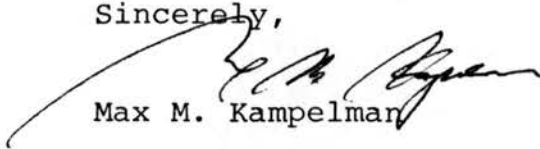
Dear Mrs. Wolkonsky:

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I have placed the date of October 30 on my calendar. It has been a while since I have been in Chicago and I look forward to the interesting meeting which you have outlined. Let me only say that in the event your plans do change, I would be available to move to other panels or to a speaking role other than a panel participant. I can be quite flexible.

All my best.

Sincerely,


Max M. Kampelman



INTERNATIONAL HOUSE OF CHICAGO

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Nov. 22, 1988

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The Hon. Max Kampelman
Counselor
U.S. Department of State
Room 7250
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Kampelman:

Having been enormously impressed with a talk which you gave to a group from the Executives Club of Chicago which I was invited to attend in Washington last spring, I am writing to invite you to take part in the third "Search for Solutions: U.S.A.-U.S.S.R." to be held at the University of Chicago next October 30.

The enclosed brochures from the first two conferences will give you an accurate idea of the format which will be followed in conference III. The keynote speaker will be Prof. Stephen Cohen of Princeton who will address the topic, "From Lenin to Gorbachev".

This will be followed by four panels, continuing all day, all moderated by Paul Duke. I have tentatively entitled these as follows, and welcome and respect your suggested changes, although the substance will remain the same:

THEY WERE THERE
THE SORE SPOTS
THE ART OF SELF-DEFENSE
WHAT IF PERESTROIKA SUCCEEDS?

The third panel is the one in which I hope you will participate, with David Abshire (from whom I have your address as well as his blessing,) and Secretary Carlucci, whom I have not yet approached. The after-dinner speaker, we have reason to hope, will be Pres. Nixon. We are able to offer an honorarium of \$1500 plus expenses, which sounds huge to me but probably sounds like peanuts to you. On the preceding evening, there will be a Russian "zakuska" held at International House for participants, contributors, and selected students and faculty. I have asked Suzanne Massie, author of "Land of the Firebird" and collaborator, with her husband, Robert, on "Nicholas and Alexandra" and "Peter the Great". *

Barbara Abbott of the Jamestown Foundation, was kind enough to check out your dates with your office and she finds that the date is free. So I hope I have been able to persuade you to lend your wit and wisdom to this event, which is of importance to the Chicago audience of just under 1000, the capacity of Mandel Hall. May I hear from you soon?

Hopefully,
Mary Wolkonsky
Mrs. Peter Wolkonsky

1040 Lake Shore Drive
Chicago 60601
312-787-9567

to give a program after dinner. Apologies!!
Located at The University of Chicago

Some quotations from letters received after the 1983 conference.

HARRISON SALISBURY: "I just want to congratulate you on the stunning symposium which you organized and express my appreciation for being able to have a small part in that brilliant cast of characters...It was an outstanding contribution to the enormous task of international understanding."

ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI: "I thought your conference was a great success and I very much enjoyed being with you."

DAVID ROCKEFELLER: "Just a word to tell you once again how much I enjoyed participating in the International House celebrations last week and to congratulate you on a brilliant job of organization. You really had put together an unusually varied and interesting group of speakers and panelists, and I felt, as I believe everyone did, that the event was a great success."

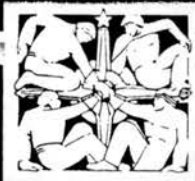
SEN. CHARLES PERCY: "Looking back over the past several months, the one opportunity I have had to reflect, think about the ultimately important, not just the immediately urgent, and to fully appreciate your unsurpassed ability to conceive of an idea and then fully execute it, is brought to mind whenever I think back to your U.S.A.- U.S.S.R. conference. It truly was a search for solutions that are very elusive and have gotten more difficult in recent weeks."

VLADIMIR SAKHAROV: "The conference was great. This is not only my personal opinion, but the opinion of everyone I met around the conference. We need more productive meetings like this, since they provide direct, often uncensored insights to the meaning and foundation of U.S.-Soviet relations. Your conference was of the best and most representative events I have ever attended."

JAMES W. VICE, DEAN OF STUDENT LIFE, ILL. INST. OF TECHNOLOGY: "We can expect few programs of such importance of substance and elegance of style, but you have certainly shown us what can be done."

CHARLES POTTER, PRINCE CHARITABLE TRUST: "You couldn't have had a more distinguished group of panelists, and the whole affair was conducted with style and dignity."

INTERNATIONAL HOUSE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



Volume II Number I

Spring 1987

A Search for Solutions: USA-USSR

When, three years ago, I was invited by the Governors of International House to plan a fiftieth anniversary celebration, the theme of some sort of international conference immediately came to mind. That being established, it did not take long to select the greatest issue of our times: our relationship with the Soviet Union. In 1983 and again in 1986, this has been the subject explored at the International House conferences by 34 different speakers and moderators, including a U.S. Secretary of State, four high-ranking Soviet defectors, a former SALT chief negotiator, a former C.I.A. Director, scholars and journalists.

There was a unanimous conclusion, even with such a variety of input, that our struggles with the other super-power will be continuing on one level or another for at least the next hundred years.

How to manage our differences and to prevent the dreaded prospect of open warfare is a continuing task for well-informed Americans—well-informed in the language, history, economics and psychology of our adversary.



Secretary of State George Shultz with Kate Levi, Board of Governors of International House, and Edward H. Levi, former President of the University of Chicago.

The conferences have been designed with a central idea in mind: that firm convictions are important, but only when based on serious study and broad and varied experience.

It is the opinion of the chairman of these two conferences that American universities and schools can perform no greater service to humankind than to focus on Soviet studies and to help develop a keen understanding of Soviet intentions, good, bad or indifferent.

Mary Ward Wolkonsky
Chairman of the Conference



Mary Ward Wolkonsky, conference Chairman, Board of Governors of International House, introducing Secretary of State George Shultz on November 17, 1986.



Dr. Jonathan E. Sanders, Assistant Director, W. Averell Harriman Institute for the Advanced Study of the Soviet Union, speaking after the Russian Zakuska honoring the participants and sponsors of the November 17 conference.



10/30

THE COUNSELOR
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

December 1, 1988

Mrs. Peter Wolkonsky
1040 Lake Shore Drive
Chicago, Illinois 60601

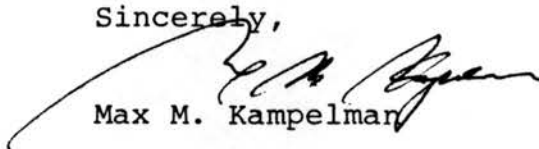
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All my best.

Sincerely,


Max M. Kampelman



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November 1, 1989

The Honorable Max M. Kampelman
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Johnson
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20004-2504

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

The enclosed article not only captures the basic themes of your stimulating and thoughtful address but also reflects the overall positive reaction of the audience to the conference itself. The Board of Governors of International House and I wish to echo that favorable response and express our thanks and gratitude to you for contributing to its successful outcome.

From its opening moments to the final questions asked at the end of the day, we realized that the purpose of the conference was being fulfilled. Sincere, thoughtful, and highly experienced participants exchanged views on probably the most troubling developments confronting our nation today. The quality and number of questions posed by the audience dramatized the seriousness of these issues.

By agreeing to participate in this conference, you enlightened many people on the complexities that confront us and helped point the way in our "Search for Solutions."

Again, thank you. And, by the way, we shall send you copies of the book containing transcripts of the speeches and panel discussions when it is completed.

Come again! You were Sincerely,
a success for. *Mary*

Mary Ward Wolkonsky
Conference Chairman

MWW:ja
Enclosures: 2

cc: Jerald C. Brauer



Welcoming remarks and introduction of **Paul Duke**,
moderator for all panel discussions, by
Mary Ward Wolkonsky,
Conference Chairman

9:00 a.m. **FROM LENIN TO GORBACHEV**

James H. Billington

Author and historian, Librarian of Congress

9:30 a.m. **THEY WERE THERE**

Herman Solomatin

Anchor, Soviet Television Committee, Benton Fellow, University of Chicago

Alexandra Costa

Soviet defector, author and lecturer

William H. Luers

President, Metropolitan Museum of Art; former Ambassador to Czechoslovakia

11:00 a.m. **SORE SPOTS**

John H. Coatsworth

Latin American Studies Center, University of Chicago

Chester A. Crocker

Former Assistant Secretary of State for Africa

Milan Svec

U.S. Defense University; career Czech diplomat

12:30 p.m. Luncheon break. Buffet in the Reynolds Club for holders of **red** tickets.



2:00 p.m. **THE ART OF SELF DEFENSE**

Kenneth Adelman

Director, Institute for Contemporary Studies; former Director, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

Michael Moodie

Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, D.C.

John J. Mearsheimer

Department of Political Science, University of Chicago

3:30 p.m. **WHAT IF PERESTROIKA SUCCEEDS?**

James E. Cracraft

Professor of Russian and Soviet History, University of Illinois at Chicago; former Fellow, Russian Research Center, Harvard University

Richard P. McMahon

Vice President, USSR Affairs, Abbott Laboratories

Steven Sestanovich

Director of Soviet Studies, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, D.C.

Following each panel discussion, questions will be taken from the audience.

5:30 p.m. Reception in Reynolds Club, followed by Dinner in Hutchinson Commons for holders of **blue** tickets.

7:30 p.m. Address "**THE WINDS OF CHANGE**" by
The Honorable Max M. Kampelman

Former Chief U.S. Arms Control Negotiator on Nuclear and Space Arms

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AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

A SEARCH FOR SOLUTIONS III USA/USSR

Monday, October 30, 1989

**Mandel Hall, University of Chicago
57th Street and University Avenue**

You are invited to examine the rapidly shifting Soviet scene through the eyes of fifteen highly experienced observers.

Should optimism or skepticism be the order of the day?

Your participation in this day-long conference can be helpful in formulating an intelligent public opinion vis-a-vis our relations with the Soviet Union.