



Max M. Kampelman Papers

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A GLANCE BACKWARD WITH A VIEW TO THE FUTURE

ADDRESS BY

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

SILVER ANNIVERSARY OF HOLLY BUSH SUMMIT
GLASSBORO STATE COLLEGE

Glassboro, New Jersey

February 24, 1992

Twenty-five years ago, President Lyndon B. Johnson and Soviet Premier Alexsey Kosygin met here at Glassboro State College in a serious effort to avert a threatening confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union. The prevailing view of the time was that we were destined to live in a world permeated with the ideological and power conflict between our two nations, each of which had the capacity to destroy the other.

Like a great many political predictions, that one proved to be inaccurate in the face of great and unpredictable changes in human affairs. That conflict, which was anticipated as early as the De Tocqueville study of American democracy more than 150 years ago, has today become a relic of the past. Indeed, in the most recent summit of a few weeks ago between President Yeltsin of Russia and President Bush of the United States, a joint declaration was issued based on the premise that our two countries were now friends and allies and partners in the search for peace, liberty and human dignity for all peoples.

My theme this afternoon is to analyze and understand how and why our world is changing so fast and so dramatically.

Henry Adams wrote in 1909 that "the world did not double or treble its movement between 1800 and 1900, but measured by any standard known . . . the tension and vibration and volume and so-called progression of society were fully a thousand times greater in 1900 than in 1800." Using that measure, the pace of change between 1967 and today, only 25 years, is totally beyond calculation. The changes in our lifetime are perhaps greater than have taken place in all of mankind's previous history.

Five years ago, the world passed the five billion population mark. It took millions of years to reach the first billion in 1800. It took only 130 years to reach the second billion in 1930; 30 years to reach the third billion in 1960; 15 years to reach the fourth billion in 1975; 12 years to reach the fifth billion in 1987; and, we are told, we may reach the sixth billion by the year 2000. It is estimated that about 17% of all the people who ever lived since the beginning of the human race are alive today.

Let me illustrate the change in another context. During my early childhood -- and I am not that old -- there were no vitamin tablets; no anti-biotics; no television; no refrigerators; no transcontinental telephone communications; no

FM radio; no synthetic fibers; no dishwashers; no electric blankets; no airmail; no transatlantic airlines; no instant coffee; no Xerox; no air-conditioning; no frozen foods; no contact lenses; no birth control pill; no ballpoint pens; no transistors. We could go on endlessly. Indeed, bunnies were small rabbits and the term "making out" referred to how you did on your exams. Yet, today, to be serious, we take these tangible products for granted, as ours by birthright and as an indispensable part of living.

During the lifetime of the professors and perhaps the students on this campus, 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 keeps steadily increasing. The average world standard of living has, by one estimate, quadrupled in the past century. Advanced computers, new materials, new bio-technological processes are altering every phase of our lives, deaths, even reproduction. No generation since the beginning of the Human Race has experienced and absorbed so much change so rapidly -- and it is only the beginning. 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.

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. I am informed that all the books in the Library of Congress can soon be stored in a computer the size of a home refrigerator.

These developments are stretching our minds and our grasp of reality to the outermost dimensions of our capacity to understand them. Moreover, as we look ahead, we must agree that we have only the minutest glimpse of what our universe really is. As Henry Adams said, our science is indeed a drop, our ignorance remains an ocean.

Economic, technological, and communication advances have made global interdependence a reality. Benjamin Franklin wrote of the inter-dependence of philosophy, democracy and technology. We are seeing it at work. Economic power and industrial capacity are ever more widely dispersed around the globe. I was recently told of a shipping label on integrated circuits ostensibly made by an American firm, which read: "Made in one or more of the following countries: Korea, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore, Taiwan, Mauritius, Thailand, Indonesia, Mexico, Philippines. The exact country of origin is unknown."

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 very much 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.

But the world body politic has not kept pace with those scientific and technological realities; and what we have been observing and experiencing in the dramatic political changes that have been absorbing our attention is a necessary effort by the body politic to catch up with the worlds of science and technology.

What we have also been observing is a fierce resistance to change in the form of an intense fractionalization, as large numbers of peoples have had their emotions inflamed by nationality and religious appeals. We certainly see this in the former Soviet Union and we see it in the Middle East. It is as if a part of us is saying: "Not so fast. Stop the world. We want to get off. We are not ready. We are not prepared for this new world we are being dragged into. We will resist the pressures. We will hold on tight and with a determined frenzy to the familiar, the tribal, the

traditional!" This phenomenon cannot in the short run be ignored as religion, nationalism, race, and ethnicity make themselves increasingly felt.

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, including 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. These aspirations for human dignity come from different cultures, different parts of the world. A larger part of the world's population is today living in relative freedom than ever before in the history of the world.

The latest authoritative Freedom House annual survey shows that 1991 was the freest year since that fifty year old organization, which I have the honor to Chair, began its monitoring effort. We monitor all 171 nations. Of that

number, 89 are free and 37 are partly free -- 126 out of 171. With a world population of nearly 5.4 billion people, more than 3,700,000,000 people, or nearly 70%, live in free or partly free countries, the highest ever.

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 scientific and technological opportunities requires openness to information, new ideas, and the freedom which enables ingenuity to germinate and flourish. A closed tightly-controlled society cannot compete in a world experiencing an information explosion that knows no national boundaries.

As national boundaries are buffeted by change, the nations of the world become ever more interdependent. We are clearly in a time when no society can isolate itself or its people from new ideas and new information anymore than one can escape the winds whose currents affect us all. National boundaries can keep out vaccines, but those boundaries cannot keep out germs, or 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, modern 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 to 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 and to verify agreements. The former Soviet Republics, now that the yoke of repression has been removed, are now anguishing over how to adjust their need for national independent recognition to the obvious requirements of international cooperation if their peoples are to enter the world of the 21st century with its potential of a better and healthier and longer life.

One essential geo-political consequence of this new reality is that there can be no true security for any one country in isolation. Unilateral security will not come for us from either withdrawing from the world or attempting national impregnability. We must learn to accept in each of our countries a mutual responsibility for the peoples in other countries.

When I opened these remarks, I referred to Alexis De Tocqueville. In his profound book, Democracy in America, he wrote that the most dangerous time for an authoritarian regime -- and he specifically used Russia for his illustration -- is when it is undergoing change or reform. At about the same time that De Tocqueville wrote, another distinguished French scholar, the Marquis de Custine, writing about Russia, said: "Whenever the right of speech shall be restored to this muzzled people, the astonished world will hear so many disputes arise that it will believe the confusion of Babel again returned".

We are witnessing these dangers, this confusion, this uncertainty, every day. We see growing evidence of social upheaval, political dissatisfaction and economic disaster combining with strong feelings of nationalism and tribalism thereby undermining stability and threatening violence. We are profoundly impressed with the fact that the violence is not greater, that the movement toward greater freedom and democracy

continues. We must acknowledge the heroic efforts being made by those who today lead and recently have led the Soviet Union and its former republics. Our task is to help influence the constructive energies of those societies so that they might be channeled into the full peaceful realization of their aspirations. It is in our interest to fulfill that task with determination. We have begun. We are not doing enough and we must do more.

The emerging democracies of Europe, including the former republics of the Soviet Union, are urgently seeking to develop free market economic systems along with their political democracy. They believe this combination will work for them. But the temporary dislocations and abrupt adjustments are and will continue to be painful. They urgently need our help, a jump-start, just as we provided for Europe at the end of World War II. That aid worked for them and for us then. It can again in this period of obvious opportunity to shape our future. If we fail to fulfill our historic responsibility we will be condemned by our children and grandchildren who will pay the price for our failure to assure the peace and human dignity that is at hand.

Europe, all of it, has strengthened its commitment to the human rights principles of the Helsinki Final Act by adopting a universally accepted "rule of law" concept as a norm for the

responsible internal behavior of nations. I had the privilege in 1990 and 1991 of returning to government service to head three American delegations in negotiations which resulted in a set of principles for all the countries of Europe asserting that political democracy was essential if stability, security and peace were to prevail in Europe.

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

Within every age the drive for human dignity has been dominant, but the struggle is a continuing one. Our political effort is well underway. Our economic effort has barely begun. It would be a mistake to believe that we today have reached the inevitable end point of mankind's ideological evolution, just as the universalists were wrong to have had that belief at the time of the French Revolution. It would be narrow to assert that Western liberal democracy, desirable as it is, is at hand as the final form of human government. Aristotle taught us that all forms of government are

transitional and vulnerable to the corrosion of time, new problems, and missed opportunities. The human race has the capacity to shoot itself in the foot. We are at risk if we who believe in liberty remain smug and content about our present strengths and the weakness of our adversaries.

In his 1975 Nobel Prize speech which he was not permitted to present in person, Dr. Andrei Sakharov, said:

"I am convinced that international trust, mutual understanding, disarmament, and international security are inconceivable without an open society with freedom of information, freedom of conscience, the right to publish, and the right to travel and choose the country in which one wishes to live."

The United States must interact and negotiate in the world in that context and with that responsibility.

To negotiate is risky. It is, in the words of my dear friend, that great American, Hubert Humphrey, 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. The aim of our diplomacy and the supreme achievement of statesmanship is patiently, through negotiation, to pursue the peace with dignity we seek, always recognizing the threat to that peace, and always protecting our vital national interests and values. We should

recall the message of Winston Churchill that diplomatic negotiations "are not a grace to be conferred but a convenience to be used." Glassboro showed the way toward that truth.

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 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.

Will we in the U.S. be able to play our part? Will we take heed lest future generations condemn us for having missed a decisive opportunity? Will we be wise enough to know how to assist the historic developments now underway? It is on the basis of these criteria that history will judge us.

Our task is to achieve the firm sense of purpose, readiness, steadiness, and strength that is indispensable for effective and timely foreign policy decision-making. Our political community must resist the temptation of partisan politics and institutional rivalry as we develop the consensus adequate to meet the challenge. G.K. Chesterton summarized his studies of our country by declaring that the United States is a "nation

with the soul of a church." This must be understood as we seek the basis for national consensus in foreign policy. We require moral justification for our actions.

Our country is today the oldest continuing democracy in the world. Our political values and our character traits have helped us build the most dynamic and open society in recorded history, a source of inspiration to most of the world. It should be a source of inspiration for us as well. We cannot take it for granted. We must realize what the American dream means to the world and the burden that puts on us.

It is not arrogant for us to proclaim the virtues of our own system because it casts no credit on us. We are not the ones who created American democracy. We are merely its beneficiaries with an opportunity to strengthen it for succeeding generations and for those in other parts of the world who do not enjoy that blessing. The changes stimulated by modern technology may well assist us in forging a future based on liberty, human dignity, and democracy -- if we permit our democratic values to provide the guidelines for that journey.

When we are growing up, we are taught not to be afraid of the dark. As our world evolves, we must not be afraid of the light and where it can take us.

Thank you.



GLASSBORO STATE COLLEGE

Vice President for Institutional Advancement

Glassboro, New Jersey 08028-1738 (609) 863-5276

March 10, 1992

Ms. Sharon H. Dardine
Assistant to Max M. Kampelman
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Suite 800
Washington, DC 20004-2505

Dear Sharon,

Attached is a check to Mr. Kampelman for the driver expenses on February 24, 1992. Mr. Kampelman's address was well received at Glassboro. In a separate mailing we sent a video tape of the event along with newspaper clippings to Mr. Kampelman.

Thanks for all your help with the arrangements.

Sincerely,

Peggy Veacock
Administrative Assistant

attachment

c: Philip A. Tumminia



GLASSBORO STATE COLLEGE

Vice President for Institutional Advancement

Glassboro, New Jersey 08028-1738 (609) 863-5276

March 9, 1992

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

Dear Mr.. Kampelman:

On behalf of Glassboro State College I would like to thank you for participating in our Hollybush Silver Summit Anniversary.

I have enclosed a video tape of the event along with clippings from the newspapers. The reimbursement check for the limousine service has been processed and will be sent to you shortly.

Once again, thank you for providing such an inspiring kick off for our Silver Summit Celebration.

Sincerely,

Philip A. Tumminia
Vice President

enclosure



GLASSBORO STATE COLLEGE

Office of the President

Glassboro, New Jersey 08028-1743 (609) 863-5201

February 26, 1992

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

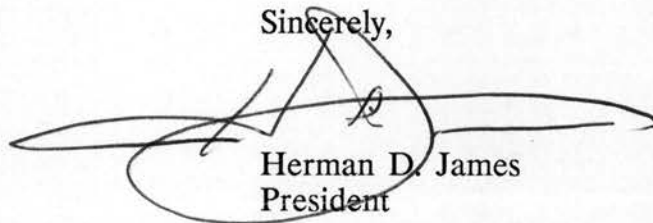
Dear Mr. Ambassador:

Enclosed is a copy of the newspaper article about the remarks given by the President of Howard University that we discussed during lunch on Monday, February 24.

Again, I thank you very much for your visit to our college and for providing us with so much wisdom.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Herman D. James
President

HDJ:g
enclosure

To Sharon

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GLASSBORO STATE COLLEGE

Vice President for Institutional Advancement

Glassboro, New Jersey 08028-1738 (609) 863-5276

January 7, 1992

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

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

On behalf of the Silver Summit Anniversary Committee of the Hollybush Summit at Glassboro State College, it is my pleasure to confirm our agreement for you speak at the College on February 24, 1992. We will provide transportation from your home or other convenient location to and from the College. As I also indicated, the College is pleased to provide a \$2,500 honorarium to you for your participation in this commemorative lecture series.

As you know, Mr. Charlie Hill was instrumental in arranging your visit to Glassboro State College. Charlie is both a member of the Silver Summit Anniversary Committee and a recipient of an honorary degree from Glassboro. He was also very helpful in moving the idea from the planning stage to implementation.

In preparing your remarks we hope that you will consider making a connection between the Hollybush Summit of 1967 and the events of this past year in the former Soviet Union. As a key player in those events, you are in a unique position to lead our audience through the period from 1967 to the present. I can assure you that the entire college community is eager to hear you speak.

My assistant Peggy Veacock will be in touch with Sharon Dardine to handle the arrangements. Our tentative schedule calls for a 9 a.m. pickup at your home, a luncheon at the College and the speech to an expected audience of 400. I would also suggest a press conference since your visit should be of interest to the area media.

Glassboro State College appreciates your acceptance of our invitation to speak as part of the Silver Summit Anniversary of Hollybush Summit. For your information I have included the list of Committee members and other material regarding our anniversary celebration.

Sincerely,

Phil Tumminia

Philip A. Tumminia
Vice President

fl
enclosures

c: Senator Frank R. Lautenberg
President Herman D. James
Institutional Advancement Committee
Charles Hill

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Fast Facts

Campus Size Then:	175 self-contained acres
Campus Size Now:	200 self-contained acres
Student Body Then:	3,172 full time undergraduate students
Student Body Now:	5,488 full time undergraduate students
No. of Buildings Then:	24 buildings
No. of Buildings Now:	45 buildings
Players:	U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson Soviet Premier Aleksei N. Kosygin
Issues:	Middle East Crisis Vietnam Conflict Nonproliferation of nuclear weapons Limitations on anti-ballistic missile systems U.S./Soviet relations
Where They Met:	The Hollybush mansion, Glassboro State College Built in 1849 College president's home since 1923 Home of College President Thomas E. Robinson and his wife during the Summit
When:	June 23, 1967 for 5 1/2 hours (11:30 am to 5 pm) June 25, 1967 for 4 1/2 hours (1:30 pm to 6 pm)

Significance of the Summit

As the Summit at Hollybush began on June 23, 1967, the world lived under the threat of direct confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union as a result of the historically explosive Middle East situation.

In May, Egypt closed the Strait of Tiran to Israeli vessels. Israel threatened war if any ships were stopped. The Soviet Union supported the Arab states and supplied them with arms.

Great Britain and the U. S. challenged the blockade by drafting a maritime declaration which contained two principles: the Gulf of Agaba was an international waterway, and all nations have the right to free passage. Early on June 5, the Soviet Union sent a message to President Johnson promising not to intervene if hostilities increased. President Johnson pledged to do the same. As the messages crossed, Israel launched an attack in what was to become the Six-Day War.

Embarrassed, the Soviet Union called for an emergency session of the U.N. General Assembly to condemn Israel's action against the Arab states and the U.S. for its support of Israel. The message was delivered in New York by Premier Aleksei Kosygin on June 19. Earlier that day President Johnson announced his own plans to bring peace in the region.

Kosygin's arrival in New York presented an opportunity for the world's two greatest powers to meet and avoid an escalation of the Middle East war. The public cried out for such a meeting in newspapers and magazines, but neither leader wanted to jeopardize his prestige by going to the other.

After much negotiating, the leaders agreed on a neutral site midway between New York and Washington, D.C.—the Hollybush mansion on the Glassboro State College campus. This 19th century stone house became a permanent part of history as the world's hopes and prayers focused on the two leaders as they discussed wide-ranging issues, including the Middle East, the arms race, and new peace initiatives.

Although no formal agreements were reached during the Summit at Hollybush, neither side entered the war and the much-feared confrontation was avoided. The talks led to improved Soviet-American relations and opened up communications between the two superpowers. The two world leaders agreed that they wanted nothing but peace with each other and the world.

"On some issues we made progress, great progress in reducing misunderstanding and in reaffirming our common commitment to seek agreement," Johnson said after the first day of negotiations. "Our purpose is to narrow our differences and thus help secure peace in the world for future generations."

Kosygin also assured the American public of his intentions. After the summit, Kosygin said, "May I salute the friendship between the Soviet and American people," Kosygin said. "I want to wish all of you every success and happiness and express the hope that we shall go forward together in peace."

Johnson had positive feelings after the summit. He said, "...it does help a lot to sit down and look a man in the eye all day long and try to reason with him, particularly if he's trying to reason with you. And that's why we went to Hollybush this morning, and reasoning together there was the Spirit of Hollybush."

Previous U.S./USSR Summits

- **Tehran, Iran**

November 1943

Roosevelt, Stalin, Churchill

- **Yalta, USSR**

February 1945

Roosevelt, Stalin, Churchill

- **Potsdam, East Germany**

July 1945

Truman, Stalin, Churchill

- **Geneva, Switzerland**

July 1955

Eisenhower, Bulganin, Eden (G.B.), Faure (France)

- **Camp David, Maryland**

September 1959

Eisenhower, Krushchev

- **Vienna, Austria**

June 1961

Kennedy, Krushchev

- **Glassboro, New Jersey**

June 23 and 25, 1967

Johnson, Kosygin

WHY GLASSBORO?

On June 14, 1967, the U.S.S.R. called for an emergency session of the U.N. General Assembly to condemn Israel's actions against the Arab States in the Six-Day War and the United States for its support of Israel. The Soviet delegation, led by Premier Aleksei N. Kosygin, arrived in New York on June 17.

President Lyndon B. Johnson expressed an interest in meeting Kosygin soon after his arrival but the two leaders could not agree on a conference site. Kosygin informed the president that he would meet with Johnson if he came to New York. Johnson opposed New York as a meeting site because it was not customary for the president to call on visiting dignitaries. President Johnson then asked New Jersey Governor Richard J. Hughes to suggest an ideal conference site in New Jersey.

Governor Hughes offered Glassboro State College with this goal in mind, "I concentrated on finding a place that typified America, a locale having a dignified educational background which makes one think of youth and the great stake it has in the peace of the world."

Glassboro State was a secure environment with adequate facilities and staff to organize the summit on short, 16-hour notice. Located 98 miles from New York and 115 miles from Washington, D.C., Glassboro was a convenient half-way point for both world leaders. The New Jersey Turnpike gave Premier Kosygin easy access to Glassboro from New York. The nearby Philadelphia Airport allowed President Johnson to come from Washington, D.C. by plane.

The two world leaders met for 5 1/2 hours on June 23 and 4 1/2 hours on June 25. Premier Kosygin, obviously pleased at the choice of Glassboro, was overheard telling President Johnson, "You chose a nice place."

Important Dates

1954 Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser seized power in Egypt.

- Nasser hoped to unite all Arabs and rid the region of Western influences.

May 1967 Nasser closed the Strait of Tiran to Israeli vessels, cutting off Israel's supply route.

- Israel threatened war if any ships were stopped.
- The Soviet Union supported Arab forces and supplied them with arms.

June 5, 1967 The Soviet Union, fearing global nuclear war, called President Johnson guaranteeing no intervention if war broke out in the Middle East. As the messages crossed, Israel attacked the Arabs.

- Israel attacked the Arabs and prevailed in the Six- Day War.

June 19, 1967 The Soviet Premier Aleksei Kosygin formally condemned Israeli aggression and the U.S. for its support at the U.N. General Assembly meeting.

- Secretary of State Dean Rusk tried to arrange a meeting for the two nations to work out their conflicts on the Middle East crises.

June 21, 1967 N.J. Governor Richard Hughes offered Glassboro State College as a meeting place.

June 23, 1967 The two world leaders met face to face to discuss major world problems at the Summit at Hollybush.

June 25, 1967 The two leaders met for a second day at Hollybush.

Aides Accompanying President Johnson and Premier Kosygin

United States

Secretary of State	Dean Rusk
Secretary of Defense	Robert S. McNamara
U.S. Ambassador-to-USSR	Llewelyn Thompson
Ambassador-at-large	W. Averell Harriman
Ford Foundation president	McGeorge Bundy
Johnson's assistants	Walt E. Rostow
	Marvin Watson

USSR

Soviet Foreign Minister	Andrei A. Gromyko
USSR Ambassador-to-U.S.	Anatoly F. Dobrynin
Foreign Ministry press dept. head	Leonid M. Zamyatin
Soviet embassy counselor	Yuri Vorontsov
Kosygin's assistants	B. Batsanov
	Y. Firsov

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Suite 800
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004
(202) 639-7366

February 5, 1992

Mr. Bernstein:

Enclosed is a photo of Amb.
Kampelman, as requested.

His proposed title for the
talk is "A Glance Backward
with a View to the Future".

We hope this is agreeable to
you. Variations on the theme
are acceptable to Amb. Kampelman
as well. Let me know what you
think.

Best regards.

*Agreed per
Telcom Bernstein*

Sharon Dardine

2/7



HALL PLACE EXECUTIVE SEDAN SERVICE

**P.O. BOX 2248
WASHINGTON, DC 20007
202-333-7723**

**Bill to: Max M. Kampelman
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Suite 800
Washington, DC 20004**

**Date: February 24, 1992
Time: 9 a.m.
Pickup: 3154 Highland Place, NW
Washington, DC 20008**

Service: Roundtrip Washington, DC/Glassboro, New Jersey

10 hours @ \$40	\$400.00
Gratuuity 15%	60.00
Tolls	<u>8.50</u>
	\$468.50

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FAX • 202 • 639 • 7008

February 27, 1992

WRITER'S DIRECT LINE

202/639-7020

**Mr. Philip A. Tumminia
Vice President for Institutional Advancement
Glassboro State College
Glassboro, NJ 08028-1738**

Dear Mr. Tumminia:

I understand from Ambassador Kampelman that he thoroughly enjoyed his visit to your campus on Monday.

Enclosed is the invoice for the driver. We have paid this invoice and would appreciate your check payable to Amb. Kampelman for this expense.

It was a pleasure for me to assist in arranging his visit and to have the opportunity of working with you and Peggy.

Sincerely,

**Sharon H. Dardine
Assistant to
Max M. Kampelman**