Max M. Kampelman Papers

Copyright Notice:

Version 3
August 20, 2018

FINAL

"A PERSPECTIVE FOR INTERNATIONAL CHANGE"

1990 W. HAROLD ROW SYMPOSIUM

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

Bridgewater College
Bridgewater, Virginia

January 8, 1990

In less than two weeks it will be one year since I left government service with its different, exciting, and enriching challenges. I should like to use this occasion to stand back and evaluate the dramatic world changes which we are all living through and which 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 <u>homo</u> <u>sapiens</u> 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.

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. The changes are beyond calculation, perhaps as great as any that have taken place in all of mankind's previous history, with newer, greater scientific and technological developments on the horizon that will probably make the awesome discoveries of our time dwarf by comparison.

Two years ago, the world passed the five billion population mark. It took millions of years to reach the first billion in 1800. It took only 130 years to reach the second billion in 1930; 30 years to reach the third billion in 1960; 15 years to reach the fourth billion in 1975; 12 years to reach the fifth billion in 1987; and, we are told, we may reach the sixth

billion in 1998. About 17% of all the people who ever lived since the beginning of Man are alive today.

During the childhood of some in this audience, 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; and no transistors.

During my lifetime, medical knowledge available to physicians has probably increased more than ten-fold. More than 80% of all scientists who ever lived are alive today. More than 100,000 scientific journals annually publish the flood of new knowledge that pours out of the world's laboratories. The average life span is now nearly twice as great as it was when my grandparents were born. 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 1990, 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.

What we have instead been observing is an intense fractionalization, as large numbers of peoples have had their emotions inflamed by nationality and religious appeals. It is as if a part of us is saying: "Not so fast. Stop the world. We want to get off. We are not ready. We are not prepared for this new world we are being dragged into. We will resist the pressures by holding on tight and with a determined frenzy to the familiar, the tribal, the traditional!" This phenomenon cannot be ignored as religion, nationalism, race and ethnicity make themselves increasingly felt in the world body-politic.

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, Panama, Paraguay, the Soviet Union, East Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, 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. Even in Latin America, a region we grew up believing to be governed by military dictatorships and tyrannies, record numbers of people today live, if precariously, in democracies or near democracies. The latest 1989 authoritative Freedom House survey shows that, for the first time in its publishing history, more countries are "free" (61), governing larger numbers of people (2.0344 billion), than are "partly free" or "not free." Indeed, 108 countries governing more than 3.2 billion people are today either "free" or "partly free."

Hannah Arendt, the distinguished and perceptive social scientist, reflected the significance of this human ingredient when she wrote in her 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. Free peoples go together with free markets; state-controlled centralized planning cannot succeed in the modern world.

As national boundaries are buffeted by change, the nations of the world become ever more interdependent. 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 learn 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.

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 will not come from either withdrawing from the world or attempting national impregnability. Instead, we must learn to accept in each of our countries a mutual responsibility for the peoples in other

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

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

Yet the danger is a real and potentially increasing one. Nuclear weapons and the skills necessary to build them are no longer the exclusive possession of the superpowers. These, along with ominous chemical and bacterialogical weapons, are today capable of being acquired by the irresponsible and the lawless. Furthermore, as Senator Sam Nunn recently stated in an important speech, our society is a society of vulnerable networks -- electricity grids, water systems, pipelines, telecommunication links. Putting aside risks from acts of sabotage and terrorism -- and they cannot be put aside for long -- 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.

In this world of increasing interdependence, the lessons for the United States and the Soviet Union -- the most important security relationship in the present era -- are evident. For nearly half a century, we have looked at international relations through the prism of our relations with one another. We cannot escape from one another. We are bound together in an equation that makes the security of each of us dependent on that of the other.

Our two countries must come to appreciate that just as the two sides of the human brain, the right and the left, adjust

their individual roles within the body to make a coordinated and functioning whole, so must hemispheres of the body-politic, North and South, East and West, right and left, learn to harmonize their contributions to a whole that is healthy and constructive in the search for lasting peace with liberty.

We are told by Soviet leaders that through the process of internal transformation that is demanded by the new technologies, they comprehend that repressive societies in our day cannot achieve inner stability or true security; that it is in their best interest to permit a humanizing process to take place; and that their domestic requirements are their highest priority.

Without doubt, Soviet leadership faces the urgent need for drastic internal changes if the Soviet Union is to 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.

Looking at health care, by way of further illustration, a total of 1,200,000 beds are in hospitals with no hot water; every sixth bed is in a hospital with no running water; 30% of Soviet hospitals do not have indoor toilets. One-half of Soviet elementary schools have no central heating, running water, or sewage systems. All of these are figures officially released by Soviet authorities. 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.

In the past seven years, we have seen more than 20.6 million new jobs created in the United States, a 5.3% drop in our unemployment rate to its lowest level in 15 years, a 23% increase in real GNP per capita, and a reduced inflation rate, which had been at double digits, to an average of 3.5%. Contrary to what is often reported, these gains in employment and income have been widely though still inequitably shared by all major demographic groups in our country. Annual employment has grown by 2.4% for whites, 4.3% for blacks, 7% for Hispanics, and 6% for black teenagers. Further, nearly

two-thirds of these jobs have been in higher-paid skilled occupations. We have every reason to be proud of our system, even with its remaining inadequacies, and of the human values which have governed us.

It is also 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."

We hear the Soviet words with hope that the deeds and reality will indeed follow the rhetoric. Recent reports indicate that Mr. Gorbachev may have second thoughts about his words, particularly as they apply to press freedoms. We hope, however, 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 fully 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 is not easy for many of us to change the prism of our accustomed spectacles for clearer viewing. Many cannot believe what we appear to see. Our need, indeed, may well be to supplement 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.

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. Our talks try to treat the disease as well. All subjects are on the table.

Our arms negotiations take place in the context of normalizing and stabilizing our overall relations with the Soviet Union. Last year, we signed and began to implement the historic INF Treaty, the first agreement totally to eliminate 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 U.S. -- 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 50% reductions in strategic long-range weapons, those capable of a sudden, transoceanic surprise attack.

Within this atmosphere of change, the prospects for increased trade and other economic contacts between our two countries 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, (it is the only military force capable of attacking and destroying the U.S.), 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 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. Soviet leaders unabashedly acknowledge the failure to date of their system to meet the economic and social needs of their people. Our hope is to encourage the Soviet system to move

away from an emphasis on massive military spending and, with us, 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 has been 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. 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 American experience is undoubtedly the aspiration of peoples all over the world. The Soviet Union knows it cannot exempt itself from the slow but 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 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 public servant and great American, 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 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?

Let me here digress for a moment to say a word about the task of negotiating with the Soviet Union. Some writers have told us that the Russians are inscrutable Orientals, products of

a mysterious culture we can never hope to understand. Others have referred to the deep cunning of Russian peasants as explanation for their government's behavior. Still others portrayed 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 negotiatior 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 tensions that have characterized our relations with the Soviet Union are real. Our problems have been too profound to be thought of as being resolved by quick fixes, super negotiators, a summit, or a master-draftsman capable of formulating language to overcome differences. The leadership of the Soviet Union is serious. Their response in a negotiation is motivated by one primary consideration: their perceived national self-interest.

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. 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.

Russians today are experiencing inner national tensions in the Soviet Union as they face problems of discrimination in areas where they live as minorities. These are exacerbated as their traditional family structure shows signs of crumbling: 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. Productivity is low, illustrated by the quote: "We pretend to work and they pretend to pay us". 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. 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."

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. There are problems ahead. There are opportunities ahead. But, of course, the basis for international skepticism also remains as we look at Cuba, Soviet bloc military assistance to Nicaragua, the continued 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 a rapidly changing 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.

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 indispendable ingredient for effective foreign policy in our democracy. Effective diplomacy requires the realistic availability of power. Indeed, it has been said that diplomacy without arms is like music without instruments. 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. Chesteron 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. Abraham Lincoln 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 the world. In fulfilling our responsibility as citizens of this democracy, there is no room for moral 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 in that direction, if we permit our democratic values to provide the guidelines for that 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.

General and former Secretary of State George Marshall once observed: "If Man does find a solution to world peace, it will be the most revolutionary reversal of his record we have ever known." We must reverse the record of history. That must be the commitment of the United States.

Thank you.

W. HAROLD ROW

A native of Junior, West Virginia, Dr. Row received his Bachelor's degree from Bridgewater College in 1933. In 1939, he received the Master of Arts degree from the University of Pennsylvania and a Bachelor of Divinity degree from Crozer Theological Seminary that same year. Throughout his college career and after, Dr. Row served as pastor of a number of Brethren churches.

The Brethren Service Commission selected Dr. Row to be the national director of Brethren Civilian Public Service in 1942. In 1946, he was appointed associate secretary of the Brethren Service Commission and after a short time served as its executive secretary.

Dr. Row made significant contacts with American and foreign officials in the fields of religion and government as a representative for the Church of the Brethren and the National and World Council of Churches. He was also actively involved in leadership positions with a number of humanitarian organizations.

In 1952, he co-founded International Voluntary Services, a prototype of the Peace Corps, which sends young agricultural and educational specialists abroad. In 1963, and again in 1967, he was instrumental in carrying out a four-part exchange between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Church of the Brethren. He also initiated an exchange of professional agriculturalists from Poland and Bulgaria.

At the request of the authorities of the State of Illinois, Dr. Row accepted responsibility for the supervision and ultimate rehabilitation of Nathan Leopold, a long-term inmate.

Dr. Row was recognized for his contributions to the church and humanity in 1966, when he was awarded an Honorary Doctor of Humane Letters degree from his alma mater, and again in 1970, when he received its Distinguished Alumnus Award. In 1950, Bethany Theological Seminary awarded him the Honorary Doctor of Divinity degree.

At the time of his death in 1971, Dr. Row was the Washington Representative and the Executive for the Interchurch Relations of the Church of the Brethren, heading the denomination's Washington, D.C., office.

1990 W. Harold Row Symposium

January 8-9, 1990

Cole Hall

Bridgewater College

Bridgewater, Virginia

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

Dr. Max M. Kampelman, a lawyer, diplomat and educator, was Counselor of the Department of State and, since March, 1985, Ambassador and Head of the United States Delegation to the Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Arms in Geneva. In January, 1989, he returned to his position as a partner in the Washington, New York, Los Angeles and London law firm of Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson. He serves today as Chairman of Freedom House, Chairman of the Board of Governors of the United Nations Association, and Chairman of the Jerusalem Foundation.

President Reagan awarded Dr. Kampelman with the Presidential Citizens Medal, which recognizes "citizens of the United States who have performed exemplary deeds of service for their country or their fellow citizens". He also received the Knight Commander's Cross of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Dr. Kampelman is a Trustee, by Presidential Appointment, of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, which he previously served as Chairman. He was appointed by President Carter and reappointed by President Reagan to serve as Ambassador and Head of the U.S. Delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. He previously was a Senior Advisor to the U.S. Delegation to the United Nations and served as Legislative Counsel to U.S. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey.

An educator, Dr. Kampelman received his J.D. from New York University and his Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Minnesota, where he taught from 1946 to 1948. He has also served on the faculties of Bennington College, Claremont College, the University of Wisconsin, and Howard University. He has served on the governing boards of a number of universities and has received honorary Doctorate degrees from New York University, the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, University of Minnesota, Georgetown University, Bates College, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Bar-Ilan University of Israel, and Hebrew Union College.

Dr. Kampelman was the founder and moderator of the public affairs program on public television, "Washington Week in Review."

The 1990 W. Harold Row Symposium

features

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

Lawyer -- Diplomat -- Educator
Former Ambassador and Head of the United States Delegation
to the Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Arms in Geneva

Public Lecture

A PERSPECTIVE FOR INTERNATIONAL CHANGE

7:30 p.m., Monday, January 8

Convocation

PANEL DISCUSSION WITH AMBASSADOR KAMPELMAN

9:10 a.m., Tuesday, January 9

W. Harold Row Memorial Endowment Committee

Raymond R. Peters, Chairman
Sebring, FL

William Z. Cline
Evanston, IL

John C. Eller
Washington, DC

Leona Row Eller
Washington, DC

Wayne F. Geisert
Bridgewater, VA

Hazel Peters
Roanoke, VA

Orion Y. Row
Chevy Chase, MD

Brydon M. DeWitt, Executive Secretary
Bridgewater, VA

Honorary Members

S. Loren Bowman
LaVerne, CA

Elmer Gertz
Chicago, IL

Robert G. Greiner
Elgin, IL

Rufus B. King
North Manchester, IN

Don Murray
Santa Barbara, CA

Robert W. Neff
Elgin, IL

M. Guy West
Bridgewater, VA

GOOD PRINTERS

The Bridgewater Story

Bridgewater College was established in 1880 as Spring Creek Normal School and Collegiate Institute by Daniel Christian Flory, a young progressive leader in the Church of the Brethren, who had studied at the University of Virginia. A few years later, in 1889, the school became Bridgewater College.

The founder and those who followed were devout individuals who saw education as a great liberating influence and the founding and nurturing of a college striving toward Christian idealism as a way of opening doorways to abundant and purposeful living. From the outset, the College was built on the Jeffersonian ideals of freedom of thought and expression and the recognition of the rights of each student to the full development of his or her potential.

Bridgewater has been coeducational from its beginning. Thus, the College was the first institution in Virginia to offer women equal opportunities with men for higher education.

The admissions policy established in the 1880's is valid today; that is, to consider applicants on the basis of their desire for knowledge, their moral character, and their capacity to profit by experience in college. Because of this early posture, Bridgewater became the first predominently white college in the Commonwealth to admit students of all races.

Through the years, Bridgewater has remained faithful to its basic philosophy while growing in academic stature and serving the needs of students through innovative programs appropriate to the times. Located in a state with a long tradition of strength in both private and public higher education, it has contributed significantly to this tradition of excellence. It has acquired an outstanding academic reputation based on its demonstrated capability to prepare students for graduate study, business, and the professions.

the World Council of Churches. Through his efforts, progress was made in the areas of peace, relief, rehabilitation, technical assistance, and community development. Wherever he traveled, he made lasting friendships with individuals whose love and admiration for him have extended beyond his lifetime.

In 1952, he co-founded International Voluntary Services, a prototype of the Peace Corp, which sends young agricultural and educational specialists abroad. In 1963, and again in 1967, he was instrumental in carrying out a four-part exchange between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Church of the Brethren. He also initiated an exchange of professional agriculturalists from Poland and Bulgaria.

At the request of the authorities of the State of Illinois, Dr. Row accepted responsibility for the supervision and ultimate rehabilitation of Nathan Leopold, a long-term inmate. Through the efforts of Dr. Row and the Church of the Brethren, Mr. Leopold became an exemplary citizen, rendering notable humanitarian service throughout the remainder of his life.

Dr. Row was recognized for his contributions to the church and humanity in 1966 when he was awarded an Honorary Doctor of Humane Letters degree from his alma mater and again in 1970 when he received its Distinguished Alumnus Award. In 1950 Bethany Theological Seminary had awarded him the Honorary Doctor of Divinity degree.

At the time of his death in 1971 Dr. Row was the Washington Representative and the Executive for Interchurch Relations of the Church of the Brethren heading the denomination's Washington, D. C. office.

W. Harold Row

A native of Junior, West Virginia, Dr. Row received his Bachelor's degree from Bridgewater College in 1933. In 1939 he received the Master of Arts degree from the University of Pennsylvania and a Bachelor of Divinity from Crozer Theological Seminary that same year. Throughout his college career and after, Dr. Row served as pastor of a number of Brethren churches.

The Brethren Service Commission selected Dr. Row to be the national director of Brethren Civilian Public Service in 1942. In 1946 he was appointed associate secretary of the Brethren Service Commission and after a short time served as its executive secretary.

Dr. Row served as chairman of the National Service Board for Religious Objectors and as chairman of Christian Rural Overseas Programs (CROP). He was vice-chairman of International Voluntary Services, the Church Peace Mission, and the American Committee for the Christian Peace Conference. He was a member of the General Board and of the Program Boards of the Divisions of Overseas Ministries and of Christian Life and Mission of the National Council of Churches. Dr. Row was also a member of its departments of Church World Service, International Affairs, Social Welfare, and Denominational Staff Council. He was a member of the Board of Directors of Heifer Project, Inc., CARE, Agricultural Missions, the American Council of Volunteer Agencies, Eirene, Puidoux Theological Peace Conference, and he was a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Continuation Committee of Historic Peace Churches, the National Conference of Social Work, and the Citizens Committee for the World Health Organization.

Dr. Row made significant contacts with American and foreign officials in the fields of religion and government as a representative for the Church of the Brethren, the National and

c) Working closely with the Department of Religion and Philosophy in the development of interdisciplinary courses dealing with Christian and other religious perspectives on international concerns and reconciliation of differences;

d) Conducting an annual Row Symposium.

II. W. Harold Row Symposium on Reconciliation ..... $100,000.

The Row Symposium will be held for the purpose of examining approaches to conflict resolution on individual, local, state, national, and international levels. Lasting for two or more days each year, it will involve the best available minds from areas related to academic life, government and politics, religious life, etc. A feature of the annual symposium will be a keynote address by a distinguished person selected each year as the W. Harold Row Lecturer.

Total Funding Required ..... $600,000.

The W. Harold Row Memorial Endowment

The establishment of the W. Harold Row Chair and Symposium will be a meaningful, productive extension of Row's life of Christian service. In a world of differences, misunderstandings, and resulting tragedies, it is of vital importance to examine non-combative alternatives to the solutions of human problems. It is appropriate that this examination be conducted on a college campus so that generations of young people—our promise for building and keeping peace—will be exposed to prominent scholars and public figures in international relations. Through the resulting study and discussions, the ways to lasting peace can be explored and may ultimately be achieved. It is especially fitting that this occur at Bridgewater, the College which served as the intellectual and spiritual springboard for Dr. Row and numerous other humanitarian and church leaders.

I. W. Harold Row Chair of International Studies ..... *$500,000.*

The addition of this chair will significantly strengthen the International Studies Program currently being offered at Bridgewater College. The scholar named to the Row Chair will be responsible for:

a) Further developing Bridgewater's curriculum in International Studies;

b) Developing elective courses which will broaden the understanding of world affairs on the parts of Bridgewater students from all major fields with particular attention being directed to the matters of positive relationships among peoples of the various cultures;

W. Harold Row, churchman and Christian diplomat, devoted his life to discovering ways of reconciling differences among peoples of the world. Through achieving better understanding between one person and another or one group and another, Dr. Row believed the world could be brought closer to lasting peace.

The following pages describe a program to memorialize Dr. Row within the educational program at Bridgewater College to carry forward in perpetuity the work which Dr. Row began.

W. Harold Row
Memorial Endowment

W. Harold Row Memorial Endowment

Bridgewater College

Make the most of your visit . . .

Plan Ahead . . .

Tell us a few days in advance that you're planning a visit so we can make arrangements for you. We'll take care of all the details as soon as we know you're planning a visit.

A visit to Bridgewater College will give you a feeling about the campus you can only get by being here. You'll meet people who'll be friendly and helpful to you. Your questions will be answered directly and fully. You'll see us as we really are—no pretentions or company manners.

Remember, when you visit the campus, there will be an exchange of information. You'll want to learn facts about the college, and we will want to learn more about you.

Here are some of the things you should be prepared to talk about:

—Details about your high school record, including course selection, grade point average, class rank, and standardized test scores.
—Activities in which you are involved, especially those you plan to continue in college.
—Ideas about your career goals, long-term and short-term.
—What appeals to you as you choose your "ideal" college. Academic programs, size, location, and student life are good characteristics to begin with.

Take a guided tour of the campus to see what college life is like at Bridgewater. Include a visit to the financial aid director's office, where you can discuss ways of financing your education.

Talk to a professor in your major field of interest. Let us know beforehand, and we'll arrange a time for you to get together.

Meet Bridgewater students—there's no better way to find out about college.

Join other students in the dining hall and be our guest for a meal while you're here.

Schedule an interview for part of your visit. Tell us what you're interested in seeing and doing—we want to talk to you about your plans for college and your expectations.

Why visit?

"Unless a student puts his feet on the campus there is no way to know if he'll fit. I believe the campus visit and the interview is comparable to a job interview. You wouldn't take a job at a place you've never visited, or never have spoken to anyone personally. You just can't get that personal approach at a College Fair."

Mrs. Newsom, Guidance Counselor, Wakefield High School, Arlington, VA

"We felt like we were somebody—besides a bill-payer. Everyone, from the President to the students, was friendly. They made us feel like a part of the Bridgewater family. We were really happy when our daughter chose Bridgewater!"

Mrs. Gail Connolly, Chesapeake, VA
mother of Caroline, Class of '88

Accommodations

Belle Meade Inn
U.S. 11 South
Harrisonburg, VA 22801
160 Units
(703) 434-6704

Holiday Inn
U.S. 11 South
Harrisonburg, VA 22801
128 Units
(703) 434-9981

The Village Inn
U.S. 11 South
Harrisonburg, VA 22801
(703) 434-7355

Rockingham Motel
South Main Street
Harrisonburg, VA 22801
(703) 433-2538

Sheraton Inn
Route 33 East
Harrisonburg, VA 22801
102 Units
(703) 433-2521

Campus Visitation Days

September 24	January 14
October 15	March 11
November 19	April 1
December 17	

Scholarship Day
March 18

Admissions Office:
Bridgewater College
Bridgewater, Virginia 22812
703-828-2501, Ext. 437

Bridgewater College seeks to enroll qualified students regardless of sex, race, color, handicap, or national or ethnic origin. Further, it does not discriminate on the basis of sex, race, color, handicap, or national or ethnic origin in the administration of its educational policies, employment practices, admissions policies, scholarship and loan programs, and athletic and other college administered programs and activities.

Bridgewater

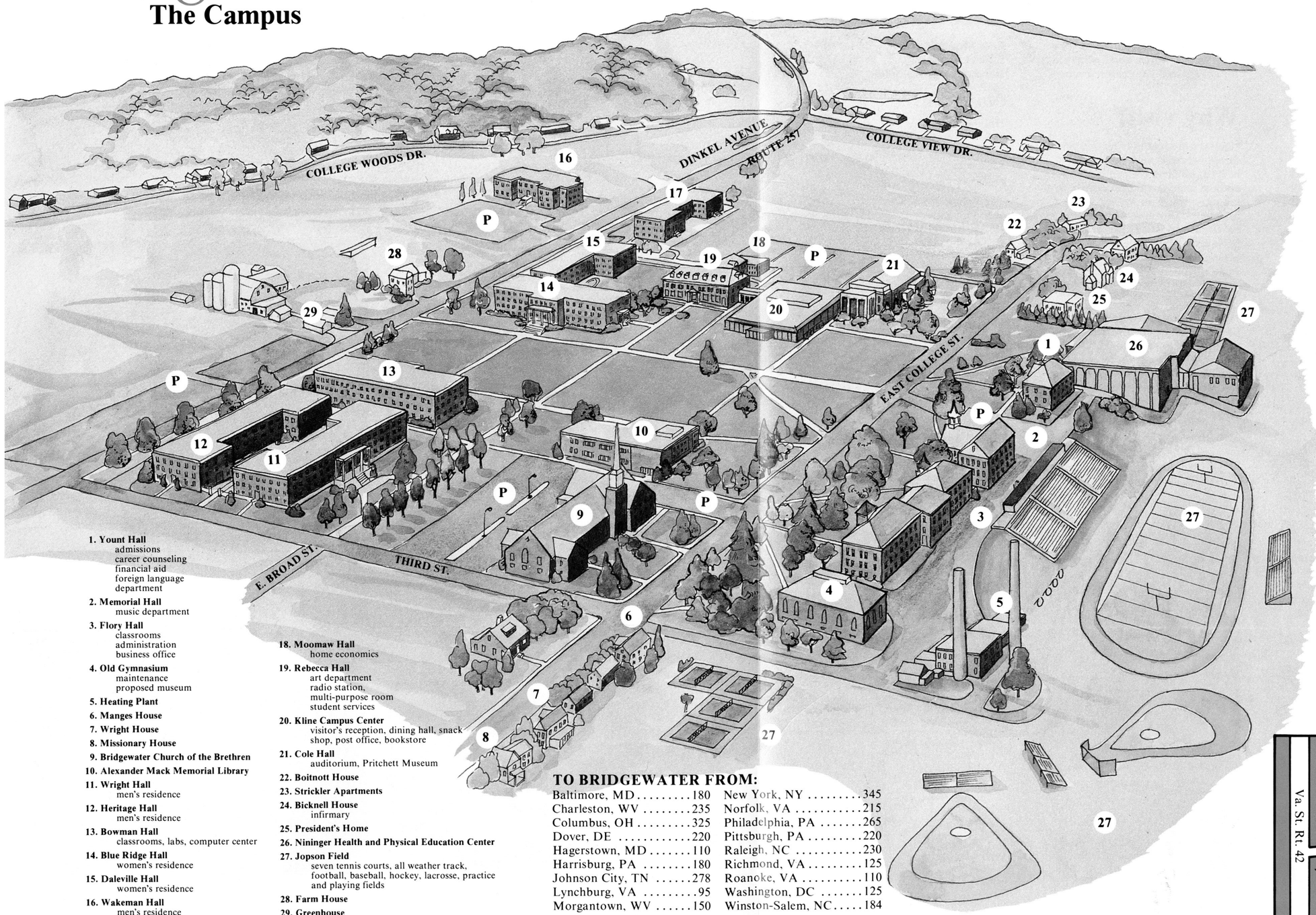
Bridgewater College
Bridgewater, Virginia 22812
(703) 828-2501

Bridgewater

Come See Us

Bridgewater

The Campus



1. Yount Hall
admissions
career counseling
financial aid
foreign language
department

2. Memorial Hall
music department

3. Flory Hall
classrooms
administration
business office

4. Old Gymnasium
maintenance
proposed museum

5. Heating Plant

6. Manges House

7. Wright House

8. Missionary House

9. Bridgewater Church of the Brethren

10. Alexander Mack Memorial Library

11. Wright Hall
men's residence

12. Heritage Hall
men's residence

13. Bowman Hall
classrooms, labs, computer center

14. Blue Ridge Hall
women's residence

15. Daleville Hall
women's residence

16. Wakeman Hall
men's residence

17. Dillon Hall
women's residence

18. Moomaw Hall
home economics

19. Rebecca Hall
art department
radio station,
multi-purpose room
student services

20. Kline Campus Center
visitor's reception, dining hall, snack shop, post office, bookstore

21. Cole Hall
auditorium, Pritchett Museum

22. Boitnott House

23. Strickler Apartments

24. Bicknell House
infirmary

25. President's Home

26. Nininger Health and Physical Education Center

27. Jopson Field
seven tennis courts, all weather track, football, baseball, hockey, lacrosse, practice and playing fields

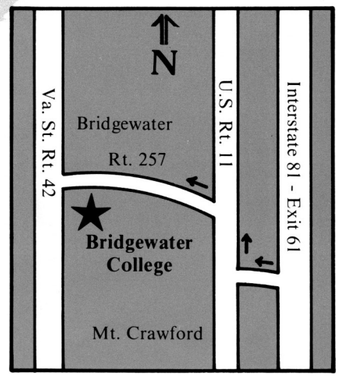
28. Farm House

29. Greenhouse

P Indicates Parking

TO BRIDGEWATER FROM:

Baltimore, MD	180	New York, NY	345
Charleston, WV	235	Norfolk, VA	215
Columbus, OH	325	Philadelphia, PA	265
Dover, DE	220	Pittsburgh, PA	220
Hagerstown, MD	110	Raleigh, NC	230
Harrisburg, PA	180	Richmond, VA	125
Johnson City, TN	278	Roanoke, VA	110
Lynchburg, VA	95	Washington, DC	125
Morgantown, WV	150	Winston-Salem, NC	184



Bridgewater College is located seven miles southwest of Harrisonburg in the town of Bridgewater in the Shenandoah Valley. It is easily accessible by automobile, bus and air. Motorists traveling on Interstate 81 may reach Bridgewater by exiting at the Mt. Crawford-Bridgewater Exit (Exit 61, six miles south of Harrisonburg) and following State Route 257 which is the northern boundary of the College campus. Piedmont Commuter serves Bridgewater. Travelers to and from Bridgewater emplane and deplane at the Shenandoah Valley airport (listed on timetables as the Staunton terminal) near Weyers Cave. Auto rental service is available. Greyhound buses service Harrisonburg.

Announcement

1990 W. Harold Row Symposium

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

Lawyer -- Diplomat -- Educator
Former Ambasador and Head of the United States Delegation
to the Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Arms in Geneva

A PERSPECTIVE FOR INTERNATIONAL CHANGE

7:30 P.M., Monday, January 8

PANEL DISCUSSION WITH AMBASSADOR KAMPELMAN

9:10 A.M., Tuesday, January 9

Cole Hall
Bridgewater College
Bridgewater, Virginia

Admission Free

BRIDGEWATER COLLEGE
BRIDGEWATER, VIRGINIA 22812
Telephone (703) 828-2501

OFFICE OF THE PROVOST

February 3, 1990

Ms. Sharon H. Dardine
Assistant to Ambassador Max M. Kampelman
Suite 800
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004-2505

Dear Ms. Dardine:

Thank you for your letter of January 25 giving information on Ambassador Kampelman's travel expenses to Bridgewater and the copy of his speech which you enclosed. You were right. It was a tremendous treat to have him on the campus!

I also want to thank you for our pleasant interactions in arranging for Ambassador Kampelman's visit. The schedule was tight, and, to justify your fears, it snowed on the day he came, but it all worked out for a marvelous experience for us. Thank you for the part you played in making it happen.

Sincerely,

Dale V. Ulrich

Dale V. Ulrich
Provost

DVU:k

SUITE 800
1001 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20004-2505

January 25, 1990

Dr. Dale V. Ulrich
Provist
Bridgewater College
Bridgewater, Virginia 22812

Dear Dr. Ulrich:

Enclosed is a final copy of Ambassador Kampelman's address to Bridgewater College on January 8. I understand from Ambassador Kampelman that he thoroughly enjoyed his time with the faculty and students and was very impressed with your college and its beautiful surroundings.

As you requested, in addition to the honorarium discussed, following are expenses incurred with his visit:

Limousine to Bridgewater	$260.75
Return airfare to BWI	115.00
Limousine from BWI to home	69.00
	$444.75

I trust this is helpful.

Sincerely,

Sharon H. Dardine
Assistant to Max M. Kampelman

Omitted Material

This page has not been digitized due to copyright considerations. The original can be viewed at the Minnesota Historical Society's Gale Family Library in Saint Paul, Minnesota. For more information, visit www.mnhs.org/library/.

Version 1
June 26, 2018

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

CABLE "STERIC WASHINGTON"
TELEX 892406
DEX 6500 (202) 639-7008
DEX 6500 (202) 639-7003
DEX 6200 (202) 639-7006
DEX 6200 (202) 639-7004

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

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

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

MAX M. KAMPELMAN
(202) 639-7020

December 18, 1989

Dr. Dale V. Ulrich
Provost
Bridgewater College
Bridgewater, Virginia 22812

Dear Dr. Ulrich:

Mrs. Dardine shared your letter of December 8 with me. The idea of meeting with Dr. McQuilkin's class sounds interesting, but I am not in a position at the moment to make a commitment. I do not know when I will be arriving on campus. As we get closer to the date, I will decide whether to drive or fly. If I do the latter, flight schedules will govern my answer to your question.

I look forward to meeting you.

All my best.

Sincerely,

Max M. Kampelman

MMK:gs

BRIDGEWATER COLLEGE
BRIDGEWATER, VIRGINIA 22812
Telephone (703) 828-2501

OFFICE OF THE PROVOST

December 8, 1989

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

Dear Ms. Dardine:

Thank you very much for Ambassador Kampelman's resume and photograph which you sent. We are delighted that Ambassador Kampelman will be the speaker for the 1990 W. Harold Row Symposium on January 8-9. Enclosed is an announcement of the symposium.

Also enclosed is a brochure giving directions to Bridgewater College. As Ambassador Kampelman drives toward the College on Route 257, the campus will come into view and he will see a church steeple rising above the campus. He can park in that church parking lot and walk directly across College Street to Flory Hall. My office is Room 102 which is just to the right inside the front door.

When Dr. David McQuilkin, Chairman of the Department of History and Political Science, heard that Dr. Kampelman had accepted our invitation, he immediately asked if Dr. Kampelman could meet with his class of 11 students on the Government of the U.S.S.R. We certainly do not want to impose on Ambassador Kampelman; so if he would prefer not to appear before the class, Dr. McQuilkin will understand. It did occur to me that if it would be convenient for Dr. Kampelman to arrive in Bridgewater by 4:00 p.m. on January 8, he could talk with the class for about fifty minutes before preparing for dinner which will be at 6:00 p.m.

Thank you again for the materials and the assistance you have given us. We look forward to the opportunity to interact with Dr. Kampelman.

Sincerely,

Dale V. Ulrich

Dale V. Ulrich
Provost

DVU:tlj

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

1/9-10

CABLE "STERIC WASHINGTON"
TELEX 892406
DEX 6500 (202) 639-7008
DEX 6500 (202) 639-7003
DEX 6200 (202) 639-7006
DEX 6200 (202) 639-7004

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

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

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

MAX M. KAMPELMAN
(202) 639-7020

November 14, 1989

Dr. Dale V. Ulrich
Chairman, Committee on Endowed
Lectureships
Bridgewater College
Bridgewater, Virginia 22812

Dear Dr. Ulrich:

Thank you very much for your most gracious invitation of November 10. I would be delighted to accept your invitation to speak at Bridgewater College.

Your preference for the month of January is satisfactory to me. However, your letter did not indicate a preference as to the day in the week. I would like to tentatively propose a weekday during the week of January 22 or January 29, although it is possible that I may have a commitment in Washington on January 23 and another possible commitment on January 31. I will know for certain about these two dates in another week or ten days.

Your proposed schedule is a very active one, and I approach it with some hesitation. It strikes me that an evening talk lasting 60 minutes, followed by a 45 minute talk the next morning is a bit much. We must act on the assumption that the students at the Convocation will also attend the public lecture. This, in effect, means that a different subject matter should be covered at each of the two sessions -- quite an assignment. I would, therefore, like to make a suggestion for your consideration. That is, the student Convocation address be turned into a forum which would permit the students to ask questions during that 45 minute period. They might do so based on the previous evening's lecture or dealing with subjects that were not covered in the lecture, but covered in

their classroom work. I would see this as a question and answer period covering any issue that might be on their minds. I could begin with perhaps a 10 or 15 minute overview and then open the floor. I would like your reaction to this idea when you have had a chance to consider it. The other items in your proposed schedule are quite satisfactory.

I am uncertain whether I will drive or fly to Bridgewater. If my wife accompanies me, we will drive, since small planes do not suit her. If my wife does not accompany me, I have no problem checking air line schedules and proceeding accordingly.

I will be in Europe by the time you receive this letter. Please do not hesitate to communicate with my assistant, Sharon Dardine, in my absence.

All my best.

Sincerely,

Max M. Kampelman

MMK:gs

BRIDGEWATER COLLEGE
BRIDGEWATER, VIRGINIA 22812
Telephone (703) 828-2501

OFFICE OF THE PROVOST

November 10, 1989

The Honorable Max M. Kampelman
10001 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Suite 800
Washington, D.C. 20004

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

This letter is to invite you to be the lecturer for the 1990 W. Harold Row Symposium at Bridgewater College. To better acquaint you with Bridgewater College and the Row Symposium, I am enclosing a copy of the catalog and a brochure describing the symposium.

The purpose of the Row Symposium, which is funded in part by income from a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, is to promote understanding of international relations. You may be interested in knowing that two former Row Lecturers have been The Honorable Ambler H. Moss, Jr., in 1988 and The Honorable Robert S. McNamara in 1987.

A schedule which we like to follow for the Row Symposium is as follows:

<u>First Day</u>	
Afternoon	Arrive
6:00 p.m.	Dinner with Row family guests and a few faculty members and spouses
7:30	Public lecture
9:00	Reception
<u>Second Day</u>	
7:30 a.m.	Breakfast
9:10	Convocation address
10:30	Tape a 30 minute television interview
Noon	Lunch with a group of students
Afternoon	Depart

students at public lecture?
10 min + q + a's

We would like to hold the symposium in January, 1990, but if that month does not suit your schedule, we would be happy to discuss alternative dates.

The length of the public lecture can be at your discretion. Experience has taught us that sixty minutes is about right. The time available for the Convocation is limited by the class schedule to about forty-five minutes. Bridgewater audiences appreciate an opportunity to ask questions following an address, but it would be your decision to grant or not grant that privilege.

The television interview would be one of a series of programs entitled "Bridgewater College Presents" which is hosted by Mr. Brydon M. DeWitt, Director of Development, on our local ABC affiliate station. Mr. DeWitt does a professional quality job as the host of this show; so I am sure you would be comfortable in that situation.

The College maintains a guest apartment which is conveniently located on the edge of campus. We would be happy to reserve it for your use.

Mr. Kampelman, we can provide an honorarium of $7,000 plus your travel expenses from Washington. Bridgewater is located in the Shenandoah Valley 130 miles west of Washington. It is approximately a two and one-half hour drive from Washington. One also has the option of flying to the Shenandoah Valley from Dulles Airport via United Express.

We look forward to your response to this invitation.

Sincerely,

Dale V. Ulrich

Dale V. Ulrich
Chairman, Committee on
Endowed Lectureships

DVU:tlj

SCHEDULE FOR VISIT OF AMBASSADOR KAMPELMAN

January 8

1:17 p.m. — Arrive at Shenandoah Valley Airport

3:30 — Meet Government of the USSR Class
Room 203 Flory Hall

6:00 — Dinner, President's Dining Room
Kline Campus Center

7:30 — Lecture, A Perspective for International Change
Cole Hall

9:00 — Reception

January 9

8:00
~~7:30~~ a.m. — Breakfast

9:10 — Panel Discussion with Ambassador Kampelman
Dr. Dean R. Neher, Professor of Computer Science and Physics
Ms. Neva Ribicki, Director of Public Information
Dr. David K. McQuilkin, Chairman, Department of History and Political Science
Prof. Lamar B. Neal, Assoc. Prof. of Political Science
Ms. Susanne Leineweber, Student from Marburg, West Germany
Mr. Mark Stephens, Senior, History and Political Science major

10:15 — Reception, Faculty-Alumni Lounge

10:30 — Leave for Television Studio

12:30 p.m. — Lunch with a group of students
Kline Campus Center

Date 1/8 + 1/9, 90

Time 6:00 DINNER 9:10 PANEL DISCUSSION
7:30 SPEECH 10:30 TV INTERVIEW
12:00 LUNCH

Organization

BRIDGEWATER COLLEGE

OURS ✓
PCA
ICM
OTHER

Contact DR DALE ULRICH

Telephone No. 703-828-2501 Fax No.

Bio & Photo Sent? ✓

Special meal request?

Subject of the talk A PERSPECTIVE FOR INTERNATIONAL CHANGE

Title

Length of the talk MON 60 MIN TUES 45 MIN PANEL DISC.

Transportation: Arranged by us? ✓ by them?

Hotel
ON CAMPUS 703-828-4494

Telephone No. Fax No.

Honorarium? 7,0000

Expenses? YES

Dick: yes

Expense Reimbursement Rec'd?

0068k

Omitted Material

This page has not been digitized due to copyright considerations. The original can be viewed at the Minnesota Historical Society's Gale Family Library in Saint Paul, Minnesota. For more information, visit www.mnhs.org/library/.

Version 1
June 26, 2018

BRIDGEWATER COLLEGE
BRIDGEWATER, VIRGINIA 22812
Telephone (703) 828-2501

OFFICE OF THE PROVOST

February 3, 1990

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman
Suite 800
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004-2505

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

Thank you very much for your wonderful visit to Bridgewater College. I wish you could have heard all the fine comments that I have heard about the incredible extent of your knowledge, the magnificent breadth of your experiences, and the delightful way in which you interacted with Bridgewater students and faculty. It would have been wonderful if Harold Row could have been part of the sessions.

Enclosed is a check in the amount of $7,444.75 to cover your honorarium and your expenses. It was good that you could arrange for a car to bring you on that snowy day.

I would like to know more about your efforts to strengthen the United Nations. This is such a strategic time in history with the changes in the communist countries and now the movement in South Africa. An improved U.N. will be vital for the 21st century.

Thank you again for your wonderful visit to Bridgewater.

Sincerely,

Dale

Dale V. Ulrich
Provost

DVU:k