



Max M. Kampelman Papers

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REMARKS BY
MAX M. KAMPELMAN

MMK Speeches
6/30/84

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
DEMOCRATIC CHALLENGE IN LATIN AMERICA

June 30, 1984

Lisbon, Portugal

It is a privilege for me to speak at this closing session today. As I do so, I want to pay a special tribute, on behalf of the Americans from the United States who are attending these meetings, to Prime Minister Mario Soares for his leadership in initiating, sponsoring and assuming the responsibility for this historic conference. This will, I know, begin the vital process of establishing a new concept of democratic unity and solidarity toward a greater dimension of human freedom in Latin America.

We are here as men and women committed to democracy, to social justice, to human rights and to economic opportunity for all. On each of your shoulders, in your respective countries, there is the burden of keeping the spirit of human dignity alive and healthy. I respect that commitment, a commitment and responsibility that I and others from my country who are here today share.

We are addressing ourselves to Latin America and how we can understand, evaluate, and foster the cause of democracy in that area of the world. We do so, I trust, from a common

understanding that none of us can enjoy our freedoms in isolation from one another. The cause of human freedom is an international one. The threat to the human freedom of any of us is a potential threat to the rest of us.

I do not speak to you as a Latin American expert, even though I was present as an observer at the highly significant May 6 Presidential elections in El Salvador.

Nor do I speak as a representative of my government, even though I did represent the United States as the head of our delegation to the Madrid meetings under the Helsinki Final Act, an assignment to which I was first appointed by President Carter and reappointed by President Reagan.

I speak to you rather as a fraternal colleague whose early years were spent in close association with the American trade union movement; whose developing years were spent in partnership with one of my country's great liberal, democratic leaders, Hubert H. Humphrey; and whose recent political and diplomatic experience has been seared by three years of intense negotiations with the Soviet Union, an experience which required me to be painfully familiar with the systematic brutalities and irresponsibilities of the Soviet Communist regime.

We have come to Lisbon because, with our common values, we seek to strengthen the bonds of understanding among us. Only from understanding can there come respect and agreement. In that spirit I speak with candor, as friends must speak with one another.

The assumption from which I proceed is that the ideals that you and I share are under aggressive attack, not only by the forces of the extreme right which we have been accustomed to oppose, but more from the dictatorship which now reigns in the Soviet Union. My further premise is that the strategic objectives of that Communist dictatorship include control over significant portions of Latin America, particularly for now the areas of Central America and the Caribbean; and that the attainment of those objectives is not only a threat to the vital security interests of the United States and its friends, but will also diminish human freedom in that area of the world.

The first step in the direction of those Soviet objectives came with Fidel Castro's rise to power in Cuba, an event that took place with the cooperation of the United States. Shortly thereafter, Cuba became the Soviet Union's first strategic foothold in the Western Hemisphere.

*[From 1960 until the mid 1970s, the Soviet Union encouraged its local Communist parties to join broad electoral fronts. This included efforts to develop close relations with the Latin American military establishments, since the military, according to Soviet theoreticians, was the only stable institution in an often chaotic political environment. These efforts all failed and Castro's Cuba found itself increasingly isolated as well.

By the Mid-1970s, the pattern was evident. Moscow, through Cuba and East European satellites, was financing and supporting urban terrorist groups. Cuba was used as a forward base in that aggression, engaging in an active program of guerrilla training, arms smuggling, drug trafficking, direct military presence, and clandestine intelligence activity.

The economic, social and political dislocation exacerbated by that aggression, coming on the heels of painfully increasing energy costs, building on acknowledged structural problems, brought about a rapid crisis in the region. Economic growth stopped; large trade deficits loomed; unemployment and under-employment grew; inflation rates soared; capital and business rapidly escaped in the face of harassment and kidnappings; social problems intensified. This coincided with a planned program of Soviet military activity addressed to the peripheral theaters of the developing world.

* The material in brackets, pages 4-6, was omitted from the delivery in the interest of time.

An article in 1975 by General I. Shavrov, Chief of the Soviet General Staff Academy, foreshadowed that activity as it suggested that Soviet military assistance in local wars was of vital importance to Soviet interests. The development of the Soviet bluewater navy and growing airlift capability, he said, permitted it to play a major role in regional conflicts.

Cuba became an integral part of Soviet strategic planning. We saw a hostile naval force entering the Caribbean. The construction of a nuclear submarine docking facility on the southern shore of Cuba provided a logistical capability for servicing nuclear submarines able to operate within striking range of half the United States.

Cuba's total national economy is today based on energy supplied by the Soviet Union at subsidized prices. Cuba's sugar exports in the main go to the Soviet bloc at subsidized prices. A total economic dependency today exists accompanied by total military dependency.

Cuba, which was at one time considered by Soviet theoreticians to be a "fraternal state", and then a member of the "world socialist system," is today listed among the members of the "socialist community". This is a designation which puts it within the protection of the destabilizing Brezhnev Doctrine. Tens of thousands of tons of war supplies from the Soviet

bloc reach Cuba every year. Military inventory and manpower in Cuba is today greater than that in all of the other Caribbean countries combined.

Cuba today possesses sufficient land, air and naval forces to enable it to strike quickly into any area of the Caribbean within 24 hours. It has significant numbers of large missiles which are capable of being equipped with nuclear weapons. Its Soviet supplied MIG-27s can carry either conventional or nuclear payloads. Its airfields can now receive heavy Soviet intercontinental bombers.]

With its formidable military strength, provided by the Soviet Union, Cuba has openly established itself as a staging area for the support of terrorist movements in Central America and the Caribbean. Terrorist groups from nearly every country of the Caribbean basin and from other parts of the world, including the Basque ETA, have been and are being trained in Cuba and in Eastern Europe. This terrorist program was further stimulated by the success of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, again with the support of the U.S.

The Sandinistas proclaimed their "revolutionary internationalism" and their identification with Soviet objectives as early as 1979, at a time when the United States was providing

Nicaragua with large amounts of economic assistance. The creation of a Sandinista military machine vastly superior to that of the combined other countries in the region began before there was any significant internal opposition to them and, indeed, while many of those now in active opposition occupied positions in that government.

In June 1980, the Sandinistas began their active interference in the internal affairs of El Salvador by inviting the Salvadoran guerrillas there to set up their headquarters in Nicaragua. Massive airlifts of arms and supplies began. Sabotage intensified.

El Salvador's heroic efforts to establish a genuine electoral democracy as an essential first step toward achieving some measure of economic stability and social justice produced violent interference by the Sandinista supported armed terrorists. To stop elections, roads were mined, bombs set off, individuals threatened with maiming, power shut off -- all designed to make free elections impossible and terrorist insurgency successful.

El Salvador was not the only intended victim of Sandinista aggression. In early 1981, the Sandinistas began aggressively to violate Costa Rica's treaty rights and to harrass its merchant ships. That intimidation has continued; and I remind you

that Costa Rica, which shares a 180 mile border with Nicaragua, has no armed forces.

Nearly two years ago, the Sandinistas moved a military force into Honduras as a first step toward destabilizing that government. There have since been more than 200 border incidents. Sandinista troops have been seen moving international boundary markers separating Nicaragua from Honduras and then occupying the acquired areas.

These are the realities. It is no wonder that the Moscow New Times of last August 19 boasted of Sandinista "strategic rear" defeat of the United States. No wonder that Nicaragua's ideological status within Soviet literature is now that of a "people's democracy," a label originally used to designate the regimes of Eastern Europe immediately after the war. No wonder that a Soviet scholar recently wrote that Nicaragua is the "beginning of a new stage in the struggle on the scale of the entire continent." It is no wonder that authorized Soviet articles (Izvestia, January 6, 1984) make it quite clear that the next objectives are Guatemala, Honduras and Costa Rica.

I say "no wonder." But it is a wonder to many in my country that many persons of good will who believe

deeply in the values of democracy choose to ignore or minimize this serious threat to those values, which if successful would result in the loss of freedom and human dignity for millions of human beings who deserve better.

There is a view held by many that the United States is mistaken in highlighting Communist influence we should instead be looking at indigenous social and economic factors requiring reform, rather than to military solutions.

I assure you that we are fully aware that the political turmoil in Central America has roots in deep-seeded social and economic problems. We know that where there is hunger, inadequate housing and illiteracy, there can be no stability. This is all true and we make strong efforts to respond to those needs. But we also know that even though the Communists who attempt to exploit injustice and poverty are only a small group, that inadequacy is compensated for by the arms, finances and practical assistance they receive from their Soviet sponsors.

We all associate ourselves with the notion that military solutions are not the best solutions and should strenuously be avoided. That is why we strongly favor negotiations (and are cooperating with the Contadora process). But we would be blind to our responsibilities if we did not acknowledge that

military solutions are sometimes the only solutions possible in the face of military aggression and armed terrorism.

I referred earlier to American support for Castro when he assumed office in Cuba and for the Sandinistas when they took power in Nicaragua. Our government provided that support because we were conscious of the social and economic maladies that prevailed in those societies. We were also conscious of our own historic errors that contributed to those problems. We wanted to believe that the words of democracy verbalized by these new revolutionary forces were genuine. Wanting to believe, we believed and we acted on those beliefs. We mistakenly chose to ignore the signs that the primary commitment of these "revolutionary forces" was to Communist totalitarianism rather than to freedom and democracy.

In a genuine effort to encourage and develop a democracy in Nicaragua, we supported the efforts to replace Somoza. We helped negotiate his departure. We championed the OAS resolution that called for his ouster. We provided \$25 million in emergency food and medical aid in the first week the Sandinistas came to power. We provided \$115 million in economic aid. We supported Nicaraguan loans from the Inter-American Development Bank. During the first two years of Sandinista control in Nicaragua my country provided more economic assistance

to that new regime than did any other country in the world. We helped provide more economic assistance to the new government of Nicaragua than the Somoza government had received in the preceding twenty years.

In El Salvador, the United States supported the moves that brought down the military dictatorship in October, 1979 and installed the Christian Democrats in office. We sponsored and advised the land reforms which were designed by specialists from the AFL-CIO. We have continued to encourage and assist the process of democratic development so that the forces of democracy there have some breathing room. The people did vote and with their votes rejected terrorism. They walked for miles, stood for hours, braved bullets and threats of maiming to cast their votes in favor of democracy.

We do not consider that it is moral to leave small countries and helpless people defenseless against conquest by terrorists armed and trained by Communist or any other kind of dictatorship. We look upon the projection of Soviet military power in our hemisphere as a threat to our security and our values. The principle that has guided my country's policies and remains our policy today is that where our help can be effective to enable people who strive to be free to be free, we will provide that help. We realize that neither democracy nor human rights are products "made in America" for exportation abroad, but this

does not preclude our active identification with these rights and associating ourselves with those who would defend them against attack. We are convinced that resisting military aggression is indispensable to the preservation of our values of human dignity and to the attainment of our goal of a more democratic, just and stable hemisphere.

It is, on occasion, disappointing to have friends who should know better, appear to have more sympathy for those who threaten the peace, independence and freedom of their neighbors than for the neighbors themselves. There seems at times be more "understanding" for the presence of many thousands of Cuban and Soviet bloc military advisors in Nicaragua than for the 37 or so United States military advisors in El Salvador. It sometimes appears to many of us that some of our friends are as inclined to exaggerate my country's minimal use of limited force to defend the right of people to self-determination as they are to minimize the Soviet bloc's systematic reliance on brutal force to subvert and overwhelm helpless third world nations.

Inexplicable myopic distortion of reality can be dangerous to all of us. The security stakes in the Caribbean and in Central America are high for all of us. The Soviet Union and the United States fully understand the strategic importance of the region. It is time for our friends in Europe and

elsewhere fully to appreciate that importance to us, their friend and fellow democracy, and to themselves.

On one level, most of the oil and other strategic materials that the United States would supply Europe in the case of an emergency go through the sea lanes of the Caribbean. And on another level, the Soviets have not kept it a secret that their objective is to tie the United States to our Western Hemisphere with military and political commitments which will render us less able to act in response to emergencies that may take place in Europe, in Asia, or elsewhere.

It is time for moral and political hard-headedness by the democrats of the world. We who have identified ourselves with democracy and human liberty have a responsibility to history and to future generations.

Let me conclude with a further word about my country.

We can and must distinguish between freedom and despotism. The United States is a vibrant and strong and free society. That must never be forgotten and merits the respect and support of those who believe in Freedom.

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.

At the end of the second world war, however, our relative geographic isolation, our pursuit of liberty, our bountiful natural resources, and our productive people and system made us strong. 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 policy is at times one of fits and starts that frequently confuses others. We are aware of that. But we are a democratic and free and generous and strong society. And we realize that on us and our strength the freedom of other peoples may again depend.

We live in a dangerous world. We need a unity of purpose and a common trust in one another. We need to reaffirm our commitment to the human values of democracy and to the protection of those values. We need to form ourselves into a Democratic International, a Movement for Democratic Solidarity. This is the fundamental cutting issue for the remainder of the 20th Century.

The future lies with freedom, if we have the eyesight and courage to work for that future and defend it. There can be no lasting stability in societies that would deny freedom. A human being has the capacity to aspire, to achieve, to dream and to do. Only freedom can release the constructive energies necessary for reaching new heights. You and I seek these values of freedom for ourselves, for our children, for our countries, for our neighbors, for all men and women. The attainment of our objectives is within our grasp if we recognize and challenge the totalitarianism that threatens our objectives. With courage, unity of purpose, trust in one another, and common effort, we can attain new heights for mankind, heights that the lessons of history require us to stretch for. It is up to us.

Thank you.

FRIED, FRANK, HARRIS, SHRIVER & KAMPELMAN

A PARTNERSHIP INCLUDING PROFESSIONAL CORPORATIONS

SUITE 1000

600 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N. W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20037

202-342-3500

TELEX: 892406

TELECOPIER: 202-342-3329

RAPIFAX: 202-342-3328

FRIED, FRANK, HARRIS,

SHRIVER & JACOBSON

ONE NEW YORK PLAZA

NEW YORK, N. Y. 10004

212-820-8000

TELEX: 620223

3 KING'S ARMS YARD

LONDON, EC2R 7AD, ENGLAND

01-600-1541

TELEX: 687606

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

July 20, 1984

Mr. Larry Specht
U. S. Youth Council
Labor Desk
1522 K Street, N. W.
Suite 634
Washington, D. C. 20005

Dear Mr. Specht:

In connection with Mr. Kampelman's trip to Lisbon,
June 27 - June 30, following are his itemized expenses:

Local taxis	\$ 19.00 ✓
Airfare	2,182.45
(See attached. Made alternate arrangements for return flight due to inclement weather)	
Hotel	<u>69.96</u>
	\$2,271.41

If you should have any questions in connection with
these expenses, please call me.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Sharon H. Martin
Secretary to Max M. Kampelman

/sm
Enclosures

INTERNATIONAL LABOR PROGRAM

(F)

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20057

TELEPHONE:
(202) 333-1342

July 17, 1984

Honorable Max M. Kampelman
Fried, Frank, Shriver & Kampelman
600 New Hampshire Avenue, NW
Suite 1000
Washington, D.C. 20037

Dear Max,

Just a note to express my appreciation for your participation in the Lisbon Conference. Enclosed please find several articles which have appeared in the International Herald Tribune regarding the conference.

At present we expect a conference report to be prepared by the Portuguese Foundation for International Relations. Later this fall we will endeavor to implement the follow-up ideas discussed during the conference.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely,

Roy Godson
Roy Godson

RG/ct
Enclosures

Dictated by, but signed
in his absence.

July 2, 1984

The Honorable Carlos Andres Perez
Apartado Postal 62346
Chacao
Caracas 106
Venezuela

Dear Mr. President:

It was a privilege to meet with you in Lisbon this past weekend. The fact that you and I had an opportunity to talk briefly was particularly pleasing to me.

You will find enclosed the text of my talk of Saturday morning which I said I would pass on to you. It would be of great help to me if you would review it and tell me what passages or thoughts in the talk do not meet with your approval. This would help in achieving understanding between us.

With best personal wishes and high regard, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

Max M. Kampelman

MMK:nct

Enclosure

July 2, 1984

His Excellency Mario Soares
The Prime Minister of Portugal
Lisbon, Portugal

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

It was a privilege for me to have the opportunity to be with you in Lisbon during this past weekend, to hear your very fine opening speech to the Conference, and also to participate in the valuable process which you have begun.

You were unable to be at our meeting when I spoke on Saturday morning, but you may have heard from your Chief of Cabinet Mr. Bernardino Gomes that he was not pleased with it and considered it confrontational. This surprised me. Most importantly, however, I would like you to have a copy of the talk so that you might judge its contents and message for yourself. I believe you would agree with it.

In view of my respect for Mr. Gomes, who carried a great burden at the Conference, I am sending him a copy of this letter as well as a copy of the talk in the hope that his reading of it within a calmer atmosphere will improve his opinion of it. Many of the Conference participants came to me and other American delegates at the conclusion of the talk to express their satisfaction and agreement with what I said.

With best personal wishes and high regard, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

Max M. Kampelman

MMK:nct

Enclosure

cc: The Honorable Bernardino Gomes



Foundation
for INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Av António Augusto de Aguiar, 88 - 4º 1000 LISBOA PORTUGAL. Telefones: 57 33 82 / 57 50 44 / 57 50 94 - Telex 42427 FRI/P

PROVISIONAL LIST OF GUESTS
CONFERENCE "THE DEMOCRATIC
CHALLENGE IN LATIN AMERICA"
June 28, 29 and 30, 1984

Argentina	Hipólito Solari - REP. OF PLES Juan José Taccone - OLD PERONIST
Austria	Peter Jankowistch - S.P., EX-UN (V)
Barbados	O'Brien Trotman - MINIST. OF HEALTH, SENATOR, UNIONIST
Belgium	André Louis - C.O.P. FROM TINSBMAN John Vanderveken - ICFU Mathias Hinterscheid - EUROPEAN UNION
Bolivia	Jaime Paz - (V) LEADER
Brazil	Darcy Ribeiro - VICE GOVERNOR OF A STATE (V) Fernando Henrique Cardoso - SENATOR IN C/POSITION Ruth Escobar - CONGRESS Hermano Alves - JOURNALIST
Chile	Aniceto Rodriguez - SP Eduardo Rios - PRES OF T.V. (V) Andrés Zaldivar - C.D. INTL PRES, (V) Anselmo Sule - RADICAL PARTY (V)

Colombia	Jorge Mario Eastman - PRES OF CHAMBERA Apecides Alviz Fernandez - UNIONIST Hernando Baquero - UNION CENTER
Costa Rica	Luis Alberto Monge - PRES OF COUNTRY Daniel Oduber
Dominican Republic	Peña Gomez - CON SEC OF SI, MAYOR, VP OF SI, PRO-SAMP Enrique Arias - IN JML, ICFTU (U)
Ecuador	Rodrigo Borja - SP 1 ARMY, LAST PRESIDENCY
El Salvador	Guillermo Ungo - FORMER TRADER BUT REASONABLE, Hector Oqueli - PRO-CUERILA, PRO CASTRO Salvador Carazo - ICFTU (U) Samuel Maldonado Juan Ramirez Rauda - DUAL REP René Fortin Magaña - LEADER OF SO RARY, LOCUCATOR
Federal Republic of Germany	Uwe Holtz - BUNDESRAT, SPD (X) Klaus Lindenberg - SI, BUNDESRAT Dieter Schneider - BUNDESRAT
France	Alain Richard - DEPUTY SP - Guy Hermet - PROF, LEFT WING SP Nicole Bourdillat - SP LEFT WING MANUEL ESCUPIDAR - CONQUETMAN
Guatemala	Haroldo Rodas Melgar - SP (?) Carlos Gallardo Flores - SP, PRO-CUERILA Juan Francisco Alfaro - UNIONIST (U)
Honduras	Victor Artilles - ICFTU

Italy

Ivanka Corti - SP (✓)

Giorgio Benvenuto - UNIONIST

Silvio Versace - UNIONIST (✓)

Nicaragua

José Francisco Espinoza - ICFM (✓)

Mons. Bismarck Carballo - RFA CHURCH (✓)

Norway

Kaare Sandegren - ILU (X)

Panama

Luis Anderson - UNION (✓)

Aristides Royo - DIPLOMAT TO MADRID, EX-AMBASSADOR

Peru

Mario Vargas Llosa - WRITER, ICFM (✓)

Armando Villanueva - POLITICS, AM FOR RFA, LEFT

Julio Cruzada - UNION, SENATOR (✓)

Alain Garcia - SOCIALIST, POLITICAL, (AM BC FOR RFA),
YOUNG, CONTEST - LEFT

Portugal

Mário Soares - AM (✓)

Carlos da Mota Pinto - DEPUTY AM, SD

Bernardino Gomes - CHIEF OF CABINET

Eduardo Pereira - ROMANIST

Emmanuel Jardim Fernandes - DEPUTY, SP

Henrique Coelho - UGT (✓)

Isabel Soares - DEPUTY, SOCIALIST

Jaime Gama - MINISTER RELIGION

João Tito de Morais - VA OR TV

José Lello - SP DEPUTY

José Luis Nunes - PARTY LEADER

José Manuel Torres Couto - SECY GENL UCT

José Pereira Lopes - UNIONIST PARTY

Luis Beiroço - DEPUTY, (CENTAUR)

Luiza Cabral - FOLK MATIC

Maldonado Gonelha - VP OF FORMATION (V)

Manuel Alegre - DEPUTY SP (V)

~~Maria Manuel Santos~~

Raul Rêgo - DEPUTY, SP

Renée Gomes - WIFE OF CHIEF

Rodolfo Crespo - DEPUTY, SP

~~Rui Almeida Mendes~~ - " "

Rui Mateus - " "

Victor Constâncio - V. CCU OF AMIS

Victor de Sá Machado - FORMATION, EX FORMATION

Spain

Felipe González - PM

Francisco Fernandez Ordoñez - BANKER

Luis Yañez - IBERIA INST, (MKT CONTRACT SP)

Santiago Roldan -

Juan Antonio Yañez - COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

Inocencio Arias - VP OF INSTITUTIONS

✓ Javier Ruperez - SENATOR

Luis González Seara - UNIV PROF

Francisco Bobillo - UNIV

Raul Morodo - UNESCO AMB

Miguel Martinez Cuadrado - PROF

	Luis Rodriguez Zuñiga - <i>UNIV</i>
	Elena Flores - <i>SOCIALISM</i>
	Manuel Simon - <i>LABOR, (X)</i>
	Donato Fuejo - <i>CONCERNED, ASOC</i>
	Pedro Bofill - " "
	Pedro de Vega - <i>TEACHING, EX-CP</i>
	José Vidal Beneyto - <i>TEACHING</i>
Sweden	Pierre Schori - <i>MAO CASTRO</i>
United Kingdom	Eric Hammond - <i>UNIONIST (✓)</i>
United States	Lane Kirkland
	Max Kampleman
	Bayard Rustin
	Paul Seabury
	Irwing Brown
	Albert Shanker
	Doherty, Jr.
	Roy Godson
	Walter Raymond Jr.
	Otto Reich
	Rita Freedman
	Joseph Godson
	Jay Mazur
	David Dorn
	Eusabio Mujal-Leon

William Perry

Ben Rathbun

Larry Specht

Robert Lovelace

Uruguay

Silvia Ferreira de Morelli - *DAUGHTER OF LOPATZ*

Diego Achard -

Venezuela

Carlos Andrés Perez - *EX MAF, 31*

Enrique Tejera Paris - *PROUD*

Press

Flora Lewis

Brian Beedham

Joseph Fichett

21
INTERNATIONAL LABOR PROGRAM

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20057

TELEPHONE:
(202) 333-1342

June 13, 1984

Honorable Max M. Kampelman
Fried, Frank, Shriver & Kampelman
600 New Hampshire Avenue, NW
Suite 1000
Washington, DC 20037

Dear Max,

I am writing you with regard to the upcoming conference "Democratic Challenge in Latin America" to be held in Lisbon on the 28th, 29th and 30th of this month. Enclosed you will find copies of papers to be presented by Mr. Bayard Rustin, National Chairman of Social Democrats, USA, and Dr. Paul Seabury, Professor of Political Science at the University of California at Berkeley. There will be other papers presented by European and Latin Americans which hopefully will be translated by the time we reach Lisbon.

The following Americans are expected to attend. (Only the Portuguese are aware of who will be attending from Europe and Latin America.)

Mr. Irving Brown
Director
Department of International
Affairs, AFL-CIO

Dr. Roy Godson
Director
International Labor Program
Georgetown University

Mr. William Doherty, Jr.
Executive Director
AIFLD

Honorable Max M. Kampelman
Chairman
Freedom House

Mr. David Dorn
Director of International
Affairs, American
Federation of Teachers

Mr. Lane Kirkland
President
AFL-CIO

Ms. Rita Freedman
Executive Director
Social Democrats, USA

Mr. Robert Lovelace
Program Coordinator
International Labor Program
Georgetown University

Honorable Max M. Kampelman
June 13, 1984
Page Two

Mr. Jay Mazur
Secretary-Treasurer
ILGWU

Dr. Paul Seabury
Professor of Political Science
University of California-
Berkeley

Dr. Eusebio Mujal-Leon
Associate Professor of
Government
Georgetown University

Mr. Larry Specht
Director
Labor Desk
US Youth Council

Mr. Bayard Rustin
National Chairman
Social Democrats, USA

The Portuguese are reserving accommodations for US participants at the Ritz Hotel, Rua Rodrigo da Fonseca 88A, Lisbon, telephone: 68-41-31. The hotel will also serve as the conference site. If you have given us your flight arrival times we have passed them along to the Portuguese.

There also will be an orientation meeting for US participants at 4:00 pm the afternoon of June 28th at the Ritz, just prior to the opening dinner. We will leave a message confirming where the meeting will take place.

With all best wishes.

Sincerely,



Roy Godson
Director

Enclosures



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Lisbon

F
WITH PENDING

May 7, 1984

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

Dear Max:

I am pleased that you accepted Prime Minister Soares' invitation to participate in the conference "Democratic Challenge in Latin America" to be held June 28-30. It will be nice to have you back in Lisbon.

The conference is being organized by the Foundation for International Relations (the Socialist Party think tank) in cooperation with Georgetown University as well as the German and Spanish Socialist Foundations. The AFL-CIO and at least at an earlier stage Bill Doherty's American Institute for Free Labor Development have been involved.

Invitees include Felipe Gonzalez and Lionel Brizola who may or may not attend. A focus of attention will be President Monge of Costa Rica, and the importance of the conference--as the Portuguese Socialists tell us--flows from the publicity and emphasis which will be placed on the Costa Rican example. Its democracy, based on respect for human rights and with guarantees provided by pluralistic institutions, will be praised in obvious contrast to the Sandinistas next door as well as regimes based on military might rather than popular will. The conference intends to stress the importance of democratic procedures--free elections primarily--in building a just society. It takes place after the Salvadoran and before the Nicaraguan elections, and should make a contribution to the debate. The conference will be useful if it can cause

some of the European socialists to pause before they embrace the Sandinistas for their election promises, while dismissing the valiant Salvadoran effort to elect a president in the middle of guerilla war.

I believe the conference will be worthwhile. It should have some impact. Your participation will be important and appreciated.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Allen', written in a cursive style.

H. Allen Holmes
Ambassador

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

H. Allen Holmes
U.S. Ambassador to Portugal
United States Embassy
Lisbon
APO New York 09678

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

6-27-

6-30

April 3, 1984

The Honorable Mario Soares
c/o Foundation for International
Relations
Av Antonio Augusto de Aguiar 88-4
1000 Lisboa, Portugal

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

Thank you very much for your most gracious invitation of February 20. I will plan to attend the International Conference on the "Democratic Challenge in Latin America" which will be held in Lisbon on June 28, 29 and 30. Thank you very much for inviting me. It is quite likely that my wife will be accompanying me. Our plan is to arrive in Lisbon on the morning of the 28th and to leave on the afternoon of the 30th.

Sincerely,

Max M. Kampelman

MMK:nct



Foundation
for INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Av António Augusto de Aguiar, 88 - 4º 1000 LISBOA, PORTUGAL. Telefones: 57 33 82 / 57 50 44 / 57 50 94 - Telex 42427 FRI/P

CAN WE LEAVE ON 30TH - 77

Lisbon, 20th February 1984

Dear Sir

I have the honour to invite you to participate in the International Conference "Democratic Challenge in Latin America" which will be held in Lisbon on the 28th, 29th and 30th June 1984.

TH L 30TH

For your information I am pleased to send you herewith a letter giving all the details of the Conference.

Hoping to hear from you soon,

Mário Soares

Honourable

Mr. MAX KAMPELMAN



Foundation
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Honourable
Mr. MAX KAMPELMAN
Fried, Frank, Shriver and Kampelman
600 New Hampshire Avenue, NW 1000
Washington DC 20037
U S A

Lisbon, the 20th February 1984

Dear Sir,

It has become evident that in Europe, there has been insufficient information available on democratic forces in Latin America. There is a need to present democratic alternatives other than those representing extremist or totalitarian views.

Similarly, help must be given to those democratic forces in Latin America striving to achieve a pluralistic society. There is currently a trend in Latin America towards increased democratisation. This trend should be encouraged and democratic forces in the region should be supported whenever possible.

To further identify, understand, and distinguish among the different Latin America realities, the Foundation for International Relations plans to hold a Conference in Lisbon, Portugal, on June 28-30, 1984, entitled "Democratic Challenge in Latin America". Among the cooperating organisations are:

Fundación Banco Exterior de España (Spain)
Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana (Spain)
Menendez Pelayo University (Spain)
Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FRG)
Georgetown University, International Labour Programme (USA)

Prominent and political, trade union leaders and academic experts will be invited to present papers on the following topics: Social and Economic Development; Human Rights and Political Advancement. Prime Minister Mário Soares, President of the Foundation for International Relations and President Luís Alberto Monge of Costa Rica, have agreed to open and take an active part in the Conference. Other prominent leaders to be invited include Felipe González, Helmut Schmidt, Lane Kirkland, James Callaghan, Lionel Brizola, Salvador Jorge Blanco, Mario Vargas Llosa, Lionel Jospin, Edward Kennedy and others that will come from the United States, Europe and Latin America.

On behalf of the Foundation for International Relations we have the greatest pleasure to invite you to take part in this Conference. Should you accept to join us in Lisbon we will be pleased to provide you with a round trip to Lisbon as well as accommodation in the Hotel where the Conference will be held. We enclose meanwhile a project of the programme.

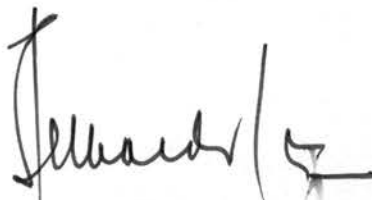
We hope that you will be able to accept to take part in this Conference which is not designed to criticise or attack governments or democratic movements, but rather to provide a forum for constructive dialogue between prominent opinion makers and important leaders from Latin America, Europe and the United States, to seek ways to help strengthen the democratic process in Latin America.

A summary of the papers, discussion and recommendations would be published shortly after the Conference.

With our very best regards,



Rui Mateus
Vice-President



Bernardino Gomes
Vice-President



Foundation
for INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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CONFERENCE ON LATIN AMERICA

Theme: DEMOCRATIC CHALLENGE IN LATIN AMERICA

The Conference will be based on the following topics:

1. Social and Economic Development
2. Human Rights and Political Advancement

Two working groups will be formed:
Either group will be headed by three personalities,
each of them being from a different geographic area.

PROVISIONAL PROGRAM

28th

- 12,00a.m. / 07,00p.m. - Arrival of Participants.
08,00p.m. - Dinner offered by the Portuguese Prime Minister, Mário Soares.
- Welcome speech by Dr. Mário Soares.
- Thanking speech by President Luis Monge.

29th

- 07,30a.m. / 09,00a.m. - Breakfast.
09,30a.m. - Introduction.
09,30a.m. / 10,00a.m. - 1st Speech - Prime Minister Mário Soares.
10,00a.m. / 10,30a.m. - 2nd Speech - President Luis Monge.
10,30a.m. / 11,00a.m. - 3rd Speech - President Lane Kirkland.
11,00a.m. / 11,30a.m. - Coffee-break.
11,30a.m. / 01,00p.m. - Debate.
01,15p.m. - Lunch. Speech by a personality (20 min.), followed by debate.
03,15p.m. / 06,30p.m. - Working Groups.
I - Political Group:
1st Report - Latin American personality.
2nd Report - American personality.
3rd Report - European personality.
II - Economical Group:
1st Report - European personality.
2nd Report - American personality.
3rd Report - Latin American personality.
06,30p.m. - Interruption of works.
08,30p.m. - Dinner offered by the Mayor of Lisbon.
- One personality will make a speech during the dinner.

30th

Plenary Session

09,30a.m. / 10,30a.m. - Plenary speeches.

10,30a.m. / 11,00a.m. - Plenary reports.

11,00a.m. / 11,30a.m. - Plenary debate.

11,30a.m. / 12,00a.m. - Coffee-break.

12,00a.m. / 01,30p.m. - Plenary Session.

- Three personalities will speak: one from Latin America, one from Europe and another one from the United States.

01,30p.m. - Lunch offered by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Jaime Gama.

April 3, 1984

The Honorable Allen Holmes
United States Embassy
Lisbon, Portugal

Dear Allen:

I wanted you to see an exchange of letters with respect to a conference that will take place in Lisbon on Latin American problems. I was first approached by some of the people at the AFL-CIO urging me to attend. Larry did not know much about it but thought it would be a very good idea if I could attend as well and encouraged me to do so. I have accepted, but I am still holding open the question in my own mind and on my own schedule until I hear further from you about this.

All my best.

Sincerely,

Max M. Kampelman

MMK:nct

(dictated but not read)