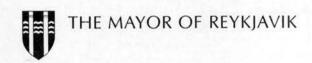


Max M. Kampelman Papers

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Reykjavík, November 12th, 1996.

Ambassador Max Kampelman Chairman, American Academy of Diplomacy 1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington DC 20004 USA

Dear Ambassador Kampelman.

It is a pleasure for me to thank you warmly for your personal contribution to the success of the symposium on the 10th Anniversary of the 1986 Reykjavík Summit.

We hope that this meeting of experts from Russia, the United States and the UK proves to be a valuable contribution to strengthening mutual understanding. It is also our hope that you found your visit to Reykjavík as well as the participation in the symposium a worthwhile experience. We wish you all the best in the future. We look forward to seeing you again in Reykjavík.

With kind regards,

Helga Jónsdóttir Deputy Mayor

REMARKS BY

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

10TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE REYKJAVÍK GORBACHEV-REAGAN SUMMIT

Reykjavík, Iceland

October 2, 1996

It is, I am certain, a matter of deep regret to all of us that his serious illness has made it impossible for President Reagan to join us at this conference. I know that he would enthusiastically join all of us here today in expressing appreciation to President Olafur Garnar Grimsson, Prime Minister Davíd Oddsson and Mayor Ingibjörg Sólrún Gísladóttir for commemorating the 10th Anniversary of the Reykjavík Summit. That meeting between President Reagan and President Gorbachev proved to be an historic milestone on the road the human race is haltingly taking to assign a violent 20th century into the annals of history and begin to welcome a 21st century which we hope will be saner, freer and closer to our visions of peace and dignity.

The simplistic evaluation of the Reykjavík Summit was that Presidents Gorbachev and Reagan met for two days and failed to arrive at an agreement that would permit them to appear before the world press and proclaim the end of the cold war. The realistic evaluation, thoroughly confirmed by the two principals, was that Reykjavík laid the practical framework which permitted our two countries to move from the vital "get acquainted/clear the air" atmosphere of the earlier Geneva Summit to a thorough detailed discussion of the specific stubborn issues that divided the two world leaders and the systems they represented. I recall President Reagan, after Geneva, reporting to us at a White

House meeting that he felt he could do business with Gorbachev, who impressed him as a serious partner in the search for peace. And, I recall, shortly thereafter, returning to Geneva for renewed arms reduction talks and being told on the opening day by Viktor Karpov, the head of the Soviet delegation, that he had instructions from Mr. Gorbachev not to attack or criticize President Reagan. (He could, of course, attack Secretary of Defense Weinberger as much as he pleased).

The outstanding issues were complicated and the differences were serious. Yet, at the all-night session on nuclear arms, I felt that we were on the verge of agreement on many of those issues. It was refreshing for me to witness the down to earth, non-polemical role of Marshall Akhromeyev at this session, obviously comfortable in the knowledge that he was a decision-maker. This was in contrast to my perception of the Soviet negotiators in Geneva, whose flexibility was limited by the knowledge that the military in Moscow was looking over their shoulders.

The Soviets told us that the nuclear arms agreements we came close to formalizing in Reykjavík could not be formalized unless the two Presidents could resolve their differences on strategic defenses. But some of us were convinced that the positions arrived at by the Soviets at our all-night session would later reappear during the course of our Geneva negotiations and lead to an agreement without those conditions. They did; and they produced two treaties: the INF Treaty, eliminating to zero all intermediate-range nuclear missiles, and the START Treaty, drastically reducing long-range strategic nuclear carrying missiles by 40-50%.

We still, regrettably, have differences on the issue of strategic missile defenses. Both of our countries have been short-sighted in approaching this question. The United States has inadequately responded to President Yeltsin's proposal at the United Nations in January 1992 to develop a cooperative global protection plan against nuclear missiles; while the Russians, even until today, refuse to appreciate the consequences that flow from the fact that there are at least 24 states in the world either owning, developing or purchasing missiles capable of carrying nuclear, chemical and biological weapons; missiles whose next generation will unmistakable possess longer ranges, greater payloads and improved accuracy.

No responsible government can tell its people that it will not take the defensive steps necessary to protect them against attacks from either short-range or strategic range missiles capable of carrying gruesomely devastating weapons of mass destruction. We will each either develop these defenses unilaterally, causing suspicion and mistrust and an unhealthy race for superiority; or we will do so cooperatively. Negotiations leading to cooperation between the U.S. and Russia are clearly preferable. The ABM Treaty, which governs our relationship in this area, provides for negotiations whenever there is ambiguity, whenever it is in the interest of both parties to amend the Treaty to bring it current with technical or political developments, and specifically to arrive at agreement in the face of strategic defenses based on new physical principles not adequately recognized in 1972 when the ABM Treaty was signed.

In addition to negotiations toward a U.S.-Russian joint venture to develop effective theatre and strategic missile defenses, a revitalized arms control agenda for further cooperation between the U.S. and Russia is necessary. It should deal

with how best to secure the safety and security of Russia's huge nuclear inventory. This problem is vital to both of our countries. It is also necessary for Russia to ratify the START II Treaty which further reduces the number of strategic missiles in both of our arsenals. With this step, the U.S. and Russia should begin planning for START III negotiations aiming at further reductions. Similarly, the U.S. and Russia, having reduced their intermediate-range missiles to zero, should jointly suggest to the United Nations that their INF Treaty be thoroughly internationalized and open for the other nations of the world to join. The unfinished Reykjavik agenda calls for these negotiations and agreements.

I conclude, Mr. Chairman, with the observation that the end of the Cold War and our entry into the 21st century is more than a calendar event. It is symbolic of the unbelievable changes that have characterized our moment in history, changes so fast, so dramatic, so basic that we can barely see their details let alone their scope and consequences. In my lifetime, medical knowledge available to physicians has increased perhaps more than ten-fold. The average life span keeps steadily increasing. Advanced computers, new materials, new biotechnological processes are altering every phase of our lives, our deaths, even our reproduction. Information has become more accessible in all parts of our globe, putting authoritarian governments at a serious disadvantage. 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.

What we have seen and experienced, furthermore, is only the beginning. As an indication of the changes yet to be seen, more than 100,000 scientific journals annually publish the flood of new knowledge that comes out of the

world's laboratories. There is much more ahead. 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. In recent days we have learned of new unanticipated and previously unrecognized forms of organic life deep on our ocean floors which may account for perhaps one-half of all the biomass on Earth. Our science is indeed a drop; our ignorance remains an ocean.

The promises and realities of modern science and technology for better living cannot be hidden and their availability cannot long be denied. Fundamentalism, nationalism, race and ethnicity are today making themselves increasingly felt, but they face severe competition. 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 that such societies, which provide advantages of better health, improved sanitation, adequate food and water, economic opportunity, leisure for self-enrichment, are only hours away. They want that dignity and better living for themselves and for their children — and they don't wish to wait.

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. Reinforced national boundaries can keep out vaccines, but they cannot keep out germs, or ideas, or broadcasts. Peoples now trapped in the quagmire of ancient ethnic and national grievances and enmities may soon come to recognize that

they are thereby dooming themselves, their children, and their 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 interrelated 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. 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, missiles — all of which know no national boundaries. Science has no national identity. Technology has no homeland. Information requires no passport. One essential geopolitical 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 peoples in other countries.

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Thank you.

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It is this lesson that our leaders must help our peoples to appreciate. It is in that direction that Presidents Gorbachev and Reagan began to lead us.

Thank you.



PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE IS-150 • REYKJAVÍK • ICELAND

Reykjavík, November 8,1996.

Dr. Max M. Kampelman Chairman American Academy Diplomacy 1001 Pennsylvania Avenue N.W. Washington DC

On behalf of the Prime Minister I would like to express warm thanks for your participation in the symposiums of 2-3 October to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the Reagan-Gorbachev summit meeting in Reykjavík. Your contribution and that of your colleagues from Russia and the United States made all the difference for the success of the commemoration.

Since then there has been discussion over here about the possibility of sponsoring regular conferencess in Reykjavík on international affairs. We may therefore be in touch again for adivse and a contribution from you.

(() Jeffe Sevider

Sincerely,

TELEPHONE: 354 560 9400

FRIED, FRANK, HARRIS, SHRIVER & JACOBSON

1001 PENNSYLVANIA AVE, N.W., SUITE 800 WASHINGTON D.C. 20004-2505 (202) 639-7000 FAX (202) 639-7003, 7004, 7008

10/2 2/92

FACSIMILE COVER SHEET

Total Number of Pages:

(including cover page)

Date:

March 13, 1996

To:

Joanne Drake

Company Name:

Office of Ronald Reagan

Facsimile Number:

310-552-2514 310-552-1980

Confirmation Number: From:

Sharon H. Dardine for Amb. Max M. Kampelman

I spoke to Ambassador Kampelman last evening and he has asked that I convey to you his appreciation to President Reagan for thinking of him. He would be honored to represent the President at the conference in Reykjavik. We will await further details from

you.

310-552 - 2514 49999-100

TRANSMISSION REPORT

(MAR 13 '96 Ø1:33PM)

DATE	START TIME	REMOTE TERMINAL IDENTIFICATION	MODE	TIME	RESULTS	TOTAL PAGES	DEPT. CODE	FILE NO.
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OFFICE OF RONALD REAGAN March 13, 1996

Dear Mr. Thorsteinsson.

On behalf of President Reagan, thank you for forwarding Prime Minister Davíð Oddsson's and Mayor Ingibjörg Sólrún Gísladóttir's invitations to attend a tenth anniversary celebration of the Reykjavík summit meeting between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. in September of this year. The seminars and other festivities sound spectacular!

President Reagan was pleased and extremely honored to receive the invitations. He has long held the belief that the Reykjavík Summit was a turning point in the effort to end the Cold War. He is pleased to see that your country will be commemorating this historical meeting in such an appropriate manner.

Unfortunately, though, President Reagan will not be able to attend. However, he would like to send a representative in his place. He has asked Ambassador Max M. Kampelman, who served as a major arms control representative during the Reagan Administration and was present for all of the meetings in Reykjavík, to travel to Iceland on his behalf. Ambassador Kampelman can be reached in Washington, D.C. at the following address: Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson, 1001 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W., Suite 800, Washington, D.C. 20004-2505. His telephone number is (202) 639-7000 and his fax number is (202) 639-7003. His assistant's name is Sharon H. Dardine.

If you would be so kind as to pass on President's Reagan's regrets to the Prime Minister and to the Mayor of Reykjavík, I would very much appreciate it. If you have any further questions, please do not hesitate to contact me at (310) 552-1980.

Thank you for all of your help on this project and best of luck with the September celebration.

Sincerely,

JOANNE DRAKE

Chief of Staff

Mr. Pétur G. Thorsteinsson Deputy Chief of Mission Embassy of Iceland 1156 15th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20005



OFFICE OF RONALD REAGAN

FACSIMILE COVER SHEET

DATE:	3/14 TIME: /30
то:	Sharon Dardine
COMPANY:	To Amb. Kampelman
FAX#:	202-639-7003
FROM:	Joanne Drake
FAX#:	(310) 552-2514
*	

REMARKS/MESSAGE:

NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING COVER SHEET):

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CALL IMMEDIATELY AT (310) 552-1980



9/96

OFFICE OF RONALD REAGAN

FACSIMILE COVER SHEET

DATE:	3/12	TIME:	30 pm			
TO:	Sharon	Dardine	· ·			
COMPANY: FAX#:		. Kampelm -639-7003				
FROM:	Joan	ne Drake	, Chief of Staff			
FAX#:	(310) 552-2514					
REMARKS/MESSAGE: Sharon - As I mentioned to up briefly						
Sharon- As I mentioned to you briefly, President Reagan would love for Amb. Kampelman to represent him at this						
Controlle in Restault Attention have						
a chance to review it, can youlet me know and I can respond to Prime Minister addsson.						
	thanks!					
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PRIME MINISTER ICELAND

Reykjavík

February 19, 1996

Jew Mr. Praident

The year 1996 will see the tenth anniversary of the Reykjavík summit meeting between you and Mr. Mikhail S. Gorbachev, former President of the USSR. To commemorate the Reykjavík summit, I will, in collaboration with the Mayor of Reykjavík, host a celebration in the fall. Events will include a seminar to review the summit meeting and its legacy and a seminar about the course of world politics after the Cold War. The celebration will also include various festivities and social events.

All the major participants in the Reykjavík summit are being invited to attend, as is a number of former and present world leaders and experts and commentators on international affairs. Former President Mikhail S. Gorbachev has expressed strong support for the project, and has in principle decided to attend the events.

I hereby extend an invitation to you, Mr. President, to come to Reykjavík for the celebration as my guest and as the guest of the Mayor of Reykjavík. The events will take place during a three day period in September. The dates will be decided on shortly. In the meantime I would appreciate it, if you could inform us whether or not it will be possible for you to attend, or whether you would like to send your representative.

It would be an honor and a great pleasure if you or your representative could accept our invitation.

Surcely your

Davíð Oddsson

The Honorable
Ronald Reagan
Former President of the United States of America



Reykjavík, February 19, 1996

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Ronald Reagan
Former President of the United States of America

Dean Mr. President,

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With reference to my letter of August last year, I hereby extend an invitation to you, Mr. President, to come to Reykjavík for the celebration as my guest and as the guest of the Prime Minister of Iceland. The events will take place during a three day period in September. The dates will be decided on shortly. In the meantime I would appreciate it, if you could inform us whether or not it will be possible for you to attend, or whether you would like to send your representative.

It would be an honor and a great pleasure if you or your representative could accept our invitation.

Sincerey yours,

Ingibjörg Sólrún Gísladóttir.

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Davíð Oddsson

The Honorable
Ronald Reagan
Former President of the United States of America

MMK SCHEDULE Reykjavik, Iceland 10/1/-3-/96

Tuesday, October 1

8:45 p.m.

Depart BWI Iceland Air #642

Wednesday, October 2

6:25 a.m.

Arrive Reykjavik

Accommodations:

Grand Hotel

Tele: 011-354-568-9000;

Fax 011-354-568-0675

Note: See attached program

Thursday, October 3

4:25 p.m.

Depart Reykjavik Iceland Air #643

6:35 p.m.

Arrive BWI

Contact:

Conference Organizers: Kynning Og Markaour 011-354-562-2411

Forsætisráðherra Davíð Oddsson

bidur hr. Max M. Kampelman

að gera sér þá ánægju að koma til kvöldverðar í Ráðherrabústaðnum við Tjarnargötu í tilefni af 10 ára afmæli leiðtogafundarins í Reykjavík 1986 fimmtudaginn 3. október 1996 kl. 19.30.

Svar óskast til forsætisráðuneytis í síma 560 9401/2 fyrir briðjudaginn 1. október nk.



The Mayor of Reykjavík Ingibjörg Sólrún Gísladóttir

requests the pleasure of the company of

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman

at dinner in Höfði House at Borgartún on Wednesday October 2 at 8 p.m., on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Reykjavík Summit 1986.

R.S.V.P. 563 2000 before October 1.



The Ambassador of the United States of America and Mrs. Mount request the pleasure of the company of

Ambussador Max M. Kampelman at a cocktail in commemoration of the Tenth Anniversary of the Reykjavík Summit on Thursday, October 3, 1996

at 6:00-7:00

o'clock pm.

R.S.V.P. 562-9100, Ext 205 Laufásvegur 23 101 Reykjavík

Ólafur Ragnar Grímsson Guðrún Katrín Þorbergsdóttir

bioja sendihena Max M. Fampetman

Forseti Islands

að gera sér þá ánægju að koma til síðdegisboðs á Bessastöðum midiskudagina 2. oktober 1996 kl. 18:00.

Svar óskast 540 4400



The 1986 Reykjavík Summit: Ten Years Later



Grand Hotel - Reykjavík

Wednesday 2	October 1996
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- 08:30 Registration and coffee in front of the Hvammur Conference Room
- 09:15 Opening of the symposium and introduction by Mr. Halldór Ásgrímsson, Minister for Foreign Affairs
- 09:30 The Reykjavík Summit
 - 09:30 The American Experience
 Ambassador Max M. Kampelman
 The Honourable Donald T. Regan
 - 10:00 The Russian Experience Dr. Evgenyi P. Velikhov
 - 10:15 Questions
- 10:30 Short coffee break
- 11:00 The Impact
 - 11:00 Impact on Arms Control
 Dr. Steven E. Miller
 Mrs. Jane M. O. Sharp
 - 11:30 Impact on the End of the Cold War Professor Richard Pipes Dr. Sergei Rogov
- 12:00 Questions
- 12:15 Light lunch in the hotel
- 13:30 Round Table
- 14:30 Coffee and pastry End of Day One
 - Chairman of the day: Professor Thórólfur Thórlindsson, University of Iceland
- 15:20 Reykjavík excursions for visiting guests
- 17:00 Return to Grand Hotel
- 17:40 Bus leaves the hotel for Bessastadir

18:00 Reception at Bessastadir hosted by the President of the Republic of Iceland, Mr. Ólafur Ragnar Grímsson

20:00 Dinner in honour of the official guests at Höfdi House, the site of the 1986 Summit, hosted by the Mayor of Reykjavík, Mrs. Ingibjörg Sólrún Gísladóttir. Short address by Mrs. Nancy Ruwe

U.S. - Russia Relations and their Global Implications

Thursday 3 October 1996

08:45 Coffee in front of the Hvammur Conference Room

09:00 Introductory remark by Mr. Geir H. Haarde, MP and Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of Althing (Parliament)

09:05 U.S. - Russia Relations in Transition

09:05 The Russian Perspective

T.b.a.

09:30 The U.S. Perspective

Mr. Robert G. Bell

Ambassador Jonathan Dean

10:15 Questions

10:45 Short coffee break

11:00 Issues of Co-operation and Conflict in U.S. - Russia Relations

11:00 The U.S. View

Dr. Steven E. Miller

Ambassador Kenneth L. Adelman

11:30 The Russian View

Dr. Sergei Rogov

Dr. Sergei K. Oznobistchev

12:00 Questions

12:30 Lunch in the hotel

14:45 Coffee in front of the Hvammur Conference Room

15:00 Round Table: Prospects

16:00 Summary Conclusions

Rapporteur: Dr. Dmitri Trenin

16:30 End of Day Two

Chairman of the day: Mr. Geir H. Haarde, MP and Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of

Althing (Parliament)

19:30 Dinner in honour of the Official Guests hosted by the Prime

Minister of Iceland, Mr. Davíd Oddsson, at Rádherrabústadur

(Government Guest House)

Guest speaker: Ms. Maureen E. Reagan

Round Table on Day One:

Ambassador Jonathan Dean, Chairman

Mr. Stanislav Kondrashov, Izvestia

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman

Dr. Steven E. Miller, Center for Science & Int. Affairs, Harvard Univ.

Dr. Richard Pipes, Professor, Harvard University

Dr. Sergey Rogov, Director Russian Academy of Sciences

The Honourable Donald T. Regan

Mrs. Jane M. O. Sharp, Senior Research Fellow, Centre for Defence Studies

Dr. Evgeny P. Velikhov, President Russian Scientific Center

Round Table on Day Two:

Dr. Evgeny P. Velikhov, Chairman, President Russian Scientific Center

Ambassador Kenneth L. Adelman

Mr. Robert G. Bell, Special Assistant to the President; Defence

Policy/Arms Control, National Security Council

Dr. Steven E. Miller, Center for Science & Int. Affairs, Harvard Univ.

Dr. Sergei K. Oznobistchev, Director Institute for Strategic Assessments

Dr. Richard Pipes, Professor, Harvard University

Dr. Sergey Rogov, Director Russian Academy of Sciences

Mrs. Jane M. O. Sharp, Senior Research Fellow, Centre for Defence Studies

The symposium is conducted in co-operation with:

University of Iceland, Reykjavík,

The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies; Johns Hopkins University, Washington DC and

The Institute for the USA and Canada Studies, Moscow.

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Reykjavík, 23 July 1996.

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman Suite 800, 1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., WAshington, D.C. 20004-2505, USA.

Dear Ambassador Kampelman,

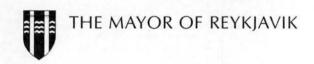
To commemorate the tenth anniversary of the Reykjavík summit meeting between Ronald Reagan and Mikhail S. Gorbachev, I will, in collaboration with the Mayor of Reykjavík host a celebration on 2-3 October. Events will include a symposium on the summit meeting and a symposium on US-Russian relations.

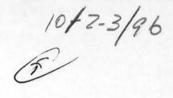
Your participation would make a most valuable contribution to the commemorating events. I hereby extend an invitation to you to come to Reykjavík for the celebration as my guest and that of the Mayor of Reykjavík, specifically to take part in the symposiums.

A special committee, which has been set up to organise the events, will in due course provide you with further details, including the proposed contribution you will be asked to make.

Sincerely,

Davíð Oddsson





Reykjavík, July 23, 1996

Ambassador Max Kampelman 1001 Pennsylvania Ave. N.W 8th Fl.

Dear Mr. Kampelman,

To commemorate the tenth anniversary of the Reykjavík summit meeting between Ronald Reagan and Mikhail S. Gorbachev, I will, in collaboration with the Prime Minister of Iceland host a celebration on 2-3 October. Events will include a symposium on the summit meeting and a symposium on US-Russian relations.

Your participation would make a most valuable contribution to the commemorating events. I hereby extend an invitation to you, Mr. Kampelman, to come to Reykjavík for the celebration as my guest and that of the Prime Minister of Iceland, specifically to take part in the symposiums.

A special committee, which has been set up to organise the events, will in due course provide you with further details, including the proposed contribution you will be asked to make.

Sincerely,

metiloseilen

Ingibjörg Sólrún Gísladóttir