



## Max M. Kampelman Papers

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F.V.I. Please have Max  
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Thanks -

John

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Summary of Remarks of Ambassador Max Kampelman  
Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis  
Missile Defense Breakfast Seminar Series  
April 29, 1993

"New Perspectives on World Politics, US Security Interests and Missile Defense"

Ambassador Kampelman began with the premise that missile defense is important to protect US security interests. He further warned that the United States is now living through some of the most fundamental changes we have ever seen in world politics, where massive armies may well come to be replaced by weapons of mass destruction launched by ballistic missiles.

The changes that have brought us to this situation can best be understood by reflecting back over his own lifetime. In just the past 75 years, we have probably witnessed more profound change, here and abroad, than in any comparable period in human history. Part of this great change has been the rapid spread and proliferation of information--and with it, the undermining of old political order.

As the world has become smaller, more and more people now aspire to the better world they see beyond their tribal or national boundaries. At the same time, more people and a higher percentage of all of humanity now live in freedom than ever before, according to the latest review published by Freedom House, an organization chaired by Ambassador Kampelman until just recently.

Those who live in what the Ambassador described as deprived areas--deprived primarily by their own political leadership of either a free economy or a democratic government--now know that the good living to which they aspire is not only being enjoyed by many others but is only hours away--by modern means of transportation. The dramatic increase in people's aspirations compared to just a generation ago is causing fundamentally new pressures on existing institutions and the existing world order.

On top of this, we have a blurring of the distinction between what is of concern only to the nation in which something takes place and the interests of the international community. National sovereignty is no longer so clear anymore.

What happens in Somalia, Bosnia, to the Kurds in Iraq, all are of concern to the United States and the world community. In short, the condition of human rights everywhere has become the concern of everyone. And to the extent that we seek to use the UN Security Council to seek solutions to human rights problems further legitimizes the sifting boundaries between purely internal, national concerns and those of an international character.

This shifting of boundaries over what is and is not a legitimate concern of the international community over the internal affairs of nations is the bases for the Ambassador's deep concern over the conflict in Bosnia.

Ambassador Kampelman was critical of both the Bush and Clinton Administrations for their failure to act decisively on Bosnia. When the US has moved to a discussion of whether we should undertake air strikes or commit ground combat troops, diplomacy has failed. The purpose of diplomacy is to avoid such questions, to insure that such issues do not have to be faced. But we failed to recognize this distinction and went about saying "Let the Europeans handle it."

In January 1989, the Ambassador spoke at length with a number of Yugoslav leaders during the crisis between Croatia and Serbia. The Ambassador was told that "Letting the Europeans handle the crisis was tantamount to saying let Germany handle it. Britain did not have the capability, nor did France, to lead any effort. But Germany is a long time enemy of Yugoslavia and hardly could be saddled with the role of mediator or guarantor of any peace. That only the United States can do. Europe is divided with relatively weak leadership. The US has no ambitions in Yugoslavia and thus is trusted."

Ambassador Kampelman explained further that US motives would not be questioned. But, he noted, we have failed to provide leadership and in this interrelated world in which we live, the result will be chaos. The former senior arms negotiator warned that we must not be lulled to sleep by the end of the traditional cold war between East and West. Only a little more than one year ago, he attended the European summit as a member of the US delegation. There was euphoria throughout Europe. The continent would be on its way, having forever rid itself of war. TWO

But only one year later, while attending the summit in Helsinki, Kampelman found a Europe demoralized. They had faced the Yugoslav challenge and failed. The extent to which Milosevic gets away with aggression in Bosnia, it sends strong signals elsewhere. The Ukraine, says Kampelman, worries about the reaction of Russian generals. "America no longer has the spine" is what they say.

This is a matter of terrible concern. This can lead to terrible miscalculations. And miscalculations lead to war. Within this context, there are real positives. The collapse of the Warsaw Pact, the relative decline of Soviet power gives us great opportunities. But the presence of opportunities does not mean we take advantage of such opportunities. We have the capacity, unfortunately, of being able to shoot ourselves in the foot, although we also--fortunately--have the capacity for greatness and nobility. But we have such capacity to be mean, cruel and stupid.

And within this context, the US military establishment needs to make adjustments. First, the world is not safe. What is happening in Syria, China, Iraq, Libya, Iran and North Korea, is highly worrisome. These regimes are sending us danger signals. Though we have less to worry about strategically, we must maintain a continued strong deterrent, particularly a balanced and upgraded Triad. OUR ALLIES ARE EXPOSED TO DANGER AND THAT AFFECTS OUR

But we have much to worry about, particularly given the chaos represented by Bosnia, because of the serious threat of offensive missiles which are being developed by irresponsible societies, by terrorist type societies, societies which are not part of the civilized community of nations. INTERESTING THERE IS

There are many ways to approach these dangers. One way is to have nations sign treaties, such as the NPT. Despite being a US Treaty negotiator for a quarter of a century, Kampelman warned that he did not have much confidence in this approach. The idea put forward by Ken Adelman, for example, to internationalize the INF treaty has intellectual merit. It is a nice gesture, but it does not solve the problem. It is not going to happen. AND POLITICAL

Now, this does not mean that it is not necessary for the international community to establish standards as to what is and is not moral behavior. However desirable, the US cannot rest the safety of its own people, its allies or friends on such treaties. The preferred option, said Kampelman, and by far and away the best option, is to build an adequate missile defense. If you are dealing with missiles, you have to knock out these missiles in the boost phase, before the deployment of multiple warheads. This is absolutely critical.

This then requires a space based element such as Brilliant Eyes as a minimum. It would be folly, explained Kampelman, to eliminate the space based elements of missile defense in favor of only ground based elements. The latter is inadequate. A sound defense must have eyes and ears in space.

Now, the deployment of such a defense will be a major discouragement to the Iran's of this world. To overcome such defenses as we now can build would involve a very major effort, far more than the acquisition of ballistic missiles and weapons of mass destruction in the first place. The defenses we can now build, plus a retaliatory capability, could achieve some major measure of stability. We must achieve this, otherwise we face terrible uncertainty, blackmail from rogue states, political instability and possible incalculable damage.

In deploying a tactical and national missile defense, the Ambassador concluded that we must also deal with three related issues: the Russians, the ABM treaty and partisanship. With respect to the Russians, Kampelman is convinced from his years as arms negotiator that the threat of an SDI deployment would take away the coercive power of Soviet missiles. That era is hopefully over. Now, senior advisers to Yeltsin and Yeltsin himself called for missile defense cooperation between the US and Russia.

The second hurdle is to overcome the recent terrible politicalization of missile defense. Even the efforts of Les Aspin and Sam Nunn to create a bipartisan basis for the 1991 and 1992 Missile Defense Acts has not lasted. It is imperative that we move this issue to a non-partisan basis. We are facing a terrible threat which partisanship simply lengthens the time it will take to protect ourselves.

The last hurdle is the ABM treaty. On this we should do what all good country lawyers do. We first decide what we want to do on missile defense, amend the ABM treaty with a protocol calling for such a change, and then state that the intent of the parties who signed the treaty in 1972 was--all along--consistent with protecting ourselves against ballistic missiles. The Russians are in favor of a GBI system--why are we so unwilling to give them a yes for an answer?



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**March 18, 1993**

Ambassador Mark Kampelman  
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, DC 20004

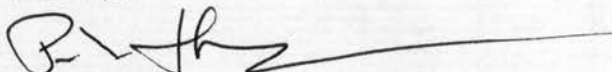
Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

It was a pleasure to speak with you at the conference in Washington and to learn of your CPAC interest in speaking at our missile defense breakfast seminars. As you may remember, in December 1992, Senators Nunn and Lugar returned from a trip to the former Soviet Union. They concluded that the danger of an unauthorized or accidental launch of strategic ballistic missiles is greater than at any other time since the August 1991 attempted coup in Moscow, and that there was a growing possibility that weapons of mass destruction are being sold, transferred, or developed by rogue nations such as Iran. This, in turn, could markedly change the nature of future regional conflicts and the appropriate U.S. and allied response.

In light of this emerging security environment, the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis (IFPA), in association with The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, is again sponsoring a series of National Security Breakfast Seminars for members of Congress and their defense and foreign policy staff to explore the current and changing defense policy toward strategic and tactical missile defense. We hope to contribute to a better understanding of this issue by the U.S. legislative community. IFPA has conducted over 200 such seminars over the past eight years on various key defense policy issues including: airlift, strategic modernization, bombers, Army roles and missions, and missile defense.

Thus it is a pleasure to invite you to speak at our forthcoming IFPA Missile Defense Breakfast Seminars. Specifically, I extend an invitation to you to speak on "The Role of Missile Defense in U.S. Security Interests in the 1990's". A list of alternative speaking dates is enclosed for your presentation. I look forward to your early response on this matter.

Sincerely,



Peter Huessy

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

March 24, 1993

Mr. Peter Huessy  
Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Inc.  
1725 DeSales Street, NW, Suite 102  
Washington, DC 20036

Dear Peter:

Thank you very much for your letter of March 18. You and your associates have been performing a significant service for quite a few years.

In view of the fact that I have been out of government now since January 1989, and not as current with developments as I once was, I have a substitute suggestion to make to you with respect to my appearance before your breakfast group. I suggest that you invite Dr. Robert Jastrow, the world-class astrophysicist, to meet with your group. He is continuing to do a tremendous amount of work in the field of missile defense. You may be aware that he and I have co-authored an article in Commentary and also an op-ed piece in The New York Times. He heads the Mount Wilson Institute outside of Los Angeles, but returns to Washington quite frequently. I think the audience would find him to be refreshing and most informative.

In the event this interests you, let me propose that you write to him directly. His address is: Suite 304, 10445 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA 90024. You can say that you are writing at my suggestion.

My warmest best wishes to you.

Sincerely,



Max M. Kampelman

Enclosures

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June 17, 1993

The Honorable Max M. Kampelman  
Counsel to  
Freid, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson  
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW  
Suite 800  
Washington, DC 20004

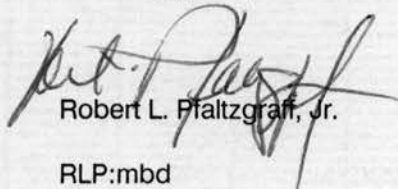
Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

As promised, I am enclosing the Institute's check in the amount of \$500.00, representing our honorarium to you for your outstanding contribution as a speaker in our 1993 Congressional breakfast series on missile defense.

I hope that you will be able to take part in other programs of the Institute.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,



Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr.

RLP:mbd

Enclosure:

ck # 6262, \$500