



## Max M. Kampelman Papers

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REMARKS

BY

AMBASSADOR MAX M. KAMPELMAN

AT THE

COUNCIL OF JEWISH FEDERATIONS

Washington, D.C.

November 16, 1985

It is a privilege for me to be with you tonight. Being on the same platform with Senator Robert Dole is particularly gratifying. He deserves your plaudits and appreciation. America is fortunate to have Senator Dole among our nation's most important decision makers. Behind his sardonic and refreshing humor, much of which is unjustifiably directed against himself, there is a highly intelligent and experienced American political leader with an impressive command of all the great public issues of our day, who approaches each of those issues with a commitment to democratic values and a spirit of fairness and compassion which qualifies him for any office of additional responsibility he may seek.

It is also a pleasure for me to be sharing this dais with Ambassador Sam Lewis. Sam and Sally Lewis have earned our respect and endeared themselves to our hearts. Sam's talk to us tonight explains that high regard and affection.

There is one further word I must add as I introduce my remarks tonight. The official program for this evening lists me as making an "address." A letter from Mark Talisman arrived in my office on Thursday which noted that agenda item, but went on to say that I was not expected to make an address but to deliver remarks. The distinction was not immediately clear to me, but as I thought about it, I believe the organizers of tonight's meeting reminded themselves of my long time association with our good friend, Hubert Humphrey. Bob, I think they heard of what Muriel once told Hubert. She said: "Hubert, a speech need not be eternal to be immortal." I believe it was this message that was implicit in the change of my assignment from making an address to making some remarks to you tonight.

In receiving your award, which I shall cherish, 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.

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.

You, your associates back home, your organizations and all of your deeds are rooted in this tradition.

You will, I know, appreciate my inability to discuss with you the details of my current public assignment or the events in Geneva which will begin on Tuesday. My theme tonight, however, is fundamental to the search for world peace and understanding.

These are difficult times. Our country and those of us who hold human values dear 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 cannot ignore the continued presence of 120,000 invading Soviet troops in Afghanistan; the painful Soviet abuse of psychiatry for political punishment; the rampant government-sponsored Soviet anti-Semitism; the severe curtailment of immigration; the persecution of religious believers; the dehumanization of the Gulag slave labor camps -- all these and much more in violation of international

agreements. 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 it signs it is prepared to respect.

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 "peace at most any price" 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.

[Let me digress here for a moment. One of the most important recent developments within the Soviet Union, one which can help foster the pluralization in that society so necessary for the peace and understanding we seek, is the impressive religious renaissance that is taking place there. It makes it



all the more essential, therefore, that we keep the cause of religious liberty foremost on the agenda of our concerns. Yet, an important segment of the organized American religious community, headily and politically pre-occupied with what they like to believe is the cause of peace, has chosen to place the cause of religious liberty in a secondary position, in the fear that criticism of the Soviet Union will undermine their effectiveness as peace activists. I respectfully suggest, aside from the fact that I don't always recognize the same reticence to criticize American foreign policy, that those religious leaders, most of whom undoubtedly operate with the most humane intentions, thereby set back the cause of peace which they espouse.]

Let us not be mistaken into believing that our differences with the Soviet Union are based on mutual misunderstandings, though they exist. 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 leadership of the Soviet Union is serious. Its diplomats are

serious and well trained. Their response in a negotiation is motivated by one primary consideration: their perceived national self-interest, strengthened by the belief that the West is declining, divided, and devoid of the will to resist their military and ideological offensive.

I suspect that we and our friends who value freedom will pay a heavy price and suffer great anguish as we come to grips with this challenge. The integrity and character and strength of our society and our people will undergo the greatest challenge of our history as we learn how to live with Soviet military power, meet it, challenge it, and simultaneously strive to maintain peace and freedom.

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 God-like; 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 God-like 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 because there is no alternative to that aspiration. But at the same time we must maintain and modernize our own military forces until such time as we can arrive at a mutual and verifiable agreement. President Chaim Herzog of Israel said a few weeks ago: "It is not enough to be right, we must also be strong."

The Soviet Union is not likely soon to undergo what Jonathan Edwards called "a great awakening." Yet, the imperatives for survival in the nuclear age require us to persist -- through the deterrence that comes from military strength, through dialogue, through negotiation -- to persist in the search for understanding and peace.

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. 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 suggest that such silence is submission to totalitarian intimidation. No peace with dignity can come from such intimidation. Silence in the face of cruelty may well be complicity, inadvertent as that may be.

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 Shchiransky 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.

Thank you.

11/16/85



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November 14, 1985

The Honorable Max Kampelman  
Department of State  
Room 7208-S/DEL  
Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear Max:

Enclosed is the program for the General Assembly of the Council of Jewish Federations. There will not be a dinner as I thought, so we would like you at the Washington Hilton Dais Reception at 7:45 p.m. in the Monroe East and West Rooms. The theme is "Sunday on the Mall."

As you will see on P. 49, you are listed for the major plenary. While an "address" is listed for you, in fact your "remarks" can be fifteen minutes maximum. Senator Dole also will be present and will speak for ten to fifteen minutes. As you see, CJF will also recognize Sam Lewis.

We love you and we want to show it. You deserve it very much! The theme of the General Assembly is "The Coming of Age of North American Jewry: A Political Affirmation."

Best regards to you and thanks.

Sincerely,

Mark E. Talisman  
Director  
Washington Action Office



MET:hb

# Saturday, November 16

4:00 PM - 5:30 PM

HILTON

Grand Ballroom West

## ONEG SHABBAT

**Moses Maimonides: Meeting the Challenge of Modernity**  
(Sponsored by CJF Committee on Sephardim)

In celebration of the 850th anniversary of the great medieval scholar and philosopher.

*Chairman:* DODO HEPPNER, Montreal

Chairman, CJF Committee on Sephardim

*Speaker:* DR. MARVIN FOX

Philip W. Lown Professor of Jewish Philosophy;

Rector, Lown School of Near Eastern and Judaic Studies,

Brandeis University

8:00 PM - 8:30 PM

HILTON

Map

## Havdalah Service for College Students

Hosted by Washington, D.C., Jewish students

8:45 PM - 10:30 PM

HILTON

Grand Ballroom

## PLENARY SESSION

*Chairman:* SHOSHANA S. CARDIN,  
President, CJF

*Havdalah:* ARDEN SHENKER, Portland, OR

**Resolution of Solidarity with Soviet Jewry**

**Citation to the United States Government for Its Humanitarian Role in the Rescue of Ethiopian Jews**

*Address:* AMBASSADOR MAX M. KAMPELMAN

Head of U.S. Delegation to the

Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Arms

**Tribute to Ambassador Samuel Lewis,  
Former U.S. Ambassador to Israel**

## William J. Shroder Awards

*Presented by:* HARRY MANCHER, New York

\* Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York  
and Project DOROT

\* Jewish Community Federation of Louisville  
and Jewish Family and Vocational Service of Louisville

\* Birmingham Jewish Federation

\* B'nai B'rith International

\* Coalition for Alternatives in Jewish Education (CAJE)

75th Anniversary of the Jewish Federation of San Francisco, the Peninsula, Marin and Sonoma Counties

50th Anniversaries of Federations:

Akron

Birmingham

Canton

Jacksonville

Memphis

Mid-Kansas (Wichita)

Niagara Falls, NY

Richmond

St. Paul

Youngstown

Washington, D.C.

COUNCIL OF  
JEWISH FEDERATIONS

10:30 PM

HILTON

Exhibition Hall

**Reception Sponsored by UJA Federation of  
Greater Washington, Inc.**

Theme: "Sunday on the Mall"

**8:30 AM - 10:00 AM**  
**HILTON**  
**Grand Ballroom Center**  
**(Breakfast)**

## **CLOSING PLENARY**

*Chairman:* BERYL B. WEINSTEIN, Waterbury

*Scholar's Statement:*

DR. JONATHAN WOOCHEER, Brandeis University

### **Report on Mexico**

BERNARDO WEITZNER, President,  
Comite Central Israelita

### **Videotape Highlights of the General Assembly**

### **Announcement of Smolar Awards**

LOIS FOX, Chairman  
Smolar Awards Committee



11/14/85



# Council of Jewish Federations, Inc.

730 Broadway, New York, NY 10003/212 475-5000

Cable: Councilfed, New York

November 13, 1985

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The Honorable Max Kampelman  
Department of State  
Room 7208-S/DEL  
Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear Max:

Enclosed is the program for the General Assembly of the Council of Jewish Federations. There will not be a dinner as I thought, so we would like you at the Washington Hilton Dais Reception at 10:30 p.m. in the Exhibition Hall. The theme is "Sunday on the Mall." As you will see on P. 49, you are listed for the major plenary. While an address is listed for you, in fact your remarks can be fifteen minutes maximum. Senator Dole will also be present and will speak for ten to fifteen minutes also. As you see, CJF will also recognize Sam Lewis.

We love you and we want to show it. You deserve it very much! The theme of the General Assembly is "The Coming of Age of North American Jewry: A Political Affirmation."

Best regards to you and thanks.

Sincerely,

Mark E. Talisman  
Director  
Washington Action Office

547-0020

MET:hb

at the  
462-9020

Enclosures



11/16/85



# Council of Jewish Federations, Inc.

WASHINGTON ACTION OFFICE  
227 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E.  
Washington, DC 20002/202 547-0020

October 31, 1985

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WASHINGTON ACTION OFFICE

*Director*

Mark Talisman

*Legislative Director*

Ellen Whitman

The Honorable Max M. Kampelman  
Department of State  
2201 C Street, N. W.  
Room 7208 - S/DEL.  
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

It is with a great deal of pleasure that I confirm your conversation of today with Mark Talisman, in which you have agreed to accept the Council of Jewish Federations' highest award for your lifetime of achievements in pursuing the cause of human rights throughout the world.

There are few among us who so rightly deserve this very special recognition.

As you know the Council of Jewish Federations represents over 200 Jewish Federations throughout North America which includes over 800 social service agencies. The General Assembly is our annual meeting attended by well over 4000 participants from every corner of the globe.

On Saturday, November 16, 1985, there will be a leadership dinner prior to the Plenary Session at which you and Mrs. Kampelman will be special guests.

The focus of the Saturday night program will be human rights including Soviet Jewry. In accordance with your conversation with Mark, It is our hope that you will focus your acceptance on the subject of the necessity of commitment of time and energy and resources by rank and file citizens in the furtherance of public policy. The general theme of the General Assembly in Washington is: "THE COMING OF AGE OF NORTH AMERICAN JEWRY: STRENGTHENING OUR POLITICAL AFFIRMATION". Needless to say, any commentary you deem appropriate, and in keeping with the sensitivity of the moment, regarding the cause of human rights and of Soviet Jewry specifically will be received by this huge audience with great interest and appreciation. A twenty minute presentation would be perfect.



October 31, 1985

Page two:

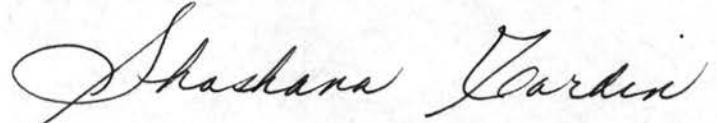
Letter to:

THE HONORABLE MAX M. KAMPELMAN:

As you know already, Mark Talisman stands ready to be of further assistance in any way prior to your appearance with us on Saturday evening at 6:30 p.m., in the **Military Room** of the **Washington Hilton Hotel**. From that point, you and Mrs. Kampelman will be met and accompanied through the Plenary Session program.

Your willingness to be with all of us is deeply appreciated. We look forward to being with you.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Shoshana Cardin". The signature is fluid and elegant, with the first name "Shoshana" being larger and more prominent than the last name "Cardin".

Shoshana Cardin  
President

20X COTTON 8186E  
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# Council of Jewish Federations, Inc.

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227 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E.  
Washington, DC 20002/202 547-0020

October 31, 1985

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2201 C Street, N.W.  
Room 7208 - S/DEL.  
Washington, D.C. 20520

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October 31, 1985

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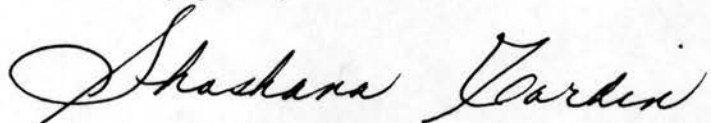
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Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Shoshana Cardin". The signature is fluid and elegant, with a large initial "S" and a long, sweeping underline.

Shoshana Cardin  
President



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

September 23, 1985

Mr. Jerome J. Dick  
United Jewish Appeal  
1290 Avenue of the Americas  
New York, New York 10104

Dear Jerry:

Your letter of September 9 was forwarded to me here in Geneva. I, of course, understand the value of your "Washington Connection" event and am flattered at your suggestion that I meet with those from around the country who are participants in it. In all likelihood, I will be back in Washington by November 12 from this current round of negotiations. I am, therefore, putting aside the 3:15 - 4:00 p.m. slot on my calendar. May I suggest that you telephone my office in Washington (653-9305) and confirm this with Ms. Tackett, my secretary there. Would you also please inform her of the room in which the meeting will take place. I do hope that nothing will come up to interfere with this appointment.

All my best.

Sincerely,

Max M. Kampelman  
Head of Delegation



# United Jewish Appeal

1290 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS □ NEW YORK, N.Y. 10104 □ TELEPHONE (212) 757-1500 □ CABLE ADDRESS: UJAPPEAL, NEW YORK

September 9, 1985

Hon. Max Kampelman, Chairman  
U.S. Delegation for Negotiations on  
Nuclear and Space Arms  
7208 - S/DEL  
Department of State  
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Max,

I was recently named National Chairman of UJA's "Washington Connection" event for \$10,000 and over givers, scheduled for Tuesday, November 12, 1985. In thinking about what issues are of importance to our nation, and who best to present these issues, I immediately thought of you. The last time we saw one another was when I presented you with the annual award at the Yeshiva University Dinner; your presentation that evening about the problems of Jews in Central America was excellent.

The event on November 12 is an intensive one-day meeting with Administration officials and leading Members of Congress. We expect over 100 major givers from around the country, and I think it would be great if you could meet with these people.

Our best time for a meeting would be from 3:15 pm - 4:00 pm at the Department of State. But we would of course be willing to adjust our itinerary according to your schedule. We hope that you could address us about the current status of your work as Chief of the U.S. Delegation for Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Arms, and perhaps some reflections on the situation with respect to human rights world-wide.

This is an important program for UJA and is a wonderful thing for Israel, as we expect to raise several million dollars that day. We would be honored by your presentation to this distinguished group.

Please call me at my office (331-8174) if you have any questions. My address is 610 Ring Bldg., 1200 18th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036.

All the best, and L'Shana Tovah,

Sincerely,

  
Jerome J. Dick

JD:hb

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Council  
of Jewish  
Federations, Inc.

730 Broadway, New York, NY 10003/212 475-5000

Cable: Councilfed, New York

Office of the President  
Shoshana S. Cardin

November 27, 1985

The Honorable Max Kampelman  
Department of State  
Room 7208 - S/DEL  
Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

It was a privilege and an honor to have you address the major Plenary Session of our 54th General Assembly in Washington, D.C. Your message was challenging and informative and addressed directly to those concerns in which we have a vital interest.

Your service to humanity, and particularly to our Jewish community, has truly been outstanding. We are proud of the public record which you have achieved.

Thank you for sharing your time and insight. We wish you well in your deliberations.

Cordially,

SHOSHANA S. CARDIN  
President

SSC:gr