



Max M. Kampelman Papers

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MAY, 1991
PANERIAT, LITHUANIA

THOUSANDS OF LITHUANIAN
JEWS WERE MURDERED HERE

MAY, 1991
PANERIAT,
LITHUANIA

The actual spot of atrocities
to LITHUANIAN JEWS.

MAY, 1991
BORDER: LITHUANIA - LATVIA

BURNED DOWN
CUSTOM HOUSE BY
SOVIET OMON.



MAY, 1991
VILNIUS,
LITHUANIA

SPOT WHERE LITHUANIANS DIED
ON JAN 13TH, 1991 AT THE HANDS
OF SOVIETS.

MAY, 1991
VILNIUS,
LITHUANIA

TANK TRACKS ARE STILL VISIBLE
DESPITE SOVIET DENIALS. A YOUNG
GIRL WAS CRUSHED HERE.

MAY, 1991
VILNIUS,
LITHUANIA

THE TV & RADIO TOWER. SOVIET
MILITARY VEHICLES ARE VISIBLE
ON LEFT.

"WINDS OF CHANGE"

REMARKS BY

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

UNIVERSITY OF VILNIUS

Vilnius, Lithuania

May 23, 1991

I am proud to be a guest of this venerable institution of higher learning which has served this community and its people for more than 400 years. The historic contributions of this university in the fields of law, medicine, natural sciences, theology are a tribute to the historically high cultural standards of the Lithuanian people. The origins of this institution are Jesuit and I am proud of the fact that for many years I served as a member of the Board of Trustees of the oldest Jesuit institution of the United States, Georgetown University.

This is my first visit to Lithuania and to this historic capital city, Vilnius, a center of European culture and learning for many years. It is today also an evolving living demonstration of human dignity and democracy can emerge out of the rubble of totalitarian brutality. The world looks upon Vilnius today as a test of whether the forward movement of freedom, which is spreading throughout the world, will receive support from the current rulers of the Soviet Union, or will continue to find their aspirations resisted by that leadership. The world and history will judge the commitment and values of that leadership by what it does to make Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia free.

I speak to you today as a private person and not as a representative of my government. You are aware, however, that I have had the privilege of representing my government at an extremely significant meeting that took place in Madrid from 1980 to 1983, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, under the Helsinki Final Act, that extraordinary document of human values and international vision. I also had the privilege of representing my government one year ago at the CSCE meeting on the Human Dimension which took place in Copenhagen. In July, I will be in Geneva representing my government at a CSCE meeting of experts on national minorities; and again in Moscow for the month of September at a CSCE meeting on the Human Dimension. It was also my privilege from 1985 to 1989 to serve in Geneva as the head of my government's delegation at bilateral nuclear arms reductions negotiations with the Soviets. I mention these responsibilities so that you can appreciate that, even though I speak today in my individual capacity, I do so with full confidence that the American government and the American people support your aspirations for human rights and independent national recognition.

Most of you in this audience are students, with your lives and destinies ahead of you. A number of you are members of the faculty who have devoted yourselves to training and stimulating a new generation of young people who will assume power and responsibility in a short time. This atmosphere is one of

ideas, thoughts. The human being is distinguished from other species of the animal kingdom by its emphasis on the unique brain which we possess. Indeed, the mind is our strength and our future. I, therefore, intend to talk to you about ideas and what ideas produce as they affect all of our futures.

I am a religious person. I believe in God. I am a Jew, proud of the fact that the ancient Hebrew tribes made a great contribution to our evolving civilization by proclaiming that there was only one God, rather than the many gods of mythology. If there is only one God, then we are all of us His children and thus brothers and sisters to one another. We are brothers and sisters to one another wherever we may have been born on this earth and wherever we may live and whatever our color or creed or inherent abilities. This is the essence of human brotherhood.

The political expression of that essence is democracy, which provides that however imperfect we may be and however erroneous our judgments at any time may be, the people of any community have a right to govern themselves through representatives whom they choose and can dismiss from office. Fundamentally, we are convinced that more often than not, the judgment of a majority of the people, freely arrived at and expressed, will be superior to that of any minority.

Furthermore, since a ruling minority fears and feels threatened by the majority and does not have the legitimacy of power that comes with the consent of the governed, it can only rule by violence and repression.

Democracy is a goal easy enough to state, but difficult to attain. It is, however, 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. In every age, that has been the challenge. In this nuclear age, the significance of that task cannot be overstated.

We are all impressed with recent rapidly moving international political developments. I am convinced that to understand them requires the awareness of the even more impressive changes to our world produced by science and technology.

During my lifetime, for example, medical knowledge available to physicians has increased conservatively more than ten-fold. More than 80% of all scientists who ever lived, it is said, are alive today. The average life span in my country is now nearly twice as great as it was when my grandparents were

born in Europe. The average world standard of living has, by one estimate, quadrupled in the past century. Advanced computers, new materials, new bio-technological processes that are today available to all are altering every phase of our lives, deaths, even reproduction.

We are living in a period of information power, with the telefax, electronic mail, the super computer, high definition television, the laser printer, the cellular telephone, the optical disk, imaging, video-conferences, the satellite dish. Combining these instruments produces near miracles. These developments are stretching our minds and our grasp of reality to the outermost dimensions of our capacity to understand them. No generation since the beginning of Man has experienced and absorbed so much change so rapidly -- and it is only the beginning. Newer and greater scientific, technological and humanitarian developments are on the horizon that will probably make the awesome discoveries of our time dwarf by comparison. As an indication of that, more than 100,000 scientific journals annually publish the flood of new knowledge that pours out of the world's laboratories. 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 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 are necessitating basic changes in our lives. The world is 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.

During the early days of the Madrid CSCE meeting, I severely criticized the Soviet government for jamming western radio broadcasts. I demonstrated that such jamming was a violation of the Helsinki Final Act. The Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister who responded to me did not deny the jamming. He defended it ludicrously on the basis of not liking what we were broadcasting. I then told him of large radiowave dishes that could be found in the United States sitting on top of buildings and aimed at the skies receiving messages from the communications satellites flying overhead. He said that the Soviet Union, too, had such dishes. I pointed out that although those dishes were now large, technology would soon permit them to be miniaturized so that they could be located in bedrooms, away from the eyes of probing inquisitors.

I pointed out then, and believe now, that totalitarian governments require a monopoly of information in order to prevail. The communications revolution has made it impossible

for any state to have a monopoly of information. The world knows what is happening as soon as the first hostile tank moves into Vilnius. Chinese students receive the messages of freedom by fax machine and from the BBC and Voice of America. Peasants in Asia and tribal members in Africa know from radio that the blessings of liberty and human dignity are only a few hours away from the degraded conditions in which they now live. Powerful forces are now in motion all over the globe insisting on democracy and liberty; and these forces will grow in numbers and influence.

There is resistance to these dramatic scientific, technological and communication changes because these changes also produce other changes in culture, politics, economics. In addition to the resistance that comes from vested interests who feel threatened by the new order, many others are simply frightened by the unknown consequences of the changes. 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. We will hold on tight and with a determined frenzy to the familiar, the tribal, the traditional!"

Simultaneously, however, we hear the stronger and more urgent sounds of impatient hope and expectation. The promises and realities of modern technology for better living cannot be

hidden. The communication age has opened up the world for all to see. The less fortunate are now aware that they can live in societies, even their own, which respect their dignity as human beings. From radio and television they know such societies are only hours away. They want that better living for themselves and their children -- and they don't wish to wait. People across the world are standing for liberty. The striving for human dignity, furthermore, is universal because it is an integral part of our human character.

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

"Speaking so plainly and simply of freedom and truth, sounded like an ultimate affirmation that human nature is unchangeable . . . that 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."

We see this in different cultures, different parts of the world. In my private capacity, I serve as Chairman of an organization in the U.S. called Freedom House, now in its 50th year. We are the authoritative reporters on how all the states in the world conform to recognized standards of freedom. Our

current conclusion is that a larger part of the world's population is today living in relative freedom than ever before in the history of the world.

There is growing international awareness that 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 the scientific and technological opportunities that can improve human life 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 any more 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 thoughts, 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, 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 Soviet Union is today struggling and anguishing over how to adjust the doctrine of sovereignty to the demands of national groups crying for independent recognition. Its current leaders clearly have underestimated the nationalist and

ethnic feelings that exist in many parts of its society. This combination of fear, uncertainty and lack of appreciation of the depth of these feelings has led the Soviet Union, in my opinion, to make many errors of judgment. Its most serious error has been its inability to understand that the problems it faces must be dealt with constructively, rationally and without the threat or use of repressive force. This principle, I suggest, does not in any way inhibit the proper use of a community's police power to prevent violence, eliminate and punish crimes and maintain order. A responsible police force comes from within a community and works to prevent violence rather than to inject and create violence in order to subjugate the people and their free institutions.

It is not my intent nor my task to provide advice to Soviet authorities, but I have no hesitation in saying that the problems they face have been intensified by their refusal, up until now, to recognize that the claims of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia for freedom are of a nature different from the other problems of national aspirations that it must face. The Baltic issue is a simple one. The Soviet Union used force to capture the Baltic States following an illegal and immoral treaty with the Nazis. Since the treaty is immoral and illegal, the fruits of that treaty, in this case coercion at the point of a gun, are immoral and illegal.

One, of course, cannot wipe out the barnacles and other living organisms that evolved over more than 70 years of history, but one can insist upon the recognition that negotiation should take place between Moscow and Vilnius and Riga and Tallin based on the fundamental premise that the Baltic States have a right to an independent status.

The issues to be resolved are complicated and time-consuming. They involve issues of religious freedom, the status of minorities, real estate and property questions, military security, the place of tariffs and trade, taxation, and an endless number of other matters. That negotiation must begin now, but it must be a negotiation, based on the understanding that the acquisition of the Baltic States by the Soviet Union was an illegal one. A new legal and moral relationship is required.

In 1985, the new leadership of the Soviet Union declared that it was beginning to turn the pages of its history away from totalitarianism toward democracy. It began to take steps that led in time to an overwhelming sense of approval in the world. The words "glasnost" and "perestroika" became internationally recognized and approved. Visitors to the Soviet Union saw physical and psychological evidence of that change and applauded.

That sense of excitement and enthusiasm has now diminished. The promised economic changes did not materialize as^o food and other consumer shortages became more serious. The terrible crimes and misdeeds of the past became more widely known and disillusionment entered. The openness of "glasnost" led to criticism and that was not welcome to those traditionalists and others in power unaccustomed to having their judgments questioned.

Today, there is pessimism and political wrangling and threats of intimidation in the air. For a time, it appeared that we were witnessing a creeping coup by the military and KGB. That danger remains. This causes great internal and international concern. Equally important, there is now talk of political disintegration as the many national, ethnic and religious groupings in the Soviet Union develop a highly restored sense of self-respect and self-assertion, which, incidentally, automatically intensifies as the Moscow central authorities, surprised and not understanding it, respond by violence or the threat of it.

With this deterioration of spirit and absence of necessary fundamental reform, an international wariness has set in. There is growing skepticism. This has reduced the readiness to provide international economic and technological assistance to the Soviet Union. There is, I believe, a universal hope that

President Gorbachev will reaffirm and reactivate his commitment to the democratization process and to the path of fundamental political and economic reform which he originally set in motion. There is a desire to help him succeed, but there is no inclination that I can see to help the military or the KGB succeed. This must be understood by those who govern and by those who are governed in the Soviet Union.

Let me repeat -- the litmus test for the civilized world will be how constructively and genuinely and expeditiously Moscow will negotiate with the democratically elected leaders of the Baltic peoples so that their aspirations are achieved peacefully and in a stable, steady fashion. The Baltic States are not a symbol of national disintegration as some in Moscow would have us believe. They are the symbol of a great international injustice perpetrated by the Nazis and Stalin. The Soviet Union must come to appreciate that it can now redress that injustice and thereby gain renewed respect and strength for itself. The international community including my own country, would welcome that renewed respect and strength for the Soviet Union (or whatever new name it chooses for itself) to reflect its dedication to democracy.

A brief reference to history is now appropriate as I attempt to place our current challenges in perspective. In 1835, a very unusually gifted French political observer, Alexis

de Tocqueville published his study on Democracy in America. He was enamored of the United States following his first visit to our country and was persuaded that our strength was in our democracy, that our spirit of freedom was deep and would be lasting, thereby foreshadowing our serving as a great power in the world. Interestingly, however, he added that there was one other nation destined for greatness because it, too, had an immense geographical size, abundant natural resources, a vibrant national character, and a growing population. He was referring to Imperial Russia. He closed this thought with the following sentence: "Their starting point is different and their courses are not the same; yet each of them seems marked out by the will of Heaven to sway the destinies of half the globe."

It is worthwhile thinking of this before relegating Russia, as some would, to the rank of a second-class power. It is, indeed, second and even third-class in some important respects, but it would be a serious error to regard the current decline as final and irreversible.

We must remember that de Tocqueville's prediction was made more than a decade before the Communist Manifesto was published and 82 years before the Bolsheviks seized power. In talking of Imperial Russia, he was not referring to ideology. Nor is de Tocqueville's observation negated as the Soviet Union

sometimes appears to be verging on dissolving into some of its constituent parts. The rest of us should understand that even standing alone Russia would continue to carry great weight in world affairs, with its population of more than 150 million, the largest population on the continent, and with its mineral rich heavily industrialized territory thirty times as large as the next largest country in Europe, France.

Without doubt, Soviet leadership faces an 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 some sustenance for itself and a great deal more for a 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, shortages, corruption, and alcoholism, internal morale is bad.

What we see, therefore, is a large contiguous empire inexpertly and haltingly experiencing a transition from brutal dictatorship to the requirements of human dignity which are essential if it is to enter the new world of technology,

science and growing civilization. Internally, it is experiencing profound tensions as its traditional power blocs try to hold on to power and its emerging populations insist on growing liberty. This drama is intensified by national and ethnic yearnings for identity. This seems to be producing a combination of paralysis and an occasional desperately unsuccessful attempt at repression.

For the moment -- and only for the moment -- this has interrupted the justifiable aspirations of the Baltic peoples for national independence. The leadership of the Soviet Union is being advised by those still desperately seeking to maintain their illegitimate hold on power that the Baltic States cannot be freed without setting a bad precedent for other restless republics. This explains the Bloody Sunday of January 13 which shocked the world as we witnessed unarmed civilians shot and killed in defense of this city's broadcast center and saw massive intimidating Soviet tanks rolling down the streets, an awful reminder yesterday's Soviet Union, one that the world hoped would disappear into oblivion.

The President of the Soviet Union, in an effort to disassociate himself and his Nobel Peace Prize from the gruesome television scenes of January 13, said that he had not been aware of those events when they occurred. I do not wish to question the veracity of that statement, but proceeding from that

assumption, I, living in Washington, many thousands of miles from here, learned about this shameful Soviet violence on January 13. Certainly the Soviet President would have learned about it by January 14. It is now more than four months since that disassociation. Why are Soviet groups still unlawfully occupying the Lithuanian broadcast and television facilities? I saw them there this morning. Why has he not withdrawn those troops? I want to believe President Gorbachev's statement of non-participation in the violence of January 13, but he surely must appreciate that the best way to demonstrate his earnestness and good faith is to remove those troops immediately from the places that remind the world of those outrages. That is a true test of his intentions! Or is it that he wishes the world to believe he has to authority over those troops?

The path of repression is doomed to failure. Without in any way judging the emerging new form of federalism within the Soviet Union and the role that other republics may play in that emerging new order, it is legally and morally unmistakable that the peoples of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia have never voluntarily been a part of that old order. They have a right to autonomy. They have a right to independence if that is what they wish. They have a right, with dignity and pride, to negotiate a separation from the Soviet Union or some other relationship which they may wish to follow.

The peoples of the Baltic States have friends and supporters in the world. Your cause and your aspirations are not forgotten and will not be forgotten. It is significant that, in response to the events of Bloody Sunday, the European community decided to delay consideration of \$1 billion in food aid and indicated that it might also reconsider its \$540 million technical assistance program. The U.S. Congress also clearly indicated that it would be receptive to a cutoff of all aid to the Soviet Union if the repression continued. Canada suspended a \$150 million line of credit. These are expressions of concern, disapproval, and disappointment.

The basis for that response can be found in the Helsinki Final Act of 1975 which brings us to where we began this discussion. That document firmly established the principle of human rights within the European order. It was strengthened by the Madrid Concluding Document of 1983 which I had the privilege of helping to formulate. It was further strengthened by the Vienna document of 1988 and by the Copenhagen concluding statement last June which introduced the concept of political democracy, political pluralism and the rule of law as indispensable ingredients for the achievement of stability and security in Europe. The Soviet Union freely agreed to those documents. The Soviet Union and all other states who are a part of the Helsinki process must be held accountable for living up to its commitments.

In his 1975 Nobel Prize speech that he was not permitted to present in person, Dr. Andrei Sakharov, whose 70th birthday is being celebrated in Moscow this week, 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 U.S. interacts and negotiates with the Soviet Union and the world in that context. To negotiate is risky. You are probably being warned about this by some in your society. 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.

Communism and Marxism have no further excuse for surviving as an ideology. If I may paraphrase a reference recently made by Mayor Gavriil Popov of Moscow, there is a phenomenon in astrology known as the burnt out star. After the star burns out, planets far away still receive signals of its existence and believe it is still there. This is the case with Communism and other forms of totalitarianism.

We must have faith in our principles as we intensify our efforts to find a basis for understanding, democracy and peace with dignity. The process toward universal human dignity has begun, but 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 recent tensions and crises we have noted are only a harbinger of more to come. But to the freedom loving people of Lithuania and to your colleagues in the other Baltic States I say that your struggle is a struggle in behalf of all of us who cherish democracy. The struggle for human dignity is for all of us. Our prayers are with you. May God bless you.

Thank you.

5/7/91

FRIED, FRANK, HARRIS, SHRIVER & JACOBSON

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WRITER'S DIRECT LINE

December 29, 1990

202-639-7020

Mr. Ray Chesonis
8282 Fawnsbrook Drive
Fishers, Indiana 46038

Dear Ray:

Thanks for your letter of December 14. Let me say that it was good to see you a few weeks ago.

The situation has certainly deteriorated in the Soviet Union. I had hoped that the meeting between Lithuania's President and President Bush would have turned out more positive than seems to have developed. I do think, incidentally, that nothing was lost by Lithuania's absence in Paris. It would have been lost in the shuffle, and added to frustration as well as disappointment.

With respect to your suggestion that I accept an invitation from the University of Vilnius to visit Lithuania, the idea is a good one as far as I am concerned. The spring may also be a good time of the year in that, by then, I would not have as yet filled my calendar with other less interesting activities. In the event you think that the University itself is serious about this, why don't either you or they get in touch with me directly, informing me of their calendar and their date preferences. There is one factor, however, that I must note. Since I am not now in government service, all overseas transportation by me is personally paid for by me and not the government. Under the circumstances, I do not make trips such as this unless, at a minimum, the transportation and other relevant costs are covered. That may not be feasible as far as the University is concerned. In the event that it is not feasible, it might be possible for us to work something out in September. I still plan to head up our delegation to the September meetings in Moscow under the CSCE.

Thanks very much for keeping in touch with me, Ray.

All my best.

Sincerely,


Max M. Kampelman

MMK:gs

8282 Fawnbrook Drive
Fishers, IN 46038

December 14, 1990

Ambassador Max Kampelman
Fried, Frank, Harris,
Shriver and Jacobson
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Suite 800
Washington, DC 20004

Dear Ambassador:

It was most kind of you to see me last month and to share your sentiments concerning the struggle for independence by Lithuania and the other Baltic Republics.

I had the opportunity to convey to the Lithuanian chargé d'affaires some of the issues that we had discussed. Specifically, I suggested to limit the expenditure of limited resources for the Paris meetings and to include the CSCE membership issue in the agenda of talks between Kremlin and Lithuania, if they ever develop serious negotiations. Right now, such is not the case.

The reports from Paris indicated that "the activities" were limited and no tangible results were achieved. It was gratifying to me that several weeks before the Paris Conference, the Lithuanian chargé in Washington had an extensive interview with the radio correspondents of Lithuania concerning the realities of CSCE membership which was widely reported in Lithuania. In fact, I heard the highlights of this interview on Radio Vilnius via shortwave radio.

As far as negotiations with Moscow are concerned, they are practically non-existent as Moscow does not consider them to be serious. The main concern of Lithuanian government today is President Gorbachev's and his Defense Minister's "saber rattling" triggered by an unfortunate, ill-conceived, strident wording of Latvian Parliament's decree relating to the cessation of supplying the Russian army with basic necessities in Latvia.

President Landsbergis, who met with President Bush a few days ago in Washington, was concerned enough about a possible martial law declaration by Gorbachev that he spoke to the Lithuanian nation outlining the do's and don't's in the event of a Moscow crackdown.

I conferred with appropriate persons concerning the possibility of your visit to Lithuania this spring at the invitation of the University of Vilnius. Needless to say, there was great excitement on the Lithuanian side that such

December 14, 1990
Page 2

a possibility could become a reality. The trip agenda would include only your areas of interest and be guided by a very strict concern for your health. I would be privileged to accompany you to ensure that.

I would very much appreciate hearing from you, Ambassador, if upon reflection, you would indeed be willing to undertake such a journey.

With my best wishes,

Ray Chesonis
Ray Chesonis

8282 Fawnbrook Drive
Fishers, IN 46038
(317)578-3437



LITHUANIAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY, INC.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

2713 West 71st St. • Chicago, IL 60629 • (312) 436-0197 • FAX (312) 436-6909

June 20, 1991

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

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

Enclosed please find a check in the amount of \$3,630.00 to cover the transportation costs of your trip to Vilnius, Lithuania.

Lithuanian American Community is very appreciative of your work in respect to the advancement of human rights and the right of nations to live independently. We wish you the best in the forthcoming conferences of the Helsinki process.

Sincerely yours,

Antanas Razma
Antanas Razma, M.D.

President

AR/dk

Enclosure: check

Red 6/29/91

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

June 3, 1991

Mr. Ray Chesonis
8282 Fawnsbrook Drive
Fishers, Indiana 46038

Dear Ray:

Hope you felt your trip to Moscow and Vilnius with Ambassador Kampelman was successful. Ambassador Kampelman was certainly pleased to be in Vilnius and to have the opportunity to lecture at the University and to meet with Lithuanian government officials and others while there.

Following are Ambassador Kampelman's transportation costs in that connection:

| | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|
| Roundtrip sedan service | |
| Residence/Dulles/Residence | \$ 80.00 |
| Roundtrip business class airfare | |
| DC/Vilnius/DC | <u>3,550.00</u> |
| | \$3,630.00 |

Should you need any additional information, please let me know,

Sincerely,

Sharon H. Dardine
Assistant to
Max M. Kampelman

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April 29, 1991

WRITER'S DIRECT LINE
202-639-7020

Via Fax No. 0070122613473

Professor Rolandas Pavilionis
President
University of Vilnius
Universitoto 3, 232724
Vilnius, Lithuania

Dear Professor Pavilionis:

Thank you very much for your most gracious invitation of March 29 that I lecture at the University of Vilnius during the late May period. I am delighted to accept your invitation and I have now requested a Visa from the authorities which would permit me to arrive in Vilnius from Moscow during the afternoon of May 22. My plan is to be in Vilnius on May 23 and 24, leaving your city on either the morning or afternoon of May 25.

My wife, incidentally, will not accompany me, but I am informed by Mr. Ray Chesonis that he is prepared to accompany me as an aide and interpreter.

We will notify you of the exact time of our arrival and hope that it will be possible for your University to arrange for us to be met at the airport and accompanied to our hotel. In the event this meets with your approval, I would propose to deliver a formal lecture on the Helsinki Final Act as well as on the relationship, as I see it, between the United States, the Baltic republics, Moscow and Europe. Your communication suggests other appearances as well. Let me assure you, therefore, that I would be prepared, should you consider it desirable, to meet with groups of students, faculty and other citizens of your community in order to discuss these and related questions. I met your Foreign Minister when I was in Copenhagen during the CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension. Should he be available during my visit, I would be honored to meet with him and any other government officials as well.

All my best.

Sincerely,



Max M. Kampelman

MMK:gs

cc: Mr. Ray Chesonis



UNIVERSITAS VILNENSIS

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March 29, 1991

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1001 Pennsylvania Ave.

N.W. Suite 800

Washington, D.C. 20004-2505

U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Max M. Kampelman,

I hereby formally invite you to visit the University of Vilnius and deliver several lectures during the period of May 17, 1991 through May 31, 1991.

This invitation is also extended to your two companions: Mrs. Maggie Kampelman, who handles your secretarial duties, and Mr. Rimas Chesonis, your aid and interpreter.

President University of Vilnius

P R O G R A M M E

of the visit to the Republic of Lithuania of
H.E. ambassador Max M.Kampelman

Wednesday, May 22

- 16.50 - arrival at Vilnius airport. Flight
No 2017 from Moscow. Accomodation in
"Draugystè" hotel
- 19.00 - dinner on behalf of the Ministry of
Foreign Affairs

Thursday, May 23

- 9.30 - breakfast
- 10.30 - tour of the city
- 12.30 - visit to the President of the Supreme
Council Mr. V.Landsbergis
- 13.00 - lunch
- 14.30 - a lecture in Vilnius University
- 19.00 - dinner with the representatives of
jewish organizations. Restaurant
"Astorijs"

Friday, May 24

- 9.00 - breakfast
- 11.00 - meeting with the representatives of
polish and russian minorities
- 12.00 - TV tower/TV and Radio Committee/Ceme-
tery

- 13.00 - lunch
- 14.00 - visit to the Minister of Foreign Affairs
Mr. A.Saudargas
- 16.00 - visit to the Prime minister Mr. G.Vag-
noriuss
- 19.00 - dinner

Saturday, May 25

- 9.00 - breakfast
- 10.00 - visit to the former jewish ghetto,
Paneriai memorial
- 12.30 - lunch
- 13.30 - departure for the airport
- 14.30 - departure for Moscow. Flight No 2022

May/90

FRIED, FRANK, HARRIS, SHRIVER & JACOBSON

A PARTNERSHIP INCLUDING PROFESSIONAL CORPORATIONS

1001 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W., SUITE 800

WASHINGTON, DC 20004 - 2505

202 - 639 - 7000

FAX - 202 - 639 - 7008

WRITER'S DIRECT LINE

February 19, 1991

202-639-7020

Mr. Ray Chesonis
8282 Fawnsbrook Drive
Fishers, Indiana 46038

Dear Ray:

You are an efficient person. Your letter of February 11 was very helpful.

We did keep the date flexible, but since talking to you on phone, I have had an opportunity to look more carefully at my calendar. I find that that the week of May 20th is more possible for me than the previous week. I also find that Day 1 may very well be May 22. I will await further word if it can't be arranged. In the meantime, let me say that I have talked to Maggie who is giving serious thought to joining me on such a trip. She would very much like to be part of the effort.

All my best.

Sincerely,

Max M. Kampelman
[dictated but not read]

MMK:gs

OK

R. A. Chesonis
Ph: (317)267-5015
Fax: (317)231-4177

February 19, 1991

Dear Ambassador:

I would like to trouble you with a few questions relating to the Lithuania trip:

- OK*
- (1) In the invitation from University of Vilnius, I would like to include my name as your aide/translator. It would simplify procedures. However, I want to be sure that you concur with this.
- PUT OFF FOR
TIME BEING*
- (2) Concerning "the Moscow leg" of the trip -
(a) Do you want me to accompany you there?
(b) Do you want me to make travel and living arrangements there?
- OK*
- (3) Would you object if we use other than US airlines due to security considerations. Scandinavian Airlines via Copenhagen would be my preference.

I would appreciate hearing from you, Ambassador, at your earliest convenience.

Ray Chesonis
Ray Chesonis

8282 Fawnsbrook Drive
Fishers, IN 46038
Tel. (317)578-3437
Fax. (317)231-4177

February 11, 1991

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman
Fried, Frank, Harris,
Shriver and Jacobson
1001 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Suite 800
Washington, DC 20004-2505

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

It was certainly most interesting to discuss with you the forthcoming trip to Lithuania. This is to confirm our thoughts and plans as we discussed them last week:

1. Invitation will be extended to you by the University of Vilnius or possibly by both the University of Vilnius and Kaunas Polytechnic Institute.
2. Trip date scheduled for May ^{Sun} 12 - ^{Sat} 18, 1991.
3. Preliminary agenda:
 - Day 1 - Rest from journey.
 - Day 2 - Lecture at University of Vilnius;
Meetings with Parliamentary officials.
 - Day 3 - Lecture at Kaunas Polytechnic; Touring
 - Day 4 - Meetings; Touring.
 - Day 5 - Moscow.
 - Day 6 - Moscow.

I will keep you posted on the planning progress and as questions arise.

With warmest regards,


Ray Chesonis

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1001 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W., SUITE 800

WASHINGTON, DC 20004 · 2505

202 · 639 · 7000

FAX · 202 · 639 · 7008

WRITER'S DIRECT LINE

March 19, 1991

202-639-7020

Mr. Ray Chesonis
8282 Fawnsbrook Drive
Fishers, Indiana 46038

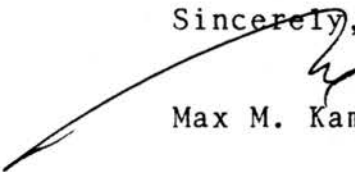
Dear Ray:

Thanks very much for sending me that impressive photographic material about Vilinius.

I assume, Ray, that I will receive a formal invitation from the University with respect to my appearance there. You and they are aware of the fact that I cannot proceed with a request for a visa without having such a formal invitation.

All my best.

Sincerely,


Max M. Kampelman

MMK:gs

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

June 17, 1991


Mr. Jonas Paslauskas
A. Vienuolio Str. 8
232684 Vilnius
Republic of Lithuania

Dear Jonas:

That was a warm and friendly letter. Thank you very much. It came just as I was about to write to you to tell you how much I thoroughly enjoyed meeting you and taking advantage of your gracious hospitality. You are a fine public servant for the government and people of Lithuania. They are fortunate to have you and I hope you are learning a great deal which will allow you to better serve your values and your aspirations.

All my best and again, my thanks.

Sincerely,



Max M. Kampelman

MMK:gs

Vilnius, May 30, 1991

To Honorable Ambassador

Mr. Max. M. Kampelman

Dear Sir,

May I use this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude for the attention You pay to the aspirations of the peoples of Lithuania.

For a freshman in politics like myself, Your visit to Vilnius was an important "workshop" of diplomacy. It was a great pleasure to observe Your tact, tolerance and wisdom in anything You do or discuss.

Dear Ambassador,

Please accept my deepest respect and heartfelt wishes for Your political activities and everyday work, personal happiness and good health.

Sincerely Yours

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Jonas Paslauskas', with a stylized flourish underneath.

Jonas Paslauskas

Chief of Protocol

Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Republic of Lithuania

FRIED, FRANK, HARRIS, SHRIVER & JACOBSON

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1001 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W., SUITE 800

WASHINGTON, DC 20004 • 2505

202 • 639 • 7000

FAX • 202 • 639 • 7008

WRITER'S DIRECT LINE

June 4, 1991

202-639-7020

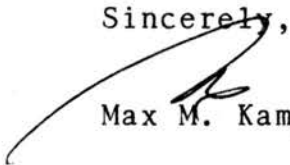
Mr. Ray Chesonis
8282 Fawnsbrook Drive
Fishers, Indiana 46038

Dear Ray:

You know that you have my thanks and appreciation for everything you've done in connection with my visit to Vilnius. It was very good and also very satisfying to get to know you better. You are a fine person, Ray, and I am proud of our friendship.

All my best.

Sincerely,



Max M. Kampelman

MMK:gs
Enclosure

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Ray Caldwell
EUR/RPM, Room 6227

FROM: Max M. Kampelman *add to memo*

Date: May 24, 1991

This memorandum is being dictated on Friday evening from Vilnius.

I met yesterday with President Landsbergis at a small working luncheon he hosted for me. Since I don't have cable facilities here and the Foreign Service officer out of Leningrad returned to Riga yesterday morning, there was nobody present to take notes of the luncheon. This memo will have to suffice. I would appreciate your sharing it with others as you deem appropriate, including Curt Kamman and with David Gompert at the White House.

Our luncheon was interrupted on a number of occasions with the equivalent of "news breaks from the front," a whole series of border skirmishes and shootings on the part of the Soviet Black Beret troops. Most of these skirmishes have been against unarmed border patrol forces of Lithuania. These incidences troubled Landsbergis and his government immensely since they have increased in number in recent weeks and they believe the Soviet army is testing how far they can go without eliciting a strong Western response. Landsbergis has unsuccessfully tried to reach Gorbachev by phone. They are very eager to have the U.S. express via the State Department or the White House its concern publically, so as not to mislead the Soviets.

Today I met with the Vice President at lunch who started by urging me to communicate to our government increased concern by Landsbergis and his fervent hope that the U.S. would speak out. I promised to pass this along.

The Vilnius part of the trip did include a lecture at the University of Vilnius, a copy of which I will send you when I return to Washington on June 3, and has been very worthwhile for me. I had a good meeting this afternoon with the Deputy Prime Minister, Pakalniskis. We discussed privatization and the laws they are now enacting. I believe I was helpful. I then proposed that they take the Copenhagen CSCE document and make certain that all of their laws conform to it. He seemed to welcome this suggestion rather enthusiastically.

I also had a good meeting with the leaders of the Jewish Community. This evening I met with a group of six young Americans of Lithuanian descent who reminded me of young American zionists. They are working there in rather responsible positions within the Government including the President's office. In addition to the above meetings with Government officials I also met this morning with representatives of the Polish and Russian minorities.

You should by now have received a cable from Moscow about my meetings there with Reshetov and Petrovskiy. You should also by now have received a copy from Leningrad about my first evening's dinner with the Lithuanian Foreign Minister.

I now shift to Israel. See you soon!