



Max M. Kampelman Papers

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ARMS CONTROL AND U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS

Lecture by

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

The New School for Social Research
New York, New York

November 30, 1989

It has been ten months and ten days since I left government service with its different, exciting, and enriching challenges. My purpose this evening, in this academic setting, is to stand back and evaluate the impact of those experiences in understanding the dramatic world changes that are gripping our attention. I will share my thoughts with you and look for time for questions at the end of the lecture.

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", requires clarification. 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, as I see it, from the species homo sapiens to the species "human being."

This is a goal easy enough to state, but difficult to attain. 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.

In recent years, the task of reducing weapons has absorbed my energies. I do not denigrate the importance of that task 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. Our talks with the Soviet Union are designed to treat the disease as well. Our arms negotiations take place in the context of normalizing and stabilizing our overall relations with one another.

Last year, we signed and are now implementing the historic INF Treaty, the first agreement totally to eliminate two entire categories of nuclear weapons, all those with a range of 300 to 3,000 kilometers. A total of 2096 warheads -- 1667 Soviet and

429 American -- is now about to disappear. The treaty provides a stringent regime for verification, including on-site inspection. The INF agreement also stands for the principle of asymmetrical reductions to attain equality; it calls for the Soviets to destroy missiles capable of carrying four times as many warheads as those destroyed by the United States.

These features of the INF Treaty provide important precedents in our conventional arms reduction talks, which are seriously and constructively underway in Vienna, as well as in our START negotiations, where our goal, already incorporated in a joint draft 400 page treaty text, is to make deep approximate 50% reductions in strategic long-range weapons, those with a range longer than 3,000 kilometers capable of a sudden, transoceanic surprise attack.

Now let us put these important developments in perspective because they cannot be understood in isolation. The fundamental fact is that the world is changing so fast and so dramatically that they are beyond calculation, with newer, greater scientific and technological developments on the horizon that will probably make the awesome discoveries of our time dwarf by comparison.

In my early childhood, 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 believed to be 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. The average world standard of living has, by one estimate, quadrupled in the past century. Advanced computers (now theoretically capable of two billion calculations per second), new materials, new bio-technological processes are altering every phase of our lives, deaths, even reproduction.

A symphony orchestra recently played a concert in Japan in which a large steel and plastic robot performed as guest organist. The robot, which sight reads musical scores, played Bach, using its feet on the pedals as well as ten fingers on

the keys. In Australia, a robot sheared 200 sheep in one hour. The Nissan Motor Company reports that robot inspectors can check the paint finish on an automobile in just 1.2 minutes, whereas an experienced worker with a high level of concentration needs 45 minutes to complete a similar inspection. A patent also exists for a robot tractor which automatically plants, tends, and harvests crops. Scientists are working on glass fiber cables that carry the same amount of information in one second that copper wire carries in 21 hours, thus quintupling America's telephone capacity by next year, and eliminating one billion miles of copper wire in America.

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; and, yet, the world body politic is not consistently keeping pace with those realities. There is resistance as large numbers of people seem to be 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." They resist, and with a determined frenzy hold on to the familiar, the tribal, the traditional.

But the inevitable tomorrow is appearing. Developments in science and technology are fundamentally altering our material lives; and our social and political relationships as well. There are 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. I believe 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, Czechoslovakia, 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 a 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 do not always know 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, which makes it real, 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 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 at least 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 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. 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 as confidence-building measures or to verify agreements. 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.

Let me here add a parenthetical reference to the Middle East. It is becoming increasingly obvious that the traditional concept of sovereignty is an obstacle to conflict resolution in the area. It represents a slogan rather than a solution. A

solution of that problem will require 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 will have to be shared within a framework of confederation so that the people of the area are permitted to enter the 21st century with its opportunities.

One essential broader geo-political consequence of this new reality, with the awareness that there can be no true security for any one country in isolation, is that we must learn to accept in each of our countries a mutual responsibility for the peoples in other countries.

In this world of increasing interdependence, the lessons for the United States and the Soviet Union -- the most important security relationship in the present era -- are evident. 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.

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. 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.

It is significant to hear from President Gorbachev:

"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."

Recent reports indicate that Mr. Gorbachev may have second thoughts about his words, particularly as they apply to press freedoms. But 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.

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 has caused 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, may well be 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. At the Madrid CSCE meeting under the Helsinki Final Act, a united NATO helped forge a Western front which insisted that the words and promises of the Helsinki Final Act be taken seriously by the 35 countries that signed it. We served notice that its standards were the criteria toward which to aspire and by which states were to be judged. We patiently and persistently kept at it for three years and we prevailed.

The Soviet Union, at the time, insisted that the discussion of human rights was an improper interference in their internal affairs. As our efforts continued, however, they began to

raise questions about our own record, thereby acknowledging the propriety of the agenda item. By the end of the Madrid meeting in 1983, the Soviets joined the consensus in support of even broader human rights advances. When President Reagan asked me in 1985, at about the time Mr. Gorbachev assumed the direction of his government, 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.

Within this atmosphere of change, the prospects for increased trade and other economic contacts between the United States and the Soviet Union obviously improve. 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, [They are the only country in the world able to destroy us.] we favor the expansion of non-strategic, mutually beneficial trade with the Soviet Union, but insist that national security controls on sensitive items remain in place.

Let me here note a major concern in the economic area. Our objective is to help the Soviet society evolve toward joining us as a responsible member of the international community. We want to encourage the Soviet system to move away from an emphasis on massive military spending and, with us, to shift resources to meet vital domestic requirements. This means tough choices. But we must understand that this will not happen if Western capitalist countries rush in with cheap credits and price concessions. These will only defer the day of reckoning and allow the Soviets 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."

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 rival. 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 preserve or extend their system. 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. 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 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 illustration 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. Our societies contain vulnerable networks -- electricity grids, water systems, pipelines, telecommunication links. Modern society is seriously vulnerable to catastrophic disruption. Here we have an immediate challenge to the effectiveness of our evolving international community and of the Soviet Union's willingness to drop its support of terrorism and join us in a determined effort to eradicate it.

The American experience is undoubtedly the aspiration of peoples all over the world. The tremendous vitality of our democratic values is central to any agenda for the future. I have sometimes been asked why we risked allowing our concern about human rights 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 must seek to find a basis for understanding, security, stability, and peace with dignity.

To negotiate is risky. In the words of that outstanding 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."

Let me here digress for a moment to say a word about the task of negotiating with the Soviet Union. Some writers tell us that the Russians are inscrutable Orientals, products of a mysterious culture we can never hope to understand. Others

refer to the deep cunning of Russian peasants as explanation for their government's behavior. Still others portray the Russians as innocent, unsophisticated peasants, suspicious of foreigners, whose land has been overrun in the course of history by bloodthirsty invaders.

Sir William Hayter, a former British Ambassador to Moscow, once remarked that negotiating with the Soviet Union was like dealing with a recalcitrant vending machine. Sometimes it helps to put in another coin. Occasionally, it is useful to check the machine or even to kick it hard. But the one procedure which never seemed to do any good, he said, was to reason with it.

The fact of the matter, of course, is that all and none of the above are true. The Russian culture is a strong and distinct one, and we should do our best to understand it. The Russian people are a gifted people who have made an extraordinarily rich contribution to literature, art, music, and learning. The Russian community is historically a deeply moral and religious one. The old-fashioned Russian thinkers did not suffer from inferiority complexes and neither does the modern Soviet. Furthermore, the Soviet diplomat is a highly intelligent and well trained professional.

I have found the Soviets to be skilled negotiators with a keen understanding of the political pressure to which Western democratic institutions are usually susceptible. An American negotiator must begin with a reasonable position or he will be subject to criticism from the Congress, the press, the opposing political party, the academy, and, of course, our allies. Since Western culture is a problem solving one, furthermore, a deadlock in the negotiations is looked upon as frequently due to our inability to come up with the creative solution or concession to break the impasse. The Soviets, aware of this, are relentless in trying to create and exacerbate those pressures in hopes of converting them into concessions at the negotiating table which will cost them nothing in the way of reciprocal concessions. A key to dealing with Soviet negotiators is, therefore, sustained patience and determination to stay at the bargaining table at least one day longer than the Soviets are prepared to stay.

In 1843, the perceptive Marquis de Custine, wrote of his experience living in Russia:

"If better diplomats are found among the Russians . . . it is because our papers warn them of everything that happens and everything that is contemplated in our countries. Instead of disguising our weaknesses with prudence, we reveal them with vehemence every morning; whereas, the Russians' Byzantine policy working in the shadow, carefully conceals from us all that

is thought, done, and feared in their country. We proceed in broad daylight; they advance under cover. The game is one-sided. The ignorance in which they leave us blinds us; our sincerity enlightens them; we have the weakness of loquacity; they have the strength of secrecy."

Alex de Tocqueville, writing about the same time of his travels in the United States, shared this profound cultural realization and predicted the 20th Century confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union. He analyzed it as a test of whether democracy, symbolized by the United States, with its freedoms and its pluralistic dispersion of power and decision-making, could compete in foreign policy with authoritarian regimes such as that of Russia. "It is especially in the conduct of their foreign relations", he wrote, "that democracies appear to be decidedly inferior to other governments."

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 whose energies appear to emanate from pent-up resentments and long-desired opportunity to even things out?

Charles de Gaulle is reputed to have once said in exasperation about the French people: "How can one govern a people that make and eat 300 different kinds of cheeses?" I can imagine Gorbachev asking how can one govern a people that speak 129 languages?

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."

De Tocqueville wrote that the most dangerous time of an authoritarian regime is when it is undergoing change or reform. Others have pointed out 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.

There are problems ahead. There are opportunities ahead. There is also a history not easily obliterated from memory. 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." It is not only that the problems are great -- the mistrust is deep.

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 NATO and Western alliance, strong but confident, conscious of the reality of its own interest in a stable peaceful world.

The challenge is all the more real; the tasks ahead all the more complicated; the responsibility all the greater with the realization that it is not just the Soviet Union that is evolving in a rapidly changing world. The changes in East Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland and who knows where next are moving so fast and so unexpectedly that events may be outdistancing our ability to deal with them in a timely and rational manner. It is as if an earthquake is shaking the pillars of our familiar environment and we don't yet know its dimensions or the new geography we will face.

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 have now introduced the word "consensus" as an indispensable ingredient for effective foreign policy in our democracy. Effective diplomacy requires the realistic availability of power. But power today cannot be exercised effectively in our democracy without a broad consensus in support of that policy. Consensus -- not unanimity -- requires 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 continuing democracy in the world. 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 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.

Our changing world and evolving technology may be telling us that the future can lie with liberty, human dignity, and democracy. This awareness and the opportunities that flow from it may well be at the root for understanding the headlines of the day.

Thank you

E
EDELSTEIN

1088 Park Avenue, 5D
New York, New York 10128

November 21, 1989

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

Dear Max:

I am pleased that you were able to arrange to speak at the New School and was looking forward to having dinner with you afterwards at Jonathan Fanton's house.

Unfortunately I have come down with a bug - a little bit of pneumonia - and will therefore not be able to see you on the 30th.

We are spending Christmas in England this year but early next year I will give you a call as I would like to discuss with you a political theory project which is being developed in a seminar I am teaching at Yale.

In the meantime all the best wishes for the forthcoming holidays.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature, likely of the sender, consisting of a stylized 'E' and 'S' combined into a single fluid stroke.

KD:eo

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) 639-7006

DEX 6500 (202) 639-7005

DEX 6200 (202) 639-7004

DEX 6200 (202) 639-7003

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

January 30, 1990

Ms. Nancy Pugliese
Coordinator of Special Programs
New School for Social Research
60 West 12th Street, Room 703
New York, New York 10011

Dear Nancy:

I apologize for the delay in forwarding to you Ambassador Kampelman's expenses in connection with his lecture at the New School on November 30, 1989. These are as follows:

Sedan service to National airport	\$18.00
Shuttle to New York	49.00
Taxi to New School	32.00
Airfare to National Airport	71.11
Taxi to home	<u>15.00</u>
	\$185.11

I hope all was as expected. I have enclosed a clean copy of Ambassador Kampelman's address should you like one.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Sharon H. Dardine
Assistant to Max M. Kampelman



Omitted Material

These pages have not been digitized due to copyright considerations. The originals can be viewed at the Minnesota Historical Society's Gale Family Library in Saint Paul, Minnesota. For more information, visit

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JAMES H. EVANS

(F)

December 20, 1989

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

Dear Max:

Bless you for taking the time to look up the gross national product figures from Japan and the Soviet Union. Your figures have now put it all in perspective and it does indeed appear that our Japanese friends have outstripped the USSR. There has been a lot of confusion about the figures but you have given me exactly what I hoped somebody would finally dig out and I thank you for your splendid research and for sharing those figures with me.

It was marvelous seeing you at The New School lecture and dinner. You are an incredible "national resource," the nation has been fortunate beyond measure to have you in its service, and it was a great joy for Mary and me to share even a brief time with you, courtesy of the Jonathan Fantons. Please do let us see you whenever kind fortune brings you our way again, and, in the meantime, we join together in sending you and your family every good wish for a happy, healthy and prosperous New Year.

With continuing admiration.

Yours ever,



cc President and Mrs. Jonathan Fanton

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(202) 639-7000

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TELEX 892406

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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

December 14, 1989

Mr. James Evans
375 Park Avenue
Suite 2005
New York, New York 10152

Dear Jim:

It was good to see you the other evening and I appreciate your joining us at The New School for dinner. You have a heavy agenda and it was thoughtful of you to attend.

It is my recollection that you raised a question with me as to whether I was correct that Japan was outstripping the USSR in gross national product and now has the number two world ranking. I have double checked that statistic and find that it is correct. Japan's gross national product at the second quarter of 1989 was \$2.76 trillion. There are problems with the Soviet figures. If we apply the methodology of using U.S. prices to Soviet output the figure is \$2.72 trillion. If we apply Soviet prices to Soviet output, the figure is \$1.974 trillion. The geometric mean of the last two figures comes to \$2.535 trillion. In either event, Japan has forged ahead.

All my best.

Sincerely,



Max M. Kampelman

MMK:gs

MEMORANDUM

TO: Max Kampelman
FROM: Tom Mullins *TM*
RE: Japan v. USSR GNP
DATE: December 11, 1989

You are quite correct that Japan now oustrips the USSR in GNP and now has the number two world ranking.

The Gross National Product of Japan ending for the year ended at the Second Quarter of 1989 was \$2.76 trillion. Because of Soviet pricing there are three methodologies for arriving at the 1988 Soviet GNP: Applying US prices to Soviet output (2.72 trillion); applying Soviet prices to Soviet output (1,974 trillion) and; the geometric mean of the last two figures (2.535 trillion). Either way, Japan wins.

EVPMS

The Rose and Erwin Wolfson Center for National Affairs

Serious discussion of major national issues has been at the heart of The New School since our founding in 1919. The Rose and Erwin Wolfson Center has been established to provide for examination and debate of issues that concern us all as citizens of a democracy by sponsoring timely lectures and short courses on current events and controversies as they are thrust into national prominence.

The New School Commentator

Editor, Robert L. Heilbroner, *Norman Thomas Professor Emeritus in the Graduate Faculty, Senior Fellow of the Rose and Erwin Wolfson Center for National Affairs.*

This fall, the Wolfson Center begins publishing *The New School Commentator*, a letter of opinion and policy to appear monthly during the academic year. Written by Professor Heilbroner and other members of the New School's various faculties, the letters will mainly be devoted to issues of public policy that are relevant to the general educational purposes of the New School for Social Research. Inquiries should be addressed to The New School, Office of Special Programs, 66 West 12th Street, room 703, New York, NY 10011.

A0301 Arms Control and U.S.-Soviet Relations

A 1 session. Thurs., 6:00-7:30 pm, Nov. 30. \$7.

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman

Ambassador Kampelman served as Head of the United States Delegation to the Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Arms in Geneva between 1985 and 1989. He discusses fundamental issues of arms control and the implications of current arms control proposals for the future of U.S.-Soviet relations. (NC)

A0302 Perspectives on U.S. National Security

A 4 sessions. Wed., 6:00-7:30 pm, beg. Oct. 4. \$30; single admission \$10.

Joseph E. Goldberg, *Professor of Research, National Defense University*

The first of a two-part series on U.S. national security begins with lectures by individuals who are or have been involved in formulation and implementation of national security policy in recent administrations. In the spring semester, the second series will feature individuals whose positions have been opposed to these neo-conservative policies. Emphasis in both parts of this series is on the problem of properly defining the vital security interests of the United States and how those interests may transcend the issues of the moment. Our guests present and discuss their views on the challenges to and opportunities for enhancing our national security in the context of contemporary political life.

Oct. 4 The National Interest and American Security: **Eugene Rostow**, Distinguished Professor of Research, National Defense University.

Oct. 18 Glasnost and Perestroika, Challenges and Opportunities for the United States: **David Powell**, Russian Research Center, Harvard University.

Nov. 1 Democratic Values and American Security Policy: **Marc Plattner**, Endowment for Democracy.

Nov. 15 The Challenge of the Americas — Central America and U.S. National Security: Guest to be announced. (NC)

New School Bulletin — Fall Course Offerings
Volume 74, No. 1
August 3, 1989 (p. 18)

A0305 The Supreme Court and Daily Life: Who Will the Court Protect in the 1990s

A 1-day conference. Sat., 9:30 am-5:00 pm, Oct. 21. \$20.

In association with The Nation Institute
Denis Berger, *Executive Director*

As the United States Supreme Court enters into its 200th year, a new majority of conservative justices seems to be taking it in new directions in the areas of affirmative action, civil rights, and reproductive freedom. The New School and The Nation Institute are pleased to sponsor this conference on the changing relationship of the Supreme Court to civil rights and personal liberties as seen in the light of recent decisions.

9:30 Keynote Address

10:30-12:00 Panel Discussion

A Historical Examination of the Supreme Court and the Issues of Privacy, Quality of Life, and Discrimination: **Haywood Burns**, Dean, CUNY Law School (moderator); **Arthur Kinoy**, Professor of Law, Rutgers Law School; **Rhonda Copelon**, Professor of Law, CUNY Law School; **Denise Carty-Bennia**, Professor of Law, Northeastern University Law School.

1:30-5:00 Topical Discussions

Reproductive and Sexual Freedom: **Janet Benshoof**, Director, ACLU Reproductive Freedom Project; **Tom Stoddard**, Executive Director, Lambda Legal Defense & Education Fund.

Housing and Privatization: **Richard Rivera**, staff attorney, Puerto Rican Defense & Education Fund; **Andy Scherer**, coordinator attorney in housing law, Community Action for Legal Services.

Race and Gender Discrimination: **Frank Deale**, staff attorney, Center for Constitutional Rights; **Judith Reed**, Asst. Counsel, NAACP Legal Defense & Education Fund.

The Rights of Criminal Defendants: **Larry Smith**, Project Director, National Conference of Black Lawyers; **Holly McGuigan**, Director, NYU Law School Criminal Law Clinic. (NC)

A0306 Contemporary Legal Issues: An Assessment of Supreme Court Decisions

A 6 sessions. Tues., 7:45-9:30 pm, beg. Nov. 7. \$125.

Bonnie H. Weinstein, Esq., *coordinator*

The U.S. Supreme Court as reconstituted over the last eight years is and will be addressing some of the most complex and challenging legal issues of our time. In this series of discussions, legal experts examine the following topics on which the present court is expected to rule: Church and state and how the lines separating them are being redrawn; abortion — the rights involved and the ramifications of new interpretations of these rights; race and sex discrimination and the impact of Reagan's appointees on affirmative action policies; *Miranda* revisited and a reassessment of the rights of suspected criminals; economic liberties as seen through the prism of a reconstituted Supreme Court. Participants are expected to include: **John Sexton**, Dean of the NYU Law School; **Gordon Korowitz**, Esq., Editor of *The Wall Street Journal*; **Steven R. Shapiro**, Esq., Assoc. Director, ACLU-N.Y. Chapter; **David N. Lawrence**, Chief of General Crimes Unit, U.S. Attorney's Office for the Southern District of N.Y.; **Sara Burns**, Legal Director, NOW Legal Defense & Education Fund; **Ellen Yaroshefski**, Professor of Law, Cardozo School of Law; **Rachel Pine**, attorney for the ACLU's Reproductive Freedom Project. (NC)

PHONE-O-GRAM[®] for:

M Irma Palmeri of New School

☐ Telephoned
☐ Will call again

☐ Returned your call
☐ Please return the call

☐ Came in
☐ See me

Message: confirming dinner immediately
after lecture - 7:30
21 W. 11th St

Phone: 212-741-5662 Date _____ Time 2:00 By JS

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11/30

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

66 WEST 12TH STREET

NEW YORK, N.Y. 10011

741-5656

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June 28, 1989

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

yes // I was delighted to learn that you will be speaking on "Arms Control and United States - Soviet Relations" at the New School this fall. Since I believe it will be one of the most interesting events of the semester, I hope you will be able to accept my invitation to be guest of honor for dinner on Thursday, November 30, at the University Residence, 21 West 11th Street. I will also be inviting other friends of the University, and I look forward to a most interesting and enjoyable evening.

Dinner will take place immediately following your course. Please call Elena Ruocco Bachrach in my office, 212/741-5656, with your reply.

I very much hope you will be able to join us.

Keith David

Sincerely,

Jonathan F. Fanton
Jonathan F. Fanton

JFF/lp

The Honorable Max M. Kampelman
Fried, Frank, Harris,
Shriver and Jacobson
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004

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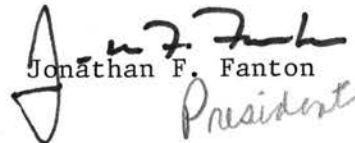
February 27, 1989

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

Keith David has indicated to me your willingness to come to the New School next fall to share some of your ideas with us. This letter is to invite you formally to speak at the New School. Your role in the disarmament negotiations and familiarity with disarmament issues offer rare insight into one of the most important questions of our time. The many New Yorkers who constitute the New School's public would benefit enormously from your thoughts on this and related issues.

I am asking Gerald Heeger, Dean of the New School, to contact you to discuss further the possibility of you joining us.

Sincerely,


Jonathan F. Fanton
President

title
"Arms Control
& Soviet
Relations"

JFF/cmc

The Honorable Max M. Kampelman
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriber and Jacobson
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, Northwest
Suite 800
Washington, D.C. 20004

Dean Heeger
741-5613

Nancy Pugliese
dr. sp. programs
741-5353

Freedom
1 hour
3:30-5:30
6-7:30

6-7:30
Nov. 8
(1)

taped
podium & table

11/30

between 5th & 6
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5:30 PM 310

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waiting 212-741-5353
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(213) 689-5800

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LONDON, EC2R 7AD, ENGLAND

(01) 600-1541

TELEX: 887606

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

(202) 639-7020

September 13, 1989

Dean Gerald A. Heeger
Office of Special Programs
New School for Social Research
66 West 12th Street Room 703
New York, New York 10011

Dear Dean Heeger:

Thank you very much for your most gracious letter of September 5. It answered a number of my questions as to the format and other related details. I look forward to meeting you and to being with you and your associates on November 30.

All my best.

Sincerely,



Max M. Kampelman

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH
THE NEW SCHOOL
66 WEST 12TH STREET ROOM 703
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10011
(212) 741-5353

OFFICE OF SPECIAL PROGRAMS

September 5, 1989

Ambassador Max Kampelman
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW - suite 800
Washington, DC 20004

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

1 I would like to thank you for accepting our invitation to The New School this Fall to participate in A0301 Arms Control and U.S. Soviet Relations. I have created the Office of Special Programs to assist you with all the arrangements for the course. Nancy Pugliese, coordinator of special programs and her staff, Arlene Williams and Mae Redberg will help you prepare to make this a special evening. Please contact Nancy Pugliese if you need any assistance. The following is an update and confirmation of the plans for the course.

DATE AND TIME

Thursday, Nov. 30, 6:00-7:30pm
at The New School
66 West 12th Street at Sixth Avenue

MEETING PLACE

We will contact you before the class and give you specific instructions but one of the Special Programs staff will greet you at the reception desk in the main lobby.

GUESTS

A limited number of your guests can be invited for the evening. Please provide us with a list of their names well in advance of the lecture and we will try to accommodate them.

CATALOG INFORMATION

For your information, you will be receiving the bulletin in early September. Please refer to page 18 in the Special Lectures section for the course description.

CHECKLIST

Please review the enclosed checklist and return it to the Office of Special Programs. Your cooperation is requested so all arrangements can be made well in advance of the beginning of the semester.

I look forward to greeting you at the school this Fall. Again, please contact Nancy Pugliese at (212) 741-5353, if you have any questions or you need additional information. Thank you.

Yours truly,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Gerald A. Heeger".

Gerald A. Heeger
Dean

enc.

B'NAI B'RITH INTERNATIONAL

INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL

DR. WILLIAM KOREY
Director
INTERNATIONAL POLICY
RESEARCH

November 8, 1989

823 United Nations Plaza
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(212) 557-0018, 19

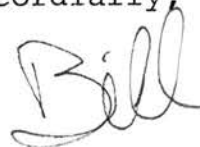
Ambassador Max Kampelman
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver and Jacobson
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20004

Dear Max:

You may be especially interested in the attached. Someone mentioned to me that you will be giving a lecture at the New School on arms control. I'd welcome to be invited, if possible, and, more importantly, I'd welcome the opportunity of seeing you in New York. Is that feasible? Breakfast, lunch, dinner, or otherwise.

Warm personal regards.

Cordially,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Bill".

William Korey

WK:rm

186

NEAR EAST REPORT

October 30, 1989

GUEST COLUMN

Repeal "Zionism Equals Racism"



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