



Max M. Kampelman Papers

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AS READ

REMARKS

BY

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

AT THE

HEBREW IMMIGRANT AID SOCIETY AWARDS DINNER

Waldorf-Astoria Hotel
New York, New York

September 4, 1985

Thank you very much. I shall cherish your award. Let me explain. I was born and grew up in New York. My parents and two of my grandparents immigrated to the United States from Romania, the area of Bukovina. I recall that my parents belonged to the Independent Bukoviner Young Men's and Young Ladies' Benevolent Society, an organization formed to assist other immigrants and, at the same time, develop among these immigrants a sense of community in their new home. You can, therefore, understand why the word "HIAS" represented nobility and respect in our home. The Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society was the symbol of Jewish compassion, responsibility, and strength. That is why I will cherish your award.

In receiving your award, however, I must remind you of some wisdom from our sages. It is said that when God examines us, he looks not for medals and plaques, he looks rather for scars. Let us never forget that the true measure of worth in the judgment of history is the scars we have earned in the struggle for human dignity. I am aware that my deep scars are yet to come.

The ancient Hebrew tribes made their historic contribution to civilization by proclaiming to their neighbors that there was only one God. The immense significance of that insight was in the concept that if there is only one God, then all of us are His children and thus brothers and sisters to one another. It is important for us to note that the Hebrews might not even be remembered today, except as a learned footnote in the history of the Near East, had this new and astute insight not influenced new religious groupings.

The Talmud asks: "Why did God create only one man?" In order that all men would have the same ancestor, and no man could claim superiority over another, was the response. The religious principle of human brotherhood has had inevitable social and political implications. Democracy became the

political expression of that religious ethic. The notion that human beings are the children of God and that they thus have the potential for developing that which is God-like within them is clearly anathema to any political system which does not respect the dignity of the human being.

HIAS and its deeds are rooted in this tradition.

You will, I know, appreciate my inability to discuss with you the details of my current public assignment, that of negotiating with the Soviet Union the feasibility of effecting drastic reductions in nuclear arms, exploring whether effective strategic defenses can lead to a more stable world, and, in time, the eventual elimination of all nuclear weapons. My theme tonight is consistent with my new responsibilities and, I believe, more fundamental in the search for world peace and understanding.

These are dangerous times. Our country and those of us who hold dear human values will require inner strength, understanding and faith to fulfill the demands upon us in the years ahead as we search for our goal of peace with dignity. That search for peace with dignity requires an acceptance of reality; and that is not easy.

We seek agreement, genuine serious agreement, with the Soviet Union, a militarily powerful adversary, a super-power with the military strength to inflict on us and the world serious damage. But the record is clear that Soviet authorities, regrettably, do not consider themselves bound by written agreements. They look to a higher loyalty. The evidence from the Madrid meetings, where I had the honor to head the American Delegation, overwhelmingly demonstrates Soviet defiance of the Helsinki Final Act, even though that agreement was solemnly signed by Mr. Brezhnev in 1975 as the head of his government.

We cannot ignore the continued presence of 120,000 invading Soviet troops in Afghanistan; the painful Soviet abuse of psychiatry for political punishment; the rampant and government-sponsored Soviet anti-Semitism; the severe curtailment of immigration; the persecution of religious believers who do not recognize the supremacy of the Soviet state over their devout convictions; the dehumanization in the Gulag slave labor camps -- all these and much more in violation of an international agreement signed by 35 sovereign states. We must face this reality because there can be no international order and stability if any country reserves the right to decide which of the agreements they sign they are prepared to respect.

Pravda (September 26, 1968), shortly after the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, justified this behavior by explaining that "Laws and the norms of law are subordinated to the laws of the class struggle and the laws of social development . . . The class approach to the matter cannot be discarded in the name of legalistic considerations."

We, therefore, must today ask: Is the Soviet leadership still committed to an ideology which considers totalitarian principles to be superior to international law by in effect according to the Soviet Union absolute rights but no obligations to respect the rights of others? If so -- and strong evidence regrettably remains to support that concern -- does this lawlessness not represent a direct threat to world peace?

This is not an easy exercise for many of us. We yearn for peace and we understand that in this nuclear age there can be no rational alternative to peace with dignity through an evolving international law. For some, this yearning brings with it a reluctance to accept unpleasant facts which make the attainment of that goal more difficult. In turn, this makes easier a developing pacifist sentiment, which would immobilize the democratic alternative to Soviet

totalitarianism. French President Mitterand had this phenomenon in mind with his sardonic comment that the Soviet Union produces weapons while the West produces pacifists. The Soviets use nuclear weapons for political as well as military purposes.

We know that the peoples of the Soviet Union desire peace just as much as we do. But there is the equal reality that it is the Communist Party elite which we face and not the peoples of the Soviet Union, whom that elite rules over without the legitimacy of consent. This elite identifies itself as Leninist; and here we must face again what may be the focus of our problem as we recall how Lenin described the essence of his philosophy (The Proletarian Revolution):

"The revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat is rule won and maintained by the use of violence by the proletariat . . . rule that is unrestricted by any laws."

This violence, says Lenin, is not only to be used against the "bourgeoise," but also against the "centrists" and the "defenders of democracy" whom he accused of "collaboration" with the "bourgeoise." We, therefore, must ask: Is the Soviet Leninist leadership still committed to an ideology, even in this nuclear age, in which violence plays a central role? Do we not have every reason to believe so?

Let us not be mistaken into believing that our differences with the Soviet Union are based on mutual misunderstandings. This is a misleading and patronizing over-simplification. Soviet leaders are not crude peasants who need some reassurance about how well-intentioned we are. Our problems are too profound to be thought of as being resolved by quick fixes, super negotiators, a summit, or a master-draftsman capable of devising language to overcome differences.

The ancient Hebrew sages told us that there is in each one of us that in the heart and soul which is good and noble and Godlike; and that there is also in each one of us that which is baser, bad -- "yaitzer hatov" and "yaitzer hara." The great Protestant theologian, Reinhold Niebuhr, called it "Children of Light and Children of Darkness." Freud and modern psychology built on this truth. This dichotomy is not only a part of the human being, it is also a part of the societies which the human being creates. Democracy is the political expression of the "yaitzer hatov" within us. It is based on the religious notion of human brotherhood. Totalitarianism is an expression of the destructive drive, the "yaitzer hara" in us. The responsibility of those who would contribute to the onward evolutionary development of

the human being, the essence of our religious faith, is to defend and extend that which is Godlike in us as we strive to overwhelm those primitive and negative instincts that are within us as well.

Our task, therefore, is patiently and steadfastly to assert our values and act in accordance with them. We must work for peace and the reduction of arms at the same time as we maintain and modernize our own military forces until such time as we can arrive at a mutually agreeable and verifiable agreement.

We must continually try to make the Soviet authorities understand that they must reject the notion of inevitable violence and live up to international agreements if they are to be considered a credible and respected member of the international community. Soviet military strength and aggression, coupled with totalitarian repression exercised through a massive state police, may produce fear on the part of many, but it will not produce the respect sought by Soviet authorities and worthy of the Russian peoples and their history.

Out of all this may come a realization on the part of an evolving Soviet leadership that a humanizing and civilizing process is indispensable for its own stability. In our favor is the fact that the Soviet Union faces major difficulty in its effort to stop the intrusion of deep faith and new ideas into its closed society. Their rigidly bureaucratic administrative system, obvious industrial stagnation, and agricultural inefficiencies are no match for the evolving humanism which is a part of Western civilization and a major contributor to our industrial, agricultural, and cultural productivity. There are no walls high enough to keep out the winds of change carrying ideas and encouragement for human dignity from other parts of the world.

We hope the time will soon come when Soviet authorities comprehend that repressive societies in our day cannot achieve inner stability or true security. We hope they will come to understand the need to show the rest of us that cruelty is not indispensable to their system and is, indeed, thoroughly counterproductive to their originating ideals. We hope, but if we are to be prudent, we cannot trust.

In the meantime, what do we do? Do we remain silent because to speak out causes confrontation and that creates tension, too risky in this nuclear age? I respectfully suggest that such silence is submission to totalitarian intimidation. No peace with dignity can come from such intimidation. And I suggest that silence in the face of cruelty may well be complicity, inadvertent as that may be.

Our effort must be to persuade those who today lead the Soviet Union that just as the two sides of the human brain, the right and the left, adjust their individual roles within the body to make a coordinated and functioning whole, so must the hemispheres of the body-politic, North and South, East and West, right and left, learn to harmonize their contributions to a whole that is healthy and constructive and coordinated in the search for peace with liberty.

We will come closer to our goal to the extent that we understand that our values are at the center of it all. The Nobel Committee shared this insight when it awarded Dr. Andrei Sakharov the Nobel Peace Prize. So did those members of Congress who later proposed Anatoly Shchransky for that distinction. We must, all of us, never lose our sense of identification with the heroes of the human spirit who keep reappearing in the pages of history.

All of us and our societies fall short of our aspirations. We grow by stretching to reach them. As we do so, however, let us be reassured by the conviction that the future lies with freedom because there can be no lasting stability in societies that would deny it. Only freedom can release the constructive energies of men and women to work toward reaching new heights. A human being has the capacity to aspire, to achieve, to dream, and to do. We seek these values for all the children of God. Our task is to stretch ourselves to come closer to that realization.

Let me conclude with the assertion that the existence and the work of HIAS and those of you who support it is a vital part of that struggle for a newer and more God-like dimension of Man which is the foundation of our religious convictions.

Thank you again for your award and for your dedicated work.



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September 18, 1985

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

On behalf of everyone at HIAS, I extend our heartfelt thanks for making the 1985 Awards Dinner a truly auspicious occasion.

It was a great personal privilege for me to present you with an eminently well-earned HIAS Liberty Award. We were honored to have you with us and grateful that you took time from your hectic schedule to accept our tribute. Your remarks were as inspiring as they were eloquent. All Americans owe you a sincere debt of gratitude and I hope that you are aware that the American Jewish community looks to you as an example to all those who work on behalf of peace and freedom.

Again, our thanks for ensuring that HIAS' 1985 Awards Dinner will long remain in the memory of those fortunate enough to have participated in the event.

Sincerely,

Robert L. Israeloff
President

RLI:ls

The Honorable Max M. Kampelman
Department of State
2201 C Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20520

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Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

It was indeed our pleasure and privilege that you were able to join us at our September 4th Awards Dinner to receive the HIAS Liberty Award, and to hear your inspiring and important remarks.

As promised, enclosed are the messages we received for you.

With best wishes for the New Year to you and your family,

Sincerely,

Karl D. Zukerman
Executive Vice President

KDZ:ls
encl.

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PMS HONORABLE MAX M KAMPELMAN CARE WALDORF ASTORIA HOTEL, HIAS AWARDS

DINNER, DLR 9-4 530PM, DLR

STARLIGHT ROOF PARK AVE AND EAST 50 ST

NEW YORK NY

DEAR MAX WE ARE SO PROUD OF YOU. MAY YOU GO FROM STRENGTH TO STRENGTH

AND BRING HONOR TO OUR PEOPLE

ELIE AND MARION WIESEL

1607 EST

SF-1201 (NY) (A-6/82)



Telegram

NNNN

SF-1201 (NY) (A-6/82)

JACOB K. JAVITS
1211 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10036

August 28, 1985

Mr. Dale Schwartz
Chairman
HIAS Awards Dinner
200 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10003

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Please join me in the honors to Ambassador Max Kampelman on the occasion of his receiving HIAS's Liberty Award. He is an American who is one of the most eminent citizens of the world. His struggle for freedom and what it means to the individual honors HIAS as it honors him. Please extend to him my warmest good wishes and congratulations.

Sincerely,



JKJ/pt



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101 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10178
212 883-1986

THE STATUE
OF LIBERTY
ELLIS ISLAND
FOUNDATION,
INC.

Lee A. Iacocca
Chairman and
Chief Executive Officer

September 4, 1985

Mr. Robert Israeloff
President
HIAS
c/o The Waldorf-Astoria Hotel
New York, NY

Dear Mr. Israeloff:

On behalf of The Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation, please accept my congratulations on the occasion of your 105th annual meeting and awards dinner. In honoring Ambassador Max Kampelman, you have chosen a most worthy recipient for the HIAS Liberty Award. His record of public service is outstanding, and we wish him all success as our chief negotiator in Geneva. Our best wishes go also to Edward M. Benton, recipient of the important Maliansky Award for his lifelong dedication to the cause of refugees and immigrants.

The Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation welcomes our association with HIAS. The dedication and service of HIAS in meeting and resettling immigrants for 105 years gives added meaning to the ideals embodied in the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island.

Sincerely,

Lee A. Iacocca

LAI/ft

DEDICATED TO
THE RESTORATION
AND PRESERVATION
OF THE
STATUE OF LIBERTY
AND ELLIS ISLAND



Telegram

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PMS THE HONORABLE MAX KAMPELMAN //DLR DONT DWR//

HIAS AWARDS DINNER

ATTN: DALE SCHWARTZ, CHAIRMAN

STARLIGHT ROOF

WALDORF-ASTORIA

302 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK, NY 10022

SF-1201 (NY) (A-6/82)



Telegram

DEAR MAX:

I AM ESPECIALLY PLEASED TO SEND MY HEARTFELT CONGRATULATIONS TO YOU ON YOUR SELECTION AS THE RECIPIENT OF THE 1985 LIBERTY AWARD OF THE HEBREW IMMIGRANT AID SOCIETY.

THIS SPECIAL HONOR IS IN RECOGNITION OF THE GREAT WORK YOU HAVE DONE OVER THE YEARS AS A STATESMAN AND AS AN UPHOLDER OF THE HIGHEST IDEALS OF MANKIND AND CIVILIZATION. YOU ARE AN INSPIRATION TO OUR NATION AND TO ALL WHO VALUE THE CONCEPT OF LIBERTY, BECAUSE YOU WORK VIGOROUSLY TO PRESERVE AND SPREAD THOSE PRINCIPLES THAT FREE MEN AND WOMEN HAVE ALWAYS CHERISHED. AM PROUD TO JOIN SO MANY OTHERS IN COMMENDING YOU AND YOUR LIFE'S WORK FOR

SF-1201 (NY) (A-6/82)



UNITED STATES DELEGATION
TO THE NEGOTIATIONS ON NUCLEAR AND SPACE ARMS WITH THE SOVIET UNION
Geneva, Switzerland

September 27, 1985

Edward M. Benton, Esq.
Benton and Benton
115 Central Park West
New York, New York 10023

Dear Mr. Benton:

Your letter of September 11 to Ambassador Kampelman has just arrived here in Geneva. The telegrams and messages you refer to have also just arrived here, and copies are enclosed as you requested.

Sincerely,

Sharon H. Martin
Secretary to Ambassador Max M. Kampelman

Nancy

BENTON AND BENTON

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

115 CENTRAL PARK WEST

NEW YORK, N. Y. 10023

EDWARD M. BENTON
ESTHER K. BENTON

(212) 873-0558

CABLE ADDRESS
BENETUX NEWYORK

September 11, 1985

Honorable Max M. Kampelman
U.S. Department of State
2201 C Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

You will recall that on the occasion of your receiving the HIAS Liberty Award on September 4, 1985, I shared the podium with you and was also honored by the bestowal of the Masliansky Award.

I am told that you have the telegrams of congratulations from the President, Iacocca and others received on that occasion. I would much appreciate having photocopies of them, which may be mailed directly to me.

Thank you in advance for your kind cooperation, and with my best wishes for your on-going success in your current mission, I am

Sincerely yours,

Edward M. Benton

EMB:EF



SHAN

9/4

World Headquarters
200 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10003
212 • 674 6800
Cable: Unitedhias

July 24, 1985

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Dear Mr. Ambassador:

We are pleased to advise you that a reservation has been made for you and Mrs. Kampelman the night of September 4th at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel.

We look forward to greeting you that evening.

Sincerely yours,

Karl D. Zukerman
Executive Vice President

KDZ:ls

The Honorable Max M. Kampelman
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Kampelman
600 New Hampshire Avenue N.W.
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January 30, 1985

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Mr. Max M. Kampelman
600 New Hampshire Avenue N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20037

Dear Mr. Kampelman:

I am delighted that you have agreed to accept HIAS' 1985 Liberty Award at our September 4, 1985 Awards Dinner. Obviously, the offer of the award was made to you for the distinguished service you have given on behalf of human liberty and freedom, particularly as the chief U. S. representative to the Madrid Conference.

What a stunning delight for all of us that you have been named the U.S. Representative to the Strategic Arms Talks with the USSR. All Americans should take great satisfaction that they will be represented by the best.

May I offer our congratulations and best wishes to you. We look forward to seeing you on September 4th (if not sooner) notwithstanding your new and important assignment.

Sincerely,

Robert L. Israeloff
President

RLI:ri

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and the migration services of the American Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC)

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*President, Women's Division

9/4/85

January 17, 1985

Mr. Robert L. Israeloff
President
HIAS
200 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10003

Dear Mr. Israeloff:

Thank you very much for your most courteous and generous letter of January 11. I very much regretted not being able to accept the 1984 Liberty Award of HIAS. It gives me great pleasure to accept your offer that I accept that award at your 1985 dinner on September 4th. I have reserved the date.

All my best.

Sincerely,

Max M. Kampelman

MMK:nct

(dictated but not read)



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January 11, 1985

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Hon. Max M. Kampelman
600 New Hampshire Avenue N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20037

Dear Mr. Kampelman:

We were all most disappointed last year when your schedule conflicted with our September 5, 1984 Annual Awards Dinner, preventing you from accepting our Liberty Award. As you know, the award is given each year for outstanding contributions to the furtherance of peace and freedom. You did indicate, however, that you would like to "take a raincheck" and on our part, we would be privileged to be able to bestow the Liberty Award on you.

We have scheduled our 1985 dinner for September 4th, which is in conjunction with the CJF Quarterly meetings in New York City. Is it possible for you to be with us on that evening?

We look forward to your affirmative reply.

Sincerely yours,

Robert L. Israeloff
President

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