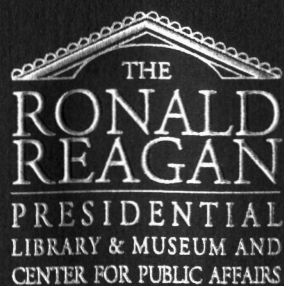




Max M. Kampelman Papers

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*The Cold War:
Ten Years Later*

November 13, 1995

*Presented by
The Ronald Reagan Center for Public Affairs
with support from
The Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation*



The Cold War: Ten Years Later

Monday, November 13, 1995

10:00 AM: Keynote Address
The Honorable George P. Shultz

10:45 AM: "The Road to Geneva"
Chris Wallace, Moderator
Anatoli S. Chernyaev
Fred C. Ikle
Ambassador Max M. Kampelman
Richard N. Perle

12:00 Noon: Luncheon

1:30 PM: "Recollections and Reflections"
Bill Plante, Moderator
Ambassador Jack F. Matlock, Jr.
Pavel Palazchenko
Donald T. Regan
Sergei Tarasenko

3:00 PM: Closing Address
Edmund Morris

*A brief question and answer period will follow
each segment of the program*

The Participants

The Honorable George P. Shultz is on the faculty of Stanford University, where he serves as Distinguished Fellow at the Hoover Institution and Professor of International Economics at the Graduate School of Business. The 60th Secretary of State, Shultz was nominated to the post by President Reagan in June of 1982. In his nearly seven years as Secretary of State, Shultz served President Reagan through a series of diplomatic achievements, including the reopening of arms negotiations with the U.S.S.R. that led to the elimination of intermediate range nuclear missiles from Europe. Prior to joining the Reagan Cabinet, Shultz served on the faculties of MIT and the University of Chicago, on President Eisenhower's Council of Economic Advisers, in President Nixon's Cabinet and as President and Director of the Bechtel Group. An economist, Shultz holds degrees from Princeton and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He is a former Marine and a veteran of World War II, the recipient of many honorary degrees, and the author of many books and articles, including Turmoil and Triumph: My Years as Secretary of State.

Chris Wallace covered the Reagan Administration as White House Correspondent for NBC from 1982 to 1989, including four Reagan-Gorbachev summits. In addition, Wallace covered the 1980, 1984 and 1988 presidential campaigns. In 1985, he reported the NBC White Paper documentary Nancy Reagan, Portrait of the First Lady. Since 1989, Wallace has been with ABC News, where he is the Chief Correspondent for "Prime Time Live" and a frequent substitute host of "Nightline." During his years with "Prime Time Live," he has won two Emmy Awards and numerous other awards for his investigative reports and in-depth interviews. He holds a B.A. from Harvard University.

Anatoli S. Chernyaev served over thirty years in the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CC-CPSU), including a period as deputy head of the department. He served as a personal advisor for international affairs to Mikhail S. Gorbachev from 1986 to 1991, publishing a book of memoirs, *Shest' let s Gorbachevym*, (Six Years with Gorbachev), in 1993. A specialist in Western Europe and U.S. Affairs, Chernyaev holds a Ph.D. in history from Moscow University, where he taught world history in the 1950s. Chernyaev is a veteran of World War II. He currently works at the International Foundation for Social and Political Studies (The Gorbachev Foundation) in Moscow.

Fred C. Ikle was Under Secretary of Defense for Policy in the Reagan Administration from 1981 through 1988. He previously served Presidents Nixon and Ford as Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Prior to entering public service, Ikle held positions at the RAND Corporation, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Harvard University, and Columbia University. A native of Switzerland, Ikle holds a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago. He currently serves as Distinguished Scholar at the Center for Strategic & International Studies in Washington, D.C. and as Chairman of the Board of Telos Corporation and of Conservation Management Corporation.

Max M. Kampelman is an attorney and diplomat. As President Reagan's Ambassador and Head of the U.S. Delegation to the Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Arms in Geneva from 1985 to 1989, Kampelman was the chief U.S. negotiator of the Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty. He also served as Ambassador and Chairman of the U.S. Delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in Madrid from 1980 to 1983 and on diplomatic missions to El Salvador in 1984.

Kampelman's public service began in 1949 as legislative counsel to the late U.S. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey. His first diplomatic post was as a Senior Advisor to the U.S. Delegation to the United Nations in 1966 and 1967. Kampelman holds degrees from New York University and the University of Minnesota. He is currently Of Counsel to the firm of Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobsen in Washington, D.C.

Richard N. Perle served in the Reagan Administration as Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy, a position in which he was responsible for strategic nuclear weapons policy, trade and technology policy, NATO policy, and negotiations between the U.S., its Western allies and the U.S.S.R. He frequently represented Reagan Administration policy in appearances before Congress and in the media. In 1992, Perle published his first political novel, Hard Line, and produced a three-part documentary for television on the 1991 Persian Gulf war. Perle's M.A. in politics is from Princeton University. He is currently a resident fellow at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington, D.C. and a contributing editor to *U.S. News & World Report*.

Bill Plante covered the Reagan Administration from 1981 to 1989 as CBS News White House correspondent. He moved to the State Department during the Bush Administration, leaving to cover Bill Clinton's presidential campaign during 1992 and returning to the White House beat in January of 1993. Plante has received numerous Emmy Awards for his reporting, including one as a member of the CBS team that covered the Reagan-Gorbachev summit in Reykjavik in 1986. He joined CBS in 1964, and has covered presidential campaigns since 1968, in addition to numerous overseas assignments including four tours of duty in Vietnam. Plante is a graduate of Loyola University.

Jack F. Matlock, Jr. served as U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union from 1987 to 1991, concluding a 35 year career in the American Foreign Service. During his service as Ambassador and three earlier tours of duty, Matlock spent a total of eleven years in Moscow. Matlock participated in every U.S.-Soviet Summit meeting from 1972 to 1991 except the Vienna Summit in 1979. Prior to his appointment as Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., Matlock served President Reagan on the National Security Council staff from 1983 until 1986. Before entering the Foreign Service, Matlock taught Russian history and literature at Dartmouth. He holds degrees from Duke University and Columbia University, where he currently serves as the Kathryn and Shelby Cullom Davis Professor in the Practice of International Diplomacy. His new book, Autopsy on an Empire, has just been published.

Pavel Palazchenko has served as an interpreter and advisor to Mikhail Gorbachev since 1985, participating in every U.S.-Soviet summit since Geneva. Palazchenko began his career as an interpreter at the United Nations in 1974, returning to the U.S.S.R. in 1980. In the Foreign Ministry, he served as an interpreter on Soviet delegations to arms control negotiations including INF and START. He has advised Mikhail Gorbachev on U.S. relations since the Moscow summit in July 1991. Palazchenko is a graduate of the Maurice Thorez Institute in Moscow, where he taught prior to 1974. Since 1992, he has served as Advisor to the President at the Gorbachev Foundation.

Donald T. Regan was President Reagan's Chief of Staff from 1985 to 1987. Regan was one of the original members of the Reagan Cabinet, serving as Secretary of the Treasury from 1981 to 1985. He played a leading role in shaping the Reagan Administration's economic policy, including major tax legislation passed in 1981, 1982 and,

after he left Treasury to join the White House staff, in 1986. Regan came to public service from Wall Street. His financial career began in 1946 at Merrill Lynch, becoming that firm's youngest president in 1968 at 43, and later being named Chairman and Chief Executive Officer. Regan is a former Marine and a veteran of World War II. He holds a B.A. degree from Harvard. Regan maintains an office in Williamsburg, Virginia, where he manages his investments. He is an avid golfer and enjoys oil painting.

Sergei Tarasenko was the principal policy assistant to Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze from 1985 to 1991. Prior to his service to Shevardnadze he was Director of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Foreign Affairs Estimate and Planning Administration and Deputy Chief of the Ministry's U.S.A. Department. In 1985, Deputy Foreign Minister Alexander Bessmertnykh named him as a temporary advisor to newly-named Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, whom he briefed on arms control and other subjects. He remained at Shevardnadze's side in the Foreign Ministry for six years and during his first year as Prime Minister of Georgia. He is currently associated with the Foundation for Realism in Policy in Moscow.

Edmund Morris is President Reagan's authorized biographer. He is the author of The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt, for which he was awarded the Pulitzer Prize and the American Book Award in 1980. He plans to publish two more volumes on Roosevelt. Born in Kenya, Morris emigrated to the U.S. in 1968. He has written extensively on the arts and other subjects and has been widely published in *The New Yorker*, *The New York Times*, *Harper's*, and other periodicals. Morris was appointed in 1985 as President Reagan's biographer, attending the Reagan-Gorbachev summits and virtually all of the other historic events in the Reagan Administration's second term.

The Ronald Reagan Center for Public Affairs

The Ronald Reagan Center for Public Affairs was founded to further the underlying principle of the Reagan Presidency: the pursuit of universal freedom in a world where individual liberty and human rights are the standards by which civilization itself is judged.

The Center for Public Affairs is the public policy arm of The Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation, a non-profit, non-partisan 501(c)(3) organization that supports the efforts and activities of the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library & Museum. The Foundation is supported entirely by private contributions.

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The Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation
40 Presidential Drive, Simi Valley, CA 93065
PHONE (805) 522-2977 FAX (805) 520-9702

(15)

NANCY REAGAN

November 20, 1995

Dear Max,

Thank you so much for taking part in last week's conference marking the tenth anniversary of the Geneva Summit. From the beginning Ronnie and I hoped that the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library in Simi Valley would be much more than just a library; that it would become a lively, dynamic institution where history is not left to the professional historians alone.

Certainly you helped the audience to understand just how much history was made in Geneva -- on both sides! For helping relive memories of a very special time and place you have my deepest gratitude.

Sincerely,

Nancy Reagan

Ambassador Max Kampelman
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver and Jacobsen
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004-2505

Thanks for all your kind comments
about Ron's

50

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

BILL REAGAN

AIRFARE - 122322 =

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TRANSPORTATION TO AND

FROM WASHINGTON

AIRPORT

1/0

L.A. AIRPORT HOTEL, 11/13/95

67.26

MMK SCHEDULE
LOS ANGELES/PHILADELPHIA/NEW YORK
Reagan Foundation
November 12-15, 1995

Sunday, November 12

6:00 p.m. Depart Dulles AA#75
8:33 p.m. Arrive LAX

Met by Reagan Library staff and driven to hotel
West Lake Village Inn
31943 Agoura Road, Westlake Village, CA
Amy Commans, General Manager: 818-889-0230; fax 818-879-0812
Library POC: Alison Halfon; Lynda Schuler 805-522-2977

Monday, November 13

9:00 a.m. Shuttle will pick up conference participants and drive to Library
10:00 a.m. Conference begins
3:00 p.m.ish Conference ends
time? Informal dinner hosted by staff for conference participants

Library staff will drive you to your hotel

Hilton Airport Hotel
\$59/conf. #150923337

Tuesday, November 14

8:05 a.m. Depart LAX UAL #96
3:56 p.m. Arrive Philadelphia

Met by Christ Church Staff
POC Roger Hall, Conference Chairman
215-922-1695

Accommodations:
Independence Park Hotel
235 Chestnut Street; 215-922-4443

Wednesday, November 15

8:45 a.m. Depart Phila via Metroliner
9:59 a.m. Arrive Penn Station

Meeting with Herb Krasnow

shuttle Depart LaGuardia
Arrive National



The Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, Simi Valley, California

WELCOME TO CALIFORNIA

Ambassador Max Kampelman

INFORMATION FOR CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

We have reserved seats in the audience for you to enjoy the other portions of the conference.

TRANSPORTATION

We have arranged for shuttles to pick you up at the Westlake Inn Hotel Lobby at 9:15 a.m. on Monday morning. Following the conference, one of our staff members will take you to Los Angeles airport Hilton.

Thanks again, Mr. Ambassador, for
taking part in our program - I look forward
to meeting you in the morning - in the
meantime, please accept this small
token of my personal appreciation -
C. Laue

IDEAS - THE OUGHT

MADRID - PERSHING, CRUISE MISSILE DEPLOYMENT

SPI - GOLDACRE, YOU BELIEVE - THEY ARE US (US),
KEEP YOUR CONSTITUENCY

DEMOCRAT

LIST OF JEWS

PENDING

THE
RONALD REAGAN
PRESIDENTIAL FOUNDATION

SD-

I WONDER IF I SHOULD
SPEND NIGHT OF 11/13 NR.
LA AIRPORT AND HAVE
DINNER WITH KATE AND BOB
DIAMOND ?? - ANY PROBLEMS ?

no

Hilton at
airport

FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL LETTER

DATE: October 13, 1995

TO: Ms. Sharon Dardine, asst. to Mr. Max Kampelman

COMPANY: Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver, and Jacobsen

FAX#: (202) 639-7008

FROM: Ms. Lynda Schuler, Deputy Director

COMPANY: **THE RONALD REAGAN PRESIDENTIAL FOUNDATION**
If you do not receive any of the following pages,
please contact us at (805) 522-2977

NUMBER OF PAGES (Including Cover Sheet) 2

COMMENTS: Please find the enclosed schedule for the November
13 conference. We have already received Mr. Kampelman's bio and
look forward to meeting him. Thank you.

Lynda

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RICHARD NORTON SMITH, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

THE RONALD REAGAN PRESIDENTIAL FOUNDATION

TO: Participants
FROM: Lynda Schuler, Deputy Director, Reagan Center for Public Affairs
RE: November 13 conference
DATE: October 13, 1995

With one month to go, we are very pleased to report that planning for our conference, "The Cold War: Ten Years Later" is nearly complete. While there will continue to be fine-tuning to the following schedule, we wanted to take this opportunity to let you know who has agreed to participate as of this date. I believe all of you have been in contact with our office regarding travel arrangements. If we've neglected anyone, please call! Also, if you haven't sent us a current bio, we'd appreciate it very much. Our fax number is (805) 520-9702.

10 AM -- Keynote Address, George Shultz, former Secretary of State

11 AM -- Morning Panel Discussion, "The Road to Geneva," Moderated by Chris Wallace, with Fred Ikle, former undersecretary of defense, Anatoly Chernyaev, former aide to Mikhail Gorbachev, Max Kampelman, former head of the U.S. delegation to the Geneva arms talks, Richard Perle, former assistant secretary of defense, James H. Billington, Librarian of Congress. A discussion of the policies, politics and personalities that led to the agreement to renew direct negotiations between the leaders of the U.S. and U.S.S.R.

12 PM -- Luncheon for participants with Mrs. Reagan

1:30 PM -- Afternoon Panel Discussion, "Recollections and Reflections," Moderated by Bill Plante, with Pavel Palazchenko, former aide to Mikhail Gorbachev, Sergei Tarasenko, former aide to Eduard Shevardnadze, Jack Matlock, Jr., former ambassador to U.S.S.R., Donald Regan, former White House chief of staff. In the eyes of those who witnessed it, a look at the defining moments of the Geneva summit itself as shaped by the two world leaders, Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev, who ultimately ended the Cold War.

2:30 PM -- Questions and Answers, all panelists. This is the opportunity for our audience, most of whom will be faculty and students, to directly question our guests.

3:00 PM -- Closing Address, Edmund Morris, official biographer of President Reagan

Thank you all very much for your cooperation. We look forward to seeing you in November and to an excellent conference.

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JAMES A. PATTISON; NANCY REAGAN; RONALD REAGAN; GEORGE P. SHULTZ; LEW R. WASSERMAN; MARY JANE WICK;
RICHARD NORTON SMITH, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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

October 3, 1995

Ms. Linda Schuler
The Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation
40 Presidential Drive, Suite 200
Simi Valley, CA 93065

Dear Linda:

In connection with our telephone conversation yesterday, attached is a copy of Amb. Kampelman's bio. As for travel, he is presently booked on American Airlines Flight #75 arriving into Los Angeles at 8:13 p.m. on Sunday, November 12. Incidentally, I assume Los Angeles is the closest airport to the Library. If this is not the case, please let me know. Amb. Kampelman is scheduled to depart Los Angeles on United Airlines Flight #96 at 8:05 a.m. on Tuesday, November 14.

Please let me know if you need any further information from us.

Sincerely,



Sharon H. Dardine

THE
RONALD REAGAN
PRESIDENTIAL FOUNDATION

(F)
11/13/95

August 24, 1995

Max M. Kampelman
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Suite 800
Washington, DC 20004-2505

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

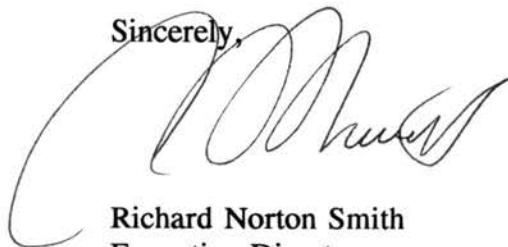
Thanks so much for your letter of August 14. I am delighted to know that you will be able to join us for our November 13 program, and I look forward to meeting you then. We will gladly provide accommodations as well as transportation while you are in the area. One of my colleagues will be in touch with you regarding both as we get a little closer to November.

As it happens, I saw Mrs. Reagan yesterday and mentioned your letter. She was very pleased indeed to learn of your participation.

I'll be in touch with additional information shortly.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,



Richard Norton Smith
Executive Director

RNS:lam

11/13

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

August 14, 1995

Mr. Richard Norton Smith
Executive Director
The Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation
40 Presidential Drive Suite 200
Simi Valley, CA 93065

Dear Mr. Smith:

Thank you very much for your most gracious invitation of July 26. It would be a privilege and a pleasure for me to attend your November 13 program and to participate in the panel you assign to me.

It is my intention to arrive in the Los Angeles area during the late afternoon of Sunday, November 12. I will fly in from Washington. I would, therefore, appreciate it if I could take advantage of your offer to provide accommodations for me close to the library. I plan to be there for two evenings. It is necessary for me to leave the Los Angeles area on the morning of November 14 and fly directly to Philadelphia where I am speaking at the 200th Anniversary of Christ Church.

Please send my warmest greetings to Mrs. Reagan. I look forward to being with her during the program and to having an opportunity to speak with you as well. The program is fortunate to have former Secretary of State George Shultz keynote the gathering.

All my best.

Sincerely,



Max M. Kampelman

LAC 8:05-4:02

THE
RONALD REAGAN
PRESIDENTIAL FOUNDATION

July 26, 1995

Ambassador Max Kampleman
Fried, Frank, Harris and Jacobson
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Suite 800
Washington, D.C. 20004

Dear Ambassador Kampleman:

This November marks the tenth anniversary of the historic Geneva summit at which President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev began the process of ending the Cold War. In the decade since, memories have dimmed; worse, revisionist historians have minimized Ronald Reagan's contributions to a freer, safer world.

On November 13, the Ronald Reagan Center for Public Affairs will host a program examining not only the history made in Geneva but the sequence of events leading up to the summit and the lasting impact of Ronald Reagan's arms control policy. Former Secretary of State George Shultz will keynote the gathering. Following the Secretary's remarks we would like to present a panel of former Reagan Administration and USSR officials, among others, who will discuss "The Road to Geneva."

I am writing you in the hope that you might agree to participate in this part of the program. As such you would be one of five or six panelists asked to share your recollections of the process whereby the United States and the Soviet Union came to the Geneva summit. In addition, we would invite questions from our audience, approximately 300 students, academics, friends of the Reagan Library and members of the general public. We also anticipate that C-SPAN will broadcast the proceedings. The panel would last approximately ninety minutes, breaking in time for lunch with Mrs. Reagan.

Following lunch we are planning a second panel composed of individuals who accompanied President Reagan to Geneva. (For example, members of the White House staff and arms control team, plus journalists and others who can bring the Geneva summit to life through their stories and personal observations.) This panel will last approximately ninety minutes and conclude shortly before 3 p.m.

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RICHARD NORTON SMITH, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

We will conclude the day's program with a mid-afternoon address by a speaker who will look to the future and place the Reagan arms control record in its historical perspective. The program will take place at the Reagan Presidential Library & Museum, which is located in Simi Valley, approximately 40 miles northwest of Los Angeles.

Needless to say, we would be delighted to defray any travel costs you might incur, and to provide accommodations close to the Library. I know that Mrs. Reagan and other friends of the Reagan Library share my hope that you might join us for what we expect will be a fascinating look behind the diplomatic scenes, and a major contribution to historical scholarship.

Please don't hesitate to let me know if I can provide you with any additional information about our plans. I can be reached at (805) 522-2977. Whatever you decide, please accept my thanks in advance for your consideration.

With warm regards.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "R. Norton Smith", with a large, sweeping initial "R" and a stylized "S" at the end.

Richard Norton Smith
Executive Director

00

FAX TRANSMISSION

THE RONALD REAGAN PRESIDENTIAL FOUNDATION

40 PRESIDENTIAL DRIVE
SIMI VALLEY, CA 93065
805/522-2977
FAX: 805/520-9702

To: Sharon Dardine, Office of Max Kampelman
Date: October 5, 1995
Fax #: 202/693-7008
Pages: 1, including this cover sheet.
From: Alison Halfon
Subject: November Conference

COMMENTS:

Dear Sharon:

05 ✓ It was nice speaking with you this morning and I appreciate your assistance with Mr. Kampelman's travel arrangements. We will arrange for someone to meet Mr. Kampelman at the gate upon his arrival at LAX and drive him to the Westlake Inn. The hotel is located approximately 15 minutes from the Library. On Monday, we will have shuttles pick up the participants in the Lobby of the hotel ✓ at approximately 9:00 a.m. and proceed to the Library. At the conclusion of the conference, the shuttles will return to the hotel. As I mentioned, Mrs. Reagan is looking forward to having a private luncheon with all the participants and a few invited guests in the Reagans' private quarters. In addition, Richard Norton Smith would like to invite Mr. Kampelman to an informal dinner at the hotel on Monday evening for those who do not have other engagements. As promised, below please find the hotel information in case you need to reach Mr. Kampelman.

The Westlake Village Inn
31943 Agoura Road
Westlake Village, CA 91361

Amy Commans, General Manager
(818) 889-0230, phone
(818) 879-0812, fax

If you have any questions or if I can of any assistance, please do not hesitate to contact me. Thank you again for your help and we are looking forward to Mr. Kampelman's participation in what is sure to be a most exciting conference.

Sincerely,

ALISON HALFON
Director of Special Events

MMK SCHEDULE
LOS ANGELES/PHILADELPHIA/NEW YORK
Reagan Foundation
November 12-15, 1995

Sunday, November 12

6:00 p.m. Depart Dulles AA#75
8:33 p.m. Arrive LAX

Met by Reagan Library staff and driven to hotel
West Lake Village Inn
31943 Agoura Road, Westlake Village, CA
Amy Commans, General Manager: 818-889-0230; fax 818-879-0812
Library POC: Alison Halfon; Lynda Schuler 805-522-2977

Monday, November 13

9:00 a.m. Shuttle will pick up conference participants and drive to Library
10:00 a.m. Conference begins
3:00 p.m.ish Conference ends
time? Informal dinner hosted by staff for conference participants

Library staff will drive you to your hotel

Hilton Airport Hotel
\$59/conf. #150923337

Tuesday, November 14

8:05 a.m. Depart LAX UAL #96
3:56 p.m. Arrive Philadelphia

Met by Christ Church Staff
POC Roger Hall, Conference Chairman
215-922-1695

Accommodations:
Independence Park Hotel
235 Chestnut Street; 215-922-4443

Wednesday, November 15

8:45 a.m. Depart Phila via Metroliner
9:59 a.m. Arrive Penn Station

Meeting with Herb Krasnow

shuttle Depart LaGuardia
Arrive National