

Max M. Kampelman Papers

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KEY SPEECHES 12

Another in a series of speeches on issues of importance to the aerospace industry and to the nation

AEROSPACE INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, INC.

East-West Relations

By MAX M. KAMPELMAN

Ambassador and Chairman of the U.S. Delegation to the Madrid Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe

Sotouhy

Eight months have elapsed since the end of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, held in Madrid from 1980 until the fall of 1983. During those eight months, I have shifted my focus away from the fascinating details and intricacies of my three years in Europe as head of the U.S. delegation and directed it toward the more significant issue of which Madrid was a part, the intensely troubling East-West relations.

When the Helsinki Final Act was signed in 1975, the 33 European signatory countries plus the United States and Canada acted on the assumption that the agreement reflected a condition of detente, a process toward peace and cooperation. The military, economic, cultural, scientific, and humanitarian provisions of that agreement were designed to cover the totality of East-West relations. The Madrid meeting was a follow-up meeting whose original purpose was to carry forward that process of detente.

But by the time Madrid began, there was no *detente*. The invasion of Afghanistan exacerbated tensions as it became clear that the Soviets behaved as if they had never signed the Helsinki accords.

A year ago, Yuri Andropov spoke of a vital battle underway "for the hearts and minds of billions of people on this planet." When the United States came to Madrid in September 1980, we understood that Madrid was a serious battlefield in that struggle. We were able in that forum, working within a united West, to negotiate with the hope of reducing tensions, but also to demonstrate that Soviet violations of the Helsinki standards were threatening the peace and stability of Europe.

A united Western group of nations, speaking in many languages but in one voice, documented the Soviet record of slave labor camps; the use of psychiatric hospitals for political punishment; government-sponsored anti-Semitism; armed aggression in Afghanistan and Poland; re-

ligious persecution of evangelical Christians, Baptists, Seventh Day Adventists, Pentecostals, Catholics; strangulation of scientific freedom; the decimation of cultural and national heritages; the defiance of agreements against the use of chemical and biological weapons.

Our uniform message was that the Soviets had to comply with the agreement they made in 1975 if they wished to be accepted as a responsible member of the international community.

The question has been raised by some experts as to whether confrontation is consistent with serious negotiation. Negotiation without confrontation, where the objective facts require blunt talk, is not a serious negotiation at all; it is a charade. A purpose of negotiation is obviously to reach agreement. The negotiating process must also be used to communicate concerns where they exist, so as to lessen the likelihood of ambiguity. Absent this clarity, there is no reason for the other

alf we too

side to take seriously the depth of our commitments and perceptions.

I spoke of a united Western group in Madrid. This is an indispensable condition for effectiveness. We should understand that our super-power strategy does not give us super wisdom. We and our friends should think of ourselves as an orchestra—someone must bang the drums and blow the trumpet, while somebody else plays the harp or touches the piano keys softly. What is important is that we make music together.

This requires effort. Our NATO group in Madrid met three and four times a week, and sometimes three and four times a day. We worked closely with our neutral friends who shared our values. The West is stronger in dealing with the Soviet Union when it speaks with one voice and gives a consistent message.

There is today sensitivity within the NATO alliance. Crises are ever present. There is always the potential for divisiveness when sixteen free and sovereign states, governed by democratic principles and with differing histories and cultural backgrounds, attempt to formulate common policy.

What is necessary is constantly to keep in mind that it is our values that tie us together and that it is those values that are under attack. In a real sense our task is to raise the vision of the West above the minutiae of our relations, important as they may appear to be at any moment. It is vital we prevail in that effort in the face of a massive Soviet onslaught to divide and weaken the alliance.

Let me make an assertion about dealing with the Soviet Union that is based on conviction and on my experience. The Soviet Union respects military strength. Its incentive for negotiating an agreement is greater when the positions taken by its negotiating partner have the added dignity of

"We did not seek the role of world leadership, and our people today still tend to shy away from it. By the end of the war, we were somewhat like a young giant among nations. And being a giant is not easy. It is not easy living with a giant, and our friends are learning that. It is hard to find shoes to fit if you are a giant-and the bed is always too short. Being strong, the giant can afford to be gentle, but he is also, at times, awkward. His good intentions are not always so interpreted by others."

being supported by that strength.

The Soviet Union is an aggressive society seeking, with its massive military and police power, to expand its influence, and a repressive society determined to defend its totalitarian power, whatever the human cost. We know it is a major challenge to our security and values. How do we constructively face this reality? I suspect that we and our friends who value freedom will pay a heavy price and suffer great anguish as we come to grips with this challenge. The integrity and character and strength of our society and of our people will undergo the greatest challenge of our history as we learn how to live with Soviet military power, meet it, challenge it, and simultaneously strive to maintain the peace as we remain constant in our We still look upon ourselves as a young and developing society, even though we are now one of the oldest, stable systems in the world. We did not seek the role of world leadership, and our people today still tend to shy away from it. By the end of the war, we were somewhat like a young giant among nations. And being a giant is not easy. It is not easy living with a giant, and our friends are learning that. It is hard to find shoes to fit if you are a giant; and the bed is always too short. Being strong, the giant can afford to be gentle, but he is also, at times, awkward. His good intentions are not always so interpreted by others.

We make mistakes because we are unaccustomed to and hesitant about the responsibilities of leadership. As a result, our behavior is at times one of fits and starts and it frequently tends to confuse.

We talk a great deal about values and about liberty. Some of our more sophisticated friends see this linkage of values with world *realpolitik* as a form of naiveté. We, of course, talk about the values of liberty because, to us, they are not abstract. We also know they are not abstract to those unable to enjoy them.

Our founding fathers, by cool calculation, informed by history and inspired by a passion for liberty, knew that idealism and realism were a tightly woven warp and woof. They made a sturdy constitutional fabric. We must again treat them as mutually reinforcing. Our values distinguish us from the totalitarians and authoritarians of the world. They are our strength.

As we reaffirm our faith, however, we must understand that we thereby implicitly threaten the Soviet Union. Like any dictatorship, the Soviet ruling class is deeply concerned about the subversion of its power—power accumulated not by consent but by military and police force alone. Where there is no legitimacy; where there

is repression coupled with traditional national and cultural differences; where there is an obvious failure of the system to meet the needs of its peoples—these obviously contribute to Soviet insecurity. The very fact that there are neighboring free societies creates a powerful draw and attraction for those who live under totalitarian rule. By example, democracies inevitably tend to subvert Soviet authority.

Thus, the challenge. There are some who respond to the danger to us represented by Soviet military power and theology by ignoring or denying its existence. That would be fatal for us. There are others who are so overwhelmed by the difficulties as to place all of their trust in military power and its use alone. That view can be fatal to us as well.

We dare not and cannot blow the Soviet Union away. We cannot wish it away. It is here and it is militarily powerful. We share the same globe. We must try to find a formula under which we can live together in dignity.

We must engage in the pursuit of peace without illusion, but with persistence, regardless of provocation. Thus, in Madrid, we attended, talked, debated, negotiated, argued, dined, condemned, talked some more. We achieved some results in words. We have not yet achieved a change in patterns of behavior. That will only come, if it ever does come, when the Soviet Union concludes that it is in its interest to change, and when its leadership decides that the change is necessary to keep itself in power.

The Soviet Union is not likely to undergo what Jonathan Edwards called "a great awakening," or see a blinding light on the road to Damascus. Yet the imperatives for survival in the nuclear age require us—through the deterrence that comes from military strength, through dialogue, through criticism, through negotia-

tion—to persist in the search for understanding, agreement, peace.

Today, the prospects for understanding seem remote. The Soviet leadership appears frightened and somewhat disorganized. Threats, coupled with infrequent smiles, are techniques of traditional Soviet political offensives. This time, however, the threats seem more desperate and despairing.

The "correlation of forces" has moved against the Soviet Union. The credibility of its system as a viable alternative has collapsed for sensible people.

The growing military strength of the United States is of further concern to an aging and unstable Soviet elite. It is now engaged in a massive and frantic program to intimidate the world half to death.

The totalitarian cause would be a lost one, considering the added burden of its economic and social failures, were it not for its belief that the West is divided, lazy, comfortable and increasingly pacifist. They doubt the will of the West to resist the intimidating power of their military bluster. Soviet submarines enter Swedish waters to warn and scare as well as gain intelligence. They train and finance terror-

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ists all over the world to destabilize the rest of us. The deep involvement of the Bulgarian secret police in the attempted assassination of the Pope, which would not have been possible without KGB complicity, is an illustration of that criminal irresponsibility.

They move to test us in our own hemisphere as well. In Central America, Soviet money, guns and personnel, operating directly and through Cuban and Nicaraguan proxies, seek further to inject their totalitarian influence and undermine the striving of these poverty-stricken people for economic and social justice and self-government. Thus, in our hemisphere too, in countries geographically nearer to many parts of the United States than those parts are to Washington, the totalitarian power is flexing its muscles.

I was in El Salvador as co-chairman of an American delegation to observe elections there. We spent an hour on election eve with José Napoleon Duarte, who has since been elected president of his country. We sat in a small circle and talked about democracy. He discussed the active Soviet and PLO presence among the guerrillas who were threatening to kill and maim those who would dare to vote in a free and democratic election the next day. We were reminded again of the close alliance between Soviet and terrorist forces. both committed to the use of violence and both determined to gain a foothold at our Southern flank.

Dr. Charles Malik, the distinguished Lebanese scholar and patriot, commented in *The Wall Street Journal* on the role of the West in his country:

"A civilization constituted by Homer, Plato and Aristotle, by the Old and the New Testaments, by Cicero and Augustine, by Shakespeare and Goethe, by Newton and Einstein, by Pushkin and Dostoevski, and by the joy and zest and

adventure and freedom of the great American experience, and all that these names concretely mean-can such a civilization lack supreme values for its conviction and burning fire for its will? Who else has anything comparable with this incomparable heritage? America and the West underestimate their immense potential. Lebanon would never have been a problem if the West itself were not a problem. And the West is not only the problem but also the solution. That is its singular greatness. And the solution is to be true to the deepest value of the West: the primacy of the spirit and the freedom of the soul."

The future lies with freedom. There can be no lasting stability in societies that would deny it. Only freedom can release the constructive energies of men and women to work toward reaching new heights. A human being has the capacity to aspire, to achieve, to dream, and to do. He cannot be permanently prevented from stretching his muscles to exercise his freedom and achieve ambitions for himself and his children.

In a letter smuggled to the West from his exile in Gorky, where his own life and

"The future lies with freedom. There can be no lasting stability in societies that would deny it. Only freedom can release the constructive energies of men and women to work toward reaching new heights."

that of his wife llene Bonner are now in jeopardy, Andrei Sakharov warned that "the world is facing very difficult times and cruel cataclysms if the West and the developing countries trying to find their place in the world do not now show the required firmness, unity and consistency in resisting the totalitarian challenge. . . ." I believe that with this kind of understanding, free societies will be able to survive the multiple assaults of totalitarianism and establish the conditions for genuine peace.

I conclude with an emphasis on a theme represented by the word "pa-

tience". It is indispensable. We must be prepared to remain in any negotiation with the Soviets for one day longer than they. We must be clear, unambiguous, strong, consistent, and obviously reasonable in what we seek. We must be bona fide negotiators in good faith; anything less is transparent and damaging to our political interest. With patience, persistence, strength, confidence and faith, we need have no fear of negotiating. Our case is the superior one.

The true peacemakers of this world are those who stand up openly and honestly against totalitarian repression and aggression. The true peacemakers are those who strive for peace with human dignity.

Ambassador Kampelman is an attorney with Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Kampelman of Washington, New York and London. His remarks were delivered to the 38th Williamsburg Conference of Aerospace Industries Association, Williamsburg, Virginia, May 24, 1984.



Aerospace Industries Association



38th Williamsburg Conference

May 23-25, 1984

Williamsburg
Conference Center

Williamsburg, Virginia

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AIA OFFICE ROOM 3127, THE INN 804-229-1000

SCHEDULE

Eastern Daylight Time

Wednesday, May 23

Informal Reception 11:30 am Inn Terrace Rain Plan—East Lounge Noon Buffet Luncheon Inn Dining room Meeting of AIA Members 2:00 pm Rooms B & C First Speaking Session 6:00 pm Tidewater Room 7:00 pm Reception Rooms D-E-F Dinner al fresco 7:45 pm

West Terrace

Rain Plan-Virginia Room

Thursday, May 24

7:30 am	Breakfast Inn Dining Room
9:00 am	Second Speaking Session Tidewater Room

Thursday, May 24-continued

Informal Reception West Terrace Rain Plan—D-E-F
No planned luncheon
Afternoon free
Final Speaking Session Tidewater Room
Reception West Terrace Rain Plan—D-E-F
Conference Banquet Virginia Room

Friday, May 25

7:30 am	Breakfast Inn Dining Room
9:00 am	Board of Governors Meeting Rooms B&C
Noon	Reception & Buffet Luncheon Inn Terrace—Dining Room

Departure following luncheon

All activities at Conference Center unless otherwise indicated.

SPEAKING PROGRAM

First Session: May 25 — 6:00 pm

Presiding:
Karl G. Harr, Jr.
President
Aerospace Industries Association

Speaker:
Mr. Patrick Buchanan
Syndicated Columnist,
Radio and TV Talk Show Host

Second Session: May 24 — 9:00 am-Noon

Presiding:
Robert L. Kirk
President and Chief Operating Officer
LTV Aerospace and Defense Company

Speakers:

The Honorable William H. Taft, IV Deputy Secretary of Defense

> The Honorable Verne Orr The Secretary of the Air Force

The Honorable James M. Beggs Administrator National Aeronautics and Space Administration

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman Recent Co-chairman, U.S. Delegation in Security and Cooperation in Europe (Madrid Conference) Final Session: May 24 — 6:00 pm

Presiding:
Harry H. Wetzel, Jr.
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer
The Garrett Corporation

Speaker:
Dr. Rudolph G. Penner
Director, Congressional Budget Office

Conference speaking sessions are conducted in an off-the-record atmosphere.

Expected Attendance

ADAMS, Frank M., President, Aircraft Systems
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Bendix Aerospace Sector
Allied Corporation

ADAMS, Richard E., Executive Vice President Aerospace Division General Dynamics Corporation

AMES, Robert S.

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ARCHEY, William T., Acting Assistant Secretary for Export Administration

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BARNHART, Ronald H., Vice President Marketing Aerospace & Defense Honeywell Inc.

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Defense Communications Division
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Vince Cook

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Bill McClain

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Len Pecchenino

Norm Ryker

RAYTHEON COMPANY

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Ev Harper

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John Rittenhouse Mike Stelter Len Fox

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Don Beall Jim McDivitt "Buz" Hello Sy Rubenstein

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Aerospace Industries Association of America, Inc. 1725 DeSales Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036 202-429-4612 mmk Speeches

AS READ

REMARKS BY MAX M. KAMPELMAN

38th WILLIAMSBURG CONFERENCE AEROSPACE INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION

May 24, 1984

Williamsburg, Va.

It is now eight months since Madrid ended. During this period, I have shifted my focus away from the fascinating details and intricacies of three years in Europe to the more significant issue of which Madrid was a part, the intensely troubling East-West relation.

When the Helsinki Final Act was signed in 1975, the 33
European signatory countries plus the United States and Canada acted on the assumption that the Agreement reflected a condition of "detente," a process toward peace and cooperation. The military, economic, cultural, scientific, and humanitarian provisions of that Agreement were designed to cover the totality of East-West relations. The Madrid meeting was a follow-up meeting whose original purpose was to carry forward that process of "detente".

But by the time Madrid began, there was no "detente".

The invasion of Afghanistan exacerbated tensions as it became clear that the Soviets behaved as if they never signed the Helsinki Accords.

A year ago, Yuri Andropov spoke of a vital battle underway "for the hearts and minds of billions of people on this planet." When the United States came to Madrid in September, 1980, we understood that Madrid was a serious battlefield in that struggle. We were able in that forum, working with a united West, to negotiate with the hope of reducing tensions, but also to demonstrate that Soviet violations of the Helsinki standards were threatening the peace and stability of Europe. A united Western group of nations, speaking in many languages, but in one voice, documented the Soviet record of slave labor camps; the use of psychiatric hospitals for political punishment; government-sponsored anti-Semitism; armed aggression in Afghanistan and Poland; religious persecution of evangelical Christians, Baptists, Seventh Day Adventists, Pentecostals, Catholics; strangulation of scientific freedom; the decimation of cultural and national heritages; the defiance of agreements against the use of chemical and biological weapons. Our uniform message was that the Soviet Union had to comply with the agreement they made in 1975 if they wished to be accepted as a responsible member of the international community. The question has been raised by some experts as to whether confrontation is consistent with serious negotiation. Negotiation without confrontation, where the objective facts require blunt talk, is not a serious negotiation at all; it is a charade. A purpose of negotiation is obviously to reach agreement.

negotiating process must, however, also be used to communicate concerns where they exist, so as to lessen the likelihood of ambiguity. Absent this clarity, there is no reason for the other side to take seriously the depth of our commitments and perceptions.

I spoke of a united Western group in Madrid. This is an indispensable condition for maximum effectiveness. We should understand that our super-power strategy does not give us super-wisdom. We and our friends should think of ourselves as an orchestra -- someone must bang the drums and blow the trumpet, while somebody else plays the harp or touches the piano keys softly. What is important is that we make music together.

This requires effort. Our NATO group in Madrid met three and four times a week, and sometimes three and four times a day. We worked closely with our neutral friends who shared our values. The West is stronger in dealing with the Soviet Union when it speaks with one voice and gives a consistent message.

There is today sensitivity within the NATO alliance. Crises are ever present. There is always the potential for divisiveness when sixteen free and sovereign states, governed by democratic principles and with differing histories and cultural backgrounds, attempt to formulate common policy.

What is necessary is constantly to keep in mind that it is our values that tie us together and that it is those values that are under attack. In a real sense our task is to raise the vision of the West above the minutiae of our relations, important as 'they may appear to be at any moment. It is vital we prevail in that effort in the face of a massive Soviet onslaught to divide and weaken the alliance.

[Let me now make an assertion about dealing with the Soviet Union that is based on conviction and on my experience. The Soviet Union respects military strength. Its incentive for negotiating an agreement is greater when the positions taken by its negotiating partner have the added dignity of being supported by that strength.]

The Soviet Union is an aggressive society seeking, with its massive military and police power, to expand its influence; and a repressive society determined to defend its totalitarian power, whatever the human cost. We know it is a major challenge to our security and values. How do we constructively face this reality? I suspect that we and our friends who value freedom will pay a heavy price and suffer great anguish as we come to grips with this challenge. The integrity and character and strength of our society and of our people will undergo the greatest challenge of our history as we learn how to live with Soviet military power, meet it, challenge it, and simultaneously strive to maintain the peace as we remain constant in our ideals.

We still look upon ourselves as a young and developing society, even though we are now one of the oldest, stable systems in the world. We did not seek the role of world leadership, and our people today still tend to shy away from it. By the end of the war, we were somewhat like a young giant among nations. And, being a giant is not easy. It is not easy living with a giant, and our friends are learning that. It is hard to find shoes to fit if you are a giant; and the bed is always too short. Being strong, the giant can afford to be gentle, but he is also, at times, awkward. His good intentions are not always so interpreted by others.

We make mistakes because we are unaccustomed to and hesitant about the responsibilities of leadership. As a result, our behavior is at times one of fits and starts and frequently tends to confuse.

We talk a great deal about values and about liberty. Some of our more sophisticated friends see this linkage of values with world real-politik as a form of naivete. We, of course, talk about the values of liberty because, to us, they are not abstract. We also know they are not abstract to those unable to enjoy them.

Our founding fathers, by cool calculation, informed by history, and inspired by a passion for liberty, knew that idealism

and realism were a tightly woven warp and woof. They made a sturdy constitutional fabric. We must again treat both idealism and realism as mutually reinforcing. Our values distinguish us from the totalitarians and authoritarians of the world.

They are our strength. [indispensable to consensus in our democracy]

As we reaffirm our faith, however, we must understand that we thereby implicitly threaten the Soviet Union. Like any dictatorship, the Soviet ruling class is deeply concerned about the subversion of its power -- power accumulated not by consent but by military and police force alone. Where there is no legitimacy; where there is repression coupled with traditional national and cultural differences; where there is an obvious failure of the system to meet the needs of its peoples -- these obviously contribute to Leadership insecurity. The very fact that there are neighboring free societies creates a powerful draw and attraction for those who live under totalitarian rule. By example, democracies inevitably tend to subvert Soviet authority.

Thus, the challenge. There are some who respond to the danger to us represented by Soviet military power and theology by ignoring or denying its existence. That would be fatal for us. There are others who are so overwhelmed by the difficulties as to place all of their trust in military power and its use alone. That view can be fatal to us as well.

We dare not and cannot blow the Soviet Union away. We cannot wish it away. It is here and it is militarily powerful. We share the same globe. We must try to find a formula under which we can live together in dignity.

We must engage in the pursuit of peace without illusion, but with persistence, regardless of provocation. Thus, in Madrid, we attended, talked, debated, negotiated, argued, dined, condemned, talked some more [3 years -- 400 hours]. We achieved some results in words. We have not yet achieved a change in deeds. That will only come, if it ever does come, when the Soviet Union concludes that it is in its interest to change, and when its leadership decides that the change is necessary to keep itself in power.

The Soviet Union is not likely soon to undergo what

Jonathan Edwards called "a great awakening," or see a blinding

light on the road to Damascus. Yet, the imperatives for sur
vival in the nuclear age require us to persist -- through the

deterrence that comes from military strength, through dialogue,

through criticism, through negotiation -- to persist in the

search for understanding, agreement, peace.

Today, the prospects for understanding seem remote. Soviet leadership appears frightened and somewhat disorganized. Threats, coupled with infrequent smiles, are techniques of traditional Soviet political offensives. This time, however,

the threats seem more desperate. It is now engaged in a massive and frantic program to intimidate the world half to death.

I understand that. The "correlation of forces" has moved against the Soviet Union. The credibility of its system as a viable alternative has collapsed for sensible people.

The growing military strength of the United States is of further concern to an aging and unstable Soviet elite.

The totalitarian cause would be a lost one, considering the added burden of its economic and social failures, were it not for the Soviet belief that the West is divided, lazy, comfortable and increasingly pacifist. They doubt the will of the West to resist the intimidating power of its military bluster. Soviet submarines enter Swedish waters to warn and scare as well as gain intelligence. They train and finance terrorists all over the world to destabilize the rest of us. The deep involvement of the Bulgarian secret police in the attempted assassination of the Pope, which would not have been possible without KGB complicity, is an illustration of that criminal irresponsibility.

They move to test us in our own hemisphere as well. In Central America, Soviet money, guns and personnel, operating directly and through Cuban and Nicaraguan proxies, seek further

to inject their totalitarian influence and undermine the striving of these proverty-stricken people for economic and social justice and self-government. Thus, in our hemisphere too, in countries georaphically nearer to many parts of the United States than those parts are to Washington, the totalitarian power is flexing its muscles.

Two and a half weeks ago I was in El Salvador as Co-chairman of an American delegation to observe elections there. We spent an hour on election eve with Jose Napoleon Duarte, who has since been elected president of his country. We sat in a small circle and talked about democracy. He discussed the active Soviet and PLO presence among the guerrillas who were threatening to kill and maim those who would dare to vote in a free and democratic election the next day. We were reminded again of the close alliance between Soviet and terrorist forces, both committed to the use of violence and both determined to gain a foothold at our Southern flank.

Dr. Charles Malik, the distinguished Lebanese scholar and patriot, commented in The Wall Street Journal on the role of the West in his country:

"A civilization constituted by Homer, Plato and Aristotle, by the Old and the New Testaments, by Cicero and Augustine, by Shakespeare and Goethe, by Newton and Einstein, by Pushkin and Dostoevski, and by the joy and zest and adventure and freedom of the great American experience, and all that these names concretely mean —can such a civilization lack supreme values for its conviction and burning fire for its will? Who else has anything comparable with this incomparable heritage?

America and the West underestimate their immense potential. Lebanon would never had been a problem if the West itself were not a problem. And the West is not only the problem but also the solution. That is its singular greatness. And the solution is to be true to the deepest value of the West: the primacy of the spirit and the freedom of the soul."

The future lies with freedom. There can be no lasting stability in societies that would deny it. Only freedom can release the constructive energies of men and women to work toward reaching new heights. A human being has the capacity to aspire, to achieve, to dream, and to do. He cannot be permanently prevented from stretching his muscles to exercise his freedom and achieve ambitions for himself and his children.

In a letter smuggled to the West from his exile in Gorky, where his own life and that of his wife Ilene Bonner are now in jeopardy, Andrei Sakharov warned that "the world is facing very difficult times and cruel cataclysms if the West and the developing countries trying to find their place in the world do not now show the required firmness, unity and consistency in resisting the totalitarian challenge " I believe that with this kind of understanding, free societies will be able to survive the multiple assaults of totalitarianism and establish the conditions for genuine peace.

I conclude, Mr. Chairman, with an emphasis on a theme represented by the word "patience". It is indispensable. We must be prepared to remain in any negotiation with the Soviets for one day longer than they. We must be clear, unambiguous, strong, consistent, and obviously reasonable in what we seek.

We must be bona fide negotiators in good faith; anything less is transparent and damaging to our political credibility. With patience, persistance, strength, confidence and faith, we need have no fear of negotiating. Our case is the superior one.

The true peacemakers of this world are those who stand up openly and honestly against totalitarian repression and aggression. The true peacemakers are those who strive for peace with human dignity. We can take great pride in being among the peacemakers of the world.

Thank you.

1(84) 8 1.88 ME Aerospace Industries Association of America, Inc. Office of the Vice President June 19, 1984 Ambassador Max M. Kampelman Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriner and Kampelman Suite 1000 600 New Hampshire Avenue, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20037 Dear Max: Enclosed are a couple of copies of your recent presentation at our Williamsburg meeting. Normal distribution of "Key Speeches" is approximately 1,200, consisting of our Board and members of our industry councils and committees. We could make a modest number of copies available to you for your own contacts. Just let me know. An alternative would be for you to furnish a list to us and we will see to the mailing. We have sent a copy to the publication, "Vital Speeches," for possible inclusion. Condensed to 1,200 words, it might also move a needle of the Op-Ed people at the Post, the New York Times, or the Wall Street Journal, where your contacts might be better than ours. Let me know about this also. In any case, you were a big hit at Williamsburg and we are grateful. Sincerely, John F. Loosbrock Vice President Public Affairs LAWAGER COLDMUNTZ HYMAN BOOKBINDER HERBERT FIERST Encls. JOHN MORTON MOURE WALTER RAYMOND 15 - FOR US HERE MAN. MOTT

ALL MY AMD OF PARTMERS

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July 2, 1984 John F. Loosbrock Vice President Public Affairs Aerospace Industries Association of America, Inc. 1725 DeSales Street, N. W. Washington, D.C. 20036 Dear Mr. Loosbrock: Thank you for your letter of June 19 to Mr. Kampelman. He has asked me to forward to you, as you suggested, a mailing list for receipt of his speech. In addition to this list, he would like to have an additional 15 copies for our files. Thank you very much for your assistance and your many courtesies. Very truly yours, Nancy C. Tackett Enclosure

The following can be mailed to:

Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Kampelman Suite 1000 600 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20037

Richard B. Berryman David E. Birenbaum James B. Blinkoff John T. Boese Milton Eisenberg Joel R. Feidelman Henry A. Hubschman Jay R. Kraemer Kenneth S. Kramer Arthur Lazarus, Jr. Francis J. O'Toole Martin D. Ginsburg Stuart R. Reichart Paul Shnitzer

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Mr. Morton Kondracke Executive Editor New Republic 1220 Nineteenth Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

Mr. Nathan Perlmutter Anti-Defamation League 823 United Nations Plaza New York, New York 10017

Dr. Robert Hunter Center for Strategic and International Studies 1800 K Street, N. W. Washington, D.C. 20006

Prof. Madeline Albright 1318 34th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20007

Mr. Frank Shakespeare President RKO General 1440 Broadway New York, New York 10018

Dr. James H. Billington
Woodrow Wilson International
Center for Scholars
Smithsonian Institution Building
Washington, D.C. 20560

Mr. Ben Wattenberg
American Enterprise Institute for
Public Policy Research
1150 17th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dr. Evron Kirkpatrick 6812 Granby Street Bethesda, Maryland 20034

Mr. Leonard Sussman Freedom House Mr. Richard Scammon 5508 Greystone Street, Somerset Chevy Chase, Mayland 20015

Mr. Michael Novak 3211 Northhampton Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20015

Nr. Cord Meyer 1523 34th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20007

Mr. Richard V. Allen 2343 S. Meade Arlington, Virginia

Mr. Hyman Bookbinder 6308 Bannockburn Drive Bethesda, Maryland 20034

Prof. John Norton Moore Director Center for Law and National Policy School of Law University of Virginia Charlottesville, Virginia 22901

Adm. W. C. Mott 9 Dogwood Lane North Charlottesville, Virginia 22903

Mr. Walter Lacqueur Center for Strategic and International Studies 1800 K Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006

The Honorable Michael Armacost Department of State Washington, D.C. 20520

Mr. Charles Tyroler, II Committee on the Present Dander 905 Sixteenth Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006

Dr. William B. Korey B'nai B'rith International 823 United Nations Plaza New York, New York 10017 Mr. Stanley Zax Zenith National Insurance Company 15760 Ventura Boulevard Encino, California 91436

Dr. Michael Ledeen
The Center for Strategic
and International Studies
1800 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Mr. George F. Will 4 West Melrose Street Chevy Chase, Maryland 20815

Morris I. Leibman, Esq. Sidley & Austin 1 First National Plaza Chicago, Illinois 60603

Dr. Leo Cherne Executive Director Research Institute of America, Inc. 589 Fifth Avenue New York, New York 10017

Mr. Gary Rappaport 3940 Walden Shores Road Deephaven, Minnesota 55391

Mr. Herbert Krasnow 380 Madison Avenue 18th Floor New York, New York 10017

Mr. Robert Pickus World Without War Council 1720 Grove Street Berkeley, California 94709

Mr. George Weigel 1514 N.E. 45th Street Seattle, Washington 98105

Dr. Lawrence Goldmuntz 1200 18th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

Herbert Fierst, Esq. 1200 18th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036 The Honorable Walter Raymond The White House Washington, D.C. 20500

The Honorable Faith Whittlesey The White House Washington, D.C. 20500

The Honorable Jack Matlock The White House Washington, D.C. 20500

Mr. Donald Bandler Department of State Room 6227 2201 C Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20520

Mr. Robert P. Kogod The Charles E. Smith Companies 1735 Jefferson Davis Highway Arlington, Virginia 22202

Mr. Robert H. Smith The Charles E. Smith Companies 1735 Jefferson Davis Highway Arlington, Virginia 22202

Professor Carl Auerbach 2085 Cowper Street Palo Alto, California 94301

General James D. Hittle 3137 S 14th Street Arlington, Virginia 22204

Mr. Stanley Bogen Sanford C. Bernstein & Co., Inc. 767 Fifth Avenue New York, New York 10153

Aerospace Industries Association of America, Inc. Office of the President May 31, 1984

Ms. Sharon H. Martin Secretary to Max M. Kampelman Suite 1000 600 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W. Washington, DC 20037

Dear Ms. Martin:

In reply to your letter of May 31, enclosed is a check made out to Mr. Kampelman for \$252.65 to reimburse him for expenses incurred to attend the AIA Conference in Williamsburg, Virginia.

Yours very truly,

Lohrey E. Jaeger Secretary to Mr. Harr

Johney E.

Encl.

gore to Peace Ince for 9991-5810

FRIED, FRANK, HARRIS, SHRIVER & KAMPELMAN A PARTNERSHIP INCLUDING PROFESSIONAL CORPORATIONS SUITE 1000 600 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N. W. WASHINGTON, D. C. 20037 FRIED, FRANK, HARRIS,

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01-600-1541

TELEX: 887606

MAX M. KAMPELMAN, P.C. 202-342-3520

May 31, 1984

Mr. Karl G. Harr, Jr. Aerospace Industries Association of America, Inc. 1725 DeSales Street, N. W. 20036 Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Harr:

In connection with Mr. Kampelman's address at the Annual Spring Meeting of the Aerospace Industries Association in Williamsburg, Virginia on May 24, 1984, the following are expenses incurred:

Taxi from home to National Airport \$ 12.00 \ Flight to and from Williamsburg 162.00 Limo from Dulles Airport to office 78.65 \$252.65

If any additional information is required, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Sharon H. Martin Secretary to Max M. Kampelman

Aerospace Industries Association of America, Inc. May 1, 1984 Office of the President The Honorable Max Kampelman Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriner and Kampelman 600 New Hampshire Avenue, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20037 Dear Max: I'm pleased that you will be able to address the Annual Spring Meeting of the Aerospace Industries Association in Williamsburg, Virginia, on Thursday, May 24, 1984. We have scheduled you from 11:20 a.m. until noon, with 20-30 minutes of remarks and the remainder of the time for questions. You can expect an audience of some 175 -- the chief executives of our 49 companies plus as many as three each of their top lieutenants. I have attached a list of senior representatives we expect to attend, a folder of background information on the conference and a schedule of other speakers. Our interest in national security and world affairs is understandably keen. You bring to us current knowledge and views based on your recent yeoman service at the Madrid Conference as well as your wide experience in national and international affairs. Your words are sure to find an attentive and appreciative audience. The Williamsburg meeting traditionally is closed to press and public to encourage a free and frank dialogue. We will, of course, be responsible for any expenses you may incur and will furnish a suitable honorarium. Meanwhile it would be helpful to know your travel plans, arrival and departure times and room requirements. You may wish to come down the afternoon of Wednesday, May 23, should you wish to attend our speaking session at 6:00 p.m. A reception and dinner will follow to which you are cordially invited. In any case, I've asked Jack Loosbrock of my staff to serve as your escort. He will meet you, see that you leave whenever you wish, and take care of any special requirements you may have. If you or your office need to contact him, his number is 429-4656. Mr. Loosbrock will be in touch with you to discuss details of the honorarium. Meanwhile, a copy of your curriculum vitae would be helpful to us. I'm delighted you can be with us in Williamsburg. I'm sure you'll be a smash hit. Yours very truly, Karl G. Harr. Jr. Attachments 1725 DeSales Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036 • (202)429-4600

May 3, 1984 Mr. Karl G. Harr, Jr. Aerospace Industries Association of America, Inc. 1725 DeSales Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036 Dear Karl: Thank you very much for your gracious invitation of May 1. I look forward to participating in your program during the late morning of May 24. I will be flying into Newport News and will arrive at 9:50. My flight is scheduled to leave from Newport News at 5:15. I will await a call from Mr. Loosbrock so that we can discuss the appropriate details. A curriculum vitae is enclosed. All my best. Sincerely, Max M. Kampelman MMK:nct Enclosure

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
5/29/84	Honorarium for presentation at Williamsburg, VA, 5/24/84.	2,500.00
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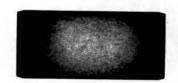
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(b) If you have a number and a check is not enclosed or a check is enclosed without a space to enter your number, write the number in the block provided in item 1 above, and mail this form to the payer. Please be sure your name and address are shown correctly in item 2.

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Aerospace Industries Association of America, Inc.

Office of the President

May 30, 1984

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriner and Kampelman Suite 1000 600 New Hampshire Avenue, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20037

Dear Max:

It was gracious of you to arrange your schedule so that you could share your wisdom and experience with us in Williamsburg. You provided a unique window-on-the world for us and reaffirmed our view, in a positive and realistic way, as to the nature and the extent of the threat to world peace and security.

From the comments I heard later I know your entire audience shares my own reactions. You made a deep and lasting impression and I am grateful.

Enclosed is our check for \$2,500 to cover your honorarium. If you will forward a statement of expenses to Jack Loosbrock he will see that you are reimbursed.

Thanks so much and all the best.

Yours very truly,

Karl G. Harr, Jr.

Karl

Enclosure

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Thomas J. Murrin President	Westinghouse Electric Corporation Energy & Advanced Technology Group
J. Richard Bullock President & Chief Executive Officer	Wyman-Gordon Company
Karl G. Harr, Jr. President	Aerospace Industries Association
	May 1984

June 4, 1984 David O. Schillerstrom Director, Public Relations Aerospace Industries Association Of America, Inc. 1725 DeSales Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036 Dear Mr. Schillerstrom: Thank you for your letter of June 1. I am returning the copy with a few minor corrections. All my best. Sincerely, Max M. Kampelman MMK:nct

Aerospace Industries Association of America, Inc.

June 1, 1984

The Honorable Max Kampelman Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriner and Kampelman 600 New Hampshire Avenue, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20037

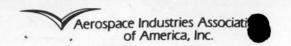
Dear Mr. Kampelman:

Here is the edited and retyped copy of your speech at Williamsburg as we discussed on the phone yesterday. We have also sent a copy to our printer. Please call me if you have no changes or return the speech with your edits and we'll get the changes made and the speech distributed.

Sincerely,

David O. Schillerstrom Director, Public Relations

Enclosure



David O. Schillerstrom Director of Public Relations

1725 DeSales Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036 (202)429-4649