



Max M. Kampelman Papers

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REMARKS BY RICHARD PERLE
AT A DINNER HONORING MAX KAMPELMAN
NOVEMBER 8, 1987
WASHINGTON, D.C.

I am deeply honored to have been asked to speak tonight, among so many friends, on an occasion honoring Max Kampelman. To participate in a program in which a man I admire greatly receives an award dedicated to the memory of the greatest United States Senator of this century, is a wonderful, double pleasure.

I want to comment tonight on three nations: The United States, the Soviet Union and Israel, and on the relationships among them -- not only those geo-political relations that are the subject of daily headlines, but on what each has come to represent in a world as much divided by the clash of moral values as political alignment or strategic posture.

As I sat down to put these thoughts in writing Scoop Jackson seemed a natural, even an inevitable part of what I wanted to say. For in a public career that began before World War II, until his tragic death five years ago, he believed deeply in, and fought tirelessly to protect, a conception of individual liberty that binds together the United States and Israel and sets both apart from the Soviet Union. His abiding concerns were the strength of the Western democracies in the face of totalitarian power of both the left and the right, and in

marshalling that strength for the protection of individual liberty and social justice.

So it was natural that he should have championed the great causes of safety for Israel, freedom for Soviet Jewry and the security of the alliance of democratic nations. And as these are the subjects of my remarks tonight, I hope I may be permitted to honor his memory by sharing with you the public vision of this great man in whose name we are so appropriately honoring Max Kampelman.

Without, I am quite sure, ever thinking about whether he was a Zionist, in 1945 Congressman Jackson, a young member in his third term, spoke on the floor of the House in support of the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. It was enough for him that the suffering of the Jewish people in the modern diaspora made the establishment of a Jewish national homeland a matter of simple justice. That conviction took on a profound permanence when, in 1945, he, together with some fellow Congressmen, joined American forces in Germany as they liberated the concentration camps and saw at first hand the unspeakable horror of Nazi brutality. Years later, when people were at a loss to comprehend the passionate interest in Israel of an American Senator whose home state had only a minuscule Jewish constituency, he would point to that experience in 1945 and the remembrance that never ceased.

In his early support for the establishment of a Jewish homeland Scoop was like many for whom the holocaust left debts that remained to be repaid. The establishment of Israel was one of them. But for him there was more. As the son of Norwegian immigrants, the existence of a place to which one could go for the realization of whatever one cherished, was a matter of special importance.

Like many Americans Scoop always had a soft spot for the underdog, for the small and the weak. And for the first two decades of Israel's existence, that fledgling state, surrounded by hostile Arab armies drawn from a population of tens of millions, enjoyed the natural affinity that Americans have always had for the little guy. Thus the suffering of the holocaust and sympathy for a small, beleaguered nation, built in large part from its remnant, became a wellspring of political support for Israel in the United States and abroad.

For many Americans the young Israel was an island of democracy in a sea of traditionalist, often authoritarian, anti-democratic forces. If people knew anything at all about the holy land they were likely to know that Israel held elections and its neighbors did not. For Scoop Jackson the democratic character of the Jewish state was fundamental. Support for Israel was more than an act of geo-politics; it was, as well, an

affirmation of our most deeply held beliefs. And in the 1950's and 60's that support advanced like a great wave sweeping before it the views of experts for whom the nature of a state's political system is only one factor, and often not the most important, in developing and managing one's foreign policy.

The experts, in state departments and foreign ministries around the world, have generally believed that it is too simple, too unsophisticated, to base national support for another state on whether it is a democracy or its enemies are authoritarian. Thus it was inevitable that, over time, controversy would develop between the experts and the politicians, like Scoop Jackson, about American policy toward Israel.

And arise it did. The specifics took different forms and they changed almost constantly. For awhile, when I first went to work for Scoop in 1969, the issue was whether Israel should somehow be compelled to negotiate a return to its 1967 borders, giving up the Sinai, the Golan Heights and the West Bank, despite the obvious vulnerability to attack that any return to those borders would inevitably entail. Scoop organized a broad coalition of his colleagues behind a call for defensible borders for Israel -- borders that could be protected with a standing army of manageable proportions -- a call that remains valid to this day.

He would point to the map of Israel, noting how artillery in the Golan Heights could, as had so often been the case before 1967, rain destruction on Israeli farms and villages and kibbutzim below; or how, at its narrow points Israel is so utterly lacking in geographic width -- and therefore strategic depth -- as to invite attack from Arab armies seeking to cut Israel in half and destroy its internal lines of communication.

I can recall one meeting between a visiting Israeli cabinet minister and a dozen important American Senators in which it was Henry Jackson, gentile Senator from the Pacific northwest, who, in the middle of the minister's sometimes confused exposition of Israeli security policy, asked that a map of Israel be produced so that he might explain the geographic dimension of Israel's security concerns to his colleagues -- something he did with convincing clarity.

Those security concerns, by the way, have not changed very much over the years. A map of the region is still the best refutation of the argument that the establishment of a Palestinian state on the West Bank would provide the basis for a durable peace in the Middle East. The simple fact is that a Palestinian state in the West Bank, dominated as it would surely be by irredentism armed to the teeth, would be a constant threat to Israel -- and therefore to the peace and stability of the region.

By the early 1970's the Soviet Union had become so deeply and dangerously involved in the Middle East that Soviet pilots were actually flying military missions out of Egyptian airfields. For Jackson, the deepening involvement of the Soviet Union in the Middle East in 1970 was a cause for alarm. He believed that Israel could defend itself in any conceivable conflict with the confrontation states, but the Soviet Union was another matter. He came away from a visit to Israel in that year more convinced than ever that Israel could not survive without massive American assistance and an unquestionable American commitment to the security of Israel in the face of Soviet intimidation and possibly, even, Soviet intervention.

Scoop's view of the Soviet Union in the Middle East was rooted in history. He used to remind audiences that as far back as 1788 Catherine the Great had attempted to outflank Turkey and Iran, and gain its cherished warm-water port, by cultivating an alliance with a dissident Bey of Egypt. Support to Egypt and Syria and terrorist organizations was but a later chapter in a long history of Russian attempts to establish hegemony, or at least a predominating influence, in the Middle East. He believed that, far from wishing to see the recurring turmoil of the Middle East stabilized, the Soviets preferred to keep the pot boiling, looking to foment trouble whenever possible in a deeply cynical effort to destabilize the region and exploit that

instability to build their influence. He could never accept the tendency of diplomatic experts who wished to bring the Soviets into the on-again off-again peace process in the Middle East. And he believed that inviting the Soviets to participate in the Geneva negotiations following the Yom Kippur War was a profound mistake. He could never understand why one would invite to the peace table a country whose policy it was to prevent the conclusion of any stable peace and whose every action reflected a preference for conflict rather than cooperation. Were he alive today I have no doubt about the advice he would have for Secretary of State Shultz and Foreign Minister Peres.

Jackson understood that security for Israel meant more than the United States simply supplying guns and tanks and aircraft to the Israeli Defense Forces. That was important -- but it was not enough. The United States itself had to be strong enough to deter the Soviet Union from intervening on the side of Israel's enemies, and that meant a strong NATO, especially in the Eastern Mediterranean, and a strong American strategic capability.

The early 1970's was a period when the war in Vietnam colored the thinking of many Americans towards all things military. There was an upsurge of what today would be called pacifist sentiment. The U.S. defense budget was hotly debated. It used to puzzle Scoop Jackson that a significant segment -- indeed, most -- of the American Jewish community, was hostile to the

American defense effort, aligned with the left on issues of the defense budget and nuclear policy, yet deeply and genuinely concerned about the security of Israel and eager to see Israel provided with arms and ammunition. It seemed self-evident to him then, as it seems to me now, that if the United States were weak in relation to the Soviet Union the whole equation of power between Israel and her hostile neighbors would change dramatically and adversely. In short, Israel cannot be safe or strong if America is weak. How fitting it is that the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs (JINSA) should confer an award bearing Scoop's name, and that Max Kampelman, who knows how vital it is that the United States remain strong, should be its recipient.

Nowhere was the importance of American strength for the security of Israel more evident than in the Yom Kippur War when Brezhnev threatened to intervene directly if Israel did not accept a cease-fire and spare the encircled Egyptian Third Army. A brutal ultimatum from Moscow on the night of October 25 shocked a great many officials in Washington, and practically all the experts, but it didn't shock Scoop. It was precisely what he had expected, exactly what he had warned about. The Soviets, he believed, would not hesitate to use their military power in a situation they thought favorable. Hence the need for the United States to maintain its strength.

In response to the Soviet threat to intervene the United States combined an intense round of diplomacy with an alert of U.S. nuclear forces. On the night of October 25, fifteen years ago, the United States was saying to the Soviet Union that if it attempted to exploit its superior ability to intervene directly in the fighting in the Middle East the United States would be ready for any ensuing escalation of the conflict that might result. For years Jackson had argued for a strong American nuclear posture. For years he had done battle in Congress with coalitions that sought to cancel or delay strategic nuclear programs, or force imprudent arms control treaties to the same effect -- coalitions that invariably included large segments of the organized American Jewish community. Now a crisis had developed in which the Survival of Israel was directly menaced by the Soviet Union, and the nuclear deterrent for which Scoop had long argued was a crucial element in keeping Soviet forces out of the Middle East fighting. If his lesson had not always been learned, it had at least been well taught. I know how mindful of that lesson he is as Max represents us in negotiations with the Soviet Union; and I am glad he is there.

For it seems as clear today as it was fifteen years ago that the long-term survival of Israel continues to depend on the strength of the West in general and the United States in particular. And if this proposition should be understood by anyone it should be understood by those who cherish the state of

Israel and desire to nurture and protect it.

While he was profoundly aware of the complexity of Middle Eastern and world politics, Scoop rejected categorically the idea that America's interests, or the cause of peace, would be advanced by hedging in any way America's historic support for a strong Israel. For one thing he believed that it was fundamental to America's role in the world, to America's perception of itself, that we stand by our friends, in good times and bad.

You stood by your friends even when there were areas of disagreement. I am quite certain that there were elements of the policies of various Israeli governments that Jackson thought short-sighted or unwise. On occasion he expressed those views privately to Israeli officials. But when Israel was in trouble, Scoop was always there.

There have been times in recent years when important figures in the American Jewish community have sought to distance themselves from Israeli government policies, particularly the policies of the Begin government. Scoop never did. For him a friend was a friend, and the underpinnings of that friendship, rooted in history, experience, moral values and global politics were so deep and durable as to dwarf any minor point of difference.

Jackson believed in getting his priorities right; and in the Middle East the first priority was the containment of Soviet power and influence. The death of his friend Anwar Sadat rekindled Scoop's conviction that America's most dependable ally in the Middle East was its only democracy -- and he never wavered in its defense. He admired greatly the skill and courage of the Israeli Defense Forces. He drew inspiration from the spirit and the determination of the young men and women in uniform whom he never tired meeting on his frequent trips to Israel.

Scoop's great vision for Israel was a country at peace. He was a realist, though, and he understood that if peace ever came to Israel it would be an armed peace, a peace made secure through strength -- in Israel and in America.

In 1972, after two and a half years of allowing a slowly increasing flow of Jews to leave the Soviet Union for Israel, the Kremlin suddenly imposed an education tax on would-be emigrants. Ranging up to 30,000 rubles or more in the case of persons holding degrees, the tax threatened to stem, or even close down, the flow to Israel of long oppressed Russian Jews whose Jewish identity had been ignited by a triumphant Israeli victory in the Six Day War.

The device of the education tax was but one of the seemingly endless number developed by the Soviet leadership to manipulate emigration from the Soviet Union. As part of a conscious state policy of cruelty and discrimination, the 1972 education tax threatened the first glimmer of hope that visas issued to Jews in 1970 and 1971 had inspired.

There was confusion both among the Jews of Russia and their friends in the West. Protests were organized. Appeals were made. Friendly governments made low key diplomatic representations urging the Soviet authorities to reconsider.

As about this time the American administration in Washington, in the belief that expanded commercial relations between East and West would moderate Soviet international behaviour, had prepared legislation authorizing the President to extend most-favored-nation status to the Soviet Union. This would have permitted Soviet goods to enter the United States at favorable tariff rates. There were also indications that the Administration was preparing to extend substantial long-term credits to the Soviets, something for which it required legislative authority.

Henry Jackson saw an opportunity, and he seized it. He introduced in the Senate a bill that prohibited the extension of most-favored-nation status or credits to any country that

prevented its citizens from emigrating, either by imposing prohibitive taxes or by any other means. And then he began the slow process of rounding up support for a bill that the Administration, along with the Departments of State, Treasury and Commerce and most of the American business community, vehemently opposed.

The odds in favor of prevailing against those who opposed the linkage of trade and emigration seemed slight. President Nixon and Henry Kissinger were at the height of their power and influence and they were determined to press ahead with an expanded US-Soviet Commerical relationship. Neither wanted the emigration of Russian Jews and other dissidents to encumber their plans. And they propounded a theory that quiet diplomacy alone would achieve better results.

But Jackson, despite the opposition, introduced his amendment, with a number of co-sponsors, on March 16, 1973. On March 20 there was an official announcement out of Moscow that, while it would remain on the books, the diploma tax would not be enforced anymore.

The diploma tax was not, of course, the only means by which the Soviets sought to limit, and at times virtually halt, emigration. Applicants seeking exit permits lost their jobs; their children were expelled from schools; jail was a real

possibility.

The Jackson amendment was drafted broadly enough to condition trade benefits for the Soviets on an end to all these various abuses. The Soviets knew that, and they tried by every device they could conceive to frustrate its passage.

One such device was to increase the number of exit visas granted in the hope that the Congress would reward some temporary liberalization by defeating the amendment. Thus the number of visas granted in 1973, while the amendment was pending before the Congress, reached what was then a record high of 35,000.

When the amendment finally passed into law late in 1974 it was after extensive negotiations between the Administration in Washington and the Soviets. At one point a deal was struck in exchange for a Soviet commitment to liberalize its emigration practices they could receive trade benefits on a year to year basis. As long as people flowed West the Soviets could expect goods and services to flow East. The Soviets later denied that they had ever agreed; and to this day they remain ineligible to receive American trade benefits unless the President of the United States certifies that they have taken action to permit freer emigration. For the first time in the history of the United States a matter of human rights has been written into a

law that has some consequences. And President Reagan has said that "...it was right and proper to link trade concessions to the Soviet Union with significant movement toward free emigration...I am proud indeed of the extraordinary bravery of those seeking to emigrate from the Soviet Union. The Soviet Jews have shown the world what courage and the determination to be free can mean even for men and women who could be imprisoned as a result of their desire to emigrate."

It is impossible not to be moved by the bravery and the persistence of the Jews of Russia. Listen to these words spoken by Anatoly Scharansky at the trial at which he was sentenced to 13 years on trumped-up charges of espionage: "I am told that if I agreed to collaborate with the KGB in order to destroy the Jewish emigration movement, then I will be given a short sentence, quick release and even the possibility of joining my wife....It might appear that I must have regrets about what has happened. But this is not so. I am happy. I am happy that I have lived honestly, in peace with my conscience, and have never betrayed my soul, even when I was threatened with death."

A few days from now Anatoly, now Natan Scharansky, will stand in the caucus room of the Senate Office Building to deliver the first Henry M. Jackson memorial lecture.

There is justice in this world. And it goes to those who

fight for it.

AS DELIVERED

REMARKS BY

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

UPON RECEIVING THE HENRY M. JACKSON AWARD
JEWISH INSTITUTE FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

Washington, D.C.

November 8, 1987

Mr. Chairman, Rabbi Rabinowitz, Mr. Secretary,
Helen Jackson, Richard, Members of Congress,
Distinguished Guests, Colleagues, Friends

Thank you, Bob. It is a privilege to be introduced in such an impressively generous and beautiful manner by a leading member of one of our community's most public spirited families. Bob Kogod, a man committed to learning, possesses a big heart and a fine mind. What we have heard in his introduction of me tonight is a reflection of the largeness of his heart rather than the acuity of his brain, and for that victory of the heart I am grateful.

It is good to be among friends and particularly good to be participating in this event designed to strengthen the message of the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs. I vividly recall the evening in 1974 or 1975 when Dick Schifter and I talked about the need to stimulate and direct the attention of the Jewish community to the need for a strong American defense program. Dick, then my law partner, now my

partner in the State Department, and his talented and lovely wife Lilo, friends of Maggie's and mine for more than 35 years, took the lead as he has done so often where the cause is human dignity and liberty. Along with Saul Stern, Herb Fierst, Larry Goldmuntz and others in that early period they created JINSA; and our country and its policies are the better for it.

We have heard an extraordinary address this evening from Richard Perle. Richard and I met through the great United States Senator Henry Jackson, whose untimely death created a loss in the body politic which has still not been filled. Richard Perle has carried forward and enriched Henry Jackson's message to America that a strong military force in the service of our country is indispensable in the continual struggle for liberal democracy. Richard, I miss you in government, where you and I worked together harmoniously for the foreign policy objectives of our country. And I am pleased that you agreed to be here this evening on this dais.

Friends, I am honored to receive your award tonight. My affection and respect for Scoop Jackson, coupled with my pride in helping to create JINSA, make this a special evening for me. I was originally tempted to feign humility as I accepted your award, but it is difficult in the Jewish tradition to be humble. Indeed, it takes a kind of arrogance to proclaim humility. The tale of a Yom Kippur service in a small European shtetl of the last century is illustrative of the point. The rabbi, a pious man, was so overcome by the spirit of the

Kol Nidre service that he began to beat his breast and proclaim loudly: "O Lord, I stand humbly before thee. Forgive me, for I am nothing. I am nothing." The cantor, affected by the rabbi's intense fervor, stood up and repeated in a loud and moaning chant: "O Lord, I, too, am humble. I am nothing, I am nothing." This was repeated tearfully by the elders of the synagogue. Caught up in the same contagious spirit, the lowly sexton, the shamus, joined in and began crying: "O Lord, I, too, am humble. I am nothing. I am nothing." Whereupon the cantor nudged the rabbi and angrily whispered, "Look who thinks he's a nothing!"

Bob spoke on a personal level in his introduction this evening, and I will continue in that vein. I do proceed in life with the conviction that Judaism and American values form a unique and complementary merger of interests, the objective of which is to achieve lasting peace with freedom and dignity for all mankind.

The ancient tribes of Israel made a profound contribution to civilization when they proclaimed that there is only one God. If there is only one God then we are all of us His children and thus brothers and sisters to one another. The "Sh'ma Yisroel", the holiest and most repeated of Jewish prayers ("Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One"),

symbolizes the essence of that message. In this doctrine of human brotherhood, we have the essence of our religious creed, the spiritual basis of our evolving civilization, and the moral foundation for our worldly practices. It is reflected in an approach which recognizes the worth of each individual human being. This is aptly illustrated in the rabbinical commentary on the Haggadah tale of the Egyptian armies drowning in the Red Sea. As the seas closed over the soldiers who pursued the Israelites, the angels in heaven began to sing the praises of the Lord. And the Lord rebuked them by saying, "My children are drowning and you would sing?"

Here we have the moral roots of political democracy, human rights, the American dream. There is an extraordinary degree of convergence between Jewish and American values. From the early days of the founding and settlement of our country, when the Puritans used Hebrew as the language of their prayers, the ties that have bound Judaism to American democracy have been intense. And the Jews' unique romance with America is reflected, in great part, in the way that moral and ethical precepts form the inspiration and guidelines for American policies in so many spheres -- politics, international relations, and even economic organization. The United States is a country which rests on a moral idea. We Americans are proud of the fact that no meeting between our Secretary of

State George Shultz and his Soviet counterpart takes place without discussion of human rights, including the issues of Soviet Jewry, being placed high on the agenda. We Americans insist that our foreign policy have a moral ingredient. G.K. Chesterton once described the United States as a "nation with the soul of a church."

Gunnar Myrdal reaffirmed this many years ago when he wrote of the strength and depth of American values, with their roots in religious ethics. These are reflected, he said, in the power of the "ought" as a guiding light for our national purpose. The "is" of our lives as individuals and as a nation may not always be consistent with the "ought", but the "ought" is the moving force in bringing us steadily closer to the values and ideals we proclaim. We grow as we continue to stretch to attain our aspirations. But the evolving movement forward is not an automatic one. Here, too, our Jewish experience and teaching conditions us to look unpleasant truths in the face, and provides us with a unique insight. That insight is found in the notion of the existence of evil as well as good in the world.

The Jewish sages taught that there is in each one of us an ingredient in the heart and soul which is good and God-like.

But, they continued, there is also in each one of us an ingredient which is destructive and "evil". They defined it as "yaitzer hatov" and "yaitzer hara". The Protestant theologian Reinhold Niebuhr called it "Children of Light and Children of Darkness". Freud and others based their understanding of Man on this insight. And this dichotomy in Man means the good and the evil is also intrinsic to the societies created by Man.

To recognize the duality of man's nature is essential to the progress of civilization, because unless we can account for the destructive forces present in man and his societies, we will never be able to understand and deal with the reality of human history. How else can we explain totalitarianism except as an expression of that destructive drive? How else can we understand the Holocaust, or the long cruelty of the Soviet system?

If there is one thing that history has taught us, it is that we ignore the dark side of Man only at our peril. The teachings of the Enlightenment and Age of Reason, which stand as the inspiration for our democracy, asserted the noble character of Man's nature. But they did not account for his contrary impulses or equip him to understand the dark and irrational side of his behavior. We have the capacity to reach for the stars, but we do so with our feet deep in the earth.

In this first generation of the Nuclear Era, perhaps more than at any other time in history, we are called upon to face the duality of Man's nature. Those of us who try to carry forward the values of our traditions so that we may have the right to be called "the People of the Book" cannot shirk our special responsibility to contribute to the onward evolutionary development of Man as a human being. Indeed, if there is any meaning to the term "chosen people" and if there is any justification for the inexplicable survival of the Jewish people over the ages, when they could just have been a footnote in history, it must be in a renewed commitment to remember the lessons and values of The Book as we strive to build a just society and understand the serious obstacles in the path of that realization.

Simply stated, our dilemma is to learn how to preserve peace and expand human liberty in a world of conflicting values, competing interests, and the awesome capability that now exists to destroy civilization as we know it. It is perhaps the supreme irony of our age that we have learned to fly through space like birds and move in deep waters like fish, but we have yet to learn how to live and love on this small planet as brothers and sisters. In every age this has been the challenge, but it is today more urgent than ever as we realize that our continued existence as a species depends on a fragile thread.

Those of us privileged to be alive in this period must come to grips with a new world, one which is evolving so rapidly before our eyes that it challenges our imagination in ways never before known to man. Henry Adams wrote in 1909 that "the world did not double or treble its movement between 1800 and 1900, but, measured by any standard known to science...the tension and vibration and volume and so-called progression of society were fully a thousand times greater in 1900 than in 1800." To calculate the movement between 1900 and today would be impossible. We are seeing more changes in technology and communication in a single generation than have taken place in all of mankind's previous history. New computers and developments are stretching our minds and our grasp of reality to the outermost dimensions of our capacity to understand them. And yet today, as we look ahead, we must still say with Adams that we only have the minutest glimpse of what the universe really is. "Our science is a drop", he continued, "our ignorance a sea." (You will permit me here a parenthetical note of skepticism when I read statements by scientists and others to the effect that the President's SDI program is "impossible.")

We are clearly on the verge of the day when no society can successfully isolate itself or its people from the currents sweeping the rest of us, because new ideas and information will

move as rapidly and relentlessly as the winds whose currents affect us all. New scientific discoveries simultaneously complicate and threaten as well as promise to improve our lives. New concepts are required to define how we can achieve the security and dignity that we seek for ourselves and our allies. They also require a recognition that in such a world there can be no true security for one of us unless there is security for all. There can be no security for the people of Iran unless the people of Iraq feel secure. There can be no security for the people of Iraq unless there is security for the people of Israel, and so on.

The lessons for the United States and the Soviet Union -- the most important security relationship of our time -- are evident. In this nuclear age, there can be no justification for violence and terror in order to achieve ideological goals, no matter how noble they appear to be. One's faith today cannot be propagated by the sword. Unilateral security is an anachronism: it will not come from either withdrawing from the world or attempting national impregnability. Instead, we must learn to accept in each of our countries a mutual responsibility for the lives of people in all countries.

It is easy for us to verbalize these verities; it is much more difficult to realize them, particularly today, when a more

sophisticated Soviet leadership is increasingly coopting and corrupting for its own use the very words we have long employed, such as "democracy." Our task is to welcome their use of our language, but to point out that the words are contradicted by their deeds and practices. We must be able to distinguish between rhetoric and reality. There are changes taking place in the Soviet Union, perhaps significant ones. But it is premature to expect that the USSR is likely soon to undergo what Jonathan Edwards called "a great awakening" or see a blinding light on the road to Damascus.

It is my profound hope that through the process of internal reform that is demanded by the new technologies, the time will come when Soviet authorities themselves comprehend that repressive societies in our day cannot achieve inner stability or true security. We hope the time will soon come when a leadership will evolve that will come to understand that it is in its best interest to permit a humanizing process to take place in Soviet society, and that it needs to show the rest of us that cruelty is not indispensable to that system. I hope that leadership will come to realize that the Leninist aim of achieving Communism through violence is an anachronism in this nuclear age; and I hope that it will truly appreciate that our survival as a civilization depends on the realization that we can only live together on this small planet if we accept rules of responsible behavior.

We can hope. But we dare not trust. We dare not trust while more than 115,000 Soviet troops engage in a ruthless war against the sturdy people of Afghanistan. We dare not trust while Soviet psychiatric hospitals continue to be used to punish political dissent. We dare not trust while courageous men and women are imprisoned in the Soviet Union for asserting their national and religious beliefs. And we dare not trust while the Soviet leadership still refuses to face up to the full tragedy of its history.

Yet we hope. We can afford to hope. We have the strength as a nation to include that hope as an ingredient of our policy. We hope that the arms reduction talks in which we are now engaged, and to which so much of my time and energy are committed, will help to establish a climate in which the values of human liberty and peace with dignity can be strengthened. But we do not found our arms reduction policy on the basis of that hope alone. We have agreed to eliminate completely all of our nuclear weapons with a range of between 300 to 3300 miles because the Soviets have agreed to join us in that historic step and because it is in our national interest and that of our allies to do so. We also seek unprecedented 50% cuts in our long-range strategic missiles, those that can cross oceans in minutes and accurately wreak unthinkable damage on our planet, because it is in our interests to have the Soviets, with their

numerical advantage, join us in that reduction to equal levels. Our agreement, I must here add, is not rooted in trust, important as that may be as a future goal; it is rooted and must be rooted in effective verification and in the continued maintenance of our military strength and nuclear deterrence.

We seek peace, but we do not seek the peace of the graveyard or of the Gulag.

Securing a lasting peace with freedom requires that we maintain our strength and that of our allies and democratic friends such as Israel. Friends of Israel understand why that small democratic nation needs to have a modern army and arsenal of weapons to defend itself against hostile forces. We must not forget that not only does Israel depend on America's strength, but the United States, too, faces a serious and strong adversary motivated by an ideological tradition to expand its system by force and violence; an adversary with a vast arsenal of nuclear and conventional weapons, the largest standing army in the world.

Our desire to see the evolution of mankind move toward a more enlightened and humane society requires faith, commitment, and frequently sacrifice. But there are hopeful signs to

encourage us in our task. Until I took my current government assignment, I was Chairman of Freedom House, the authoritative monitor of democracy's role in the world. I can tell you that the record of the growth and spread of democracy is impressive. More people live in democracies today than ever have in the history of the world. Indeed, in the past fifteen years the number of countries which can now be called "free" or "partly free" has climbed from 92 to 115, while the number of "not free" declined by almost a quarter, from 71 to 52. Only a few years ago, democracy was under attack throughout Latin America. Now, more than 90% of its people live in democracies or countries well on their way to it. In the Philippines, Haiti, El Salvador, Brazil, Argentina, South Korea, the movement toward freedom is under way.

This change is prompted not only by an abstract love of justice -- although this is undoubtedly present among the peoples -- but by the pragmatic realization that democracy works best. Even in China and the Soviet Union, there is a steadily growing recognition of the relationship between freedom and dynamism. It is fair to say that much of the new leaderships' impetus to change in both those countries comes from an appreciation of the fact that a closed,

tightly-controlled society cannot compete in a world in which economic development and the power which it produces is the result of rapid technological change stimulated by an information explosion that knows no national boundaries. Over the long term, there is an inescapable link between human liberty, democracy, and economic well-being.

Our own responsibility is to carry forward the message and vitality of democracy. We must identify with those who share our values and our deep commitment to the dignity of Man. We must also support their struggle for liberty. That is why the drive for human rights and free elections in Nicaragua and South Africa is so important to us and our future.

Our task is clear: it is to carry forward the evolutionary process so that the species homo sapiens is transformed into the species human being. That's what we are about. That is the challenge of the Jewish historic message. That is the challenge of the American dream.

Thank you.



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JINSA Dinner
Billington

12 Feb 88

Dear Max,

I am increasingly late in
thanking you for the copy of your excellent
remarks at the JINSA award ceremony.

Raref in this town of excessive rhetoric
was an award more deserved - and even more
raref does the honoree honor the audience
with a really thoughtful talk. Yours showed
real depth & has been a treat to re-read.

Thank you for all that effort - and for
your example which continues to mean
a great deal to Maggie & me.

Warmest love to you & Maggie
& all the family.

Sincerely,
J.

**Jewish
Institute
for
National
Security
Affairs**

1411 K Street, N.W.
Suite 1002
Washington, D.C.
20005
202-347-5425

Dr. Lawrence Goldmuntz,
President

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Chairman of the Board

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Admiral Elmo Zumwalt (Ret.)

PAST PRESIDENTS

Richard Schifter
Saul I. Stern



11/8
8725503

3 September 1987

The Honorable George P. Shultz
Secretary of State
2201 C Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20502

Dear Mr. Secretary:

On Sunday evening 8 November 1987, the members and friends of the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs will gather in Washington, D.C. to pay tribute to Ambassador Max M. Kampelman. On behalf of the Officers and the Board, we would like to invite you to join us on that occasion.

As you know, JINSA is a non-profit, non-partisan educational organization committed to sensitizing the American Jewish community to the need for an adequate U.S. defense, and to explaining the link between the security of Israel and American security.

Annually, we present JINSA's Henry M. Jackson Distinguished Service Award to an individual whose work embodies our dual concerns. Ambassador Kampelman is not only a tireless and able defender of Western security and democratic ideals, but also a founder of JINSA. We are therefore delighted to be able to honor him in this manner.

We would be immensely pleased and proud to have you join us in paying tribute to an outstanding individual and friend. We hope your schedule would permit an early acceptance of this invitation.

Sincerely,

Bob Kogod
Robert Kogod
Dinner Chairman

/slf

Lawrence Goldmuntz
Dr. Lawrence Goldmuntz
President

10 SEP 1987

(F)

RAPID-AMERICAN CORPORATION

TRUMP TOWER
725 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022

M. RIKLIS
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD
(212) 735-9501

November 6, 1987

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman
c/o JINSA
The Sheraton Washington Hotel
Washington, D.C.

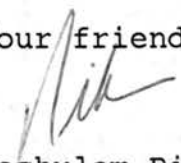
Dear Max:

May I extend my heartiest congratulations to you on being selected JINSA's recipient of the Henry M. Jackson Distinguished Service Award.

I'm sorry I am unable to join you this evening but let me take this opportunity to say that no one deserves this honor more than you not only for all your efforts on behalf of Israel but also for your many outstanding civic and humanitarian achievements.

All my best wishes are with you today and always.

Your friend,


Meshulam Riklis

WU AGENT DC

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PMS AMBASSADOR MAX M KAMPLEMAN, JINSA, DLR

1411 K ST NORTHWEST SUITE 1002

WASHINGTON DC 20005

I REGRET I WILL NOT BE ABLE TO JOIN YOUR MANY FRIENDS AND ASSOCIATES
FOR THIS WELL DESERVED TRIBUTE IN YOUR HONOR. MY BEST WISHES FOR YOU
FOR A MOST SUCCESSFUL EVENT CORDIALLY

IVAN J NOVICK

1042 EST

1053 EST

1

WU AGENT DC

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
WASHINGTON, D.C.

שגרירות ישראל
ושינגטון

JINSA
1411 K Street, NW
Suite 1002
Washington, D.C. 20005

I am sorry that I can't be with you and Maggie in paying tribute to Ambassador Max Kampelman, an outstanding diplomat, a warm friend, a devout Jew and a remarkable human being.

During the years that Rivka and I came to know Max and enjoy his friendship, we came to appreciate and admire his remarkable qualities - serenity, wisdom, extraordinary human warmth and intelligence.

His role in the struggle for advancing human rights and bringing safety and peace a step closer are already recorded in the annals of modern history. We in Israel love and respect him, not only for what he has done for America and the free world, but as well for Israel and Jews all over.

I would like to congratulate JINSA for presenting Ambassador Kampelman, with the Henry M. Jackson Distinguished Service Award.

Sincerely,

(sd.)
Moshe Arad
Ambassador of Israel

**Jewish
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Admiral Elmo Zumwalt (Ret.)

PAST PRESIDENTS

Richard Schifter
Saul I. Stern



12 November 1987

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman
7208 Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Max:

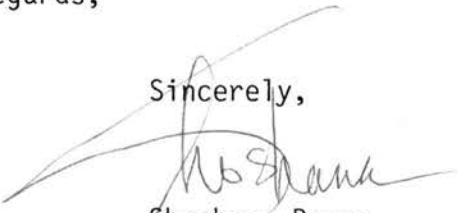
On behalf of the Board of Directors and the Board of Advisors of JINSA, I want to tell you how moved we were by your remarks at our Annual Dinner. It is important for us to be reminded periodically of the moral underpinnings of our concerns for American security, freedom and democracy.

With your permission, we would like to share the text of your talk with a broader segment of JINSA membership, either through "Security Affairs" or as a special mailing. I believe it would be very much appreciated by those who were unable to be with us Sunday evening.

We were pleased to have the opportunity to gather to thank you for your remarkable record of service to our country and to wish you many more years of success.

With best regards,

Sincerely,


Shoshana Bryen
Executive Director

SB/mpd



Telegram

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PMS THE JEWISH INSTITUTE FOR, DLR

NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS RPT DLY MGM, IMMY, DLR

1120 17 ST N.W. SUITE 332

WASHINGTON DC 20036

SORRY I CANNOT BE WITH YOU AS YOU HONOR OUR GOOD FRIEND, MAX

KAMPELMAN, WITH THE JACKSON AWARD. NO ONE IN PUBLIC LIFE HAS GIVEN

MORE OF HIMSELF FOR THE CAUSES OF DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM THAN MAX.

SCOOP JACKSON ^{would} ~~will~~ BE PROUD THAT THE AWARD BEARING HIS NAME IS GIVEN
TO SUCH A DESERVING INDIVIDUAL. MAX, MAY YOU GO FROM STRENGTH TO

W.U. 1201-SF (R5-69)



Telegram

STRENGTH.

WITH EVERY GOOD WISH

ABRAHAM H FOXMAN, NATL. DIR.-ANTI DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B3RITH

823 U.N. PLAZA

NEW YORK NY 10017

1245 SSI

NNNN

W.U. 1201-SF (R5-69)

ABE FOXMAN

TO JINSA

I'M SORRY I CANNOT BE WITH YOU
AS YOU HONOR OUR GOOD FRIEND, MAX
KAMPelman, WITH THE JACKSON AWARD.
NO ONE IN PUBLIC LIFE HAS GIVEN
MORE OF HIMSELF FOR THE CAUSE OF
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SCOOP JACKSON WOULD BE PROUD THAT
THE AWARD BEARING HIS NAME IS
GIVEN TO SUCH A DESERVING INDIVIDUAL.
MAX, MAY YOU GO FROM STRENGTH
TO STRENGTH.
WITH EVERY GOOD WISH.

ABRAHAM FOXMAN, NATIONAL
DIRECTOR OF THE A.D. L.



Sharon -

11/8

I took care
of this -
Nancy

September 23, 1987

Dear Ms. Martin:

Enclosed is the proposed bio of
Ambassador Kampelman to be used in our
dinner invitation.

We would like to go to print as
quickly as possible. Please make any
changes the Ambassador would like and
let me or Shoshana Bryen know what, if
any, they are.

We would like to have a photograph
of Ambassador Kampelman to be used in
the invitation. Please send one to us
at JINSA, 1411 K Street, N.W., Suite 1002,
Washington, D.C. 20005.

Thanks very much.

Sincerely,

Martha D. Kaufman
National Finance Director

MDK:ba

Enclosure

AMBASSADOR MAX M. KAMPELMAN

Max M. Kampelman, a lawyer, diplomat and educator, serves as Ambassador and Head of the United States Delegation to the negotiations on nuclear and space arms. He has lived and worked in Washington since 1949, and has had an active career in the law, government service, education and public affairs.

He also serves by Presidential appointment as a member of the Board of Directors of the recently created United States Institute of Peace; and as a Trustee of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, which he previously served as Chairman. He 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, which took place in Madrid from 1980 to 1983. He previously was a Senior Advisor to the U.S. Delegation to the United Nations and served as Legislative Counsel to U.S. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey.

He served, until his present diplomatic assignment, as Chairman of Freedom House, Vice Chairman of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority, on the Executive Committee of the Committee on the Present Danger, Honorary Vice Chairman of the Anti-Defamation League, Chairman of the National Advisory Committee of the American Jewish Committee, and Vice President of the Jewish Publication Society. We take special pride in noting that he was a founder of the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs.



United States Department of State
The Counselor

September 24, 1987

Martha:

I have revised the biography for Ambassador Kampelman because it was not quite up to date. I am also enclosing a photograph as you requested. Hope they are both satisfactory.

Nancy Tackett

REVISION

AMBASSADOR MAX M. KAMPELMAN

Max M. Kampelman, a lawyer, diplomat and educator, who since 1985 serves as Ambassador and Head of the United States Delegation to the negotiations on nuclear and space arms in Geneva, also serves as Counselor of the Department of State. He has lived and worked in Washington since 1949, and has had an active career in the law, government service, education and public affairs.

In addition to his current diplomatic assignment, he serves as a Trustee of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, which he previously served as Chairman. He 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, which took place in Madrid from 1980 to 1983. He previously was a Senior Advisor to the U.S. delegation to the United Nations and served as Legislative Counsel to U.S. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey.

He served, until his present diplomatic assignment, as Chairman of Freedom House, Vice Chairman of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority, on the Executive Committee of the Committee on the Present Danger, Honorary Vice Chairman of the Anti-defamation League, Chairman of the National Advisory Committee of the American Jewish Committee, and Vice President of the Jewish Publication Society. We take special pride in noting that he was a founder of the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs.

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PAST PRESIDENTS

Richard Schifter
Saul I. Stern



8719564

11/8/87

July 2, 1987

The Honorable George P. Shultz
Secretary of State
2201 C Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20502

Dear Mr. Secretary:

On Sunday evening, November 8, 1987, the members and friends of the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs will gather in Washington, D.C. to pay tribute to Ambassador Max M. Kampelman. On behalf of the Officers and the Board, we would like to invite you to present the keynote address on that occasion.

JINSA is a non-profit, non-partisan educational organization committed to sensitizing the American Jewish community to the need for an adequate U.S. defense, and to explaining the link between the security of Israel and U.S. security. JINSA works within the Jewish community to explain American defense needs and encourage support for vital programs and expenditures. We work within the national security community to explain the key role Israel can and does play in bolstering American interests. Our 15,000 members represent broad political and social strata, and share a belief in informed support for American defense and security policy.

Annually, we present JINSA's Henry M. Jackson Distinguished Service Award to an individual whose work embodies our dual concerns. Previous recipients have been the late Senator Jackson, The Hon. Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, The Hon. Jack Kemp and Senator Rudy Boschwitz. Ambassador Kampelman is not only a tireless and able defender of Western security and democratic ideals, but also a founder of JINSA. We are therefore delighted to be able to honor him in this manner.

The Honorable George P. Shultz
July 2, 1987
Page Two

We would be immensely pleased and proud to have you join us in paying tribute to an outstanding individual and friend. We hope your schedule would permit an early acceptance of this invitation.

Sincerely,


Herbert A. Fierst
Chairman of the Board


Lawrence Goldmuntz
President

HAF/LG:jr



Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs

1411 K Street, N.W. · Suite 1002 · Washington, D.C. 20005



The Honorable George P. Shultz
Secretary of State
2201 C Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20520



11/8/87

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20005
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Professor David Sidorisky
Dr. John Silber
Lt. Gen. Eugene Tighe (Ret.)
Jacques Torczyner
General John Vogt (Ret.)
Admiral Elmo Zumwalt (Ret.)

PAST PRESIDENTS

Richard Schifter
Saul I. Stern



21 May 1987

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman
Head of Delegation of Nuclear and Space Arms
Room 1206
Department of State
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Max:


We were so pleased to learn of your return to active duty and hope it marks your full recovery. This appears to be an immensely important period in arms control negotiations, and it is reassuring to have you "watching the shop."


As you know, JINSA annually presents the Henry M. Jackson Distinguished Service Award to one who has demonstrated an abiding commitment to the security of the United States and to the strength of the US-Israeli relationship. The late Senator Jackson was the first recipient, followed by Jeane Kirkpatrick, Jack Kemp and Rudy Boschwitz. We cannot think of anyone more deserving than yourself to receive the award this year.

On behalf of the Officers and the Board of JINSA, we would consider ourselves honored to have you accept our fifth presentation on Sunday 8 November 1987, and look forward to your reply.

With best regards,

Sincerely,


Herbert A. Fierst
Chairman of the Board


Dr. Lawrence Goldmuntz
President

/slf

OK-

1 CC

1 AC BDDY BB 14500



11/8/87

UNITED STATES DELEGATION
NEGOTIATIONS ON NUCLEAR AND SPACE ARMS

May 11

MMK/Sharon:

JINSA called and asked if you would be available on Nov. 8, 1987. It is the date of their annual dinner and they want to honor you. You would not be the keynote speaker --

I explained that it is impossible to know right now where you will be on Nov. 8 and asked them to go ahead and send us something in writing.

Nancy

ORIG LTR TO H MSG CTR
FOR DELIVERY TO THE HILL.
DIST TO:

JINSA 11/8 (F)
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THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

July 30, 1987

Dear Rudy:

Thank you for your note supporting the invitation from the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs to address its meeting honoring Ambassador Kampelman in Washington on November 8.

I appreciate the invitation but, unfortunately, have had to decline because of projected travel at that time. Department Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs George B. High wrote to JINSA President Lawrence Goldmuntz with my regrets on July 21.

Sincerely yours,



George P. Shultz

The Honorable
Rudy Boschwitz,
United States Senate.

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Clearances: PA:GHigh H
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NEA/IAI:JHolzman (sub) JHofa



8720649

United States Department of State

Washington, D. C. 20520

'87 JUL 27 July 27, 1987

mm
7/30

ACTION MEMORANDUM *mm*
S/S 7-28



TO: The Secretary
FROM: PA - Charles E. Redman *CR*
SUBJECT: Letter For Your Signature

Attached for your signature is a letter to Senator Rudy Boschwitz thanking him for his support of the invitation from the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs (JINSA) to deliver the keynote address at a November 8 Washington ceremony honoring Ambassador Max Kampelman. PA declined this invitation on your behalf because of projected travel (San Francisco OAS meeting) at that time. Your letter to the Senator indicates PA's response to JINSA President Goldmuntz.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the letter to Senator Boschwitz at Tab 1. His note to you is at Tab 2.

Attachments:

Tab 1 - Letter to Senator Boschwitz
Tab 2 - Letter from Senator Boschwitz

JN
PA/PP/MP:JNichols:jfn
x72733 7/22/87 3421P
PA/PP:SFry *SF*

Clearances: PA:GHigh *H*
H:JMisko *sm*
NEA/IAI:JHolzman (sub) *for*



2-22-1967

George -
You've been invited to speak
for JINSA, a bunch of (mostly) Jews who are of
the Boschowitz - Abrams mind on defense &
foreign policy - I hope you can make it.
We'll be honoring (November 8)
MAX Kampelman.



Max

RUDY BOSCHWITZ
UNITED STATES SENATOR

MINNESOTA