



Max M. Kampelman Papers

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"THE WINDS OF CHANGE"

REMARKS DELIVERED BY

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

Rand
~~Wallpaper Distributors Association~~
San Diego Marriott Hotel Marina

Santa Monica
San Diego, California
January 21, 1991

22

The subject of war is on everybody's mind and heart. Our heads are filled with radio and TV commentary and reporting. No speaker these days can ignore it and yet I feel no desire to add to the decibel volume of commentary.

This war will end and we will win it to the extent there is ever, given casualties, a fully satisfactory end or victory. I am convinced the war, evidence that Barbarism is still with us, had to be fought. Our defense spending was obviously necessary and well spent. While I join in the prayer that it end soon, when it does, the endless struggle of the human being for dignity will continue and the question will remain as to what role our country is to play in the on-going saga of the human race. What I would like to do with you this morning is put the headlines of today and yesterday into a perspective which has proved useful to me and may be helpful to you.

Mankind's highest aspiration and diplomacy's noblest calling is to preserve our security and our values in a condition of peace. But this proud word, "peace", has

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

Men and women seem capable of mobilizing their talents to unravel the mysteries of their physical environment. We have learned to fly through space like birds and move in deep waters like fish, but how to live and love on this small planet as brothers and sisters still eludes us. The immense challenge is to find and develop the basis for lasting peace among the peoples of the world so that they might live in dignity.

We are all amazed at recent international political developments, so fast-moving that we can barely see their details let alone their scope. The movements are up and down and sideways. I am convinced that to understand them requires the awareness of other changes to our world produced by science and technology, which are themselves more dramatic than the political changes that envelop us. They are beyond calculation, with newer, greater developments on the horizon that will probably make the awesome discoveries of our time dwarf by comparison.

By way of providing you a perspective, let us look at one generation, mine. In my early years there were no vitamin tablets; no refrigerators; no trans-continental telephones; no trans-oceanic airlines; no plastics; no man-made fibers; no fluorescent lights; no airlines; no Xerox; no air-conditioning; no antibiotics; no frozen foods; no television; no computers; no transistors. Yet, today, we take these things for granted, including the impressive impact they have had on our daily lives. No generation since the beginning of Man has experienced so much change so rapidly -- and it is only the beginning.

During my lifetime, medical knowledge available to physicians has reportedly increased more than ten-fold. More than 80% of all scientists who ever lived are said to be alive today. The average life span is now nearly twice as great as it was when my grandparents were born. Advanced computers, new materials, new bio-technological processes are altering every phase of our lives, deaths, even reproduction.

These developments are stretching our minds and our grasp of reality to the outermost dimensions of our capacity to understand them. Moreover, as we look ahead, we must agree that we have only the minutest glimpse of what our universe really is. More than 100,000 scientific journals annually publish the flood of new knowledge that pours out of the

world's laboratories, which we are digesting and absorbing and which keeps changing us. Our science is indeed a drop, our ignorance remains an ocean.

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.

The world body politic has been slow to keep up with the scientific and engineering developments that surround us. What we are now observing is an effort to begin to catch up with the new realities. It does not take a prophet or a wizard to see that the scientific, technological, and communication advances have made global interdependence a reality. Economic power and industrial capacity are ever more widely dispersed around the world and it is difficult for us to catch on or keep up. Japanese automobiles are being produced in the United States by Japanese companies with American workers. General Electric is preparing to run the Hungarian electric utility company.

We know the economic and industrial world is changing, but we don't quite know where it is taking us. Our political and economic institutions are feeling the stress of these pressures

as they try to digest their implications. And we have yet to settle on an international legal and regulatory framework to cope with a world where that interdependence blurs the origin of products, and where international financial flows in a single day (about \$1 trillion) equal our government's annual budget.

What we have also been observing is an intense political fractionalization, as large numbers of peoples have had their emotions inflamed by nationality and religious appeals. We certainly see this in the Soviet Union and we see it with intensity in the Middle East. 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 by holding on with a determined frenzy to the familiar, the tribal, the traditional!" This phenomenon cannot in the short run 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 human rights and democracy. When given the chance -- and sometimes when not -- people across the world are standing for freedom.

The striving for human dignity is universal because it is an integral part of our human character. We see it in China, Korea, the Philippines, South Africa, Chile, Panama, Paraguay, Nicaragua, the Soviet Union, East Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Poland -- different cultures, different parts of the earth. A larger part of the world's population is today living in relative freedom than ever before in the history of the world.

The latest authoritative Freedom House annual survey shows that 1990 was the freest year since that organization, which I have the honor to Chair, began its monitoring effort in 1955. We monitor 165 nations. Of that number 65 are free, 50 are partly free and 50 not free. Out of a world population of 5.3 billion people, more than 2 billion or nearly 40% live in free countries, the highest ever; and 1.5 billion or an additional 30% live in partly free countries.

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.

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. 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 right 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. This requires that the politics of persuasion and consent must prevail over the politics of coercion and terror. Here, of course, is the essence of our government's position on the Iraq invasion of Kuwait, which was refreshingly endorsed by the United Nations, to which we found it prudent to turn for legitimacy and added strength.

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

together in an equation that makes the security of each of us dependent on that of the other. The basic truth of this principle is not in any way altered by our growing realization that the Soviet system is a bankrupt one; bankrupt economically, ideologically, socially, politically. A state with an estimated more than 20,000 nuclear weapons is one to be taken seriously.

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 miserably, with serious food shortages affecting many parts of the country. 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. Large numbers -- and not just Soviet Jews who see troubling signs of growing virulent anti-semitism -- are showing signs of wanting to leave in droves, causing many Western European governments to take a careful look at their immigration laws. Demands for secession are being heard everywhere.

Looking at health care, by way of dramatic 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.

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 concern and requires drastic change. We must appreciate that significant change is underway, but we must also appreciate that we cannot yet fully trust the thrust of those changes, or be certain we understand the ultimate intentions or survivability of the present Soviet government. Recent signs of renewed repression disturb us immensely. We must influence changes in the Soviet Union.

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 that Madrid meeting, under the Helsinki Final Act, a united NATO helped forge a Western front which insisted that the humanitarian 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, and with our prodding, 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 pledges.

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, it became clear that the Helsinki and Madrid lessons were taking hold. Under the leadership of President Reagan and Secretary of State George Shultz, the United States built 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 fully, frankly and frequently -- and we have seen results. The results are not yet entirely to our satisfaction. Indeed, serious problems remain and new problems are appearing as we see much of the military leadership join with the KGB in support of the repudiated Communist Party leaders who fear and resent the changes toward political and economic democracy and liberty that are struggling to gain a foothold in that country.

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 has obviously been indispensable and continues to be 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 the international area, we are very much encouraged. The Soviets have withdrawn their troops from Afghanistan and we are engaged in a serious joint exploration as to how best to end the civil war there and in Angola and in Cambodia. The Soviets abandoned their former ally, Iraq, and joined us in the UN condemnation of Saddam Hussein. We have together signed a treaty totally eliminating all intermediate range nuclear weapons, those with a range between 300 to 3,000 kilometers. Under this treaty the Soviets agreed to destroy four times as many weapons as we. We recently signed a treaty reducing conventional arms disproportionately. We are scheduled to sign a strategic nuclear arms reduction treaty next month.

In essence, we have been urging the Soviets to develop stronger legal and structural restraints on their power, both their internal and external power. In that connection let me refer to a month-long meeting this past June in Copenhagen, again under the Helsinki Final Act. I returned to government service that month to head up the American delegation. At this meeting, together with our NATO allies and with the cooperation of the Soviet Union, we engineered some of the most significant changes ever in the development of international law. We adopted a universally accepted "rule of law" concept as a norm for the responsible domestic behavior of nations. We adopted a code assuring open political competition through political parties and free elections within the states of Europe as a way

of assuring stability, security and peace among nations. What we, in essence, said was that political democracy was essential if international law was to prevail in Europe.

A process has begun whose dynamic is gaining immense support. Indeed, at this very moment, American lawyers and political scientists and journalist are working with their counterparts in the Soviet Union and in Central Europe on how to achieve checks and balances in their systems through separation of power, direct elections of the President, an independent judiciary, judicial review, jury trials. I am privileged to be an organic part of this effort.

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 must interact and negotiate in the world in that context. We must have faith in our principles as we intensify our efforts to find a basis for understanding, security, stability, and peace with dignity. We are still nearer the beginning than the end of that process. The process,

furthermore, is likely to be a difficult and murky one. We will have many disappointments, frequent frustrations and even some defeats. The tensions developing over the current crises in the Baltic States and elsewhere in the Soviet Union are only a harbinger of more to come.

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 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. It would be a mistake to believe that we today have reached the end point of mankind's ideological evolution, just as the universalists were wrong to have had that belief at the time of the French Revolution. 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 if our democratic values are to prevail, for, as the saying goes, "the devil too evolves." Saddam Hussein is an example of this. Aristotle

taught us that all forms of government, are transitional and vulnerable to the corrosion of time, new problems, and missed opportunities. We are at risk if we who believe in liberty remain smug and content about our present strengths and the weakness of our adversaries.

Will we in the U.S. be able to play our part? Will we take heed lest future generations condemn us for having missed a decisive opportunity? Will we be wise enough to know how to assist the historic developments now underway in the Soviet Union and Central 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. 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 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 and the burden that puts on us.

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 and for those in other parts of the world who have not enjoyed that blessing. 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. As our world evolves, we must not be afraid of the light and where it can take us.

Thank you.

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FACSIMILE COVER SHEET

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DATE: January 8, 1991

DELIVER TO:

NAME: Mr. Max M. Kampelman
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson
COMPANY: 1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Suite 800
Washington, DC 20004-2505
ADDRESS: _____

FAX NUMBER: 202-639-7008TELEPHONE NUMBER: 202-639-7000FROM: Charles Wolf, Jr.

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS:

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1700 Main Street, PO Box 2138
Santa Monica, CA 90406-2138

THE RAND CORPORATION

January 8, 1991
CWL: 1829

Charles Wolf, Jr.

Dean
The RAND Graduate School

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

Dear Max:

I am attaching the tentative program I have arranged for your visit on Tuesday, January 22. Please let me know if these arrangements are agreeable, or if there are any changes you would like to make. I would also appreciate receiving a title for your talk.

We have made reservations for you at the Loews Hotel, 1700 Ocean Avenue, Santa Monica, CA, tele: (213) 458-6700, for the nights of January 22 and 23. We will need to be advised of your flight number and arrival time as we have arranged to have you met at LAX by a RAND guard. He will meet you at the door into the terminal where you debark from the airplane and will be holding a sign with your name.

I look forward to seeing you at 10:30 on the morning of January 22.

Yours,


CW:cr

Encl: As noted

"Windsy Change"

A G E N D A

The Honorable Max M. Kampelman

Tuesday, January 22, 1991

- 10:30 am -- Informal meeting with James Thomson, Room 1100
President & CEO, and Charles Wolf, Jr.,
Dean, RAND Graduate School
- 11:00 am -- Talk by Ambassador Kampelman Conf. Rm. 1175
The Winds of Change
- 12:15 pm -- Luncheon and informal discussions: Exec Conf. Rm.
Whither NATO?
Nanette Gantz
Tom Hirschfeld
Robert Levine
James Steinberg
John Van Oudenaren
- 1:30 pm -- Soviet Union and Eastern Europe Exec Conf. Rm.
Jeremy Azrael
Abraham Becker
Harry Gelman
Arnold Horelick
Stephen Larrabee
Steven Popper
- 3:00 pm -- Middle-East Exec Conf. Rm.
Marcy Agmon
Paul Davis
Graham Fuller
Charles Kelley
Joe Kechichian
Ken Watman

RAND

International Policy/RGS Seminar

THE WINDS OF CHANGE

The Honorable Max M. Kampelman

January 22, 1991

11:00 a.m.

Conference Room 1175

Ambassador Kampelman's talk will deal with general U.S. foreign policy issues in relation to the Soviet Union and the Middle East.

Ambassador Kampelman was Chairman of the U.S. Delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in Madrid from 1980 to 1983, Head of the U.S. Delegation to the Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Arms in Geneva from 1985-1989, and Head of the U.S. Delegation to CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension in Copenhagen, June 1990.

For further information, call Carol Raigner (ext. 6452) or Joye Hunter (ext. 7690).

(F)

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WRITER'S DIRECT LINE

January 9, 1990

202-639-7020

Dr. Charles Wolf, Jr.
Dean
The RAND Graduate School
1700 Main Street
Santa Monica, CA 90406

Dear Dr. Wolf:

We received your letter addressed to Amb. Kampelman today and I write to tell you that he is out of the country this week but I have discussed your letter with him.

Your tentative agenda for Tuesday, January 22 is fine. Amb. Kampelman suggests that the title of his talk be "The Winds of Change" and pertain to general U.S. foreign policy issues in relation to the Soviet Union and the Middle East. Thank you for making hotel reservations for the evenings of January 22 and 23. Amb. Kampelman has confirmed reservations on Tuesday, January 22 on American Airlines Flight 5323, departing San Diego at 9:05 and arriving into Los Angeles at 9:55 a.m. Thank you for arranging to have Amb. Kampelman met at the airport.

Amb. Kampelman's recent biography is enclosed. Amb. Kampelman will return to the office on Monday, January 14. Should you wish any further information, please let us know.

Sincerely,



Sharon H. Dardine
Assistant to Max M. Kampelman

THE **RAND** CORPORATION

F
PENDING
Calif in Jan?

October 9, 1990
CWL: 1780

Charles Wolf, Jr.

Dean
The RAND Graduate School

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

Dear Max:

My apologies for the ambiguity in my letter of September 20. I had assumed that, since I have been inviting you to come to RAND on numerous occasions over the past four or five years, the letter would be regarded simply as reiterating that invitation. In any event, to avoid any remaining uncertainty, let me just say that I would be delighted to have you come. Please regard this as a formal invitation. My suggestion is that, when you are next planning a trip to California, we try to combine that trip with a day-long visit at RAND. This might include a talk by you, an informal luncheon, and then a round-table conversation with perhaps a half-dozen RAND colleagues who know you and your work, and who themselves are working on matters of mutual interest. We would, of course, pay the expenses connected with this visit.

I would be happy to talk further with you about this on the phone.

With best personal wishes and, once again, my apologies for any miscues in my previous letter.

Sincerely,



CW:cr

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October 1, 1990

WRITER'S DIRECT LINE
202-639-7020

Charles Wolf, Jr., Dean
The RAND Graduate School
1700 Main Street
Santa Monica, California 90406-2138

Dear Charles:

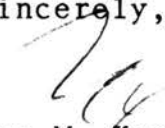
It is not clear whether your letter of September 20 is indeed an invitation for me to come to RAND to give a talk or an indication that I should expect such an invitation. Let me act on the assumption that it is a serious inquiry and respond to it in that vein.

I put a limit on the number of talks I make. The invitations come directly from friends or institutions or through lecture agents. I find the latter extraordinarily active. In any event, the idea of speaking to RAND is attractive and I assume that I could learn a great deal from such an exchange.

California is far away; but I do get out to your area of the world two or three times a year. Indeed, I was in California early in September, and among my engagements there was a talk in Monterey. I was also at Stanford and I had a couple of talks in the Los Angeles area. For the moment, I do not have any plans to come to California, but they could materialize. In any event, if you have any specific thoughts, or when you do have specifics, why don't you pass them on to me and we will see how to take it from there.

All my best.

Sincerely,


Max M. Kampelman

MMK:gs

THE **RAND** CORPORATION

Charles Wolf, Jr.

Dean
The RAND Graduate School

September 20, 1990

CWL: 1762

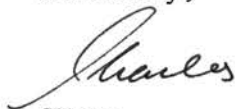
Mr. Max M. Kampelman
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver
& Jacobson
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Suite 800
Washington, DC 20004-2505

Dear Max:

Thanks for your note of August 27. I would, of course, welcome any comments you have to make at any time about the various things I send you. I still hope that sometime it will be possible for you to come to RAND and give a talk, either to the RAND Graduate School, or to a RAND-wide audience, or both.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,



CW:cr