

# Max M. Kampelman Papers

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#### MMK SCHEDULE September 28, 1993 PLEASANT DALE FARM

## Tuesday, September

2:59 p.m. Depart National via Continental #

4:04 P.M. Arrive Newark Airport

Met by driver hired by Allied (down the ramp, done one flight of escalators;

driver will have sign with your name)

Arrive Pleasantdale Farm for AlliedSignal's 1993

Law Department Workshop

POC Kevin Salisbury (Allied's VP and GC)

6:00 p.m. Cocktails/Reception 7:00 p.m. MMK dinner speaker

9:15 p.m. Return to National via Allied's plane



AlliedSignal Inc. P.O. Box 2245 Morristown, NJ 07962-2245

201 455 6502

9/29/93

Kevin M. Salisbury Vice President & General Counsel Engineered Materials

July 28, 1993

Hon. Max M. Kampelman Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobsen Suite 800 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20004-2505

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

The AlliedSignal Law Department conducts an annual 2-1/2 day "Workshop" in late September.

This year, on September 28th, we are expecting to dedicate an entire day to AlliedSignal's globalization effort and its impact on our lawyers and our law organization. As you are an integral part of one of our efforts into the Russian Federation, we would be truly honored if you could join us on that day.

I know your calendar is crowded, and if it is of assistance to you we could put you on one of two places of your choice on the agenda: as an after dinner speaker at about 7:00 p.m. on the evening of September 28th; or as one of a four member Panel at 9:00 a.m. that morning. The Panel would discuss investment/legal matters and opportunities in various parts of the world (as of this writing, we've recruited former Peruvian ambassador to the United States, Roberto MacLean, as well as Abe Sofaer). The audience would be composed of some 90 lawyers of varied specialties, several of whom are from our European office.

You'd "make our day" if you could come, and we think you may enjoy it! It's at Pleasantdale Farm near our headquarters in Morristown, New Jersey.

Many thanks.

Sincerely,

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KMS:ai



Kevin M. Salisbury Vice President & General Counsel Engineered Materials

September 20, 1993

Hon. Max M. Kampelman Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobsen Suite 800 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., N. W. Washington, D. C. 20004-2505

### Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

I am enclosing some materials for our Law Department "Workshop", including the Agenda. I thought it might be helpful to you if you had the context of our entire meeting. As you can see, the entire day, Tuesday September 28th, will be devoted to international matters, and you are scheduled for after dinner that evening.

You may already be aware that we've arranged for one of our planes to be at the Signature Flight Suppost Hangar at National Airport for a 7:30 AM departure for Morristown, arriving there at 8:00 AM for a limo to Pleasantdale Farm (about 15/20 minutes). The plane is a Citation with a tail number 342AS, and the Hangar telephone number is 703 419 8440. A number of our other guests will be on it, and we'd be delighted if you could spend the day with us. In any event, the plane will be leaving for National at 9:15 PM that evening (or whenever everyone's ready for takeoff). If you're unable to make the morning flight, we'll arrange to pick you up at Newark.

I'll give you a call about your travel plans and any other arrangements you care to make, and to discuss the Workshop further.

We're really delighted that you're coming, and I look forward to meeting you.

Sincerely,

#### REMARKS BY

#### MAX M. KAMPELMAN

#### ALLIEDSIGNAL INC. 1993 LAW DEPARTMENT WORKSHOP

Pleasantdale Farm New Jersey September 28, 1993

Ladies and gentlemen:

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for that gracious introduction. With your permission, if I may use the words of that master of English rhetoric, Mr. Samuel Goldwyn, I have a few words to say before I begin to speak.

Kevin Salisbury suggested to me on Friday that I should use my own judgment as to what to discuss with you this evening. That led me not only to wonder how to proceed, but also brought to mind the story of the old man whose greatest experience in life was living through the great floods of Johnstown, Pennsylvania. He talked about that experience frequently and endlessly. When he died and reached the "Pearly Gates", he learned from an angel that they had a procedure under which each new admission was given an opportunity to introduce himself by making a speech. He was asked what he would like to

talk about and promptly said the Great Johnstown Flood. The angel was disappointed and tried to dissuade him, but there was always the same response: "I want to talk about the Great Johnstown Flood." The angel hastily reviewed other incidents in the man's life, but again there was the insistance on the Great Johnstown Flood. Finally, the angel acquiesced and said: "All right, talk about the Great Johnstown Flood if you wish, but remember that Noah will be in the audience!"

It became quite obvious to me, therefore, that with this audience of capable lawyers I would not talk to you about legal issues or my experiences as a lawyer. Instead, I will share with you some observations, perceptions and analyses flowing from my most interesting and challenging experiences as a part-time occasional diplomat

Not quite three years ago, in late 1990, I had the privilege of being part of the American Delegation to a 35-county heads of government Summit in Paris. The mood of the day was one of euphoria and self-congratulation. 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; democracy seemed to be spreading like wildfire. All of Europe unanimously agreed 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. There was no doubt. We were entering a "new world order."

The following June, I again had the privilege of being a member of The American Delegation to the heads of government Summit in Helsinki. The mood was decidedly different. Europe felt depressingly impotent, obsessed with challenges it could not face.

It was not just that Saddam Hussein remained in power. It was also the savagery in too many areas of the world, with ethnic strife and xenophobia dividing people, villages, neighborhoods. It was growing anti-semitism, even where there were few or no Jews. It was the human race once again demonstrating its capacity for cruelty, with hundreds of thousands of refugees displaced from their homes; and the words "concentration camp" reappearing in our consciousness and consciences. The ironic reappearance of Sarajevo as a symbol of war brought back awful reminders of yesterday. And all of this was accompanied by a seeming inability to stop the violence and brutality.

The question may well be asked: Are we entering an age of democracy or an age of disorder? Is it in our power to answer that question?

My purpose this evening is to place these profound developments in a broader perspective of historic change, in the hope that this perspective will help us understand them.

During my early childhood, one lifetime, there were no vitamin tablets; no anti-biotics; no social security; no unemployment insurance; no television; no dial telephones; no refrigerators; no FM radio; no synthetic fibers; no plastics; no dishwashers; no fluorescent lights; 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.

During the lifetime of many in this room, medical knowledge available to physicians has increased perhaps 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. 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.

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.

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; and 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. Information has become more accessible in all parts of our globe putting totalitarian governments at a serious disadvantage. 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 achievements. 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 knowledge component opens up broad new vistas for development while its political and social components remain in the Dark Ages. I suggest to you that what we have been observing and experiencing in the dramatic political changes in the former Soviet Union, Latin America, and parts of Asia and Africa 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. 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. You are threatening our beliefs. 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 fundamentalism, nationalism, race, and ethnicity make themselves increasingly felt. But we must not permit this resistance to overwhelm us.

The explosions we hear are the sounds of escaping steam as the lids of repression are being removed from boiling kettles. Fingers and faces that are too close get scalded. We must not, however, neglect the stronger and more urgent sounds of impatient hope and expectation. We must harness the energy of that boiling water into a samovar of refreshing tea. 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 living in relative freedom than ever before in the history of the world. I today serve as Chairman Emeritus of the 51-year old Freedom House. The recently released authoritative Freedom House annual survey, which monitored all 186 nations and 66 related territories, tells us that with a world population of more than 5.4 billion people, 3.7 billion people, or about 69%, are living in free or partly free countries and territories, the most ever.

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. There is room for ethnic, national, religious, racial and tribal pride, but if that drive for self-identification is to produce respect and self-realization for the individual and the group, that drive must be peaceful and in harmony with the aspirations of others in our evolving inter-related world community.

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 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.

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.

Our challenge, furthermore, 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. 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.

The argument is made that we cannot be the policeman of the world. I respectfully suggest that no community— and our nation is an integral part of an economic, technological, scientific and political world community— can survive, let

alone flourish, without a police force. We have an obligation to be part of such a force, with diplomacy our first responsibility and with the readiness to use force as a necessary last resort.

The struggle for human dignity 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. Will we in the U.S. be wise

enough to know how to assist the historic developments now

underway? Will we have the insight, discipline, unity and will

to fulfill our responsibilities? I am not at all certain.

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. 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 can 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.

Thank you.