

Medal of Freedom
Candidate

Max M. Kampelman

ANE, SAM, meat co. exec.; b. Spisske Pockopol Kannengiesser and Bertha (Narcisse); Aranka Feldbrand, Jan. 13, 1946; chil. same to U.S., 1948, naturalized, 1953. Pres. Christi, Tex., 1956-; Sam Kane Meat, Inc., Corp. Christi, 1962-; Kane Enterprises, Inc. bd., Sam Kane Beef Processors, Inc. Trust. Pres., J Welfare Appeal, 1962-; v.p. 1962-64; mem. nat. cabinet, UJA Recipient 1965; Israel Service Award, 1966; Koach Awarding J Citizen of Corpus Christi, 1969. Bank and Trust; Nat. bd. UJA; World Bd. J. Am. Bond Chan. Ch. UJA.

Max Kampelman, 78

Lawyer, negotiator, diplomat, Kampelman came to Washington to serve as legislative counsel to Hubert Humphrey when Humphrey was elected to the Senate. Pulled from private law practice by President Carter, he held major negotiating posts under both Democratic and Republican administrations between 1980 and 1989. Leader of the U.S. delegation to the Madrid follow-up conference on the 1975 Helsinki human rights accords, Kampelman established Western values as the measure of responsible international behavior and placed human rights at the center of East-West diplomacy. As delegation chair at the 1985 START talks, he used the Soviets' interest in Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative to bring them to the bargaining table and enter into the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty. Outside of government, Kampelman has served many non-profit organizations, including Freedom House, where he was chairman from 1983 to 1985 and from 1989 to 1993. Reagan awarded Kampelman the Presidential Citizens Medal in 1989.

DRAFT2 FOR INCLUSION IN MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: 1998 AWARD OF THE PRESIDENTIAL MEDAL OF FREEDOM
- Max Kampelman

Diplomacy

Ambassador Max Kampelman, 78

held Lawyer, negotiator, Democratic Party faithful, and diplomat Kampelman arrived in Washington as a legislative counsel to Hubert Humphrey. Pulled from private law practice by Carter, he *President* served intermittently in major negotiating posts under both Democratic and Republican administrations between 1980 and 1989. At the Madrid follow-up conference to the 1975 Helsinki human rights accords, ~~delegation chair~~ Kampelman successfully established Western values as the measure of responsible international behavior and placed human rights at the center of East-West diplomacy. As delegation chair at the 1985 START talks, Kampelman used the Soviets' interest in Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative to bring them to the bargaining table and enter into the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty. Outside of government, Kampelman has served many non-profit organizations including Freedom House, a bipartisan group promoting American leadership in international human rights and freedom. He was Chairman of Freedom House from 1983-85 and from 1989-93. Reagan awarded Kampelman the Presidential Citizens Medal in 1989.

mls

Jimmy Carter, 74.

Thirty-ninth President of the United States, Carter is perhaps best remembered for his success in brokering the Camp David accords. He also signed the Panama Canal Treaty and reestablished normal diplomatic relations with China. Denied a second term, in 1982, Carter created the Carter Center, whose goals are peace, democracy, and improved health around the world. The Center is working to introduce democratic processes into China at the village level, has monitored elections in Africa and Central America, and launched the Atlanta Project, a grass-roots program to combat urban social ills in the U.S. In 1994, Carter convinced North Korea's leaders to freeze that country's nuclear program; and later that year, teaming with Colin Powell and Sam Nunn, he negotiated the peaceful entry of U.S. troops into Haiti. Each year, President and Mrs. Carter help to build homes for the needy through Habitat for Humanity. Carter has criticized your Africa policy, and he called for an investigation of the August 1998 U.S. bombing of a factory in the Sudan.

Max Kampelman, 78.

Lawyer, negotiator, diplomat, Kampelman first came to Washington as a legislative counsel to Hubert Humphrey, and he remained active in Democratic politics through Humphrey's run for the White House. ~~Appointed by President Carter and reappointed by President Reagan to lead~~ the U.S. delegation to the Madrid meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Kampelman used those proceedings to establish Western values as the measure of responsible international behavior and to place human rights at the center of East-West diplomacy. In 1985, Reagan selected Kampelman to head a U.S. team ~~that was to negotiate for nuclear arms reductions~~ with the Soviets. During the talks, Kampelman used the Soviets' interest in Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative to bring them to the bargaining table and enter ~~an~~ intermediate-range nuclear ~~arms~~ treaty. Reagan awarded Kampelman the Presidential Citizens Medal in 1989.

Force (INF)

into the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START)

which eliminated intermediate-range nuclear missiles from Europe.

Leader of the U.S. Madrid

Chairman, Freedom House

Max Kampelman

Xerox

negative comments
by Ted Kennedy
& other Dems over
MX missile

from NY Times
8/8

LEVEL 1 - 1 OF 2 STORIES

Copyright 1991 The New York Times Company
The New York Times

November 10, 1991, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

NAME: Max M. Kampelman

CATEGORY: Politics and Government (U.S.)

SECTION: Section 7; Page 27; Column 2; Book Review Desk

LENGTH: 1151 words

HEADLINE: A Cold War Paleoliberal

BYLINE: By George H. Nash; George H. Nash is the author of "The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America Since 1945" and two volumes of a biography in progress of Herbert Hoover.

BODY:

ENTERING NEW WORLDS

The Memoirs of a Private Man in Public Life.

By Max M. Kampelman.

Illustrated. 402 pp. New York:

HarperCollins Publishers. \$25.

At one level this absorbing memoir tells a familiar story: the urban immigrant version of the American Dream. Born in 1920 of Jewish parents from Romania, Max Kampelman grew up in the Bronx, attended yeshiva schools and worked his way through New York University. He went to law school, worked for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, became an anti-Stalinist social democrat and clerked for Louis Nizer's law firm -- all by his early 20's.

It was a classic trajectory, with one unusual twist. Under the influence of a Reform rabbi and Quakers whom he met at N.Y.U., the strongly religious Mr. Kampelman became a pacifist and, in World War II, a rarity: a Jewish conscientious objector.

It is interesting to observe how one decision can change a life. As a conscientious objector, Mr. Kampelman tells us in "Entering New Worlds," he volunteered for an experiment at the University of Minnesota to study the effects of starvation. After the war he stayed at the university as a graduate student in political science. There he helped to organize the Americans for Democratic Action, fought to oust the Communists and their sympathizers from the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party and began to question the validity of his pacifism. Hiroshima and Nagasaki were the catalysts. "If simply pushing a button can produce massive destruction and loss of life," he wondered, "how can passive resistance prevail?" How can love and reason persuade an enemy, he asked himself, if the enemy cannot even see you and experience your love?

In Minnesota, too, Mr. Kampelman met his political paladin, Hubert H.



LEXIS·NEXIS™
A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group



LEXIS·NEXIS™
A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group



LEXIS·NEXIS™
A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group

article about
role w/ Reagan
and arms treaty
work
Calls him a hawk

The New York Times, November 10, 1991

Humphrey, whom he served for six years as a senatorial aide and then as a devoted confidant and counselor. His book is rich with anecdotes about Humphrey's personality and checkered fortunes. By the Vietnam era, Mr. Kampelman was a well-connected Washington lawyer and Democratic insider.

Then, in 1972, came George McGovern and the unleashing of isolationist and pacifist impulses that transformed the Democratic Party. In the 1970's Mr. Kampelman struggled to return it "to its traditional anti-totalitarianism, with a strong emphasis on defense." When Humphrey died in 1978, Mr. Kampelman's own career in public service seemed over.

Instead, in 1980 President Jimmy Carter -- apparently on the advice of his national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski -- appointed Mr. Kampelman co-chairman, with Griffin Bell, of the United States delegation to the Madrid meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. When Ronald Reagan became President, he named Mr. Kampelman sole head of the negotiating team. For this liberal anti-Communist and advocate of cold war vigilance, it was a perfect assignment. The Madrid gathering was supposed to review implementation of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act, a multilevel, multinational set of agreements that, at the time, seemed to critics merely to legitimate Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe. But the Final Act, as Mr. Kampelman noted, had also established "Western values . . . as standards by which to judge responsible international behavior." With undiplomatic candor, he proceeded to champion those values, not as ritualistic boilerplate but as the stringent measure of Soviet compliance with a document Moscow had signed. He espoused the cause of Soviet dissidents, some of whom were eventually permitted to emigrate, and for nearly three years, he says, he prevented his adversaries from turning the conference into a means of pressuring NATO not to deploy American Pershing missiles and cruise missiles. When the Madrid talks finally ended in 1983, this tenacious and tough-minded negotiator had brought human rights to the center of East-West diplomacy as never before, and had forged a Western consensus hitherto lacking.

In 1985, to Mr. Kampelman's surprise, President Reagan selected him to conduct the nuclear arms reduction talks with the Soviets in Geneva. Much of his memoir recounts these arduous and contentious negotiations. In the fierce internal American struggle over the Strategic Defense Initiative, Mr. Kampelman took a middle course between those who wanted to give up S.D.I. in exchange for a strategic arms treaty and those who wanted S.D.I. and no treaty. He insisted that the United States could achieve results without surrendering research on the missile defense system.

From this memoir it is evident that fear of American space technology (symbolized by the Strategic Defense Initiative) drove the Soviets to the bargaining table and kept them there. As Mr. Kampelman says, "the desire to end or learn more about our Strategic Defense Initiative seemed to be a major reason contributing to the Soviet decision to return to the Geneva negotiating table in March 1985. That was clear during the opening months of the talks." By the time Mr. Kampelman left the Government in 1989, he had negotiated, and the Senate had ratified, an intermediate-range nuclear arms treaty, while a separate strategic arms agreement was on its way.

It would be facile to describe "Entering New Worlds" as the autobiography of a neoconservative. It is, rather, the story of a cold war "paleoliberal," an old-fashioned Democrat whose unchanging foreign-policy convictions eventually



LEXIS·NEXIS

A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group



LEXIS·NEXIS

A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group



LEXIS·NEXIS

A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group

The New York Times, November 10, 1991

brought him closer to Ronald Reagan than to the post-Vietnam orthodoxy of his own political party. When the history of the 1980's is written, we may find that two great American acts of will -- bold, untiring emphasis on human rights and a refusal to bargain away the Strategic Defense Initiative -- did much to trigger Mikhail S. Gorbachev's perestroika and the unraveling of the Soviet empire. In each area Max Kampelman made his mark. "Entering New Worlds" gives us the welcome reminiscences of one who was "present at the creation" of the post-cold war era.

GLORIOUSLY SATISFIED

To have overseen our successful arms negotiations and to have established the groundwork for future arms agreements is gloriously satisfying. To receive recognition for it is especially satisfying. . . . I don't know what I could have done at this time of my life that would have been more useful, or could have better employed my talents to serve my personal and lifelong hopes or our national interests. I look back knowing I did my best, having followed my heart and my conscience, in pursuit of worthy goals. With satisfaction, I think especially of the day when a memo was distributed in the State Department announcing that I would be acting secretary of State that day while George Shultz was away and that all outgoing cables to the world would go out over my signature. It was only a symbol, but it measured a milepost on a long journey. -- From "Entering New Worlds."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: November 10, 1991



LEXIS·NEXIS™

A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group



LEXIS·NEXIS™

A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group



LEXIS·NEXIS™

A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group

Kampelman is
social liberal
activist -- but
has lost his
pacifism side

Harry Rigby, Producer, Dies; Originator of 'Sugar Babies'

By JOSEPH BERGER

Harry Rigby, the theatrical producer who conceived and co-produced the long-running show "Sugar Babies," was found dead Thursday in his Manhattan apartment. He was 58 years old.

Henry Luhrman, Mr. Rigby's press agent, said a secretary had discovered Mr. Rigby's body after he failed to appear for a lunch appointment. The cause of death, Mr. Luhrman said, was not known.

Mr. Rigby's forte was persuading actors and actresses whose careers had long passed their prime to come out of the twilight and appear in Broadway shows. The shows were invariably hits.

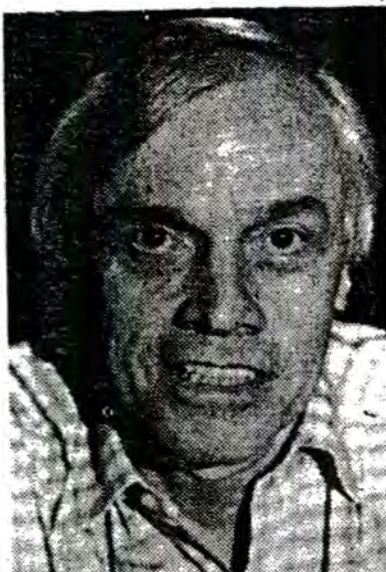
He persuaded Ruby Keeler, the star of the movie "42d Street," to appear in a revival of "No, No, Nanette" in 1971. He persuaded Debbie Reynolds and then Jane Powell to take on the revival of "Irene," which opened in 1973. And he persuaded Mickey Rooney and Ann Miller to star in "Sugar Babies" in 1979.

"Sugar Babies," a valentine to burlesque, is still touring the country with its original stars and is scheduled to open next week in Norfolk, Va. Mr. Rigby created the musical with Ralph G. Allen, who wrote the sketches.

The show's co-producer, Terry Allen Kramer, said Thursday that "Sugar Babies" would continue to tour for another year as a memorial to Mr. Rigby.

"Producing is a marvelous refuge for the inept," Mr. Rigby told an interviewer in 1980. "It's a last resort. It's the only thing I could do."

Mr. Rigby, who was born in Pittsburgh on Feb. 21, 1925, began raising



Martha Swope

Harry Rigby

money and assembling personnel for shows in 1951, at a relatively tender age for a producer. The shows he co-produced included "Make a Wish," "John Murray Anderson's Almanac," "Half a Sixpence," "Hallelujah, Baby," the revival of "Good News" with Alice Faye and John Payne, "Knock, Knock," "I Love My Wife" and "Gorey Stories."

He tried his hand at acting at least once, playing a penguin in Robert Downey's film "Pound" in 1970.

January 19, 1985



United Press International

Max M. Kampelman arriving in Washington Friday after he was named to head arms talks.

human rights.

"Signatures on a document do not necessarily produce compliance with its provisions," said Mr. Kampelman, characteristically choosing a tone of realism for his own departing signature at the three-year Madrid parley of 34 delegations.

Attacked by Russians

The Russians replied with a blistering attack on Mr. Kampelman. His response took a longer view of optimism, as he explained why the United States signed the accord at a time of what he said were the worst Soviet human rights abuses in years. "It is because the pursuit of peace is too vital, the need for understanding too indispensable," he said, to "permit us to be discouraged by the task or the obstacles we face."

Friends say that is a vintage mixture of his lawyerly caution and his hope beyond the negotiating table. His years of difficult private negotiations and blunt public statements at Madrid made him a favorite of the conservative Republicans of the Reagan Administration. They also noted that he had successfully assisted Edwin Meese 3d, the President's counselor and Attorney General-designate, in a special prosecutor's inquiry last year into Mr. Meese's finances and official conduct.

At the same time, Mr. Kampelman has remained an active Democrat, most recently serving as a foreign policy adviser to another Humphrey protégé, Walter F. Mondale, in the former Vice President's campaign for President last year.

'Very Careful With His Words'

"Max is a man very careful with his words and very sensitive to the

Skeptical Optimist for Talks

Max M. Kampelman

By FRANCIS X. CLINES

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 19 — In turning to Max M. Kampelman to head the new arms negotiations with the Soviet Union, President Reagan has chosen a Democrat with a reputation for skepticism in bargaining with adversaries and for an optimism that keeps him

Man in the News bargaining.

The 64-year-old lawyer, whose ideals and negotiating skills are rooted in early service with Hubert H. Humphrey, was a holdover from the Carter Administration when he

worked out a difficult agreement with the Russians at the East-West conference in Madrid in 1983, impressing the Reagan Administration.

His style as a negotiator was exemplified in that mission, in which he first managed a compromise on human rights issues in negotiations that were as delicate in keeping the Western allies in balance as in finding common ground with the Russians. Within days, however, Mr. Kampelman also issued a "warning against euphoria" and denounced the Russians for continuing violations of

people he is dealing with," said Arthur Lazarus Jr., his law partner whose ties go back to Mr. Kampelman's roots in New York City. "He's a very skilled negotiator who does his homework and thinks about what he is doing and what he is saying."

Mr. Kampelman first came to Washington with Senator Humphrey, whom he served as legislative counsel from 1949 to 1955. Through subsequent decades in corporate law, banking, education, civic activities, public broadcasting and occasional Government service, he has become one of the capital's respected elders. He has been a senior adviser to the American delegation to the United Nations and serves as chairman of Freedom House, vice chairman of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority, honorary vice chairman of the Anti-Defamation League and chairman of the national advisory committee of the American Jewish Committee.

Max M. Kampelman — his office says the middle initial does not stand for a name — was born in New York City on Nov. 7, 1920, and graduated from New York University with a B.A. in 1940 and a law degree in 1945. An idealistic young man, he was a staff researcher for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and a conscientious objector during World War II. He spent most of the war as a volunteer in a human experiment on the conditions of semi-starvation conducted at the University of Minnesota.

Partner in Law Firm

After the war, he earned a master's degree and doctorate in political science at the University of Minnesota and became active for Mr. Humphrey at the municipal level. In 1956, after serving in Washington with Senator Humphrey, he became a partner and Washington director for the New York-based law firm of Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Kampelman.

In Washington, Mr. Kampelman has been busy in dozens of activities. He has been chairman of the city's public broadcasting station, WETA, as well as the founding moderator of the long-running "Washington Week in Review." He lives in northwest Washington with his wife, the former Marjorie Buetow. They have five children.

"The fatherhood of God presupposes the brotherhood of man," Mr. Kampelman has observed. "However defined, this is a good guide for life's conduct."

Of the difficulties of dealing with the Russians, he has said, "We have to patiently, persistently, confidently keep talking to them."

January 20, 1985

PEGGY ASHCROFT

A British Grande Dame Comes Into Her Own

By BENEDICT NIGHTINGALE

LONDON

Her Barbie Batchelor in Paul Scott's "Jewel in the Crown," combined with her Mrs. Moore in E. M. Forster's "Passage to India," seem to be achieving what her performances as Juliet and Cleopatra and scores of other major theatrical characters never

quite did. They're demonstrating to the television-watching, movie-going millions that they've been overlooking one of the century's major actresses. They're making Peggy Ashcroft, at the age of 77, an internationally known name and face.

Mrs. Moore and Forster proved to be a challenge very different from Barbie and Scott. "Forster is of course a much more established writer than Scott, but it's debatable if he's a better one," she said recently. "If people in a hundred years want to understand a certain period of Indian history from the English point of view, they may find Scott the more satisfactory read. Forster is a very subjective writer, Scott a very objective one. There's a mystery in Forster's writing, which makes him interesting but also elusive. I found I could see Barbie very clearly, always wearing the same costume, with a pleat at the front and pleat at the back. Mrs. Moore is more of an enigma. Like most of Forster's women, she's in some way a question mark."

With "The Jewel in the Crown" now in its sixth week on public television's "Masterpiece Theater," American viewers are witnessing Barbie's emergence as a major and engrossing character. "Barbie is an eccentric, she's funny and she's tragic," the actress observed. "She's the outsider, as opposed to all those memsahibs, coming from nowhere in South London. There's so much to her. She's humble and forlorn and devoted and doubting. The terrible thing in her is that doubt."

Peggy Ashcroft's relative obscurity in America isn't altogether surprising. After all, it's nearly 40 years since she came to Broadway in Robert Morley's "Edward, My Son," and she hasn't appeared on the New York stage since, apologetically explaining that "while I loved the amazing quickness of reaction of audiences over there, I've been so occupied in the theater here." But even in her native Britain she isn't the celebrity she might be, considering she's the country's senior theatrical "dame," as the female equivalents of knights are quaintly called,

and is regarded by most critics as highly as her old friend and frequent leading man, Sir John Gielgud.

Part of the reason is her reticence and love of privacy. She gives interviews roughly as often as the late Howard Hughes, explaining gently, "I'm not interested in myself, very." But the principal explanation is that all her most important work has been accomplished, not before the cameras, but on the more upscale sort of stage: the Old Vic, the Royal Shake-



Peggy Ashcroft in "Jewel in the Crown"—"She's eccentric and she's tragic."

Ref.
D843
A75
W.H.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE COLD WAR

Thomas S. Arms
"


Facts On File®

© 1994

AN INFOBASE HOLDINGS COMPANY

Deeply
Religious

huge supporter
of arms-buildup
by Reagan

K

Kadar, Janos (May 26, 1912–July 6, 1989) Janos Kadar was leader of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' (Communist) Party from after the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 until 1988. He was at first reviled for his role in bringing Soviet troops into Hungary and engineering the trial and execution of the revolution's leaders. But later he introduced political and economic changes that turned Hungary into the leader of the East European reform movement.

Kadar was born in the Adriatic seaport of Fiume, the illegitimate son of a soldier and a Yugoslav peasant woman. He spent the first six years of his life in foster homes before being reunited with his mother and moving to Budapest just as the Austro-Hungarian Empire was breaking up at the end of World War I.

Kadar's formal education was rudimentary, and from his early teens he started work at low-paid manual jobs. His deprived childhood and financial hardship led Kadar to embrace Marxism. In 1931 he secretly joined the banned Communist Party.

Hungary was occupied by German and Austrian troops during World War II. Kadar went underground and became a leading member of the Hungarian Resistance. He was arrested by the Gestapo but escaped in time to greet the Red Army when it marched into Budapest in December 1944.

The occupying Soviet Union appointed Kadar to the key post of head of the Budapest police. He also became a member of the Hungarian Communist Party's Politburo and the Central Committee. In 1946 he was a deputy secretary general of the party and three years later became minister of the interior.

In 1949, Communist Party leader MATYAS RAKOSI, head of the party's "Muscovite wing," moved against the party's "national wing," arrested its members and executed its leader, Laszlo Rajk, who was Kadar's mentor. Kadar managed to avoid the first round of arrests by persuading Rajk to confess to "Titoism," but in 1951 he was also taken into custody, tried and found guilty of treason, Titoism and spying.

Kadar was sentenced to four years' imprisonment in Hungarian labor camps. Because he repeatedly attempted to escape, Kadar was moved from camp to camp, tortured and beaten. His fingernails were torn out and never regrew. It was rumored that he was also castrated. After two and a half years, Kadar was released following the death of Stalin and resumed his career within the party, but at a much lower level.

He eventually worked his way back to a high party position, and emerged as the Soviet-sponsored leader of the government after the crushing of the Hungarian revolution by Soviet troops in 1956. He retained power for more than three decades, and presided over major political and especially economic reforms.

(For further details, see under HUNGARY.)

For Further Information:

Brzezinski, Z.K. *The Soviet Bloc: Unity and Conflict*. Cambridge, Mass., 1960.

Kovrig, Bennet. *Communism in Hungary from Kun to Kadar*. Stanford, Calif., 1979.

Vali, Ferenc. *A Rift and Revolt in Hungary; Nationalism vs. Communism*. Cambridge, Mass., 1961.

Zinner, Paul. *Revolution in Hungary*. New York, 1962.

Kahn, Herman See HUDSON INSTITUTE.

Kampelman, Max (November 7, 1920–) Max Kampelman is a U.S. diplomat who has been heavily involved in East-West relations and disarmament negotiations since the end of the Carter administration.

Kampelman worked his way through New York University and was a conscientious objector during World War II. He received his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in political studies from the University of Minnesota, where he met future senator and vice president HUBERT HUMPHREY and future ambassador to the United Nations JEANE KIRKPATRICK.

When Humphrey was elected to the Senate in 1948, he asked Kampelman to join his staff as a legislative counsel. Kampelman had by this time established a reputation as a liberal Democrat but with a strong anti-communist flavor. In 1954, he alienated many of his liberal friends by helping to secure passage of the Communist Control Act, which deprived the American Communist Party of "rights, privileges and immunities attendant upon legal bodies" but stopped short of making party membership a crime.

In 1955 Kampelman left Humphrey's staff to become a partner in the Washington office of the New York-based law firm of Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver and Kampelman. But he remained active in national Democratic Party politics and helped Humphrey to secure the 1968 Democratic Party presi-

dential nomination. He again supported Humphrey's campaign for the Democratic nomination in 1972.

In 1976 Kampelman joined a bipartisan but right-wing anti-Soviet group called the Committee on the Present Danger. The group, whose membership included RONALD REAGAN and Jeane Kirkpatrick, demanded increased defense spending and a harder line in relations with the Soviet Union. Kampelman, however, remained more liberal on domestic issues and was thus acceptable to both Democrats and Republicans when President JIMMY CARTER appointed him U.S. ambassador and chairman of the American delegation to the CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE (CSCE) in 1980. He was quickly reconfirmed in office in 1981 by the incoming President Reagan.

The CSCE process was in the midst of its first review conference, which was being held in Madrid. When Kampelman arrived in December there were signs of an imminent Soviet invasion of Poland. Kampelman set the tone for the Reagan administration's tough negotiating stance throughout the conference when in his first speech he warned that if Soviet forces moved in violation of the HELSINKI ACCORDS, "East-West relations as we know them could not continue." Kampelman was a key figure at the review conference for the next two and a half years and helped to draft the final statement, which recognized the right of workers to form free trade unions and set future meetings to discuss human rights and arms limitations.

After the Madrid conference, Kampelman was retained as a State Department consultant and in June 1984 headed an American delegation to observe presidential elections in El Salvador. In January 1985, Kampelman was appointed head of the U.S. negotiating team to the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) in Geneva. The Soviets refused to negotiate strategic systems until the U.S. agreed to include President Reagan's proposed STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE ("Star Wars") program in the negotiations. Kampelman urged Reagan to press deployment of the MX MISSILE system in order to increase his negotiating leverage.

The negotiations continued to be deadlocked until the Reykjavik Summit between Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and Reagan helped to improve the atmosphere. In October 1986 Kampelman announced that the United States was prepared to eliminate intermediate-range nuclear forces in Europe and reduce them in Asia and would consider the elimination of all ballistic missiles.

The negotiations then moved quickly toward a treaty on intermediate-range systems, with a great deal of the negotiations being handled by Secretary of State GEORGE SHULTZ and his Soviet counterpart EDUARD SHEVARDNADZE. Kampelman, however, remained an active participant. The INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES (INF) TREATY eliminating intermediate-range nuclear missiles from Europe was signed by Reagan and Gorbachev in Washington, D.C., on December 8, 1987.

After the signing of the treaty, Kampelman remained in

Washington to help the Reagan administration secure congressional ratification, and in June 1988 he was sent to Central America to assess the situation after the collapse of Nicaraguan peace talks.

Katyn Massacre The massacres at Katyn Forest near Smolensk and at several other sites in the Soviet Union of more than 14,000 Polish officers and over 7,000 landowners, border police and municipal officials in the early days of World War II severely strained wartime relations between the Soviet Union and the Polish government-in-exile in London. In the postwar years, the memory of the Polish officers was invoked by Polish dissidents to engender mistrust and hatred of the Soviet Union.

On April 7, 1943, General Wladyslaw Sikorski, leader of the London Poles, told WINSTON CHURCHILL that he had proof that the Soviet Red Army had murdered 15,000 Polish officers. Six days later, on April 13, the Germans, who had invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941, broadcast that they had found a mass grave of 14,500 Polish officers in the Katyn Forest. It appeared from the officers' notebooks that they had been killed in April 1940, some months after the Soviet Union, then acting in concert with Germany, had occupied eastern Poland.

The Germans immediately accused the Soviets and proposed an international inquiry. Sikorski asked the International Red Cross to send a delegation to Poland to investigate. He also asked the Soviet government for its "observations." The Soviets claimed that the bodies were those of Polish prisoners of war who had been engaged in construction work and executed by the Germans. The Soviets went on to claim that the timing of the Polish and German announcements indicated Polish collusion with the Nazis, and Stalin broke off diplomatic relations with the London Poles on April 26, 1943. The break in diplomatic relations later gave Stalin an excuse to recognize a communist Polish government in exile led by BOLESŁAW BIERUT.

In 1988 Soviet leader MIKHAIL GORBACHEV admitted that his government had "made mistakes" in its past relations with Poland and shortly afterward announced that a joint Polish-Soviet commission of historians would investigate the circumstances surrounding the Katyn Massacre. The investigation came to be regarded in Poland as a test of Gorbachev's stated policy of *glasnost* (openness) and his professed desire to rebuild Soviet-Polish relations on a new basis. In May 1990, while Polish president WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI was visiting the Soviet Union, it was announced by the Soviet authorities that new evidence had come to light that proved that the Soviet Union had been responsible for the Katyn Massacre. Gorbachev officially apologized to Jaruzelski. Later, President Boris Yeltsin of Russia turned over to President Lech Walesa of Poland a document, which he said that Gorbachev had concealed, that appeared to be a copy of the actual execution order signed by Stalin.

20
8
6
+

Current Biography Yearbook 1986

EDITOR
Charles Moritz

ASSOCIATE EDITORS
Henry Sloan
Kieran Dugan
Judith Graham

THE H. W. WILSON COMPANY
NEW YORK

leading activist
for worker rights
as lawyer w/ garment
Union in '40s & '50s

]

first moderator of
"Washington Week"

Major supporter of
PSS

KAMPELMAN

egotistical, but as Harry F. Waters noted, there are "many more attractive parts in the package: infectious exuberance, a quick and penetrating intelligence, lots of self-mocking wit, even a touch of boyish innocence to temper the streetwise manner." Because he finds the Hollywood lifestyle "sordid and degenerate," Johnson makes his home in an oceanfront condominium near Miami, where he enjoys motorboating and fishing. Miss D'Arbanville, who lives in Los Angeles in order to pursue her own acting career, and Johnson's son, Jesse, are frequent visitors. Johnson's two brief, youthful marriages were annulled, and later marriage to the actress Melanie Griffith ended in divorce.

References: TV Guide 22:18+ N 5 '84 por; People 23:147+ Je 17 '85 pors, 23:106+ O 7 '85 pors; Time 126:60+ S 16 '85 pors; Newsweek 106:96+ O 7 '85 pors; Rolling Stone p33+ N 7 '85 pors



Kampelman, Max M.

Nov. 7, 1920—Diplomat; lawyer; consultant.
Address: b. c/o Department of State,
Washington, D.C. 20520

The noted Washington lawyer and "neo-conservative" Democrat Max M. Kampelman was named by President Ronald Reagan in January 1985 to head the United States negotiating team at the Geneva arms reduction talks. Formerly a pacifist, and for some years an aide to the late Hubert H. Humphrey, Kampelman has been described as a "freelance diplomat" who works both sides of the political fence. In 1984 he was an adviser to the

Democratic presidential candidate, Walter F. Mondale, while at the same time serving as legal counsel to attorney general nominee Edwin Meese 3d during a probe of the latter's finances and official conduct. Kampelman's hawkish foreign policy pronouncements and the tough stance he maintained toward the Soviet Union as cochairman of the American delegation to the human rights conference at Madrid from 1980 to 1983, made him a favorite with the Reagan administration. But Kampelman insists that his views are "consistent with the tradition of the Democratic party and American liberalism."

Max M. Kampelman—whose middle initial does not stand for anything—was born on November 7, 1920 in New York City to Joseph Kampelman, originally Kampelmacher, and his wife, the former Eva Gottlieb. While growing up in the Bronx, Kampelman received his early education in Jewish schools. It was from his father, whom he has described as "a man of democratic values who believed in learning," that he inherited a liberal view of the world and an abiding sense of social justice. Joe Kampelman, a hat salesman, and a staunch Democrat who idolized Alfred E. Smith and Franklin D. Roosevelt, died when his son was in his senior year of high school. But in spite of financial hardships, Max Kampelman decided to go to college, determined to become a lawyer, and worked his way through New York University at a variety of jobs, including bookstore clerk, coat checker, and brush salesman.

After graduating from NYU with a B.A. degree in 1940, Kampelman attended its law school at night, while working days as a law clerk with the New York City firm of Phillips, Nizer, Benjamin & Krim. Concurrently he was employed as an organizer for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, which at the time was being torn apart by internal strife between moderate and radical leaders. Kampelman joined the fray on the side of the moderates. "I was an anti-Communist from the start," he has said. "They were anti-democratic. That's all I saw in the Communists. . . . It could have been my reading, my professors, it could have been my yeshiva training."

Rejecting World War II military service on religious grounds, Kampelman applied in October 1942 for conscientious objector status and was assigned to a series of civilian public service jobs. He worked on a soil conservation project in upstate New York and then as an attendant at a school for mentally handicapped children in Maine before volunteering to serve as a human guinea pig in an experiment on human starvation and rehabilitation that was being conducted by Dr. Ancel Keys at the University of Minnesota. The thirty-six volunteers ate progressively less and exercised on treadmills until they virtually collapsed. The experiment's findings became a standard reference work and proved invaluable at the end of the war, in the treatment of newly liberated prisoners of war and concentration camp victims.

er, although he
point during the
ed in the starva-
ively well. Oth-
volunteer went
Kampelman put his
d thinking about
ost interviewer,
his J. D. degree
then enrolling in
udies at the Uni-
ing his M.A. de-
ion experiences
ommunist efforts
Industrial Orga-
s Evron Kirkpat-
Kirkpatrick, was
Kampelman in 1980 as
representative to the
tained his Ph.D.
he title *The Com-
Study in Power*
ertation received
ing one by C. E.
utumn 1957), not-
ng on fact and
at short on inter-
might enable it to
work would come

nstructor in the po-
University of Min-
Kampelman became an
umphrey, then the
rey, Evron Kirkpat-
Kampelman's help
tion to Communists
CIO in the state and
Farmer-Labor party,
ical movement. By
Minnesota for a teach-
ge in Vermont, the
had ousted the Far-
leadership.

a member of the
he invited Kampel-
staff as a legislative
creative and helpful
lic welfare, in health
as in politics," Hum-
rs. The cold war was
ars that Kampelman
e was on Capitol Hill
ducted by Senator Jo-
ed Communist influ-
Kampelman helped
at would have made
ist party a crime while
ccused of party mem-
on. Opposed by Presi-
on the ground that it
t against Communism
in committee hearings
so favored by Kampel-

man, that deprived the Communists of "rights,
privileges, and immunities attendant upon legal
bodies" but did not make party membership a
crime. Some liberals never forgave Kampelman
for his role in helping to bring about passage of the
Communist Control Act of 1954, as the final bill
was called. An editorial in the *Nation* (April 13,
1985) called it "a particularly sleazy strategy to im-
munize Democratic politicians from the McCar-
thyite plague at the expense of constitutional
liberties."

Although Kampelman continued to consider
himself a liberal, during his early years in Wash-
ington his political and philosophical views under-
went transformation. "The process of growth leads
to change," he has explained. "The development of
atomic and hydrogen bombs led me to doubt my
earlier faith in the power of nonviolence to over-
come evil in international relations." By 1955 he
had totally rejected his earlier pacifism; he joined
the United States Marine Corps and remained a
reservist for seven years, rising to the rank of cap-
tain.

Kampelman left Senator Humphrey's staff in
1955 to enter private practice in the politically
well-connected New York City-based law firm of
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Kampelman, with
which he remained until his retirement in 1985. As
the senior attorney in the firm's Washington, D.C.
office, Kampelman represented a number of high-
profile organizations and such prominent leaders
as Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir. His busy cor-
porate law practice, and his diverse—at times con-
troversial—private business dealings made him
financially successful. Kampelman was a founder
and chief shareholder, and the first executive com-
mittee chairman, of the District of Columbia Na-
tional Bank, which was chartered in 1962 and
attracted attention for its pioneering racially non-
discriminatory hiring policies.

In addition to engaging in his law and business
pursuits, Kampelman remained a close personal
friend of Hubert Humphrey, by now the vice-
president, and he was active in the Democratic
party and in a wide range of civic organizations. As
chairman of WETA-TV, Washington's public
broadcasting station, he originated and was the
first moderator of its program *Washington Week in
Review*, which was first aired in February 1967. He
also was active in various organizations in the field
of political science, and he served as vice-
president of the Helen Dwight Reid Educational
Foundation, among other concerns. In October
1966, President Lyndon B. Johnson named him a
senior advisor to the United States mission to the
United Nations. During that period, Kampelman
also found time to write articles for law and politi-
cal science journals and to prepare a chapter for a
book edited by Jeane Kirkpatrick, entitled *The
Strategy of Deception: A Study in World-Wide
Communist Tactics* (Farrar, Straus, 1963). By the
mid-1960s, Kampelman had become well-known
as a "hawk" on the issue of the Vietnam War.

ver letter expressed the view
ilty of "an irresponsibility that
mprehension."

Kampelman's reputation as a
resident Jimmy Carter named
1980 as ambassador and chair-
delegation to the Conference
Cooperation in Europe, the
ice on the 1975 Helsinki hu-
shortly after his arrival at the
thirty-five-nation East-West
ment was reconfirmed by in-
ald Reagan. Kampelman set
ipation in the more than two
ssions that followed with an
vas sharply critical of Soviet
nki accords and of the recent
an. He proved himself to be
atient backroom negotiator
stay in Madrid as long as it
ls. "I've always believed that
hat you can use to your ad-
w it away," he said, shortly
By his own account, Kam-
00 hours in private sessions
tives. He felt that the time
nd after the end of the con-
expressed his satisfaction
ment, calling, among other
ognition of the right of free
ture meetings on such sub-
nd arms limitations.

nference, Kampelman di-
his Washington law prac-
ate Department consultant.
x trips abroad on govern-
a June visit to El Salvador
merican delegation sent to
esidential elections. Then,
sident Reagan nominated
ee-member United States
ear and space arms at Ge-
arch after a fifteen-month
role as delegation chief,
esponsibility for talks on
ons. The former Republi-
r of Texas was to concen-
weapons, and the State
ard W. Glitman was as-
mediate-range nuclear
a reporter's question at a
o announce the nomina-
George P. Shultz praised
negotiator, particularly
asserted that the United
"an absolutely terrific

on created a minor em-
a markedly pessimistic
which he had collabor-
ter administration na-
igniew Brzezinski, and
ow of Dartmouth Col-
ture in the New York

Times Magazine in the following week. Kampelman immediately asked that his byline be removed from the article, but since the magazine was already in print, his request, could not be met. That article, along with an interview with George Urban in *Encounter* (March 1985), gave considerable insight into his thinking. Although, as he told Urban, he doubted Soviet sincerity to negotiate a comprehensive and genuinely verifiable limitations agreement because "the Kremlin regime cheats," he recognized that the United States must come to terms with the Soviet Union, but added: "We cannot hope to influence Soviet policy without great military strength, and military strength cannot be had without the support of public opinion."

The Geneva talks opened as scheduled, on March 12, 1985, despite the death a few days earlier of Soviet leader Konstantin U. Chernenko. The chief Soviet negotiator, Viktor Karpov, in an unusually talkative mood, told Kampelman that he hoped their initial meeting would be the first of a series that would result in an agreement. But that early optimism soon faded when it became apparent that the Soviet negotiators viewed President Reagan's Strategic Defence Initiative, the space-based defense system popularly known as "Star Wars," as the focal point of the discussions and refused to talk about other matters until Kampelman agreed to include it in the agenda. Kampelman returned to Washington on the last weekend in March to confer with White House officials and to lobby in President Reagan's behalf on the eve of a crucial congressional vote on funding for the controversial MX missile, which Kampelman regarded as an important bargaining chip in Geneva. Senator Claiborne Pell, Democrat of Rhode Island, and other MX opponents criticized Kampelman's involvement in the debate, but the President succeeded in wooing the votes needed to gain approval of \$1.5 billion in funding for the missiles. A sardonic editorial in the *Nation* (April 13, 1985) expressed the view that no one deserved more credit for the President's success on the MX issue than Kampelman.

When the initial round of the Geneva talks ended on May 6, 1985 after fifty-four hours of fruitless discussion, Kampelman told reporters that a dialogue should be "more than two monologues" and noted that Soviet demands had remained virtually unchanged since 1983, when previous talks had broken down. The Soviet Union continued to demand an end to development of the "Star Wars" system, while the Americans called for deep cuts in Soviet long-range offensive weapons. A second round of talks, which began on May 30 and ended on July 16, 1985 proved no more successful.

Round three of the talks began in Geneva on September 19, 1985, and in anticipation of a scheduled November summit between President Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet government announced a new set of proposals, including a call for a 50 percent cut in both American and Soviet offensive weapons. After conferring with administration officials, however, Kampel-

man rejected the proposals as having a number of pitfalls and charged that they were mainly designed to "lull" the West into a false sense of security.

When talks resumed on January 16, 1986, Viktor Karpov presented another set of proposals, which put forward the idea of a ban on all nuclear weapons by the year 2000, and suggested for the first time a willingness on the part of the Soviet Union to consider an interim agreement on intermediate nuclear weapons in Europe without any direct link to other issues. But implicit in the Soviet scheme was the long-standing demand that "Star Wars" be included in the talks, and as the arms negotiators went through a fourth session and into a fifth, which began on May 8, 1986, the possibility of a breakthrough became increasingly unlikely. When Karpov denounced the United States April raid on Libya, Kampelman declared emphatically: "A regime with 120,000 of its troops invading and subjugating Afghanistan and its peoples, is in no moral and political position to feign outrage when we defend ourselves against Libya's undeclared war against the United States. . . ."

At the resumption of the Geneva arms talks on October 15, 1986 Kampelman observed that the discussions in Iceland between Reagan and Gorbachev earlier that month had created an atmosphere that could help to resolve outstanding issues between the superpowers. He declared that the United States was ready to formalize an agreement to eliminate medium-range missiles in Europe and reduce them in Asia and that a proposal to eliminate all ballistic missiles within ten years was under consideration. He cautioned, however, that differences remained over the American "Star Wars" program.

Max M. Kampelman, who has been described as "a balding, avuncular man," lives with his wife, the former Marjorie Buetow, whom he married on August 21, 1948, in a rambling wooden house in the Cleveland Park area of Washington, D.C. The Kampelmans have five grown children, Anne, Jeffrey, Julia, David, and Sarah. Kampelman is on leave as chairman of Freedom House and is chairman emeritus of American Friends of Hebrew University. He has served on the boards of several educational institutions, including Mount Vernon College and Georgetown University. He has received a number of awards and honorary degrees. Among other activities, he was founding president of the Friends of the National Zoo and vice-president of the Jewish Publication Society of America. Although the constraints of time have limited his involvement in the Democratic party, Kampelman has indicated his intention to remain a loyal Democrat despite his disagreement with some party policies.

References: *N Y Times* p12 Ja 20 '85 por;
Washington Post D p1+ Ja 23 '85 pors;
Contemporary Authors vols 41-44 1st rev (1979);
Who's Who in America, 1984-85; *Who's Who in American Politics*, 1985-86

20
3:
6
4

Current Biography Yearbook 1986

EDITOR
Charles Moritz

ASSOCIATE EDITORS
Henry Sloan
Kieran Dugan
Judith Graham

THE H. W. WILSON COMPANY
NEW YORK

KAMPELMAN

egotistical, but as Harry F. Waters noted, there are "many more attractive parts in the package: infectious exuberance, a quick and penetrating intelligence, lots of self-mocking wit, even a touch of boyish innocence to temper the streetwise manner." Because he finds the Hollywood lifestyle "sordid and degenerate," Johnson makes his home in an oceanfront condominium near Miami, where he enjoys motorboating and fishing. Miss D'Arbanville, who lives in Los Angeles in order to pursue her own acting career, and Johnson's son, Jesse, are frequent visitors. Johnson's two brief, youthful marriages were annulled, and later marriage to the actress Melanie Griffith ended in divorce.

References: TV Guide 22:18+ N 5 '84 por; People 23:147+ Je 17 '85 pors, 23:106+ O 7 '85 pors; Time 126:60+ S 16 '85 pors; Newsweek 106:96+ O 7 '85 pors; Rolling Stone p33+ N 7 '85 pors



Kampelman, Max M.

Nov. 7, 1920—Diplomat; lawyer; consultant.
Address: b. c/o Department of State,
Washington, D.C. 20520

The noted Washington lawyer and "neo-conservative" Democrat Max M. Kampelman was named by President Ronald Reagan in January 1985 to head the United States negotiating team at the Geneva arms reduction talks. Formerly a pacifist, and for some years an aide to the late Hubert H. Humphrey, Kampelman has been described as a "freelance diplomat" who works both sides of the political fence. In 1984 he was an adviser to the

Democratic presidential candidate, Walter F. Mondale, while at the same time serving as legal counsel to attorney general nominee Edwin Meese 3d during a probe of the latter's finances and official conduct. Kampelman's hawkish foreign policy pronouncements and the tough stance he maintained toward the Soviet Union as cochairman of the American delegation to the human rights conference at Madrid from 1980 to 1983, made him a favorite with the Reagan administration. But Kampelman insists that his views are "consistent with the tradition of the Democratic party and American liberalism."

Max M. Kampelman—whose middle initial does not stand for anything—was born on November 7, 1920 in New York City to Joseph Kampelman, originally Kampelmacher, and his wife, the former Eva Gottlieb. While growing up in the Bronx, Kampelman received his early education in Jewish schools. It was from his father, whom he has described as "a man of democratic values who believed in learning," that he inherited a liberal view of the world and an abiding sense of social justice. Joe Kampelman, a hat salesman, and a staunch Democrat who idolized Alfred E. Smith and Franklin D. Roosevelt, died when his son was in his senior year of high school. But in spite of financial hardships, Max Kampelman decided to go to college, determined to become a lawyer, and worked his way through New York University at a variety of jobs, including bookstore clerk, coat checker, and brush salesman.

After graduating from NYU with a B.A. degree in 1940, Kampelman attended its law school at night, while working days as a law clerk with the New York City firm of Phillips, Nizer, Benjamin & Krim. Concurrently he was employed as an organizer for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, which at the time was being torn apart by internal strife between moderate and radical leaders. Kampelman joined the fray on the side of the moderates. "I was an anti-Communist from the start," he has said. "They were anti-democratic. That's all I saw in the Communists. . . . It could have been my reading, my professors, it could have been my yeshiva training."

Rejecting World War II military service on religious grounds, Kampelman applied in October 1942 for conscientious objector status and was assigned to a series of civilian public service jobs. He worked on a soil conservation project in upstate New York and then as an attendant at a school for mentally handicapped children in Maine before volunteering to serve as a human guinea pig in an experiment on human starvation and rehabilitation that was being conducted by Dr. Ancel Keys at the University of Minnesota. The thirty-six volunteers ate progressively less and exercised on treadmills until they virtually collapsed. The experiment's findings became a standard reference work and proved invaluable at the end of the war, in the treatment of newly liberated prisoners of war and concentration camp victims.

As Kampelman recalled years later, although he was down to 100 pounds at one point during the year-and-a-half that he was involved in the starvation experiment, he endured it relatively well. Others proved less adaptable, and one volunteer went so far as to cut off a finger. Kampelman put his spare time to good use and "avoided thinking about food," as he told the Washington Post interviewer, by concentrating on his studies for his J. D. degree which he completed in 1945, and then enrolling in a graduate program in political studies at the University of Minnesota. After obtaining his M.A. degree in 1946, he drew upon his union experiences to write a Ph.D. dissertation on Communist efforts to gain control of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. His faculty advisor was Evron Kirkpatrick, whose future wife, Jeane Kirkpatrick, was appointed by President Ronald Reagan in 1980 as the United States permanent representative to the United Nations. Kampelman obtained his Ph.D. degree in 1951. Published under the title *The Communist Party vs. the CIO: A Study in Power Politics* (Praeger, 1957), his dissertation received some favorable reviews, including one by C. E. Lindblom in the *Yale Review* (Autumn 1957), noting that although it was "long on fact and documentation" and "somewhat short on interpretation," its authoritative tone might enable it to "stand where a more speculative work would come to be suspect."

While serving as a graduate instructor in the political science department at the University of Minnesota from 1946 to 1948, Kampelman became an aide to the young Hubert H. Humphrey, then the mayor of Minneapolis. Humphrey, Evron Kirkpatrick, and other liberals enlisted Kampelman's help when they organized opposition to Communists who had gained control of the CIO in the state and of the Minnesota Democratic Farmer-Labor party, an indigenous agrarian political movement. By 1948, when Kampelman left Minnesota for a teaching post at Bennington College in Vermont, the Humphrey-Kirkpatrick forces had ousted the Farmer-Labor party's Communist leadership.

When Humphrey became a member of the United States Senate in 1949, he invited Kampelman to join his Washington staff as a legislative counsel. "He was immensely creative and helpful in areas of labor law and public welfare, in health care and education, as well as in politics," Humphrey recalled in his memoirs. The cold war was at its peak during the six years that Kampelman worked for Humphrey, and he was on Capitol Hill throughout the hearings, conducted by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy into alleged Communist influence in government. In 1954 Kampelman helped Humphrey to draft a bill that would have made membership in the Communist party a crime while permitting persons falsely accused of party membership to sue for defamation. Opposed by President Dwight D. Eisenhower on the ground that it would have made the fight against Communism more difficult, the bill died in committee hearings and was replaced by one, also favored by Kampel-

man, that deprived the Communists of "rights, privileges, and immunities attendant upon legal bodies" but did not make party membership a crime. Some liberals never forgave Kampelman for his role in helping to bring about passage of the Communist Control Act of 1954, as the final bill was called. An editorial in the *Nation* (April 13, 1985) called it "a particularly sleazy strategy to immunize Democratic politicians from the McCarthyite plague at the expense of constitutional liberties."

Although Kampelman continued to consider himself a liberal, during his early years in Washington his political and philosophical views underwent transformation. "The process of growth leads to change," he has explained. "The development of atomic and hydrogen bombs led me to doubt my earlier faith in the power of nonviolence to overcome evil in international relations." By 1955 he had totally rejected his earlier pacifism; he joined the United States Marine Corps and remained a reservist for seven years, rising to the rank of captain.

Kampelman left Senator Humphrey's staff in 1955 to enter private practice in the politically well-connected New York City-based law firm of Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Kampelman, with which he remained until his retirement in 1985. As the senior attorney in the firm's Washington, D.C. office, Kampelman represented a number of high-profile organizations and such prominent leaders as Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir. His busy corporate law practice, and his diverse—at times controversial—private business dealings made him financially successful. Kampelman was a founder and chief shareholder, and the first executive committee chairman, of the District of Columbia National Bank, which was chartered in 1962 and attracted attention for its pioneering racially non-discriminatory hiring policies.

In addition to engaging in his law and business pursuits, Kampelman remained a close personal friend of Hubert Humphrey, by now the vice-president, and he was active in the Democratic party and in a wide range of civic organizations. As chairman of WETA-TV, Washington's public broadcasting station, he originated and was the first moderator of its program *Washington Week in Review*, which was first aired in February 1967. He also was active in various organizations in the field of political science, and he served as vice-president of the Helen Dwight Reid Educational Foundation, among other concerns. In October 1966, President Lyndon B. Johnson named him a senior advisor to the United States mission to the United Nations. During that period, Kampelman also found time to write articles for law and political science journals and to prepare a chapter for a book edited by Jeane Kirkpatrick, entitled *The Strategy of Deception: A Study in World-Wide Communist Tactics* (Farrar, Straus, 1963). By the mid-1960s, Kampelman had become well-known as a "hawk" on the issue of the Vietnam War.

KAMPELMAN

In September 1967, President Johnson nominated Kampelman to become the first chairman of the newly created Washington City Council, but Republican opposition to the move was unexpectedly stiff. Representative Burt L. Talcott, Republican of California, referring to Kampelman's lack of a wartime service record, accused him of being "a draft dodger." Some congressional critics questioned Kampelman's role in allegedly having helped Robert G. ("Bobby") Baker, the controversial former aide to Lyndon B. Johnson, later convicted of tax evasion and other offenses, to obtain an unsecured \$125,000 loan from the District of Columbia National Bank. Others linked Kampelman to a "foreign aid bungle" involving Napco Industries Inc., one of Kampelman's corporate clients, which had allegedly failed to fulfill its obligations under a federal loan agreement. Despite widespread Democratic support, Kampelman, while denying any wrongdoing, asked the president to withdraw his nomination, citing possible conflict of interest between his law practice and the city council post.

As one of the vice-president's "inner circle," Kampelman was a key organizer of the "Democrats for Humphrey" campaign that culminated in Humphrey's securing the 1968 Democratic presidential nomination. He was again involved when Humphrey made a second unsuccessful bid for the White House in 1972, this time losing the Democratic nomination to Senator George S. McGovern of South Dakota. During the 1972 campaign, Kampelman deliberately withdrew from electioneering and increasingly found himself among the ranks of the politically disaffected. He was one of some two dozen high-profile Democrats who broke ranks with the party's left wing and in December 1972 formed the Coalition for a Democratic Majority, whose stated goal was to rescue liberalism from "the slump reflected in George McGovern's presidential candidacy."

In the period that followed, Kampelman immersed himself in his law practice and became involved with such organizations as the American Jewish Congress and the Anti-Defamation League, but he was generally inactive in party politics. "When Hubert [Humphrey] considered running in 1976, it looked like I might get involved again," Kampelman told David Remnick of the *Washington Post*. "Later, of course, I was identified with [Henry] Scoop Jackson, but I was less involved with his campaign." In 1976, Kampelman joined a bipartisan group, including Ronald Reagan and AFL-CIO leader Lane Kirkland, in establishing the Committee on the Present Danger, which demanded a stronger national defense and a stiffer foreign policy line toward the Soviet Union. Kampelman gave voice to many of its concerns in his speeches and writings. He lambasted what he regarded as the liberal media's irresponsibility in a 1979 article entitled, "The Power of the Press: A Problem in Our Democracy," which was published by the Heritage Foundation. The singer Frank Sinatra caused something of a stir when he mailed out 2,000 copies of Kampelman's article to political and business

leaders and in a cover letter expressed the view that the press was guilty of "an irresponsibility that is almost beyond comprehension."

Encouraged by Kampelman's reputation as a "bipartisan figure," President Jimmy Carter named him in November 1980 as ambassador and chairman of the American delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the "follow-up" conference on the 1975 Helsinki human rights accords. Shortly after his arrival at the Madrid site of the thirty-five-nation East-West meetings, his appointment was reconfirmed by incoming President Ronald Reagan. Kampelman set the tone for his participation in the more than two and a half years of sessions that followed with an opening speech that was sharply critical of Soviet violations of the Helsinki accords and of the recent invasion of Afghanistan. He proved himself to be a tough, unfailingly patient backroom negotiator and was prepared to stay in Madrid as long as it took to achieve his goals. "I've always believed that if you have a vehicle that you can use to your advantage, you don't throw it away," he said, shortly after assuming his post. By his own account, Kampelman spent nearly 400 hours in private sessions with Soviet representatives. He felt that the time had been well spent, and after the end of the conference in July 1983 he expressed his satisfaction in his concluding statement, calling, among other matters, for general recognition of the right of free trade unions and for future meetings on such subjects as human rights and arms limitations.

After the Madrid conference, Kampelman divided his time between his Washington law practice and his work as a State Department consultant. During 1984 he made six trips abroad on government business, including a June visit to El Salvador as cochairman of an American delegation sent to observe that country's presidential elections. Then, on January 18, 1985, President Reagan nominated Kampelman to head a three-member United States negotiating team on nuclear and space arms at Geneva, set to resume in March after a fifteen-month break. In addition to his role as delegation chief, Kampelman was given responsibility for talks on space and defense weapons. The former Republican Senator John G. Tower of Texas was to concentrate on strategic nuclear weapons, and the State Department official Maynard W. Glitman was assigned to deal with intermediate-range nuclear weapons. Responding to a reporter's question at a press conference called to announce the nominations, Secretary of State George P. Shultz praised Kampelman's record as a negotiator, particularly his work in Madrid, and asserted that the United States Geneva team was "an absolutely terrific slate."

Kampelman's nomination created a minor embarrassment for him, since a markedly pessimistic article on arms control, on which he had collaborated with the former Carter administration national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and with Professor Robert Jastrow of Dartmouth College, was a scheduled feature in the *New York*

Times Magazine in the following week. Kampelman immediately asked that his byline be removed from the article, but since the magazine was already in print, his request, could not be met. That article, along with an interview with George Urban in *Encounter* (March 1985), gave considerable insight into his thinking. Although, as he told Urban, he doubted Soviet sincerity to negotiate a comprehensive and genuinely verifiable limitations agreement because "the Kremlin regime cheats," he recognized that the United States must come to terms with the Soviet Union, but added: "We cannot hope to influence Soviet policy without great military strength, and military strength cannot be had without the support of public opinion."

The Geneva talks opened as scheduled, on March 12, 1985, despite the death a few days earlier of Soviet leader Konstantin U. Chernenko. The chief Soviet negotiator, Viktor Karpov, in an unusually talkative mood, told Kampelman that he hoped their initial meeting would be the first of a series that would result in an agreement. But that early optimism soon faded when it became apparent that the Soviet negotiators viewed President Reagan's Strategic Defence Initiative, the space-based defense system popularly known as "Star Wars," as the focal point of the discussions and refused to talk about other matters until Kampelman agreed to include it in the agenda. Kampelman returned to Washington on the last weekend in March to confer with White House officials and to lobby in President Reagan's behalf on the eve of a crucial congressional vote on funding for the controversial MX missile, which Kampelman regarded as an important bargaining chip in Geneva. Senator Claiborne Pell, Democrat of Rhode Island, and other MX opponents criticized Kampelman's involvement in the debate, but the President succeeded in wooing the votes needed to gain approval of \$1.5 billion in funding for the missiles. A sardonic editorial in the *Nation* (April 13, 1985) expressed the view that no one deserved more credit for the President's success on the MX issue than Kampelman.

When the initial round of the Geneva talks ended on May 6, 1985 after fifty-four hours of fruitless discussion, Kampelman told reporters that a dialogue should be "more than two monologues" and noted that Soviet demands had remained virtually unchanged since 1983, when previous talks had broken down. The Soviet Union continued to demand an end to development of the "Star Wars" system, while the Americans called for deep cuts in Soviet long-range offensive weapons. A second round of talks, which began on May 30 and ended on July 16, 1985 proved no more successful.

Round three of the talks began in Geneva on September 19, 1985, and in anticipation of a scheduled November summit between President Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet government announced a new set of proposals, including a call for a 50 percent cut in both American and Soviet offensive weapons. After conferring with administration officials, however, Kampel-

man rejected the proposals as having a number of pitfalls and charged that they were mainly designed to "lull" the West into a false sense of security.

When talks resumed on January 16, 1986, Viktor Karpov presented another set of proposals, which put forward the idea of a ban on all nuclear weapons by the year 2000, and suggested for the first time a willingness on the part of the Soviet Union to consider an interim agreement on intermediate nuclear weapons in Europe without any direct link to other issues. But implicit in the Soviet scheme was the long-standing demand that "Star Wars" be included in the talks, and as the arms negotiators went through a fourth session and into a fifth, which began on May 8, 1986, the possibility of a breakthrough became increasingly unlikely. When Karpov denounced the United States April raid on Libya, Kampelman declared emphatically: "A regime with 120,000 of its troops invading and subjugating Afghanistan and its peoples, is in no moral and political position to feign outrage when we defend ourselves against Libya's undeclared war against the United States. . . ."

At the resumption of the Geneva arms talks on October 15, 1986 Kampelman observed that the discussions in Iceland between Reagan and Gorbachev earlier that month had created an atmosphere that could help to resolve outstanding issues between the superpowers. He declared that the United States was ready to formalize an agreement to eliminate medium-range missiles in Europe and reduce them in Asia and that a proposal to eliminate all ballistic missiles within ten years was under consideration. He cautioned, however, that differences remained over the American "Star Wars" program.

Max M. Kampelman, who has been described as "a balding, avuncular man," lives with his wife, the former Marjorie Buetow, whom he married on August 21, 1948, in a rambling wooden house in the Cleveland Park area of Washington, D.C. The Kampelmans have five grown children, Anne, Jeffrey, Julia, David, and Sarah. Kampelman is on leave as chairman of Freedom House and is chairman emeritus of American Friends of Hebrew University. He has served on the boards of several educational institutions, including Mount Vernon College and Georgetown University. He has received a number of awards and honorary degrees. Among other activities, he was founding president of the Friends of the National Zoo and vice-president of the Jewish Publication Society of America. Although the constraints of time have limited his involvement in the Democratic party, Kampelman has indicated his intention to remain a loyal Democrat despite his disagreement with some party policies.

References: *N Y Times* p12 Ja 20 '85 por; *Washington Post* D p1+ Ja 23 '85 pors; *Contemporary Authors* vols 41-44 1st rev (1979); *Who's Who in America*, 1984-85; *Who's Who in American Politics*, 1985-86

Harry Rigby, Producer, Dies; Originator of 'Sugar Babies'

By JOSEPH BERGER

Harry Rigby, the theatrical producer who conceived and co-produced the long-running show "Sugar Babies," was found dead Thursday in his Manhattan apartment. He was 59 years old.

Henry Luhrman, Mr. Rigby's press agent, said a secretary had discovered Mr. Rigby's body after he failed to appear for a lunch appointment. The cause of death, Mr. Luhrman said, was not known.

Mr. Rigby's forte was persuading actors and actresses whose careers had long passed their prime to come out of the twilight and appear in Broadway shows. The shows were invariably hits.

He persuaded Ruby Keeler, the star of the movie "42d Street," to appear in a revival of "No, No, Nanette" in 1971. He persuaded Debbie Reynolds and then Jane Powell to take on the revival of "Irene," which opened in 1973. And he persuaded Mickey Rooney and Ann Miller to star in "Sugar Babies" in 1979.

"Sugar Babies," a valentine to burlesque, is still touring the country with its original stars and is scheduled to open next week in Norfolk, Va. Mr. Rigby created the musical with Ralph G. Allen, who wrote the sketches.

The show's co-producer, Terry Allen Kramer, said Thursday that "Sugar Babies" would continue to tour for another year as a memorial to Mr. Rigby.

"Producing is a marvelous refuge for the inept," Mr. Rigby told an interviewer in 1980. "It's a last resort. It's the only thing I could do."

Mr. Rigby, who was born in Pittsburgh on Feb. 21, 1925, began raising



Martha Swope

Harry Rigby

money and assembling personnel for shows in 1951, at a relatively tender age for a producer. The shows he co-produced included "Make a Wish," "John Murray Anderson's Almanac," "Half a Sixpence," "Hallelujah, Baby," the revival of "Good News" with Alice Faye and John Payne, "Knock, Knock," "I Love My Wife" and "Gorey Stories."

He tried his hand at acting at least once, playing a penguin in Robert Downey's film "Pound" in 1970.

January 19, 1985



United Press International

Max M. Kampelman arriving in Washington Friday after he was named to head arms talks.

human rights.

"Signatures on a document do not necessarily produce compliance with its provisions," said Mr. Kampelman, characteristically choosing a tone of realism for his own departing signature at the three-year Madrid parley of 34 delegations.

Attacked by Russians

The Russians replied with a blistering attack on Mr. Kampelman. His response took a longer view of optimism, as he explained why the United States signed the accord at a time of what he said were the worst Soviet human rights abuses in years. "It is because the pursuit of peace is too vital, the need for understanding too indispensable," he said, to "permit us to be discouraged by the task or the obstacles we face."

Friends say that is a vintage mixture of his lawyerly caution and his hope beyond the negotiating table. His years of difficult private negotiations and blunt public statements at Madrid made him a favorite of the conservative Republicans of the Reagan Administration. They also noted that he had successfully assisted Edwin Meese 3d, the President's counselor and Attorney General-designate, in a special prosecutor's inquiry last year into Mr. Meese's finances and official conduct.

At the same time, Mr. Kampelman has remained an active Democrat, most recently serving as a foreign policy adviser to another Humphrey protégé, Walter F. Mondale, in the former Vice President's campaign for President last year.

'Very Careful With His Words'

"Max is a man very careful with his words and very sensitive to the

Skeptical Optimist for Talks

Max M. Kampelman

By FRANCIS X. CLINES

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 19 — In turning to Max M. Kampelman to head the new arms negotiations with the Soviet Union, President Reagan has chosen a Democrat with a reputation for skepticism in bargaining with adversaries and for an optimism that keeps him bargaining.

Man
in the
News

The 64-year-old lawyer, whose ideals and negotiating skills are rooted in early service with Hubert H. Humphrey, was a holdover from the Carter Administration when he

worked out a difficult agreement with the Russians at the East-West conference in Madrid in 1983, impressing the Reagan Administration.

His style as a negotiator was exemplified in that mission, in which he first managed a compromise on human rights issues in negotiations that were as delicate in keeping the Western allies in balance as in finding common ground with the Russians. Within days, however, Mr. Kampelman also issued a "warning against euphoria" and denounced the Russians for continuing violations of

PEGGY ASHCROFT

A British Grande Dame Comes Into Her Own

By BENEDICT NIGHTINGALE

LONDON

Her Barbie Batchelor in Paul Scott's "Jewel in the Crown," combined with her Mrs. Moore in E. M. Forster's "Passage to India," seem to be achieving what her performances as Juliet and Cleopatra and scores of other major theatrical characters never

quite did. They're demonstrating to the television-watching, movie-going millions that they've been overlooking one of the century's major actresses. They're making Peggy Ashcroft, at the age of 77, an internationally known name and face.

Mrs. Moore and Forster proved to be a challenge very different from Barbie and Scott. "Forster is of course a much more established writer than Scott, but it's debatable if he's a better one," she said recently. "If people in a hundred years want to understand a certain period of Indian history from the English point of view, they may find Scott the more satisfactory read. Forster is a very subjective writer, Scott a very objective one. There's a mystery in Forster's writing, which makes him interesting but also elusive. I found I could see Barbie very clearly, always wearing the same costume, with a pleat at the front and pleat at the back. Mrs. Moore is more of an enigma. Like most of Forster's women, she's in some way a question mark."

With "The Jewel in the Crown" now in its sixth week on public television's "Masterpiece Theater," American viewers are witnessing Barbie's emergence as a major and engrossing character. "Barbie is an eccentric, she's funny and she's tragic," the actress observed. "She's the outsider, as opposed to all those memsahibs, coming from nowhere in South London. There's so much to her. She's humble and forlorn and devoted and doubting. The terrible thing in her is that doubt."

Peggy Ashcroft's relative obscurity in America isn't altogether surprising. After all, it's nearly 40 years since she came to Broadway in Robert Morley's "Edward, My Son," and she hasn't appeared on the New York stage since, apologetically explaining that "while I loved the amazing quickness of reaction of audiences over there, I've been so occupied in the theater here." But even in her native Britain she isn't the celebrity she might be, considering she's the country's senior theatrical "dame," as the female equivalents of knights are quaintly called, and is regarded by most critics as highly as her old friend and frequent leading man, Sir John Gielgud.

Part of the reason is her reticence and love of privacy. She gives interviews roughly as often as the late Howard Hughes, explaining gently, "I'm not interested in myself, very." But the principal explanation is that all her most important work has been accomplished, not before the cameras, but on the more upscale sort of stage: the Old Vic, the Royal Shake-

people he is dealing with," said Arthur Lazarus Jr., his law partner whose ties go back to Mr. Kampelman's roots in New York City. "He's a very skilled negotiator who does his homework and thinks about what he is doing and what he is saying."

Mr. Kampelman first came to Washington with Senator Humphrey, whom he served as legislative counsel from 1949 to 1955. Through subsequent decades in corporate law, banking, education, civic activities, public broadcasting and occasional Government service, he has become one of the capital's respected elders. He has been a senior adviser to the American delegation to the United Nations and serves as chairman of Freedom House, vice chairman of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority, honorary vice chairman of the Anti-Defamation League and chairman of the national advisory committee of the American Jewish Committee.

Max M. Kampelman — his office says the middle initial does not stand for a name — was born in New York City on Nov. 7, 1920, and graduated from New York University with a B.A. in 1940 and a law degree in 1945. An idealistic young man, he was a staff researcher for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and a conscientious objector during World War II. He spent most of the war as a volunteer in a human experiment on the conditions of semi-starvation conducted at the University of Minnesota.

Partner in Law Firm

After the war, he earned a master's degree and doctorate in political science at the University of Minnesota and became active for Mr. Humphrey at the municipal level. In 1956, after serving in Washington with Senator Humphrey, he became a partner and Washington director for the New York-based law firm of Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Kampelman.

In Washington, Mr. Kampelman has been busy in dozens of activities. He has been chairman of the city's public broadcasting station, WETA, as well as the founding moderator of the long-running "Washington Week in Review." He lives in northwest Washington with his wife, the former Marjorie Buetow. They have five children.

"The fatherhood of God presupposes the brotherhood of man," Mr. Kampelman has observed. "However defined, this is a good guide for life's conduct."

Of the difficulties of dealing with the Russians, he has said, "We have to patiently, persistently, confidently keep talking to them."

January 20, 1985



Peggy Ashcroft in "Jewel in the Crown" — "She's eccentric and she's tragic."

[Home](#)[About Us](#)[What's New](#)[Search](#)[Publications](#)[Projects](#)

Max M. Kampelman

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 with the Soviet Union on Nuclear and Space Arms in Geneva, before rejoining in January, 1989, the law firm of Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson, where he is now "Of Counsel." He serves as Chairman of the American Academy of Diplomacy, Chairman of Georgetown University's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, and, by Presidential appointment, as Vice Chairman of the United States Institute of Peace.

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 book, *Entering New Worlds: The Memoirs of a Private Man in Public Life*, was published in 1991 by HarperCollins.

Ambassador Kampelman 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 (CSCE), which met in Madrid from 1980 to 1983. He subsequently served as Ambassador and Head of the U.S. Delegation to the CSCE Copenhagen Conference on the Human Dimension in June 1990, the CSCE Geneva Conference on National Minorities in July 1991, and the CSCE Moscow Conference on the Human Dimension in September 1991. Kampelman also held the position of Senior Advisor to the U.S. Delegation to the United Nations and served as Legislative Counsel to U.S. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey.

From 1989 to 1993, he was Chairman of the Board of Governors of the United Nations Association; and is now Chairman Emeritus of Freedom House, and Honorary Chairman of the Jerusalem Foundation. 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.

On January 18, 1989, President Reagan awarded Ambassador Kampelman 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 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 thirteen honorary Doctorate degrees. He now serves on a number of corporate and non-profit boards.

He and his wife, Marjorie, live in Washington, DC and have five children and three grandchildren.

Return to...

Max Kampelman

originals

LEVEL 1 - 1 OF 2 STORIES

Copyright 1991 The New York Times Company
The New York Times

November 10, 1991, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

NAME: Max M. Kampelman

CATEGORY: Politics and Government (U.S.)

SECTION: Section 7; Page 27; Column 2; Book Review Desk

LENGTH: 1151 words

HEADLINE: A Cold War Paleoliberal

BYLINE: By George H. Nash; George H. Nash is the author of "The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America Since 1945" and two volumes of a biography in progress of Herbert Hoover.

BODY:

ENTERING NEW WORLDS

The Memoirs of a Private Man in Public Life.

By Max M. Kampelman.

Illustrated. 402 pp. New York:

HarperCollins Publishers. \$25.

At one level this absorbing memoir tells a familiar story: the urban immigrant version of the American Dream. Born in 1920 of Jewish parents from Romania, Max Kampelman grew up in the Bronx, attended yeshiva schools and worked his way through New York University. He went to law school, worked for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, became an anti-Stalinist social democrat and clerked for Louis Nizer's law firm -- all by his early 20's.

It was a classic trajectory, with one unusual twist. Under the influence of a Reform rabbi and Quakers whom he met at N.Y.U., the strongly religious Mr. Kampelman became a pacifist and, in World War II, a rarity: a Jewish conscientious objector.

It is interesting to observe how one decision can change a life. As a conscientious objector, Mr. Kampelman tells us in "Entering New Worlds," he volunteered for an experiment at the University of Minnesota to study the effects of starvation. After the war he stayed at the university as a graduate student in political science. There he helped to organize the Americans for Democratic Action, fought to oust the Communists and their sympathizers from the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party and began to question the validity of his pacifism. Hiroshima and Nagasaki were the catalysts. "If simply pushing a button can produce massive destruction and loss of life," he wondered, "how can passive resistance prevail?" How can love and reason persuade an enemy, he asked himself, if the enemy cannot even see you and experience your love?

In Minnesota, too, Mr. Kampelman met his political paladin, Hubert H.



LEXIS-NEXIS

A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group



LEXIS-NEXIS

A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group



LEXIS-NEXIS

A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group

The New York Times, November 10, 1991

Humphrey, whom he served for six years as a senatorial aide and then as a devoted confidant and counselor. His book is rich with anecdotes about Humphrey's personality and checkered fortunes. By the Vietnam era, Mr. Kampelman was a well-connected Washington lawyer and Democratic insider.

Then, in 1972, came George McGovern and the unleashing of isolationist and pacifist impulses that transformed the Democratic Party. In the 1970's Mr. Kampelman struggled to return it "to its traditional anti-totalitarianism, with a strong emphasis on defense." When Humphrey died in 1978, Mr. Kampelman's own career in public service seemed over.

Instead, in 1980 President Jimmy Carter -- apparently on the advice of his national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski -- appointed Mr. Kampelman co-chairman, with Griffin Bell, of the United States delegation to the Madrid meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. When Ronald Reagan became President, he named Mr. Kampelman sole head of the negotiating team. For this liberal anti-Communist and advocate of cold war vigilance, it was a perfect assignment. The Madrid gathering was supposed to review implementation of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act, a multilevel, multinational set of agreements that, at the time, seemed to critics merely to legitimate Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe. But the Final Act, as Mr. Kampelman noted, had also established "Western values . . . as standards by which to judge responsible international behavior." With undiplomatic candor, he proceeded to champion those values, not as ritualistic boilerplate but as the stringent measure of Soviet compliance with a document Moscow had signed. He espoused the cause of Soviet dissidents, some of whom were eventually permitted to emigrate, and for nearly three years, he says, he prevented his adversaries from turning the conference into a means of pressuring NATO not to deploy American Pershing missiles and cruise missiles. When the Madrid talks finally ended in 1983, this tenacious and tough-minded negotiator had brought human rights to the center of East-West diplomacy as never before, and had forged a Western consensus hitherto lacking.

In 1985, to Mr. Kampelman's surprise, President Reagan selected him to conduct the nuclear arms reduction talks with the Soviets in Geneva. Much of his memoir recounts these arduous and contentious negotiations. In the fierce internal American struggle over the Strategic Defense Initiative, Mr. Kampelman took a middle course between those who wanted to give up S.D.I. in exchange for a strategic arms treaty and those who wanted S.D.I. and no treaty. He insisted that the United States could achieve results without surrendering research on the missile defense system.

From this memoir it is evident that fear of American space technology (symbolized by the Strategic Defense Initiative) drove the Soviets to the bargaining table and kept them there. As Mr. Kampelman says, "the desire to end or learn more about our Strategic Defense Initiative seemed to be a major reason contributing to the Soviet decision to return to the Geneva negotiating table in March 1985. That was clear during the opening months of the talks." By the time Mr. Kampelman left the Government in 1989, he had negotiated, and the Senate had ratified, an intermediate-range nuclear arms treaty, while a separate strategic arms agreement was on its way.

It would be facile to describe "Entering New Worlds" as the autobiography of a neoconservative. It is, rather, the story of a cold war "paleoliberal," an old-fashioned Democrat whose unchanging foreign-policy convictions eventually



LEXIS·NEXIS™

A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group



LEXIS·NEXIS™

A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group



LEXIS·NEXIS™

A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group

brought him closer to Ronald Reagan than to the post-Vietnam orthodoxy of his own political party. When the history of the 1980's is written, we may find that two great American acts of will -- bold, untiring emphasis on human rights and a refusal to bargain away the Strategic Defense Initiative -- did much to trigger Mikhail S. Gorbachev's perestroika and the unraveling of the Soviet empire. In each area Max Kampelman made his mark. "Entering New Worlds" gives us the welcome reminiscences of one who was "present at the creation" of the post-cold war era.

GLORIOUSLY SATISFIED

To have overseen our successful arms negotiations and to have established the groundwork for future arms agreements is gloriously satisfying. To receive recognition for it is especially satisfying. . . . I don't know what I could have done at this time of my life that would have been more useful, or could have better employed my talents to serve my personal and lifelong hopes or our national interests. I look back knowing I did my best, having followed my heart and my conscience, in pursuit of worthy goals. With satisfaction, I think especially of the day when a memo was distributed in the State Department announcing that I would be acting secretary of State that day while George Shultz was away and that all outgoing cables to the world would go out over my signature. It was only a symbol, but it measured a milepost on a long journey. -- From "Entering New Worlds."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: November 10, 1991



LEXIS·NEXIS®

A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group



LEXIS·NEXIS®

A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group



LEXIS·NEXIS®

A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group

Ref.
DB43
.A75
WH.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE COLD WAR

Thomas S. Arms
"


Facts On File®

© 1994

AN INFOBASE HOLDINGS COMPANY

Kadar, Janos (May 26, 1912–July 6, 1989) Janos Kadar was leader of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' (Communist) Party from after the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 until 1988. He was at first reviled for his role in bringing Soviet troops into Hungary and engineering the trial and execution of the revolution's leaders. But later he introduced political and economic changes that turned Hungary into the leader of the East European reform movement.

Kadar was born in the Adriatic seaport of Fiume, the illegitimate son of a soldier and a Yugoslav peasant woman. He spent the first six years of his life in foster homes before being reunited with his mother and moving to Budapest just as the Austro-Hungarian Empire was breaking up at the end of World War I.

Kadar's formal education was rudimentary, and from his early teens he started work at low-paid manual jobs. His deprived childhood and financial hardship led Kadar to embrace Marxism. In 1931 he secretly joined the banned Communist Party.

Hungary was occupied by German and Austrian troops during World War II. Kadar went underground and became a leading member of the Hungarian Resistance. He was arrested by the Gestapo but escaped in time to greet the Red Army when it marched into Budapest in December 1944.

The occupying Soviet Union appointed Kadar to the key post of head of the Budapest police. He also became a member of the Hungarian Communist Party's Politburo and the Central Committee. In 1946 he was a deputy secretary general of the party and three years later became minister of the interior.

In 1949, Communist Party leader MATYAS RAKOSI, head of the party's "Muscovite wing," moved against the party's "national wing," arrested its members and executed its leader, Laszlo Rajk, who was Kadar's mentor. Kadar managed to avoid the first round of arrests by persuading Rajk to confess to "Titoism," but in 1951 he was also taken into custody, tried and found guilty of treason, Titoism and spying.

Kadar was sentenced to four years' imprisonment in Hungarian labor camps. Because he repeatedly attempted to escape, Kadar was moved from camp to camp, tortured and beaten. His fingernails were torn out and never regrew. It was rumored that he was also castrated. After two and a half years, Kadar was released following the death of Stalin and resumed his career within the party, but at a much lower level.

He eventually worked his way back to a high party position, and emerged as the Soviet-sponsored leader of the government after the crushing of the Hungarian revolution by Soviet troops in 1956. He retained power for more than three decades, and presided over major political and especially economic reforms.

(For further details, see under HUNGARY.)

For Further Information:

Brzezinski, Z.K. *The Soviet Bloc: Unity and Conflict*. Cambridge, Mass., 1960.

Kovrig, Bennet. *Communism in Hungary from Kun to Kadar*. Stanford, Calif., 1979.

Vali, Ferenc. *A Rift and Revolt in Hungary; Nationalism vs. Communism*. Cambridge, Mass., 1961.

Zinner, Paul. *Revolution in Hungary*. New York, 1962.

Kahn, Herman See HUDSON INSTITUTE.

Kampelman, Max (November 7, 1920–) Max Kampelman is a U.S. diplomat who has been heavily involved in East-West relations and disarmament negotiations since the end of the Carter administration.

Kampelman worked his way through New York University and was a conscientious objector during World War II. He received his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in political studies from the University of Minnesota, where he met future senator and vice president HUBERT HUMPHREY and future ambassador to the United Nations JEANE KIRKPATRICK.

When Humphrey was elected to the Senate in 1948, he asked Kampelman to join his staff as a legislative counsel. Kampelman had by this time established a reputation as a liberal Democrat but with a strong anti-communist flavor. In 1954, he alienated many of his liberal friends by helping to secure passage of the Communist Control Act, which deprived the American Communist Party of "rights, privileges and immunities attendant upon legal bodies" but stopped short of making party membership a crime.

In 1955 Kampelman left Humphrey's staff to become a partner in the Washington office of the New York-based law firm of Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver and Kampelman. But he remained active in national Democratic Party politics and helped Humphrey to secure the 1968 Democratic Party presi-

dential nomination. He again supported Humphrey's campaign for the Democratic nomination in 1972.

In 1976 Kampelman joined a bipartisan but right-wing anti-Soviet group called the Committee on the Present Danger. The group, whose membership included RONALD REAGAN and Jeane Kirkpatrick, demanded increased defense spending and a harder line in relations with the Soviet Union. Kampelman, however, remained more liberal on domestic issues and was thus acceptable to both Democrats and Republicans when President JIMMY CARTER appointed him U.S. ambassador and chairman of the American delegation to the CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE (CSCE) in 1980. He was quickly reconfirmed in office in 1981 by the incoming President Reagan.

The CSCE process was in the midst of its first review conference, which was being held in Madrid. When Kampelman arrived in December there were signs of an imminent Soviet invasion of Poland. Kampelman set the tone for the Reagan administration's tough negotiating stance throughout the conference when in his first speech he warned that if Soviet forces moved in violation of the HELSINKI ACCORDS, "East-West relations as we know them could not continue." Kampelman was a key figure at the review conference for the next two and a half years and helped to draft the final statement, which recognized the right of workers to form free trade unions and set future meetings to discuss human rights and arms limitations.

After the Madrid conference, Kampelman was retained as a State Department consultant and in June 1984 headed an American delegation to observe presidential elections in El Salvador. In January 1985, Kampelman was appointed head of the U.S. negotiating team to the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) in Geneva. The Soviets refused to negotiate strategic systems until the U.S. agreed to include President Reagan's proposed STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE ("Star Wars") program in the negotiations. Kampelman urged Reagan to press deployment of the MX MISSILE system in order to increase his negotiating leverage.

The negotiations continued to be deadlocked until the Reykjavik Summit between Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and Reagan helped to improve the atmosphere. In October 1986 Kampelman announced that the United States was prepared to eliminate intermediate-range nuclear forces in Europe and reduce them in Asia and would consider the elimination of all ballistic missiles.

The negotiations then moved quickly toward a treaty on intermediate-range systems, with a great deal of the negotiations being handled by Secretary of State GEORGE SHULTZ and his Soviet counterpart EDUARD SHEVARDNADZE. Kampelman, however, remained an active participant. The INTERMEDIATE-RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES (INF) TREATY eliminating intermediate-range nuclear missiles from Europe was signed by Reagan and Gorbachev in Washington, D.C., on December 8, 1987.

After the signing of the treaty, Kampelman remained in

Washington to help the Reagan administration secure congressional ratification, and in June 1988 he was sent to Central America to assess the situation after the collapse of Nicaraguan peace talks.

Katyn Massacre The massacres at Katyn Forest near Smolensk and at several other sites in the Soviet Union of more than 14,000 Polish officers and over 7,000 landowners, border police and municipal officials in the early days of World War II severely strained wartime relations between the Soviet Union and the Polish government-in-exile in London. In the postwar years, the memory of the Polish officers was invoked by Polish dissidents to engender mistrust and hatred of the Soviet Union.

On April 7, 1943, General Wladyslaw Sikorski, leader of the London Poles, told WINSTON CHURCHILL that he had proof that the Soviet Red Army had murdered 15,000 Polish officers. Six days later, on April 13, the Germans, who had invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941, broadcast that they had found a mass grave of 14,500 Polish officers in the Katyn Forest. It appeared from the officers' notebooks that they had been killed in April 1940, some months after the Soviet Union, then acting in concert with Germany, had occupied eastern Poland.

The Germans immediately accused the Soviets and proposed an international inquiry. Sikorski asked the International Red Cross to send a delegation to Poland to investigate. He also asked the Soviet government for its "observations." The Soviets claimed that the bodies were those of Polish prisoners of war who had been engaged in construction work and executed by the Germans. The Soviets went on to claim that the timing of the Polish and German announcements indicated Polish collusion with the Nazis, and Stalin broke off diplomatic relations with the London Poles on April 26, 1943. The break in diplomatic relations later gave Stalin an excuse to recognize a communist Polish government in exile led by BOLESLAW BIERUT.

In 1988 Soviet leader MIKHAIL GORBACHEV admitted that his government had "made mistakes" in its past relations with Poland and shortly afterward announced that a joint Polish-Soviet commission of historians would investigate the circumstances surrounding the Katyn Massacre. The investigation came to be regarded in Poland as a test of Gorbachev's stated policy of *glasnost* (openness) and his professed desire to rebuild Soviet-Polish relations on a new basis. In May 1990, while Polish president WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI was visiting the Soviet Union, it was announced by the Soviet authorities that new evidence had come to light that proved that the Soviet Union had been responsible for the Katyn Massacre. Gorbachev officially apologized to Jaruzelski. Later, President Boris Yeltsin of Russia turned over to President Lech Walesa of Poland a document, which he said that Gorbachev had concealed, that appeared to be a copy of the actual execution order signed by Stalin.

DRAFT FOR INCLUSION IN MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: 1998 AWARD OF THE PRESIDENTIAL MEDAL OF FREEDOM
- Max Kampelman

Diplomacy

Ambassador Max Kampelman, 78

A noted lawyer, educator, and social issues activist, Kampelman is an exemplar of the American diplomat. Some of the major causes he has worked for over his lengthy and broad career include anti-communism, human rights, trade union freedoms, and religious liberties. Kampelman was unusual from his early years as a Jewish conscientious objector to World War II, though he later renounced his pacifism and served seven years as a reservist in the Marine Corps. He was a legislative aide to Senator Hubert Humphrey and continued as confidante to Humphrey during his time as Vice-President and Presidential Candidate. In 1980, Kampelman was appointed by President Carter to lead the U.S. delegation to the Madrid review meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. President Reagan retained him in that post and Kampelman was key in shifting the dialogue from a Soviet-dominated agenda to one that integrated human rights as a central issue. In 1985, Reagan appointed him to head a U.S. negotiating team to a Geneva conference on nuclear and space arms. He also served at diplomatic posts under Presidents Johnson and Bush and was active in the Democratic Party. Kampelman's non-governmental work has included private practice at the law firm of Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson, counsel to workers' unions, and teaching. In 1989, President Reagan awarded him with the Presidential Citizens Medal. Since then, he has continued residence and private law practice in Washington, serving on a number of corporate and non-profit boards, and writing and lecturing frequently.

mls

Staff, the White House. Previously he was Assistant Secretary of the Navy (Manpower and Reserve Affairs) from October 1981 until February 1983. He also served as Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of Presidential Personnel from January 1981 until September 1981.

Mr. Herrington graduated from Stanford University (A.B., 1961) and the University of California, Hastings College of Law (LL.B., J.D., 1964). Mr. Herrington is married, has two children, and resides in McLean, VA. He was born in Los Angeles on May 31, 1939.

Nomination of William J. Bennett To Be Secretary of Education January 10, 1985

The President today announced his intention to nominate William J. Bennett to be Secretary of Education. He would succeed Terrel H. Bell.

Since November of 1981, Dr. Bennett has been serving as Chairman of the National Endowment of the Humanities. Prior to this he was president and director of the Na-

tional Humanities Center, Research Triangle Park, North Carolina. He graduated from Williams College, Williamstown, MA (B.A., 1965), the University of Texas, Austin, TX (Ph.D., 1967), and Harvard Law School (J.D., 1971). He resides in Chapel Hill, NC, and was born July 31, 1943.

Nomination of Richard G. Darman To Be Deputy Secretary of the Treasury January 10, 1985

The President today announced his intention to nominate Richard G. Darman to be the Deputy Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. Darman now serves as Assistant to the President and Deputy to the Chief of Staff, a position he has held since 1981. Prior to joining the White House staff, Mr. Darman was a member of the faculty of Harvard's Graduate School of Government and a partner in ICF Inc., a management and economic consulting company. He served previously in government from 1970

to 1977, in policy positions in five Cabinet Departments (HEW, Defense, Justice, Commerce, and State). His prior service included service as Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Policy, a position for which he was nominated by President Ford and confirmed by the Senate.

Mr. Darman, 41, is an honors graduate of Harvard College and Harvard Business School. He is married to Kathleen Emmet (Darman), Ph.D. They have two sons and reside in Virginia.

Appointment of Four Members of the National Advisory Council on Continuing Education January 10, 1985

The President today announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the National Advisory Council on Continuing Education for terms expiring September 30, 1987. These are reappointments.

Mary Fenske Buestrin is active in Republican Party politics in Ozaukee County, WI. She graduated from Valparaiso University (B.A., 1960). She is married, has two children, and resides in Mequon, WI. She was born August 9, 1939, in Oak Park, IL.

Sylvia Bernstein Hermann is chairman of the committee for public service and community involvement, Montgomery County Federation of Republican Women. She has two children and resides in Bethesda, MD. She was born

March 2, 1914, in Newark, NJ.

Bonnie Blackman McClure is a member of the board of Los Angeles Orphanage Guild Juniors-Volunteer support group. She is also an active fundraiser, volunteer, and member of the board of directors for the Children's Hospital of Los Angeles. She is married, has one child, and resides in Beverly Hills, CA. She was born April 17, 1939, in Los Angeles, CA.

Hilary Paterson Cleveland is a professor of history and political science at Colby-Sawyer College in New London, NH. She graduated from Vassar College (B.A., 1948) and the Institute of International Relations in Geneva, Switzerland (M.A., 1950). She is married, has five children, and resides in New London, NH. She was born December 7, 1927, in Orange, NJ.

Appointment of Two Members of the Board of Trustees of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars January 10, 1985

The President today announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the Board of Trustees of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in the Smithsonian Institution for terms expiring October 23, 1990:

Max M. Kampelman is a reappointment. Since 1955 he has been an attorney with the law firm of Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Kampelman in Washington, DC. He graduated from New York University (A.B., 1950), New York University School of Law (J.D., 1945), and the University of Minnesota (M.A., 1946; Ph.D.,

1951). He is married, has five children, and resides in Washington, DC. He was born November 7, 1920, in New York, NY.

Gertrude Himmelfarb will succeed Anne Firor Scott. She has been a distinguished professor of history at the Graduate School of City University in New York, NY, since 1965. She graduated from Brooklyn College (B.A., 1942), the University of Chicago (M.A., 1944; Ph.D., 1950), Rhode Island College (L.H.D., 1976), and Smith College (Litt.D., 1977). She is married, has two children, and resides in New York, NY. She was born August 8, 1922, in New York, NY.

CLIENT: WHO
LIBRARY: NEWS
FILE: NYT,WPOST,ECON

YOUR SEARCH REQUEST AT THE TIME THIS MAIL-IT WAS REQUESTED:
MAX PRE/2 KAMPELMAN
AND ATLEAST5 (KAMPELMAN)

NUMBER OF STORIES FOUND WITH YOUR REQUEST THROUGH:
LEVEL 1... 591 LEVEL 2... 64

LEVEL 2 PRINTED

DISPLAY FORMAT: CITE

SEND TO: KAUFMANN, KAREN
OFFICE OF ADMINISTRATION LRSD
725 17TH ST NW RM G-07
WASHINGTON DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA 20503

*****09178*****



LEXIS·NEXIS
A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group



LEXIS·NEXIS
A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group



LEXIS·NEXIS
A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group

LEVEL 2 - 64 STORIES

1. The Washington Post, December 29, 1991, Sunday, Final Edition, BOOK WORLD; PAGE X3, 810 words, Of Arms Control and the Man, Robert L. Beisner
2. The New York Times, November 10, 1991, Sunday, Late Edition - Final, Max M. Kampelman, Section 7; Page 27; Column 2; Book Review Desk, 1151 words, A Cold War Paleoliberal, By George H. Nash; George H. Nash is the author of "The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America Since 1945" and two volumes of a biography in progress of Herbert Hoover.
3. The Washington Post, June 11, 1988, Saturday, Final Edition, FIRST SECTION; PAGE A20, 614 words, Reagan Blames Sandinistas For Collapse of Peace Talks; Kampelman Being Sent to Central America, Bill McAllister, Washington Post Staff Writer, NATIONAL NEWS, FOREIGN NEWS
4. The Washington Post, May 21, 1988, Saturday, Final Edition, FIRST SECTION; PAGE A21, 883 words, Progress Possible at Summit On Strategic Arms Accord; Completion Sought Before Reagan Retires, Don Oberdorfer, Lou Cannon, Washington Post Staff Writers, NATIONAL NEWS, FOREIGN NEWS
5. The Washington Post, January 27, 1988, Wednesday, Final Edition, FIRST SECTION; PAGE A6, 1131 words, Arms Negotiators Warn Senate on Tying INF Pact to Broader Issues, Helen Dewar, Washington Post Staff Writer, NATIONAL NEWS, FOREIGN NEWS
6. The Washington Post, December 1, 1987, Tuesday, Final Edition, FIRST SECTION; PAGE A1, 1365 words, U.S. to Prod Soviets on Afghanistan, Lou Cannon, Don Oberdorfer, Washington Post Staff Writers, NATIONAL NEWS, FOREIGN NEWS
7. The Washington Post, December 1, 1987, Tuesday, Final Edition, FIRST SECTION; PAGE A17, 487 words, Details on Soviet Missiles Still Awaited, U.S. Says, R. Jeffrey Smith, Washington Post Staff Writer, NATIONAL NEWS, FOREIGN NEWS
8. The Washington Post, September 12, 1987, Saturday, Final Edition, FIRST SECTION; PAGE A13, 726 words, Shevardnadze Visit Awaited Hopefully; Administration Asserts Readiness to Conclude Euromissiles Pact, Don Oberdorfer, Washington Post Staff Writer, NATIONAL NEWS
9. The Washington Post, August 8, 1987, Saturday, Final Edition, FIRST SECTION; PAGE A10, 721 words, Geneva Negotiators To Intensify Talks; 'Nuances' Point to Resolution, Soviet Says, Robert J. McCartney, Washington Post Foreign Service, GENEVA, Aug. 7, NATIONAL NEWS, FOREIGN NEWS
10. The New York Times, August 6, 1987, Thursday, Late City Final Edition, Section A; Page 7, Column 1; Foreign Desk, 550 words, U.S. ARMS EXPERT LEAVES FOR GENEVA, By MICHAEL R. GORDON, Special to the New York Times, WASHINGTON, Aug. 5
11. The New York Times, August 3, 1987, Monday, Late City Final Edition Correction Appended, Section A; Page 1, Column 3; Foreign Desk, 825 words, Moscow to Consider Compromise In Dispute With Bonn on Missiles, By MICHAEL R. GORDON, Special to the New York Times, WASHINGTON, Aug. 2
12. The Washington Post, August 3, 1987, Monday, Final Edition, FIRST SECTION; PAGE A16, 429 words, Arms Negotiator Suggests Way Around Impasse, David S.



LEXIS·NEXIS™

A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group



LEXIS·NEXIS™

A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group



LEXIS·NEXIS™

A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group

Hilzenrath, R. Jeffrey Smith, Washington Post Staff Writers, NATIONAL NEWS, FOREIGN NEWS

13. The New York Times, March 16, 1987, Monday, Late City Final Edition, Section B; Page 6, Column 2; National Desk, 131 words, WASHINGTON TALK: BRIEFING; KAMPELMAN IN IZVESTIA

14. The Washington Post, March 15, 1987, Sunday, Final Edition, FIRST SECTION; PAGE A28, 1349 words, Geneva Team, Legislators Strike a Deal; Reagan Administration Reluctance to Negotiate on SDI Issues Increases Frustrations, R. Jeffrey Smith, Washington Post Staff Writer, FOREIGN NEWS

15. The New York Times, January 16, 1987, Friday, Late City Final Edition, Section A; Page 3, Column 1; Foreign Desk, 586 words, NEW ARMS SESSION BEGINS IN GENEVA, By THOMAS W. NETTER, Special to the New York Times, GENEVA, Jan. 15

16. The Washington Post, January 14, 1987, Wednesday, Final Edition, FIRST SECTION; PAGE A17, 1185 words, Karpov Says He Expects No Progress at Geneva, Gary Lee, Washington Post Foreign Service, MOSCOW, Jan. 13, 1987, FOREIGN NEWS

17. The New York Times, January 13, 1987, Tuesday, Late City Final Edition, Section A; Page 10, Column 1; Foreign Desk, 527 words, REAGAN GIVES KAMPELMAN ADDED STATE DEPT. POST, Special to the New York Times, WASHINGTON, Jan. 12

18. The Washington Post, January 13, 1987, Tuesday, Final Edition, FIRST SECTION; PAGE A4, 352 words, Arms Negotiator Gets 2nd Job; Kampelman Is Named State Dept. Counselor, R. Jeffrey Smith, Washington Post Staff Writer, NATIONAL NEWS

19. The New York Times, November 13, 1986, Thursday, Late City Final Edition, Section A; Page 7, Column 1; Foreign Desk, 612 words, PARLEY IN GENEVA ON ARMS ADJOURNS, By THOMAS W. NETTER, Special to the New York Times, GENEVA, Nov. 12

20. The Washington Post, November 13, 1986, Thursday, Final Edition, FIRST SECTION; PAGE A23, 1025 words, 'Productive' Geneva Arms Talks Adourn Until January; U.S. Cites Progress but Criticizes Soviets for Linking Other Issues to 'Star Wars', Robert J. McCartney, Washington Post Foreign Service, GENEVA, Nov. 12, 1986, FOREIGN NEWS

21. The New York Times, October 20, 1986, Monday, Late City Final Edition, Section A; Page 1, Column 5; Foreign Desk, 1048 words, U.S. AIDES SEE PUSH FOR 2 PACTS WITH RUSSIANS, By BERNARD GWERTZMAN, Special to the New York Times, WASHINGTON, Oct. 19

22. The New York Times, October 16, 1986, Thursday, Late City Final Edition, Section A; Page 11, Column 2; Foreign Desk, 702 words, AMERICANS HOPEFUL AS GENEVA TALKS RESUME, By THOMAS W. NETTER, Special to the New York Times, GENEVA, Oct. 15

23. The Washington Post, October 16, 1986, Thursday, Final Edition, FIRST SECTION; PAGE A31, 408 words, U.S., Soviets in Geneva To Build on Reykavik, Robert J. McCartney, Washington Post Foreign Service, GENEVA, Oct. 15, 1986, FOREIGN NEWS, NATIONAL NEWS



LEXIS·NEXIS[™]

A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group



LEXIS·NEXIS[™]

A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group



LEXIS·NEXIS[™]

A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group

24. The Washington Post, July 17, 1986, Thursday, Final Edition, Style; B2, 659 words, Airing Kudos for Max Kampelman; WETA, Toasting the Arms Negotiator and Celebrating Its 25th Anniversary, By Ann L. Trebbe, Washington Post Staff Writer
25. The New York Times, July 14, 1986, Monday, Late City Final Edition, Section A; Page 12, Column 1; National Desk, 128 words, BRIEFING; Kampelman in Review, By Wayne King and Warren Weaver Jr.
26. The New York Times, June 5, 1986, Thursday, Late City Final Edition, Section A; Page 6, Column 1; Foreign Desk, 920 words, AT THE ARMS TALKS, NO RIPPLES YET FROM REAGAN'S WORDS, By RICHARD BERNSTEIN, Special to the New York Times, GENEVA, June 4
27. The Washington Post, October 21, 1985, Monday, Final Edition Correction Appended, First Section; A1, 1479 words, Human Side of Geneva Talks; Soviets Linger at Party; A Watch on Karpov, By Walter Pincus, Washington Post Staff Writer, GENEVA
28. The New York Times, October 9, 1985, Wednesday, Late City Final Edition, Section A; Page 6, Column 1; Foreign Desk, 621 words, U.S. 'PATIENT AND STUBBORN' IN GENEVA, AIDE SAYS, By THOMAS W. NETTER, Special to the New York Times, GENEVA, Oct. 8
29. The Washington Post, October 2, 1985, Wednesday, Final Edition, First Section; A18, 1089 words, U.S. Arms Envoy 'Hopeful' After Soviet Proposals; Moscow's Karpov Says He Seeks Negotiating Progress to Insure Successful Summit, By Walter Pincus, Washington Post Staff Writer, GENEVA, Oct. 1, 1985
30. The New York Times, March 26, 1985, Tuesday, Late City Final Edition, Section A; Page 16, Column 3; National Desk, 900 words, STRUGGLE WAGED FOR DECISIVE MX VOTES IN HOUSE, By STEVEN V. ROBERTS, WASHINGTON, March 25
31. The Washington Post, March 26, 1985, Tuesday, Final Edition, First Section; A1, 1104 words, Presidential Blitz Seeks MX Funds; U.S. Arms Negotiator Brought In on Eve Of House Vote Today, By Margaret Shapiro and David Hoffman, Washington Post Staff Writers
32. The Washington Post, March 23, 1985, Saturday, Final Edition, First Section; A1, 785 words, Arms Envoy Is Called Home To Boost MX, By Walter Pincus, Washington Post Staff Writer; Staff writer David B. Ottaway and Margaret Shapiro contributed to this report.
33. The Washington Post, March 19, 1985, Tuesday, Final Edition, First Section; World News; A14, 1318 words, Senators Take Part At Geneva; Key Role Seen For Observer Panel, By William Drozdiak, Washington Post Foreign Service, GENEVA
34. The New York Times, March 13, 1985, Wednesday, Late City Final Edition, Section A; Page 10, Column 1; Foreign Desk, 884 words, NEW U.S.-SOVIET ARMS PARLEY OPENS, By BILL KELLER, GENEVA, March 12
35. The Washington Post, March 13, 1985, Wednesday, Final Edition, First Section; A1, 952 words, U.S.-Soviet Arms Talks Begin; Gorbachev Said Involved In Preparations for Geneva, By William Drozdiak, Washington Post Foreign Service,

**LEXIS·NEXIS**

A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group

**LEXIS·NEXIS**

A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group

**LEXIS·NEXIS**

A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group

GENEVA, March 12, 1985

36. The New York Times, March 10, 1985, Sunday, Late City Final Edition, Section 1; Part 1; Page 1, Column 6; Foreign Desk, 964 words, U.S. ARMS OFFICIAL, IN GENEVA, VOICES HOPE ON THE TALKS, By BILL KELLER, Special to the New York Times, GENEVA, March 9

37. The New York Times, February 27, 1985, Wednesday, Late City Final Edition, Section A; Page 3, Column 1; Foreign Desk, 631 words, ARMS NEGOTIATOR URGES PERSISTENCE, WASHINGTON, Feb. 26

38. The New York Times, January 24, 1985, Thursday, Late City Final Edition Correction Appended, Section A; Page 22, Column 3; National Desk, 995 words, ARMS TALK TEAM GIVES MESSAGE WITHOUT WORDS, By LESLIE H. GELB, WASHINGTON, Jan. 23

39. The Washington Post, January 23, 1985, Wednesday, Final Edition, Style; D1 2566 words, The Evolution Of Max Kampelman; Reagan's New Chief Of the Arms Talks: Defying Labels but Remaining a Democrat, By David Remnick, Washington Post Staff Writer

40. The New York Times, January 20, 1985, Sunday, Late City Final Edition, Section 1; Part 1; Page 1, Column 6; Foreign Desk, 968 words, REAGAN TO DISCUSS POSITIONS ON ARMS WITH NEGOTIATORS, By BERNARD GWERTZMAN, WASHINGTON, Jan. 19

41. The New York Times, January 20, 1985, Sunday, Late City Final Edition, Section 1; Part 1; Page 12, Column 3; Foreign Desk, 821 words, MAN IN THE NEWS; SKEPTICAL OPTIMIST FOR TALKS: MAX M. KAMPELMAN, By FRANCIS X. CLINES, WASHINGTON, Jan. 19

42. The New York Times, January 19, 1985, Saturday, Late City Final Edition, Section 1; Page 1, Column 2; Foreign Desk, 907 words, REAGAN NAMES THREE DELEGATES TO ARMS TALKS, By BERNARD GWERTZMAN, Special to the New York Times, WASHINGTON, Jan. 18

43. The Washington Post, January 19, 1985, Saturday, Final Edition, First Section; A1, 1066 words, Arms Talk Negotiators Are Named; President Selects Kampelman, Tower, Career Diplomat, By Don Oberdorfer, Washington Post Staff Writer

44. The Washington Post, January 19, 1985, Saturday, Final Edition, First Section; A9, 550 words, Kampelman Is Tough Negotiator; Democrat a Friend Of Many in GOP, By Mary Thornton, Washington Post Staff Writer

45. The Washington Post, January 4, 1985, Friday, Final Edition, First Section; A9, 748 words, Walters, Kampelman Eyed for U.N. Post; Reagan's Decision on Kirkpatrick's Successor Expected in February or March, By John M. Goshko, Washington Post Staff Writer

46. The Washington Post, August 21, 1983, Sunday, Final Edition, Outlook; Op-Ed; C7, 881 words, Helsinki Charade, George F. Will

47. The New York Times, July 19, 1983, Tuesday, Late City Final Edition, Section A; Page 3, Column 4; Foreign Desk, 688 words, U.S. AND SOVIET OFFICIALS SPAR IN MADRID, By JOHN DARNTON, Special to the New York Times, MADRID, July



LEXIS·NEXIS®

Ⓜ A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group



LEXIS·NEXIS®

Ⓜ A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group



LEXIS·NEXIS®

Ⓜ A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group

18

48. The Washington Post, July 19, 1983, Tuesday, Final Edition, First Section; A9, 756 words, U.S. Envoy at Madrid Assails East Bloc on Human Rights, By Tom Burns, Special to The Washington Post, MADRID, July 18, 1983
49. The New York Times, July 17, 1983, Sunday, Late City Final Edition, Section 1; Part 1; Page 1, Column 6; Foreign Desk, 1371 words, MOSCOW APPROVES EMIGRATION VISAS FOR PENTECOSTALS; Excerpts of U.S. statement, page 14., By BERNARD GWERTZMAN, Special to the New York Times, WASHINGTON, July 16
50. The Washington Post, July 16, 1983, Saturday, Final Edition, First Section; A18, 804 words, Madrid Conferees Clear Way For Signing of Helsinki Review, By Tom Burns, Special to The Washington Post, MADRID, July 15, 1983
51. The New York Times, July 14, 1983, Thursday, Late City Final Edition, Section A; Page 1, Column 3; Foreign Desk, 963 words, SOVIET PROMISES U.S. IT WILL FREE SOME DISSIDENTS BY END OF 1983, By BERNARD GWERTZMAN, Special to the New York Times, WASHINGTON, July 13
52. The New York Times, July 12, 1983, Tuesday, Late City Final Edition, Section A; Page 1, Column 3; Foreign Desk, 886 words, SHULTZ SUPPORTING COMPROMISE TERMS AT EAST-WEST TALK, By BERNARD GWERTZMAN, Special to the New York Times, WASHINGTON, July 11
53. The Washington Post, March 9, 1983, Wednesday, Final Edition, First Section; A19, 593 words, U.S. Envoy to Madrid Meeting Lists East Bloc Rights Abuses, By Tom Burns, Special to The Washington Post, MADRID, March 8, 1983
54. The Washington Post, March 2, 1983, Wednesday, Final Edition, Style; B1, 802 words, Disarming Tales; Adelman and Kampelman Trade Kudos, By Carla Hall
55. The New York Times, March 13, 1982, Saturday, Late City Final Edition, Section 1; Page 3, Column 1; Foreign Desk, 752 words, TALKS ON SECURITY ADJOURN IN MADRID, By JAMES M. MARKHAM, MADRID, March 12
56. The New York Times, February 14, 1982, Sunday, Late City Final Edition, Page 5, Column 1; Week in Review Desk, 2038 words, THE POLISH CRISIS COULD BE A WATERSHED FOR THE WEST AS WELL AS FOR THE EAST
57. The Washington Post, February 12, 1982, Friday, Final Edition, First Section; Op-Ed; A23, 727 words, Making Points in Madrid, Philip Geyelin
58. The New York Times, April 11, 1981, Saturday, Late City Final Edition, Section 1; Page 7, Column 1; Foreign Desk, 633 words, U.S., AT MADRID PARLEY, DEMANDS STRONG RIGHTS STAND, By JAMES M. MARKHAM, Special to the New York Times, MADRID, April 10
59. The Washington Post, March 3, 1981, Tuesday, Final Edition, Style; D2, 617 words, Cosmos Grilling, By Mary Battiatia
60. The New York Times, November 18, 1980, Tuesday, Late City Final Edition, Section A; Page 1, Column 1; Foreign Desk, 990 words, U.S. WARNS MOSCOW AT EAST-WEST TALKS OF 'CONFRONTATION', By JAMES M. MARKHAM, Special to the New York Times, MADRID, Nov. 17

**LEXIS·NEXIS**

A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group

**LEXIS·NEXIS**

A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group

**LEXIS·NEXIS**

A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group

61. The Washington Post, November 15, 1980, Saturday, Final Edition, First Section; A1, 1008 words, Moscow Compromises On Continuation of Madrid Conference; Moscow Accepts Compromise on Agenda for Madrid Conference, By Ronald Koven, Washington Post Foreign Service, MADRID, Nov. 14, 1980
62. The Washington Post, October 16, 1980, Thursday, Final Edition, First Section; World News; A24, 661 words, East, West at Impasse Over Helsinki Review, By Tom Burns, Special to The Washington Post, MADRID, Oct. 15, 1980
63. The Washington Post, March 27, 1978, Monday, Final Edition, First Section; Op-Ed; A25, 1151 words, Humphrey's Final Plea to Israel, Don Oberdorfer; The writer is a member of The Post's national staff.
64. The Washington Post, April 17, 1977, Sunday, Final Edition, Living in Style; Form and Function; M1, 1160 words, A-Lot-of-House: Tours to Tempt the Imagination; A Lot of House, By Sarah Booth Conroy

**LEXIS·NEXIS**

A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group

**LEXIS·NEXIS**

A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group

**LEXIS·NEXIS**

A member of the Reed Elsevier plc group