



## Max M. Kampelman Papers

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TESTIMONY OF MAX M. KAMPELMAN  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPEAN AFFAIRS  
U.S. SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

Washington, D.C.

March 14, 1991

Mr. Chairman:

When I received your invitation to testify before this Subcommittee today, I was reminded of the doctor who had been told by his nurse that one of his hospital patients was most unhappy with him. The patient felt that the doctor examined her carefully, but never really asked her how she was feeling. The doctor appreciated the nurse's advice and when he entered the patient's room said: "Mrs. Greenberg, how are you feeling today?" Mrs. Greenberg looked at the doctor and said, "Don't ask."

But you did ask me to be here this morning and to express my views on an important but difficult question. The evidence is clear that the Helsinki Final Act has been effective in Europe. The process Helsinki established is working. The humanitarian provisions of the Agreement, in the short space of 15 years, have had a major impact on the whole continent and the Helsinki standards are no longer questioned. They are not only standards toward which to aspire, they are also standards by which we can judge the behavior of other states without having any longer to defend ourselves against the charge that we are interfering with their internal affairs.

We are now moving beyond strictly humanitarian concerns to broader political affirmations based on the realization that political democracy is indispensable if the goals of security and cooperation promised by the Helsinki Final Act are to be secured. In Copenhagen we, therefore, established principles dealing with a detailed rule of law framework, free elections, political parties, political pluralism and related principles for responsible democratic government.

The Helsinki process has also established a sense of confidence and a growing feeling of security among the 34 states who are now a part of it. No state feels threatened by the process because decisions require consensus and consensus requires full discussion and debate. It has, therefore, led to a whole series of military confidence-building measures which have, in turn, led to more serious and extensive agreements on significant reductions in conventional arms.

We are, furthermore, beginning to address the troublesome issues of ethnic and nationality disputes that have too long been a disturbing part of European geography. We are earnestly looking for ways by which the Helsinki process can address those troublesome issues before they lead to violence and dislocations.

Given these major accomplishments and the continuing positive trends which I have just briefly touched upon, the logical question arises whether the principles and process of the Helsinki Final Act are applicable to other areas of the world, most particularly the Middle East. It would be nice and encouraging to believe that there is a formula available which could be picked up and transferred and utilized by others, a magic pill as it were. Proposals are now being made by Italy and Spain, for example, within the Helsinki process itself, to expand its horizons more broadly to include increased attention to the Mediterranean states and their problems. Your hearings, Mr. Chairman, are obviously constructed in the pursuit of that important inquiry.

In all candor, Mr. Chairman, I approach the subject with some skepticism, but also with encouragement to those who are engaged in the exploration. A healthy community does not come into being through fiat or formal declarations. A healthy community comes into being when its components agree that they each have more in common with one another than they have differences with one another. They must believe that more unites them than separates them. Differences exist, but they are placed in a perspective which encompasses a realization that those differences are not important enough to undermine the community they are creating. In essence, the community of interest precedes the decision to form a political community if it is to have a lasting dimension.

With this understanding, those diplomats of perception and imagination who negotiated the Helsinki Final Act -- a process which took many years -- came to appreciate that the time was not right for the agreement to be signed until, for example, an agreement had been arrived at with respect to two Germanys and their boundaries. That potential irritant had to be resolved before a formal community could be established. I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that an equivalent irritant in the Middle East is the continued refusal, after nearly 45 years, on the part of the Arab world, other than Egypt, to recognize the sovereignty and legitimacy of the State of Israel within recognized and mutually agreed secure borders. That threshold must be crossed before there can be any serious effort made to establish a Helsinki-type entity in the Middle East. On the other hand, that threshold need not be passed before there can be the beginnings of a negotiation and an exploration of the subject matter.

The Middle East in its entirety must come to appreciate that each of the countries of the area have a great deal to gain by economic and scientific cooperation. Disease must be conquered -- food must be produced -- water must be supplied and distributed -- trade must be encouraged -- arms must be reduced. The attainment of these goals requires cooperation among the states in the region. The acceptance and attainment

of these goals is of much greater value to the people who live in the area than the state of anarchy and violence which today divides one from the other.

The world is today entering an extraordinary new era of modernity led by awesome and unprecedented developments in science, technology, communications. It is reported that 80% of all the scientists who ever lived are alive today. More than 100,000 scientific journals are being published, reporting on continued breakthroughs in science, technology and communication. Improved nutrition and disease control are lengthening lives. With the satellite and fax machine, no state any longer can be assured of a monopoly of information designed to restrict the liberty of its citizens. Peoples in all parts of the world now appreciate that the blessings of this new technology are at hand for all to enjoy; and if they are not yet at hand, the antibiotics, refrigerators, computers, and freedom from starvation are only three or four hours away.

Yet, a part of the world is saying, "Stop the world. I want to get off!" Many feel threatened by modernity and technology. They are concerned about the new culture and its effect on tradition, tribal loyalty, religion, old-fashioned family traditions. The Middle East is one of the areas of the world which, as a result, is identified with instability, conflict, backwardness and deprivation.

But tomorrow will appear with its new dawn and new day. It will bring with it the increased benefits of science, technology, communication. It will affect the new generations and influence their aspirations. It will also bring with it the economic and political changes necessary to accommodate society to those new realities.

This is where the Helsinki principles that have worked so well for Europe come into play. When the states of the Middle East are able to agree that they must respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, move toward political democracy and the rule of law, refrain from the threat or the use of force, agree on the inviolability of frontiers and the territorial integrity of states -- and that time, Mr. Chairman, will come sooner rather than later -- then the time will be at hand for us to be ready to assist and perhaps even participate in the creation of a Final Act for the Middle East designed to establish a continuing process for security and cooperation in that vital region of the world.

In the meantime, it is our duty to do what we can to begin persuading the states of the region to accept these principles of Helsinki as desirable goals as they work to create a community of interest in the region. The Middle East is ready for our continued leadership and we have demonstrated our

understanding that effective leadership need not be synonymous with domination. We have helped forge a new Arab alliance led by Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Syria. If they would agree to work with us toward establishing the basis for creating a community of interest in the region by sitting down with Israel at least to identify the areas of common interest, this vital step would be unassailable.

An early and integral part of that agenda might well be to follow the lead of the United States and the Soviet Union in not only reducing arms but totally reducing to zero, as in the INF treaty, all surface to surface medium and short range missiles. Saudi Arabia and Israel have good reason to welcome such a development. The Arabs today have reason to be concerned about Israel's technological superiority; and Israel certainly cannot afford a new arms race when the Soviet immigrant absorption price tag may well reach \$35 billion.

The timing for this approach is, furthermore, appropriate at this time because, unless we pursue policies which would reverse the total discrediting of Arafat which is under way, we are likely to find that Israel will be provided a welcomed negotiating partner as a new indigenous leadership is developed by the Arab Palestinian community. We know that community to be an extremely intelligent and creative one when permitted freely to live up to its potential. This community, which continues to



face discrimination in the Arab world which it inhabits, has been a victimized one for too long. It is time that Arab Palestinians join forces with Jewish Palestinians to make the total area a land of milk and honey capable of supplementing the Biblical promise with the potential new promises from the discoveries of science and technology as we learn more about the mysteries of the universe.

I suggest, as I conclude, Mr. Chairman, that peace must be wooed by slow advances. Through your inquiries this morning and the suggestions that are thereby being elicited, we may well discover a path to peace in the best and most steady sense of that process.

Thank you.

**UNITED STATES SENATE  
Committee on Foreign Relations  
Room SD-423, Dirksen Building**

**(Please do not detach this slip  
from the transcript.)**

March 25, 1991.

TO: MR. KAMPELMAN

Attached are pages of the hearing transcript of  
**MARCH 14, 1991, LESSONS OF THE HELSINKI  
PROCESS FOR THE NEW WORLD ORDER.**

Please make such minor factual and  
grammatical changes as are necessary for clarity  
and accuracy (extensive rewriting will not be  
accepted) and return by **April 8, 1991, the absolute  
latest.** Failure to meet the above deadline will delay the  
publication of the hearing.

Any additional material to be included in the  
hearing in the hearing record, including copies of  
questions sent to the witness by your Senator, or  
additional material received from the witness by your  
office should accompany return of these corrections.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Please return to:

The **Editor**

Committee on Foreign Relations

Room SD-423, Dirksen Building

Washington, DC 20510

Phone No. 1-202-224-3947

**(Please do not detach this slip  
from the transcript.)**

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

April 15, 1991

The Editor  
Committee on Foreign Relations  
Room SD-423, Dirksen Building  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Sir or Madam:

Enclosed are Mr. Kampelman's edited pages of the hearing transcript of March 14, 1991, "Lessons of the Helsinki Process for the New World Order."

Sincerely,

/s/

Gwendolyn Smith  
Secretary

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## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6225

March 8, 1991

The Honorable Max Kampelman  
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.  
Suite 800  
Washington, D.C. 20004

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

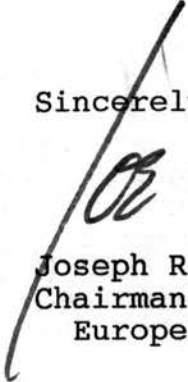
I am pleased to confirm your testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's Subcommittee on European Affairs hearing on "Lessons of the Helsinki Process for the New World Order." The hearing will take place on Thursday, March 14, 1991 at 10:00 a.m. in Room 419 of the Dirksen Senate Office Building.

The hearing will examine how the principles of the Helsinki Final Act might apply both theoretically and practically to the Middle East. For example, what sort of confidence-building measures might realistically be expected to increase military transparency among the Middle Eastern nations? Are there commonly-held beliefs in human rights that might act as a standard in the region? I hope that you will address your expertise in CSCE and human rights issues to these and similar questions.

We would appreciate having any recent articles of yours on the Middle East and a short biography as soon as possible. These can be sent via FAX to Elizabeth Gardner of my staff at FAX #(202)224-0562. If possible, the Committee would also like to have 100 copies of your written testimony, if you wish to submit any, 24 hours before the hearing. These can be sent directly to Mr. David Hauck at the above address.

I look forward to hearing your testimony. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact Elizabeth Gardner at (202) 224-5042.

Sincerely,

  
Joseph R. Biden, Jr.  
Chairman, Subcommittee on  
European Affairs

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# COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

237 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING ANNEX 2  
WASHINGTON, DC 20515

(202) 225-1801

78579999

March 8, 1991

The Honorable James A. Baker III  
Secretary of State  
Department of State  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Secretary:

The tragedies and cyclical violence which are synonymous with the Middle East, as the recent Gulf war clearly demonstrates, cannot be effectively contained in that area of the world. As a region marred by a history of violence and characterized by deep-seated animosities, border and territorial disputes, ethnic antagonism and religious fervor - the Middle East challenges us to seriously address those issues in a constructive way and with a long-term view. What is needed, we believe, is a Conference on Security and Cooperation in the Middle East (CSCME).

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe as a multilateral framework for discussing and resolving regional disputes, in our opinion, should be examined as offering a promising model for the Middle East. In addition to encompassing human rights principles and territorial integrity, as you know, CSCE also addresses in the military security section of the Helsinki Final Act certain confidence-building measures designed to remove secrecy regarding military intentions and introduce greater transparency.

A primary thrust of CSCE has been to provide a framework within which nations could meet and discuss problems in an effort to build trust and cooperation among the nations of Europe - at a time bitterly and seemingly irrevocably divided by physical and ideological barriers. It is not just the substance of CSCE that may be appealing to the nations of the Middle East but the process - a framework for dialogue, which is imperative in the Middle East.

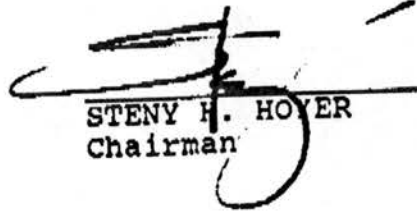
The Hon. James A. Baker III  
March 8, 1991  
page 2

While we recognize that the post-war Middle East talks will proceed haltingly, reflecting a years-long unwillingness to enter into a discussion, CSCE may provide a model for such talks, and help lead them toward a positive conclusion. Through a dynamic framework such as the CSCE we may be able to grapple with the complex and explosive issues of the Middle East. To begin with, such a framework at the outset could contain a statement of principles along lines of the Helsinki Final Act and a set of military confidence-building measures. Agreement of the concerned parties along these lines could be a major step forward.

Mr. Secretary this administration has come to regard the CSCE process as a "pillar" of U.S. policy in Europe. We suggest that the United States take the lead in trying to establish a CSCE-like framework in the Middle East. We would be pleased to contribute to such an effort.

Sincerely yours,

  
DENNIS DECONCINI  
Co-Chairman

  
STENY H. HOYER  
Chairman

**CSCE NEWS RELEASE****COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE**

202/225-1901

U.S. Congress • Washington, D.C. 20515  
 Dennis DeConcini, Chairman  
 Steny H. Hoyer, Co-Chairman

SEPTEMBER 7, 1990  
 FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CONTACT: Jane Fisher  
 Rick Merrill

**Helsinki Chairman Urges Middle East CSCE Process**

U. S. Helsinki Commission Chairman Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ) today urged Presidents Bush and Gorbachev, at their "snap summit" in Helsinki this Sunday, to discuss the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) as a model process for peace and stability in the Middle East.

"Now is the time, Helsinki is the place, and these are the two world leaders who must define their nations' long-term interests in the Middle East, and tell their peoples, and the world, just what they think the long-term prospects are for the region," the Senator said.

Over the past 15 years the 35-nation CSCE (almost all European nations, plus the U. S., Canada, and the Soviet Union) has successfully dealt with regional concerns in the areas of human rights, security, and economic progress, and soon will likely undertake major responsibilities regarding settlement of disputes and conflict resolution. CSCE operates by consensus in the absence of objection to encourage compromise and protect the interests of small states.

"In the Middle East generally we see widespread human rights abuse, only a tenuous familiarity with democratic institutions, and an abundance of high-technology weaponry -- precisely those areas where CSCE has proved itself," the Chairman said.

DeConcini noted as regional historical parallels "a breakdown in the regional balance of power, deep-rooted ethnic and cultural hostilities, and festering territorial claims" which will require regional cooperation for long-term security.

The Senator concluded that "this Helsinki summit, held in the city which gave birth to the CSCE process, gives the two nuclear superpower leaders a natural opportunity to begin discussing possible regional frameworks to ensure stability in the Middle East, and to place the military build-up and the United Nations embargo of Iraq and Kuwait in such a context."

# # #



# EUR

## UNCLASSIFIED FACSIMILE COVERSHEET

To: Sharon Dardeine 639-7020 \_\_\_\_\_  
Officer Office Phone Number Bureau/Agency

From: Mike Guest 647-8050 EURIRPM  
Officer Office Phone Number Office Symbol

Unclassified Facsimile Number: \_\_\_\_\_

Number of Pages Excluding Coversheet: 4

Date/Time of Transmission: Monday 3/11 3:10 p.m.

Transmitted By: M Guest

Remarks: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_



March 11, 1991

Max --

Mike Guest has put together the attached background and talking points on the Italian/Spanish proposal for a Conference on Security and Cooperation in the Mediterranean, or CSCM. Given that Biden's subcommittee is looking at the issue of how CSCE might relate to the post-Gulf War order, we assume the CSCM proposal has attracted his attention.

As I mentioned to you on the phone, CSCM is a bureaucratic hot potato in the Department. EUR sees some merit in using CSCM to get at some of the economic problems in the Maghreb that continue to cause heavy Arab emigration into southern Europe. NEA is more reticent, worried that the Europeans will use the idea to get into their Middle East peace process knickers. And with post-Gulf War questions upon us, policy level folks simply haven't made up their minds.

As to others' views of CSCM, Italy (CSCM's main backer) continues to trumpet the idea as having broad support. The record is, in fact, somewhat mixed: France is distinctly cool to the idea; northern Europeans are largely uninterested; the U.K. has pretty much ignored the proposal; Israel appears open to economic and water cooperation but has rejected CSCM's arms control and Middle East peace conference implications; and most Gulf countries appear to see the idea as overblown. The fat lady hasn't sung, however, and the Italians can be expected to push the idea hard in the months ahead.

Mike has told Sharon that he'd be willing to give you a more detailed rundown of where the proposal stands before you go up on the Hill, if you wish. Just let us know. Regards.

  
-- Ray Caldwell

Conference on Security and Cooperation in the Mediterranean

- o The idea of a "Conference on Security and Cooperation in the Mediterranean" stems from southern European concerns over the economic gulf with North Africa and resulting migration from the Maghreb.
  - These concerns have been exacerbated by events in the Gulf, the growth of Islamic fundamentalism, and recent social unrest in North Africa.
- o The CSCM concept echoes earlier French proposals to expand European cooperation with Mediterranean states. Italy and Spain are steering the current effort and have modeled CSCM on CSCE, with "baskets" covering security, economic, and human/social issues.
  - Italy has proposed participation in CSCM by some 45 players, from Mauritania to Iran and including "Palestine", the U.S., the Soviet Union, and the EC.
- o Italy and Spain tried but failed to obtain a CSCE endorsement of CSCM at last September's CSCE Meeting on the Mediterranean in Palma. De Michelis also promoted the idea at the CSCE Meeting on Peaceful Settlement of Disputes in Valletta.
- o A European Core Group (Italy, Spain, France and Portugal) is steering preparations for an inaugural CSCM meeting, possibly to occur in 1992.
  - An initial discussion of the proposal took place in Cairo last December. It was attended by Egypt, Algeria, Yugoslavia, Malta, Italy, Spain, France and Portugal.
  - A follow-up meeting with Maghreb countries is planned for early March.
- o European proponents see CSCM as a contributor to post-Gulf War stability. Perhaps more important, they see it as a vehicle for postwar arrangements in the Gulf.
  - It has been endorsed in that context by EC Political Directors.
- o The U.S. has not yet decided on its approach to CSCM.
  - We see the CSCE analogy as applying at best imperfectly to the Mediterranean's cross-cultural divide. We also are concerned about CSCM's unwieldy membership and likely pressures for naval arms control.
  - At the same time, we recognize strong European support for CSCM and are examining whether elements of it -- particularly those pertaining to economics -- might be useful in our own approach to post-war arrangements.

## CSCM: Talking Points

### Overview

- The idea of CSCE as a model for Mediterranean cooperation stems from European concerns about Mediterranean stability.
  - o These concerns are based on regional economic disparities, northbound migration, and political unrest in the Maghreb -- all of which need to be addressed.
- The Europeans may also want to use the CSCM idea to assure for themselves a larger role in reestablishing order and stability in the wake of the Gulf War.
- CSCM must be viewed against this background. It also must be viewed against the fact that its promoters haven't yet defined precisely what it would accomplish.
  - o The Administration no doubt will form its judgments of CSCM in response to these factors and in consideration of how CSCM might fit with our own ideas for creating a sound basis for Gulf and Middle East peace and security.

### A CSCE Model?

- That being said, the Europeans' choice of CSCE as a model for CSCM has advantages and disadvantages.
  - o CSCE had been a key contributor to the dramatic changes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. It provides important benchmarks by which state commitments to democratic values and fundamental freedoms can be judged.
  - o But there may be limits as to how far CSCE's success in the European context can be extended to another culture.
- Some who favor the CSCM effort have suggested that membership in CSCM be conditioned on acceptance of some basic principles of behavior.
  - o These could be drawn from CSCE principles, e.g., respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, refraining from the threat or use of force, inviolability of frontiers, territorial integrity of states, equal rights and self-determination of peoples.
- Agreement on such principles among CSCM's membership in advance of a first meeting can help smooth the way toward practical results.

### Participation

- The question of what countries would participate in CSCM likely will be important in determining whether CSCM ever gets off the ground.

- 2 -

- The kind of "admissions ticket" I've referred to might, in practice, restrict initial membership to a group interested in concrete results.
- A more restrictive initial membership would also sidestep the question of Palestinian representation -- a question which likely will have an effect on whether Israel participates.
  - o Full U.N. membership as a recognized state might be a useful condition for CSCM participation.
- We might want to reserve on the question of our own participation until CSCM's structure and goals become more apparent.
- On other format questions, a CSCE-like consensus rule would help protect Western interests while encouraging a cooperative approach to regional problem-solving.

#### Substance

- If CSCM ever comes about, it might usefully channel its early energies toward addressing the causes of economic disparities.
  - o In doing so, however, we would not want CSCM to become a donors' conference.
- CSCE's market economic principles from the Bonn Conference might contribute usefully to these discussions.
- It might be useful to consider whether some specific issues related to economic problems (migration, environment, drugs) and others with a broader political bearing (terrorism) should be spun off into a series of experts meetings.
- As to security issues, CSCM could underscore that security is a function not only of tanks and aircraft, but of political, economic and other factors.
- It might also concentrate on limited political confidence-building measures, and on non-proliferation goals -- though we have to tailor our approaches on this issue carefully.
- Naval arms control is -- and will remain -- out of the question. We do not want to help establish a forum where people expect they can pressure us on that.
- Certainly the security aspects of CSCM should be discussed at greater length within NATO and, for Europeans, in the WEU and EC contexts.

AS OF 3/06/91  
2:00 PM

RUTH CHESHIN  
NEW YORK TRIP  
MARCH 10 - 14, 1991

SUNDAY, MARCH 10

MONDAY, MARCH 11

2:00 AM ARRIVE JFK  
EL AL #1003

REGENCY HOTEL  
540 PARK AVENUE (61ST ST)  
212-759-4100  
FAX 212-826-5674  
CONFIRMATION #551416

10:00 AM ALAN GREENBERG  
BEAR STEARNS & CO.  
245 PARK AVENUE  
(212) 272-4605

CALL MARTY PERETZ  
(SEE PHONE LIST)

B L O C K

11:00 AM LEON DAVIDOFF  
15 WEST 53RD STREET  
(212) 265-0762

1:30 PM DR. MESSITE  
485 FIFTH AVENUE  
(212) 697-2800

3:00 PM ELI EVANS  
444 MADISON AVENUE  
(BET. 49/50 STS)  
30TH FLOOR  
(212) 935-3340

5:00 PM NLG EVENT  
PAUL & BABETH FRIBOURG  
59 SAWMILL LANE  
GREENWICH, CT  
(203) 629-2310

PAGE TWO

TUESDAY, MARCH 12

7:30 AM STEVE REINER  
REGENCY HOTEL

10:00 AM CAROL FERRANTI  
44 W. 77TH STREET  
APT. 2E  
(212) 787-4140

3:30 PM ARMAND BARTOS  
JF OFFICE

4:30 PM IRA WALLACH  
100 PARK AVENUE, 12TH FLOOR  
(212) 532-7300

5:30 PM STAFF MEETING

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 13

9:30 AM JF BOARD MEETING  
SKADDEN ARPS SLATE MEAGHER &  
919 THIRD AVENUE  
CONFERENCE ROOM 43 A/B  
(212) 735-2130

11:30 -

1:00 MAX KAMPELMAN

2:15 PM JAMES WOLFENSOHN  
599 LEXINGTON AVENUE  
(212) 909-8101

3:00 PM LINDA WACHNER  
90 PARK AVENUE  
(LILLIAN GEORGE 370-8275)

4:00 PM SYLVIA HASSENFELD  
JDC  
711 THIRD AVENUE  
10TH FLOOR  
(212) 687-6200

6:45 PM RC DEPARTS LA GUARDIA  
AMERICAN #1586

8:14 PM RC ARRIVES MONTREAL

MMK SCHEDULE  
March 12 and 13, 1991  
New York

Tuesday, March 12

8:00 a.m. George picks up Jeffrey  
8:15 a.m. George picks you up  
9:00 a.m. Trump Shuttle to New York  
10:00 a.m. Love Taxi to  
575 Fifth Avenue, 16th floor  
11:00 a.m. Meeting with Herb and Jesse  
  
2:30 p.m. Meeting with Ann Lesk [and Bernie Lubscher?]  
Fried, Frank offices  
? Meeting w/Leon Silverman  
  
? Dinner with ?  
Reservations at Plaza Fifty  
155 East 50th (50th & Third)  
212-751-5710  
(guest room w/o kitchen \$130  
conf. Virginia 3/7; guaranteed AT&T)

Wednesday, March 13

9:30 a.m. Jerusalem Foundation Board Meeting  
Skadden, Arps  
919 Third Avenue  
Bialkin's tele. # 212-735-3000;2130  
11:30 a.m. Lunch with Ruth Chesin  
  
? Return to Washington