



Max M. Kampelman Papers

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REMARKS BY
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This is a special evening for me. The Hebrew University of Jerusalem is the symbol of that which is noble and grand and Godlike in Man. The commitment to learning is the essence of Jewish values, for it is education and growth and the evolutionary stretching toward the heavens which is at the root of what the ancient Hebrew tribes discovered with their concept of one God. Here is the basis for human brotherhood and political democracy.

To have served as President and Board Chairman of the American Friends of the Hebrew University, to have served on the Board of the University itself - those were satisfying and challenging years. To receive the University's Scopus award from my friends and neighbors is a moment that I cherish more than words can express. Thank you.

Note has been taken of my current all-absorbing responsibilities as Head of the American Delegation to the arms reduction talks in Geneva. Let me share some thoughts with you about these responsibilities and opportunities.

Each generation faces its own unique challenges. But through the ages they appear to have one common characteristic. Men and women seem capable of mobilizing their talents to unravel the mysteries of their physical environment. We have learned to fly through space like birds and move in deep waters like fish. But how to live and love on this small planet as brothers and sisters still eludes us. In every age, that has been the essence of the challenge. The immense challenge of our day is to find the basis for lasting peace among the peoples of the world so that they might live in dignity. In this nuclear age, the significance of that goal is overwhelming.

There is a 19th Century Yiddish tale of a man who went to the tailor in his small village and ordered a pair of trousers for himself. He was measured; he returned a week later and learned that the pants were not ready. He returned the next week and they were not ready. He returned the third

week and the same story. There was growing exasperation. And a repeat during the fourth and fifth weeks. Finally, after six weeks, the pants were ready. The customer, irritated but now philosophical, turned to the tailor and said, "Listen, it took God only six days to make the whole world. Why did it take you six weeks to make just this one pair of pants?" The tailor patiently took his customer to the window of his shop, pointed outside and explained, "Yes, but look at that world, and then look at this fine pair of pants!"

As you and I look at this world, it falls seriously short of our hopes. We earnestly seek the means to assure peace with human dignity for ourselves and our children and grandchildren.

I have had the privilege, since 1980, of heading two separate American delegations in international negotiations, under two Presidents. The task common to each was to negotiate with the Soviet Union.

I believe that the integrity and strength of our free societies and of our people will undergo an immense test as we learn how to live with Soviet military power, challenge it, and simultaneously strive to maintain the peace with

liberty that we seek. In that pursuit, we must not forget Soviet anti-semitism, repression of human rights, use of psychiatric hospitals as a form of political punishment, the continued presence of 118,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan, Soviet support and training of terrorists.

There are some who respond to the danger to us represented by Soviet military power and theology by ignoring or denying their existence. That would be fatal for us. There are others who are so overwhelmed by the difficulties as to place all of their trust in military power and its use alone. That view carries with it the seeds of tragedy as well. We cannot wish the Soviet Union away. It is here and it is militarily powerful. We share the same globe. We must try to find a formula under which we can live together in dignity.

Some writers tell us that the Russians are inscrutable Orientals, products of a mysterious culture we can never hope to understand. Others refer to the deep cunning of Russian peasants as explanation for their government's behavior. Still others portray the Russians as innocent, unsophisticated peasants, suspicious of foreigners, whose land has been overrun in the course of history by bloodthirsty invaders.

Sir William Hayter, a former British Ambassador to Moscow, once remarked that negotiating with the Soviet Union was like dealing with a recalcitrant vending machine. Sometimes it helps to put in another coin. Occasionally, it is useful to check the machine or even to kick it hard. But the one procedure which never seemed to do any good, he said, was to reason with it.

The fact of the matter, of course, is that all and none of the above are true. The Russian culture is a strong and distinct one, and we should do our best to understand it. The Russian people are a gifted people who have made an extraordinarily rich contribution to literature, art, music, and learning. The Russian community is historically a deeply moral and religious one. The old-fashioned Russian thinkers did not suffer from inferiority complexes and neither does the modern Soviet. Furthermore, the Soviet diplomat is a highly intelligent and well trained professional.

The issue in the forefront of the international crisis is not the character and culture of the Russian people, or of the other people who have been forcefully incorporated into the Soviet empire. Government policy is made by governments; and that of the Soviet Union is a dictatorship controlled by the Communist Party, with conspiratorial anti-democratic

beliefs and experiences. It has survived longer than its neighbors anticipated; and it continues apparently to be bolstered by a Marxist-Leninist faith which takes comfort in the historic inevitability of its destiny, an inevitability which justifies violence as necessary to hurry history along.

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 direct honest talk, through negotiation -- to persist in the search for understanding, agreement, peace. We hope our negotiating efforts will produce results; and we are working for results. By the nature and complexity of the issues we face, however, we must also appreciate that even with agreement, we will still be nearer to the beginning than to the end of our pursuit.

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 the leadership of the Soviet Union will come to accept that it is in its best interest to permit a humanizing process to take place within its society. 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 they will come to realize that the Leninist aim of achieving Communism through violence is an anachronism in this nuclear age. We hope Soviet authorities will join us in the understanding that our survival as a civilization depends on the mutual realization that we must live under rules of responsible international behavior. We hope, but we cannot trust.

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 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.

To negotiate is risky. It is, in the words of our dear friend, Hubert Humphrey, something like crossing a river by walking on slippery rocks. The possibility of disaster is on every side, but it is the only way to get across. A strong nation can always afford to be considerate. A strong people can always afford to seek peace. Only the weak are arrogant and petulant. The object of diplomacy in a democratic society, indeed the supreme achievement of statesmanship, is

patiently, through negotiation, to pursue the peace we seek at the same time as we protect our vital national interests and values.

We of the West must understand that policy in a democracy requires public support; and that must encompass the understanding that military strength is indispensable to the preservation of our values and to our successful pursuit of peace with freedom. Diplomacy today must include the deterrence of military power as one of its essential ingredients. If the possession of power, furthermore, is to be effective as a deterrent, perhaps its most vital function in foreign policy, there cannot be a renunciation of its use in the pursuit of our national interests and values. We are entering a period in which this may well be the ultimate determinant in whether we can achieve the peace with dignity which we seek.

We will also come closer to our goal to the extent that we understand that our values are at the center of it all. Our quest for peace is to preserve the human being and the civilization he is continuing to build so that the evolutionary process of which we are an integral part can continue to strengthen that which our religious teachers call the God-like within us.

All of us and our societies fall short of our aspirations. We grow by striving 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 opportunities for all the children of God. That is the eternal message of Judaism. Our task is to stretch ourselves to come closer to that realization.

Thank you.