



Max M. Kampelman Papers

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REMARKS BY

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

NATIONAL SECURITY LAW: SECOND ANNUAL REVIEW OF THE FIELD

A TRIBUTE TO MORRIS I. LEIBMAN

Washington, D.C.

October 29, 1992

Morrie Leibman was proof of the reality that it is not the years in one's life but the life in one's years that count in the evaluation of our short stay in this world. He was an example and a lesson for all of us who were touched by his friendship and concerns. Regret never took the place of his dreams and so he escaped old age in his energetic more than 80 years of travel from birth to death.

During an 80th birthday celebration we had for Morrie in this city, I told him that when we take a careful look at him, his life, and his many contributions to the lives of all of us, I concluded that if we subtracted from his own age the hours which he gave to other people's lives and careers and difficulties, we would find that we were celebrating the birthday of an infant prodigy. The outpouring of love and praise and friendship for Morrie that followed his death and continues through our tribute dinner this evening reaffirms that observation.

Morrie never lost interest in tomorrow and neither must we. He kept young in spirit and in enthusiasm and so must we. He understood that we cannot control the length of our lives, but we can control the width and depth of our lives. We must never forget that lesson and the example Morrie set for us.

Morrie has been our dear friend and an inspiration to all of us here. He was in on the creation of many new ideas and many new movements. We have a duty to see that they flourish. He demonstrated the essence of American patriotism and citizen responsibility. We must follow his example. He was a credit to the legal profession and we intend to keep his name alive in its annals. I was proud of our friendship and I know that pride is shared by thousands living in all parts of our country.

Mary, all of Morrie's friends know how important you were to him and to his happiness. You helped give him vitality and energy and inspiration. For that, you have our appreciation and our love.

As I look over this room, I have a strong feeling that Morris is hovering about, moving from table to table. I know this is so because you couldn't keep him away from a party such as this. He, therefore, joins all of us here in loudly and gratefully proclaiming "Mary, thank you and God bless you."

Thank you.

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Professor John Norton Moore
Director
Center for National Security Law
University of Virginia

FROM: Sharon H. Dardine
Assistant to Max M. Kampelman

RE: Conference IHO Morris. I. Leibman

DATE: October 28, 1992

Per your request, attached is a Amb. Kampelman's biographical summary.

Amb. Kampelman will indeed be at the dinner on Thursday evening at the International Club, but, unfortunately, will not be available to attend the conference itself. As for a copy of his remarks, I am afraid that we are not now in a position to provide you with a draft. In that connection, Amb. Kampelman is assuming that those remarks should be in the neighborhood of five minutes. If this assumption is incorrect, please let us know.

MAX M. KAMPELMAN
BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY

Max M. Kampelman, a lawyer, diplomat and educator, was Counselor of the Department of State and Ambassador and Head of the United States Delegation to the Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Arms in Geneva, before returning in January, 1989, as a partner in the Washington, New York, Los Angeles and London law firm of Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson. He was recently appointed by President Bush and confirmed by the U.S. Senate as a Board Member of the United States Institute of Peace. He serves as Chairman of Freedom House, Chairman of the Board of Governors of the United Nations Association, and Chairman of the Jerusalem Foundation. He also serves as a member of the Executive Committee of the American Bar Association Special Committee on the Central and Eastern European Law Initiative, designed to provide assistance to the emerging democracies of Europe. His new book, Entering New Worlds: The Memoirs of a Private Man in Public Life, was published by HarperCollins.

On January 18, 1989, President Reagan awarded him the Presidential Citizens Medal, which recognizes "citizens of the United States who have performed exemplary deeds of service for their country or their fellow citizens". He has also been the recipient of the Knight Commander's Cross of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany.

He was appointed by President Carter and reappointed by President Reagan to serve as Ambassador and Head of the U.S. Delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which met in Madrid from 1980 to 1983. He has served, by Presidential appointment, as Head of the U.S. Delegation to the CSCE Copenhagen Conference on the Human Dimension in June 1990; as Ambassador and Head of the United States Delegation to the CSCE Geneva Conference on National Minorities in July 1991; and in September 1991 as Head of the U.S. Delegation to the CSCE Moscow Conference on the Human Dimension. He previously was a Senior Advisor to the U.S. Delegation to the United Nations and served as Legislative Counsel to U.S. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey.

An educator, he received his J.D. from New York University and his Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Minnesota, where he taught from 1946 to 1948. He has also served on the faculties of Bennington College, Claremont College, the University of Wisconsin, and Howard University. He lectures frequently here and abroad and has written extensively in scholarly and public affairs journals. He served on the governing boards of a number of universities and has received ten honorary Doctorate degrees.

Ambassador Kampelman was the founder and moderator of the public affairs program on public television, "Washington Week in Review." He was chairman of the Washington public broadcasting radio and television stations from 1963 to 1970. He and his wife, Marjorie, are the parents of five children and live in Washington, D.C.

July, 1992

10/29

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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006
(202) 659-7000

October 7, 1992

The Honorable Max M. Kampelman
Fried, Frank, et al.
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Suite 800
Washington, D. C. 20004

ch. on your calendar

Dear Max:

The American Bar Committee on National Security is planning to have a tribute to Morry Leibman at a dinner at the committee's fall meeting on October 29. We're asking several people to make short - five minutes - comments by way of reminiscences on Morry and his personality and his public service. You are one of the first people I thought of, and I hope that you might participate.

The event is on October 29 with a reception at 6:30 and dinner at 7:30 and will be held at the International Club, 1800 K Street, N. W.

If you can attend, I'd be grateful if you would call my office at (703) 641-4271.

Sincerely,

John
John O. Marsh, Jr.

JOM:sjr

Justice Scalia will be a speaker, also.
John

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TELECOPY COVER PAGE

DATE: October 9, 1992 TIME: 11:25

TO: The Honorable Max M. Kampelman

TELECOPY NUMBER (202) 639-7003 OFFICE NUMBER (202) 639-7020

CLIENT/MATTER # 99001.001

FROM: John O. Marsh, Jr.

PHONE NUMBER: (703) 641-4271 FLOOR: 13

NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING COVER PAGE): 2

MESSAGE: _____

SHOULD ANY PAGES BE MISSING, PLEASE CALL OUR TELECOPY OPERATOR AT 703-641-4598.

An original of this telecopy ☐ will ☐ will not be mailed

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12/10

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

November 6, 1992

Mr. Stanley R. Zax
Chairman and President
Zenith Insurance Company
21255 Califa Street
Woodland Hills, California 91367-5005

Dear Stan:

It looks like I will not be able to have dinner with you on the evening before our next board meeting in Los Angeles. I have been invited to speak to the Los Angeles World Affairs Council and it looks as if the best date for that is the evening of December 9. I expect to arrive in Los Angeles earlier that day. It may be, of course, that the talk I give will end its program in time for me to join you and our other friends, but I don't have clarity as yet on that schedule.

It's also my intent, Stanley, to return to Washington immediately after our board meeting and a brief lunch. I have a talk to make in Washington on the morning of December 11. There is a flight leaving Los Angeles about 1:30, and I'll plan to be on it. I believe it's the last flight that will get me back in Washington at a civilized hour.

All my best.

Sincerely,


Max M. Kampelman

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November 3, 1992

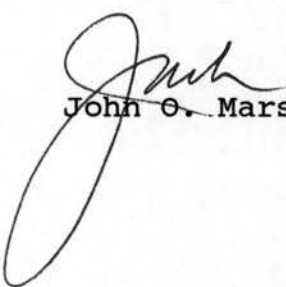
The Honorable Max M. Kampelman
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson
Suite 800
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20004-2505

Dear Max:

Many thanks for taking part in the tribute to
Morry Leibman Thursday night. Your remarks were most
appropriate and captured the many dimensions of Morry's
personality and ability.

Look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,


John O. Marsh, Jr.

JOM:sjr



(F)

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and National Security

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November 10, 1992

The Honorable Max M. Kampelman
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson
Suite 800
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20004-2505

Dear Max:

Thank you for your important contribution to the Conference on "National Security Law: Second Annual Review of the Field--A Tribute to Morris I. Leibman." The Conference was a great success and your participation contributed greatly to that success.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,


John Norton Moore

JNM/pw

cc: John H. Shenefield
Richard E. Friedman
Holly McMahon

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10/29

WRITER'S DIRECT LINE

September 14, 1992

202-639-7020

Professor John Norton Moore
Center for National Security Law
Charlottesville, VA 22903-1789

Dear John:

Thank you very much for your letter of September 3 which was co-signed by John Shenefield. I am delighted that you are planning a tribute conference to Morry Leibman and will make a point of attending at least some of the sessions on October 29. Regrettably, I will not be able to accept your invitation that I speak at your lunch on October 30 because I have a conflict that day which will make it impossible for me to be with you.

Thank you very much for your thoughtfulness in inviting me.

My warmest best wishes.

Sincerely,

Max M. Kampelman



AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

Standing Committee on Law
and National Security

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September 3, 1992

The Honorable Max M. Kampelman
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson
Suite 800
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20004-2505

Dear Max:

On behalf of the American Bar Association Standing Committee on Law and National Security and the Center for National Security Law at the University of Virginia School of Law, it is my pleasure to invite you to participate in a conference on **"National Security Law: Second Annual Review of the Field--A Tribute to Morris I. Leibman"** which will be held at the International Club of Washington, 1800 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., on Thursday and Friday, October 29-30, 1992.

Last year the American Bar Association Standing Committee on National Security Law and the Center for National Security Law of the University of Virginia School of Law co-sponsored the first annual review of the new field of National Security Law. Due to the great success of that Conference and the speed with which courses on national security law are being adopted in law schools, war colleges and international relations departments, the Committee and the Center are sponsoring a second annual review of the field. And because of the important role played by Morris Leibman, a winner of the Presidential Medal of Freedom, and his sad death earlier this year, this Conference is being dedicated as a tribute to Morry. In addition to repeating the popular panels on teaching the new field, new developments in the field and a roundtable discussion among Executive Branch General Counsels working in the national security law field, this year's Conference will feature two panels on "operational law" by which national security law is being structured into military operations and will feature three panels on timely special topics. Special topics to be considered will be: "Humanitarian Intervention and the New World Order," which will examine the limits and modalities of humanitarian intervention in crises such as that of the current Sarajevo crisis, "Democracy and Deterrence: Toward a New Central Paradigm in International Relations and International Law," which will explore the extent to which new theory about the role of totalitarianism in major wars and mass democide may serve as the basis for a new central paradigm to guide international relations and international law,

and "The Independent Counsel, Separation of Powers and National Security Law," which will focus on an appraisal of the institution of the independent counsel and its effect on separation of powers and the conduct of national security law and policy. As always, it is anticipated that this Conference will draw the country's top national security law experts and hopefully, will again be well covered by the media.

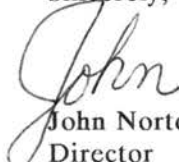
Because of your own expertise on these issues, I am writing to invite you to give the luncheon address which will be held at approximately 12:30 p.m. on Friday, October 30, 1992. We would like for you to prepare a presentation of approximately 15-20 minutes. There will be an opportunity for questions and comments from the audience. Enclosed, for your information, is a schedule of invited participants.

In order to bring this effort to the attention of a wider audience, we hope to publish the proceedings in some form. We would therefore appreciate it, if possible, if you would also submit a paper or other written summary of your views.

Because time is short, I would appreciate knowing at your earliest opportunity whether you will be able to join us for this conference. For further information or to notify me of your decision, you can reach me or my appointments secretary, Ms. Patti Watson, by mail, fax (804-924-7362), or telephone (804-924-7441). If you have questions of an administrative nature you may contact Dr James Miller, the Staff Director of the ABA Standing Committee on Law and National Security, at (703) 242-0629. The ABA will reimburse you for economy class airfare and reasonable related expenses such as parking and taxi.

Your participation will add greatly to this important conference. I hope you will be able to join us in Washington.

Sincerely,



John Norton Moore
Director
Center for National Security Law
and Walter L. Brown
Professor of Law

Sincerely,



John H. Shenefield
Chairman
American Bar Association
Standing Committee on Law and
National Security

Enclosure

cc: Robert F. Turner

September 2, 1992

DRAFT PROGRAM OF INVITED SPEAKERS *

**"National Security Law: Second Annual Review of the Field--
A Tribute to Morris I. Leibman"**

October 29-30, 1992

**International Club
Washington, D.C.**

**Co-Sponsored by the American Bar Association
Standing Committee on Law and National Security and
the Center for National Security Law of the
University of Virginia School of Law**

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 29

8:00 a.m. Registration and Continental Breakfast

8:30 a.m. Welcoming Remarks and Tribute to Morris I. Leibman

The Honorable John H. Shenefield *
**Chairman, ABA Standing Committee on Law and National
Security**

8:45 a.m. Framing the Issues

John Norton Moore
Director, Center for National Security Law
University of Virginia School of Law and
Former Chairman, ABA Standing Committee on Law and
National Security

**9:00 a.m. I. Teaching National Security Law: Materials and
Approaches: A Roundtable Discussion**

Moderator: John Norton Moore

Discussants:

Dr. Anthony Clark Arend
Department of Government
Georgetown University

Colonel William G. Eckhardt, U.S. Army *
Director, National Security Legal Issues
U.S. Army War College

Professor Keith M. Harrison *
University of Denver
College of Law

Professor Peter Raven-Hansen *
National Law Center
George Washington University

Robert F. Turner
Former Chairman, ABA Standing Committee on Law and
National Security

10:30 a.m. Break

10:45 a.m. II. Survey of New Developments in National Security Law

Moderator: The Honorable John Shenefield *

Speakers: Frederick P. Hitz *
Inspector General
Central Intelligence Agency

Michael J. Matheson *
Deputy Legal Adviser
Department of State

The Honorable Paul Schott Stevens *
Former Legal Adviser
National Security Council

Daniel B. Silver *
Former General Counsel
Central Intelligence Agency

Victoria Toensing *
Former Deputy Assistant Attorney General
Criminal Division
Department of Justice

12:15 p.m. Break

12:30 p.m. Luncheon

Address:

The Honorable Ronald F. Lehman *
Director, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency
"Recent Developments in Arms Control"

1:45 p.m. Break

2:00 p.m. III. Operational Law: Systematically Incorporating National Security Law In Operational Military Decisions

Moderator: The Honorable John O. Marsh *
Former Secretary of the Army

Speakers: Lt. Colonel H. Wayne Elliott *
Chief, International Law Division and
Director, Center for Law and Military Operations
The Judge Advocate General's School, U.S. Army

Lieutenant Colonel Patrick Finnegan, U.S. Army *
Legal Advisor, Joint Special Operations Command
Fort Bragg, North Carolina

Richard J. Grunawalt *
Director, Oceans Law and Policy Department
Center for Naval Warfare Studies
National War College and
Former Stockton Professor of International Law

Colonel Raymond C. Ruppert, U.S. Army *
Chief, International and Operational Law Division
Office of the Judge Advocate General, U.S. Army

3:30 p.m. IV. Operational Law in the Gulf Conflict (Desert Shield and Desert Storm)

Moderator: William K. Suter *
Clerk, Supreme Court
Former Commandant of The Judge Advocate General's School, U.S. Army
Former Acting Judge Advocate General, U.S. Army

Speakers: Colonel Robert Bridge, U.S. Air Force *
Chief, International and Operations Law Division
Office of the Judge Advocate General, U.S. Air Force

Captain Thomas Connelly, JAGC, USN *
Deputy Legal Counsel
Office of the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff

Colonel Mark L. Haiman, USMC *
Chief Judge, Sierra Judicial Circuit
Navy-Marine Corps Trial Judiciary
Camp Pendleton, California

Myron H. Nordquist *
Deputy General Counsel
Department of the Air Force

W. Hays Parks *
Chief, International Law Branch
International and Operational Affairs Division
Office of the Judge Advocate General, U.S. Army

Colonel Raymond C. Ruppert *

Dinner to be held at the International Club

Reception and Dinner

A Tribute to Morris I. Leibman

Reception 6:30 p.m.

Dinner 7:30 p.m.

Master of Ceremonies:

The Honorable John O. Marsh *

Speakers: Ambassador David M. Abshire *

President, Center for Strategic and International Studies

Ambassador Samuel Lewis *

President, United States Institute of Peace

The Honorable Lewis F. Powell

Former Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court

Dr. Elspeth Davies Rostow *

Chairman of the Board

United States Institute of Peace

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 39

8:30 a.m. Continental Breakfast

9:00 a.m. V. Special Topic: Humanitarian Intervention and the New World Order

Moderator: The Honorable John R. Stevenson *
Former Legal Adviser
Department of State

Speakers: Lloyd N. Cutler *
Former Counsel to the President

Professor Anthony A. D'Amato *
Chairman, International Law Section
Northwestern University School of Law

William Michael Reisman *
Wesley N. Hohfeld Professor of Jurisprudence
Yale Law School

The Honorable Richard Schifter *
Former Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights
and Humanitarian Affairs

10:30 a.m. Break

10:45 a.m. VI. Advising the Government on National Security Law: A Roundtable Discussion

Moderator: The Honorable Monroe Leigh *
Former Legal Adviser
Department of State

Discussants:
David Spears Addington *
General Counsel and
Defense Legal Services Director
Department of Defense

William J. Allard *
General Counsel
Defense Intelligence Agency

Stewart A. Baker *
General Counsel
National Security Agency

Major General F. L. Fugh, US Army *
Judge Advocate General, U.S. Army

Rear Admiral J. E. Gordon, JAGC, USN *
Judge Advocate General, U.S. Navy

Elizabeth R. Rindskopf *
General Counsel
Central Intelligence Agency

Nicholas Rostow *
Special Assistant to the President and
Legal Adviser
National Security Council

Colonel J. P. Terry, USMC *
Legal Counsel
Office of the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff

The Honorable Edwin D. Williamson *
Legal Adviser
Department of State

12:15 p.m. Break

12:30 p.m. Luncheon

Address: The Honorable Max M. Kampelman *
Former U.S. Ambassador to the Geneva Arms
Control Talks and to the Conference on Security
and Cooperation in Europe

1:45 p.m. Break

**2:00 p.m. VII. Special Topic: Democracy and Deterrence: Toward a New
Central Paradigm in International Law and Relations**

Moderator: The Honorable Richard Schifter *

Speakers: John Norton Moore

Richard J. Grunawalt *

Penn Kemble *
Executive Director
Freedom House

Professor David M. O'Brien *
Department of Government and Foreign Affairs
University of Virginia

Professor Rudy J. Rummel *
Haiku Institute of Peace Research
University of Hawaii

W. Scott Thompson *
Associate Professor of International Politics
Tufts University
Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy

**3:30 p.m. VIII. Special Topics: The Independent Counsel, Separation
of Powers and National Security Law**

Moderator: Malvina Halberstam *
Professor of Law
Yeshiva University
Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law

Speakers: The Honorable Elliott Abrams *
Former Assistant Secretary
Department of State

Timothy E. Flanigan *
Assistant Attorney General-Designate
Office of the Legal Counsel
Department of Justice

Morton H. Halperin *
Director, American Civil Liberties Union

The Honorable Theodore B. Olson *
Former Assistant Attorney General
Office of the Legal Counsel

The Honorable Abraham D. Sofaer *
Former Legal Adviser
Department of State

Jacob Stein *
Former Independent Council

Fred Wertheimer *
President, Common Cause

*This is a list of invited speakers and does not reflect acceptance.