



Max M. Kampelman Papers

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REMARKS BY

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION PRESIDENTIAL SHOWCASE PROGRAM

"ORDER OR DISORDER: THE RULE OF LAW IN A CHANGING WORLD"

San Francisco, California

August 10, 1992

In November, 1990, less than two years ago, I had the privilege of being part of the American Delegation to the Paris Summit of 35 heads of government to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). This was created by the Helsinki Final Act. The Declaration of Paris, which emanated from that Summit, reflected decisions taken a few months earlier at the Copenhagen CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension, where I headed the Delegation of the United States.

The mood of the day was one of euphoria and self-congratulations. The Berlin Wall had been shattered; Communist regimes were falling; the Warsaw Pact was disappearing; the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was in shambles. All of the countries of Europe had unanimously agreed in Copenhagen that political democracy and the rule of law, not as slogans but with clear detailed specificity, were

indispensable prerequisites to assure European security and cooperation. Indeed, our own John Norton Moore of the University of Virginia Law School declared that he considered the Copenhagen document to be the modern day international law equivalent of the Magna Carta of 1215. There was no doubt. We were entering a "New World Order."

That was less than two years ago. Two months ago, I again had the privilege of being a member of The American Delegation to the Helsinki CSCE Summit of the heads of government of now 52 member states. That meeting too issued a statement, which reflected the findings of the Geneva CSCE Conference on Minorities as well as the Moscow CSCE Meeting on the Human Dimension, where I again headed the two American delegations. But now, less than two years following the euphoria, there was a decided shift in mood. What I sensed was that Europe felt depressingly impotent, obsessed with a worry it could not face.

It was not just that Saddam Hussein remained in power even after Europe followed America into what appeared to be a great military victory. Iraq seems far away to most of Europe. It was primarily the inability to stop the violence, brutality and instability created by a ruthless Serbian leader who continues to defy and challenge civilized standards of responsible behavior. The irony of Sarajevo again appearing at the center of war brought back awful reminders of 1914.

Today, there are international institutions designed to preserve the peace -- the United Nations, The Council of Europe, the European Community, NATO, the Western European Union, CSCE. Yet, they appear clearly ineffective as the war widens in Yugoslavia and threatens all of the Balkans and the rest of Europe.

And there is more. Anti-semitism is reappearing, even where there are few or no Jews; ethnic strife divides Czechoslovakia; it causes tension between Hungary and Rumania; and, perhaps most ominous, it stimulates a nationalism and xenophobia among a growing number of impatient, dissatisfied and disaffected forces in Russia. We read daily that there are wars or near-wars in Moldava, Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia, with violence threatening in other former Soviet Asian republics. Furthermore, hundreds of thousands of refugees are displaced from their homes; and the words "concentration camp" are reappearing in our consciousness and consciences.

The subject of our afternoon's discussion cannot avoid these developments. We have a highly distinguished panel which will discuss the Rule of Law as a way of achieving order in a changing world. My role will be to help provide a perspective required for understanding.

During my early childhood, there were no vitamin tablets; no anti-biotics; no television; no dial telephones; 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. Yet, today, we take these material realities for granted, as ours by birthright and as an indispensable part of living.

During my lifetime, 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. 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.

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. We barely understand the human brain and its energy; the endless horizons of space and the mysteries found in the great depths of our seas are still virtually unknown to us. Our science is indeed a drop, our ignorance remains an ocean.

We are brought up to believe that necessity is the mother of invention. I suggest the corollary is also true: invention is the mother of necessity. Technology and communication are necessitating basic changes in our lives. The world is 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 -- and consequences follow.

But the world body politic has not kept pace with those scientific and technological achievement. Just as the individual human body makes a natural effort to keep the growth of its components balanced and we consider the body disfigured if one arm or leg grows significantly larger than the other, so is the world body politic disfigured if its scientific component opens up broad new vistas for development while its political and social component remains in the Dark Ages, with human beings still killing one another. I suggest to you that 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 unexpectedly observing is a fierce resistance to that change in the form of an intense fractionalization, as large numbers of peoples have had their emotions inflamed by nationality and fundamentalist appeals. 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 changes. 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. But we must not permit it to overwhelm us.

Simultaneously, we must not neglect the stronger and more urgent sounds of impatient hope and expectation. The promises and realities of modern technology for better living cannot be hidden and their availability cannot long be denied. 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 dignity and better living for themselves and their children -- and they don't wish to wait.

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 last year 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. With a world population of nearly 5.4 billion people, more than 3.7 billion people, or nearly 70%, were living in free or partly free countries, the highest ever.

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. Peoples now trapped in the quagmire of ancient ethnic and national grievances and enmities will soon come to recognize that they are thereby dooming themselves, their children and grandchildren to become orphans of history, lost in the caves of the past.

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, nuclear missiles -- all of which know no national boundaries. Serbia and Slovakia, I suggest, will come painfully to learn that lesson.

One essential geo-political consequence of this new reality is that there can be no true security for any one country in isolation. We must learn to accept in each of our countries a mutual responsibility for the peoples in other countries. Law must, in this context, stretch itself to become increasingly international in scope.

Alexis De Tocqueville, in his profound 19th century book, Democracy in America, 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. These phenomena, however, must not overwhelm us or our aspirations. The lid of repression is being removed from the pressure

cookers. The steam is escaping. Fingers near the steam are being severely scalded. With patience and creativity we can help transform that boiling eruption into a calmer cup of hot tea.

Our task is to help influence the constructive energies of the emerging democratic societies so that they are channeled into the full peaceful realization of their aspirations. It is in our interest to fulfill that task with determination. They urgently need our help, a jump-start, just as we provided for Europe at the end of World War II. That help worked for them and for us then. Its appropriate equivalent can work 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.

Alexis de Tocqueville had a further relevant insight when he wrote that "civil society arose most strongly in America because of the historical absence of aristocratic intermediaries. The citizens learned the value of association by necessity". He believed that the American tendency to join organizations, pluralism, was the essence of a healthy, civil society, a prerequisite for democracy. More recently, scholars have defined civil society as the vital space between the

individual and the State, "the area where private institutions, voluntary associations, free markets, the free expression of ideas, and the free exercise of religion can be imagined or realized". In effect, civil society mediates between the individual and the state and thereby strengthens democracy.

In effect, a society which encourages pluralism as an integral part of citizenship stands a much better prospect of becoming an authentic community and avoiding or at least overshadowing social atomization, conflicting interests, ancient grievances, and individual power seeking. Here too, we can note that those who led the way for democracy in Eastern and Central Europe found that the idea of civil society provided a motivating rationale as well as a rallying theme for their successful effort. It served to identify their means and goals with America and our ability to reconcile human rights and democracy with our multi-cultural and multi-national diverse ancestry.

It is important, therefore, to note that a civil society is slowly gaining a foothold in the area. Local government, for example is particularly strong in Poland; universities, including a private one in Bulgaria, are attracting many thousands of enrollees; elementary school districts are increasingly being diversified; stock exchanges now exist; philanthropy is evolving; a vigorous independent press is

emerging all over the area; small businesses are appearing in large numbers; professional associations are being organized. All of these developments, with proper encouragement and assistance from us -- and here the American Bar Association's CEELI program, which I have the honor to be a part of, is performing outstanding service -- can contribute to the process of civilizing the expression of political differences.

We have begun to help. We are not doing enough and we must do more. Our economic response to date, in the words of our Librarian of Congress, Dr. James Billington, has "been hesitant in tone, trivial in content, and very nearly humiliating in its effect." This must change.

Within every age the drive for human dignity has been dominant, but the struggle is a continuing one. Aristotle taught us that all forms of government are transitional and vulnerable to the corrosion of time, new problems, and missed opportunities.

James Madison, in his tremendously effective Federalist Paper No. 10 wrote: "The latent causes of faction are sown in the nature of man . . . the most frivolous and principal distinctions have been sufficient to kindle unfriendly passions and excite violent conflicts". The great Christian theologian, Reinhold Niebuhr, from all of this drew the lesson: "Man's capacity for justice makes democracy possible, but man's inclination to injustice makes democracy necessary."

Will we in the U.S. 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. 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 the rule of law, liberty, human dignity, and democracy -- if we permit our values, our strength, and our sense of responsibility to provide the guidelines for that journey.



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1991-1992

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June 29, 1992

Hon. Max Kampelman
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Suite 800
Washington, DC 20004P.O.C.
JACKIE
COLEMAN

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

On behalf of the American Bar Association's Section of Individual Rights and Responsibilities, I want to thank you for agreeing to participate as a panelist for the program, "World Order or Disorder: The Rule of Law in a Changing World" at the American Bar Association's 1992 Annual Meeting in San Francisco in August.

This Presidential Showcase program, being sponsored by four separate ABA entities, as well as the Lawyers Alliance for World Security, is intended to promote thoughtful examination of the most significant issues surrounding the emergence of the "new world order" from a variety of perspectives, and we are pleased that attendees will have the benefit of your views during the discussion.

As Jim Miller undoubtedly explained in his recent telephone conversation with you, the program will be held from 2 p.m. to 5 p.m. on Monday, Aug. 10, in the Tiburon Room of the San Francisco Hilton Hotel. You will open the program with an overview providing background information and an introduction to the major topics of discussion, with particular focus on the issues, problems, and opportunities involved in efforts to advance the rule of law internationally. Other distinguished panelists, each an expert in the field, then will discuss the separate topics of nationalism and self-determination, peacekeeping and conflict resolution, and civil and human rights, followed by a discussion of lawyers' role in helping shape the new order. At points throughout the discussion, two commentators and members of the audience will be invited to ask questions or comment upon the speakers' remarks.

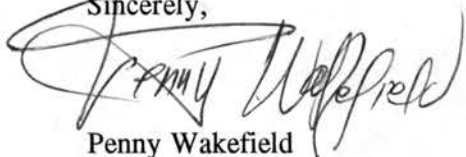
Once all speakers are confirmed, you will be contacted by the program co-chairs, Abram Chayes and Michael Greco, to discuss program scope and format in more detail. Meanwhile, however, I would like to ask you to complete and sign the enclosed meeting registration and housing reservation form and return it, together with the required room deposit, to me at your earliest convenience. At the meeting, you will receive a form to obtain reimbursement for expenses in accordance with the terms agreed upon between you and Jim. Upon receipt of your registration form, we will apply for a waiver of the meeting registration fee for you. Your prompt response would be appreciated; the deadline for housing registration is Wednesday, July 8.

We would appreciate your including with your registration form a brief biographical summary for use in introducing you at the beginning of your presentation.

Also enclosed for your information is a brochure describing other Section-sponsored activity, including the Thurgood Marshall Award Dinner, that you might have an interest in attending.

Please call me (202/331-2280) if you have any questions about the program or registration procedures. I look forward to meeting you in August.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Penny Wakefield", written over a horizontal line.

Penny Wakefield
Director

encl.

cc: Abram Chayes, Chair, Standing Committee on World Order Under Law
Michael S. Greco, Chair, Committee on Nuclear Disarmament and Arms Control,
Section of Individual Rights and Responsibilities
James A. Miller, Director, Standing Committee on Law and National Security
Penny S. Ferreira, Director, Standing Committee on World Order Under Law
Alaire B. Rieffel, Director, Section of International Law and Practice



1991-1992

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**To: Speakers and Commentators for the ABA's 1992 Annual Meeting
Presidential Showcase Program, "Order or Disorder: The Rule of Law in
a Changing World"**

**From: Abram Chayes, Chair, ABA Standing Committee on World Order
Under Law**

**Michael S. Greco, Chair, Committee on Nuclear Disarmament and
Arms Control, ABA Section of Individual Rights and Responsibilities, and
Member, ABA Standing Committee on Law and National Security**

Date: August 3, 1992

Re: Program Scope and Format

We are pleased that all of you have agreed to devote time and expertise to this program. The resulting panel (listed in alphabetical order) is a most informed and distinguished group: Abram Chayes, professor, Harvard Law School; Robert F. Drinan, S.J., professor, Georgetown Law Center; Hon. Max Kampelman, former head of the U.S. delegation to the Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Arms; Hon. James Leonard, former Ambassador and Deputy Chief of Mission of the U. S. Mission to the United Nations; Anthony Lewis, columnist, *New York Times*; Ambassador Olara Otunnu, president, International Peace Academy; Hon. Elizabeth Rindskopf, General Counsel, Central Intelligence Agency; Hon. Richard Schifter, former Assistant Secretary for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, U. S. Department of State; and Allen Weinstein, president, Center for Democracy.

Enclosed for your information is an outline description of the program. The topic descriptions are intended to provide guidance only; you are encouraged to address the issues you find most relevant or interesting within a given subject area. We hope that these descriptions comport with your understanding of what you were invited to do, but if you have any questions, please do not hesitate to call Mike Greco (617/439-3555) before he leaves for the San Francisco meeting on Thursday morning.

Speakers and Commentators
Order or Disorder
Page 2

As noted on the enclosed outline, the program begins at 2:00 p.m. on Monday, August 10, in the Tiburon Room (4th floor) of the San Francisco Hilton Hotel. We would like to meet with all of you about a half hour before the program begins to review the format and address any last-minute concerns.

Penelope Ferreira, staff director for the Standing Committee on World order under Law, and Penny Wakefield, staff director for the Section of Individual Rights and Responsibilities, will be available in the ABA's Washington, D.C., offices through Thursday, August 6, and Wednesday, August 5, respectively, should you have any questions. After that time, Penelope Ferreira may be reached at the Hotel Nikko (415/394-1111) and Penny Wakefield, at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel (415/392-7755) in San Francisco. They also can be reached at the ABA Division offices in the San Francisco Hilton, (415/928-3656).

Order or Disorder: The Rule of Law in a Changing World

Monday, August 10, 1992, 2:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.
Tiburon Room, San Francisco Hilton Hotel

Welcome and Opening Remarks -- Talbot D'Alemberte, President, American Bar Association (Introduced by Abram Chayes, Chair of the Standing Committee on World Order Under Law and program moderator) (5-10 min.)

Introduction of panel members and commentators; explanation of program purpose and format -- Abram Chayes (10 min.)

This program is intended to help members of the legal profession learn more about the forces of change now dominant in world politics and to examine the essential role of law in shaping what is becoming a new world order. Specific objectives of the program include identifying the doctrines and agreements useful to the creation of a world order under law; identifying trends in emerging law and proposed legislation, treaties or other agreements, and institutions that could be helpful in creating or sustaining a new world order; and identifying ways in which the legal profession might contribute to the advancement of the rule of law. The program represents a cooperative effort among four ABA entities that have varying perspectives on the issues to be discussed, but share a concern for the preservation and enhancement of the rule of law throughout the world.

The program includes an opening address; presentations (up to 15 min. each) on three major topics relating to the program subject, as well as a special presentation on the lawyer's role in promoting the rule of law (speakers listed below); and questions and commentary on each presenter's remarks (up to 5 min. after each speaker) from program commentators Anthony Lewis, *New York Times* columnist, and Elizabeth Rindskopf, General Counsel for the Central Intelligence Agency. (The commentators may choose (1) to make no comments after a given presentation, (2) make a brief "speech" in response to a panelist's presentation, or (3) ask questions or make brief comments for panel response.)

Moderator Abram Chayes also will encourage follow-up comments among the speakers and from the audience. He will control the pace of the program so that all panelists have ample opportunity to speak. He may announce one or more brief program breaks, as appropriate, but there are no set times for such breaks.

Opening Address -- Hon. Max Kampelman, former head of the U. S. delegation to the Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Arms (20 min.)

Mr. Kampelman will provide an overview of issues to be discussed during the program, with a particular focus on problems and opportunities involved in efforts to advance the rule of law in nations that are emerging or changing as a result of recent world events, such as the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Mr. Kampelman also will raise the issue of the ability of existing international legal, institutional, and political structures to provide effective responses in a rapidly changing world.

Panel Presentations (15 min. each)

International Peacekeeping and Conflict Resolution --

Ambassador Olara Otunnu, President, International Peace Academy: The United Nations and Peacekeeping.

Ambassador James Leonard, former Deputy Chief of Mission of the U. S. Mission to the United Nations: Arms Control and Non-Proliferation.

The speakers will provide varying perspectives on international peacekeeping, including the roles of the United Nations Security Council, Secretary General, and the International Court of Justice; arms control and nuclear proliferation; international or regional dispute resolution; and economic or other sanctions.

Human Rights and Civil Liberties -- Hon. Richard Schifter, former Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs.

Ambassador Schifter will consider such topics as ratification and enforcement of human rights provisions in international treaties, the CSCE (Copenhagen Document), development of "bills of rights" and other protections in new nations' constitutions, and the roles of international organizations and other institutions in protecting and preserving human rights.

Nationalism and Self-Determination -- Allen Weinstein, President, Center for Democracy.

Mr. Weinstein will discuss the formation or re-emergence of nations based upon ethnic groups, and the role of states, the United Nations, and regional groups in promoting and preserving order in the former Soviet republics, Central and Eastern Europe, Latin America, and other trouble spots around the world.

The Role of Lawyers in Advancing the Rule of Law in a New World Order -- Georgetown Law Center Professor Robert F. Drinan, S.J., Immediate Past Chair of the Section of Individual Rights and member of the ABA's Special Advisory Committee on International Activities, will summarize points made by the earlier speakers and will discuss the role of lawyers in helping promote the rule of law.

RECEIVED

Max Kampelman



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July 22, 1992

MEMORANDUM

TO: Standing Committee Members, Advisory Committee Members, and
Friends Who Have Indicated They Plan to Attend the Annual
Meeting

FROM: *Jim* Miller, Staff Director

SUBJ: Informal Breakfast Meeting of the Standing Committee at the
1992 ABA Annual Meeting in San Francisco

1. I would like to invite you to attend an Informal breakfast meeting of the Standing Committee on Law and Security to be held during the Annual Meeting in San Francisco. Committee Chair Bob Turner will not be able to attend but he sends greetings and best wishes. The meeting will be presided over by John Shenefield who recently was appointed by the ABA President to become the new Chair of the Standing Committee after the Annual Meeting. Congratulations are in order to both John upon his appointment and to Bob for his years of dedicated service.

2. The breakfast meeting will be held Monday, August 10, 1992, from 7:15 to 8:30 a.m. in the Saratoga Room on the Fourth Floor of the San Francisco Hilton Hotel (333 O'Farrell Street, phone 415-771-1400). A continental breakfast will be served.

3. Please notify John Shenefield's secretary, Sharlene Monroe (phone: 202-467-7220; fax 202-467-7176) whether or not you will be able to attend.

4. Let me add that my stint as Staff Director of the Standing Committee will come to a conclusion on August 31. Since January 1991, my wife Daiva and I have enjoyed working with the fine people associated with the Standing Committee and the ABA in general, and are especially grateful to all who have provided help and encouragement. I will not be attending the San Francisco meeting but wish that all of you have a productive and enjoyable time there.

*reprinted
pls
7/22/92*

Copies: Robert F. Turner, John H. Shenefield



1991-1992

AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

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and Responsibilities

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September 9, 1992

Hon. Max Kampelman
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Suite 800
Washington, DC 20004

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

On behalf of the officers, Council, and program chairs of the American Bar Association's Section of Individual Rights and Responsibilities, I want to thank you for participating in the Presidential Showcase program, "Order or Disorder: The Rule of Law in a Changing World", at the ABA's annual meeting in San Francisco.

The program was very well received, exploring in some depth a very timely and complex topic. We greatly appreciate your contribution to the panel's success.

Thank you once again for your willingness to give your time and expertise to this event. We look forward to another opportunity to work with you.

Sincerely,

Janet R. Studley, Chair

cc: Michael S. Greco

6/10

8/10



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Date: 6/25/92 Time: 3:30

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TO: MAX M. KAMPELMAN

Attn: Sharon Pardine

FAX NUMBER: 202-639-7008

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☒ AS DISCUSSED ☒ YOUR INFORMATION ☒ YOUR ACTION

COMMENT:

Sharon -

Thanks in advance for your help!

Jim



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Transmitted by Facsimile**June 25, 1992****MEMORANDUM****FROM: Jim Miller, Staff Director****SUBJ: "Order or Disorder: The Role of Law In a Changing
World," Presidential Showcase Program at
the 1992 ABA Annual Meeting****TO: Hon. Max M. Kampelman**

This is a follow-up to my recent phone discussion with Sharon Dardine. As I only briefly outlined to her, the American Bar Association's Standing Committee on Law and National Security would like to invite you to be the opening and "stage-setting" speaker at a three-hour program set for the ABA Annual Meeting in San Francisco. The program will take place on Monday, August 10, 1992, from 2:00 to 5:00 p.m. in the Tiburon Room, 4th Floor, at the San Francisco Hilton (the headquarters hotel for the convention).

The program will explore the issues and opportunities in advancing democratic principles among emerging nations in the post-Cold War era. Panelists and commentators will address the concepts of nationalism and self-determination, human rights and civil liberties, and international peacekeeping, as well as the lawyer's role in shaping the "new world order." Nationalism and self-determination will be addressed by Allen Weinstein; human rights and civil liberties will be addressed by Richard Schlifer; the speaker on peacekeeping is yet to be determined; commentators will include CIA General Counsel Elizabeth Rindskopf, Anthony Lewis of the "New York Times," and Father Robert F. Drinan, SJ. The program chairman is Professor Abram Chayes.

This meeting will be unique in that it will be co-sponsored by the ABA Standing Committee on Law and National Security along with

the ABA Section of International Law and Practice, the ABA Section of Individual Rights and Responsibilities, the ABA Standing Committee on World Order Under Law, and the Lawyers Alliance for World Security. The three-hour program provides a great opportunity to bring together people with different viewpoints to talk and listen concerning matters of such vital importance.

It is envisaged that before the three speakers address the matters of nationalism/self-determination, human rights/civil liberties, and international peacekeeping, the stage-setting speaker will provide an overview of the issues, problems, and opportunities involved in trying to advance the rule of law internationally. You are in our view ideally suited to play such a role. The program would be greatly enhanced if you could participate.

Please call me at 703-242-0629 to let me provide you with more background information and logistical details. Once all speakers are confirmed, we will contact you to discuss program scope and format in more detail.

We would appreciate hearing as soon as possible if you would like to participate. In the event it is not convenient for you to participate in this meeting, we will certainly understand and will look forward to working with you in the future. The Standing Committee on Law and National Security greatly appreciates all that you do with and for our group and all of your tireless efforts to advance the rule of law in the world. Warm regards.

max- Thanks again for agreeing to participate. Have a great trip to San Francisco! Jim

Copy of what was faxed on 7/23/92 8/10/92



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AS DISCUSSED YOUR INFORMATION YOUR ACTION

COMMENT: This is to inform you that I will not be attending the ABA Annual Meeting in San Francisco. I'll miss the August 10 presidential showcase program in which you have so kindly agreed to participate. I'm delighted each of you is participating and know it will be a successful program. For questions concerning your participation in the program, please contact Mike Greco in Boston (phone 617-439-3555, fax 617-439-3580) -- as you know, he's the program co-chair (& a member of the Standing Committee). You may also contact Penny Walkerfield (phone 202-331-2279, fax 202-331-2220), the Staff Director of the ABA Section of Individual Rights & Responsibilities. Thanks again for your participation. Best regards, Jim
P.S. Enclosed is an expense reimbursement request form.