

Max M. Kampelman Papers

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"A WORLD IN HISTORIC TRANSITION?" THE SECOND ALBERT A. SPIEGEL LECTURE

BY

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

TO THE

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY

CENTURY PLAZA HOTEL LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

JUNE 18, 1989

Albert Spiegel and I have been friends for many years. During this time, I have admired his quiet but determined leadership through example in support of the human and religious values we share. Whether in Washington or Los Angeles, Al Spiegel left his mark of distinction. I am privileged to be delivering the Albert A. Spiegel lecture this afternoon. Thank you, Al.

It has been five months since I left government service with its different, exciting and enriching challenges. My appearance before you this afternoon provides me with the opportunity to stand back and evaluate the dramatic world changes I have had the privilege of observing and experiencing.

The fundamental fact is that the world is changing so fast and so dramatically that we can barely see its details let alone its scope. The changes are beyond calculation, probably greater than have taken place in all of mankind's previous history combined, with newer, greater scientific and technological developments on the horizon that will probably make the awesome discoveries of our time dwarf by comparison.

During my lifetime, medical knowledge available to physicians has increased conservatively more than ten-fold. I am told that more than 80% of all scientists who ever lived are The average life span is now nearly twice as alive today. great as it was when my grandparents were born. The average world standard of living has, by one estimate, quadrupled in Advanced computers, new materials, new the past century. bio-technological processes are altering every phase of our lives, deaths, even reproduction. These developments stretching our minds and our grasp of reality to the outermost dimensions of our capacity to understand them. Moreover, as we look ahead, we must agree that we have only the minutest glimpse of what our universe really is. Our science is indeed a drop, our ignorance an ocean.

We are brought up to believe that necessity is the mother of invention. I suggest the corollary is also true: invention is the mother of necessity. Technology and communication have made the world smaller. There is no escaping the fact that the sound of a whisper or a whimper in one part of the world can immediately be heard in all parts of the world - we have seen ample evidence of that in the Middle East. And yet the world body politic is not keeping pace with those realities.

What we have instead been observing is an intense fractionalization, as large numbers of peoples have had their emotions inflamed by nationality and religious appeals. It is as if a part of us is saying: "Not so fast. Stop the world. We want to get off. We are not ready. We are not prepared for this new world we are being dragged into. We will resist the pressures by holding on tight and with a determined frenzy to the familiar, the tribal, the traditional!"

But the inevitable tomorrow is appearing. Developments in science and technology are fundamentally altering our material lives; and our social and political relationships as well. There are new dominant sounds and among those most clearly and loudly heard are the sounds of freedom and democracy. The striving for human dignity is universal because it is an integral part of our human character. We see it in China, Burma, Korea, the Philippines, South Africa, Chile, Paraguay,

the Soviet Union, Hungary, Poland -- different cultures, different parts of the world. A larger part of the world's population is today living in relative freedom than ever before in the history of the world. I suggest, my friends, that the Middle East -- Libya, Saudi Arabia, Syria -- will not be exempt from this rapidly growing phenomenon. Today, it is only in Israel that Arabs may freely vote. Tomorrow, Israel proposes, the Arabs of the West Bank and Gaza should freely vote. On the day after tomorrow, who knows? But it is likely.

This development is of special significance to those of us who try to carry forward the values of our Jewish traditions so that we may have the right to be called "The People of the Book." 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 have been just footnote in the pages of history, it must be in our identification with the lessons and values of the Book. 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. Thus, the Talmud question: "Why did God create only one man?" And the response: in order that all men would have the same ancestor, and no man could claim superiority over another.

Democracy is 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 human being. The development of democracy as a political philosophy and system of governance was an inevitable outgrowth of the belief in the integrity of the human being.

There is one other related ingredient of religious belief. It is that the human being is not only capable of reaching God-like dimensions through the process of growth, experience, performance and faith, but that there is also a baser and lesser part of the human being. The ancient Jewish Rabbis referred to that in the soul which was good and that in the soul which was evil, "Yaitzer Hatov" and "Yaitzer Harah." Reinhold Niebuhr, the great Christian theologian, called it "Children of Light and Children of Darkness." We have here as well the root of modern psychiatry. This dichotomy in the human being is understandably also found in the societies which the human being creates. Thus, just as democracy is the political expression religious notion of of the brotherhood, is dictatorship an expression so destructive side of us. This explains the horrors of the Nazi phenomenon, as well as the brutalities of the Soviet system.

Throughout the ages, forces have arisen determined to resist and turn back the forward movement of civilization. But history has demonstrated that the power of Man to stretch himself into a more God-like form of self cannot be permanently denied. Within every age the drive for human dignity is dominant.

The trend toward freedom and democracy is prompted not only by a deep inner drive for human dignity, but by the growing realization that democracy works best. Governments and societies everywhere are discovering that keeping up with change requires openness to information, new ideas, and the freedom which enables ingenuity to germinate and flourish. A closed tightly-controlled society cannot compete in a world experiencing an information explosion that knows no national boundaries.

We are in a time when no society can isolate itself or its people from new ideas and new information anymore than one can escape the winds whose currents affect us all. National boundaries can keep out vaccines, but those boundaries cannot keep out germs or ideas or broadcasts. This suggests the need to reappraise our traditional definitions of sovereignty. The Government of Bangladesh, for example, cannot prevent tragic floods without active cooperation from Nepal and India. Canada

cannot protect its water from acid rain without collaborating with the United States. The Mediterranean is polluted by 18 different countries. One essential geo-political consequence of this new reality is that there can be no true security for any one country in isolation. Unilateral security 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 peoples in other countries.

In this world of increasing interdependence, the lessons for the United States and the Soviet Union -- the most important security relationship in the present era -- are evident. On a smaller scale, the lessons for Israel and its Arab neighbors are also becoming increasingly evident. We cannot escape from one another. We are bound together in an equation that makes the security of each of us dependent on that of the other.

We are told by Soviet leaders that through the process of internal transformation that is demanded by the new technologies, they comprehend that repressive societies in our day cannot achieve inner stability or true security; that it is in their best interest to permit a humanizing process to take place; and that their domestic requirements are their highest priority.

Without doubt, that leadership faces the urgent need for drastic internal changes if the Soviet Union is to be a significant part of the 21st Century. The Soviet economy is working poorly, although it does provide a fully functioning military machine. Massive military power has provided the Soviets with a presence that reaches all parts of the world, but this military superpower cannot hide the fact that its economic and social weaknesses are deep. The Soviet's awesome internal police force has provided continuity to its system of governance, but a Russia which during Czarist days exported food cannot today feed its own people. The new leaders of the Soviet Union are fully aware of its problems. They are also aware of our strengths, reflecting the vitality of our values and the healthy dynamism of our system.

We hear the Soviet words with hope that the deeds and reality will indeed follow the rhetoric. We hope the time is at hand when Soviet authorities, looking at the energy of the West, comprehend the <u>systemic</u> weakness that corrodes their society. We hope Soviet leadership today realizes that its historic aim of achieving Communism through violence has no place in this nuclear age. We hope Soviet authorities will join us in making the commitment that our survival as a civilization depends on the mutual realization that we must live under rules of responsible international behavior. We

hope -- and there are encouraging signs to bolster that hope.

But as yet, we, regrettably, cannot trust.

But even as we cannot yet trust, we have a responsibility to observe developments in the Soviet Union carefully and to do so with open eyes and an open mind. It will not be easy for many of us to change the prism of our accustomed spectacles for clearer viewing. President Gorbachev has shown himself in a dramatic way willing to reconsider past views. The words glasnost and perestroika have been repeated so extensively that the ideas they represent, we are told, may well take on a meaning and dynamism of their own which could become internally irreversible. We must contribute to that process, because, as we have learned from recent tragic developments in China, the process is not inevitable.

When I began negotiating with the Soviet Union in 1980, under President Carter, human rights was beginning to be injected as a major item of our country's international agenda. The Soviet Union insisted that the discussion of the subject was an improper interference in their internal affairs. When President Reagan asked me in 1985 to return to government service as head of our nuclear arms reduction negotiating team, an extraordinary change soon became apparent. Under the leadership of the President, the United

States enlarged upon what President Carter initiated, and incorporated the concept of human rights as a necessary and ever-present ingredient in the totality of our relations with the Soviet Union.

We have faith in our principles as we intensify our efforts, through our negotiations, to find a basis for understanding, security, stability, and peace with dignity.

To negotiate is risky. It is, in the words of my dear friend, Hubert Humphrey, something like crossing a river while walking on slippery rocks. The possibility of disaster is on every side, but it is the way - sometimes the only way - to get across. The object of our diplomacy and the supreme achievement of statesmanship is patiently, through negotiation, to pursue the peace with dignity we seek, always recognizing the threat to that peace, and always protecting our vital national interests and values. I respectfully suggest to you that the same principle is applicable to Israel as it searches for a context within which to pursue the peace with dignity that it seeks for itself and its neighbors.

The United States and the Soviet Union have begun a historic process. We are still much nearer to the beginning than to the end of that process. The process, furthermore, is

likely to be a difficult and murky one. The fundamental nature of the Soviet system is the reality that they and we must still face. Their problems are real and overwhelming. Ethnic nationalism at times appears to be tearing at the fiber of the Soviet empire. There is violence, demonstrations, curfews, and the recurring question: "How tolerant can Moscow afford to be?" Can the Soviet Union, with more than 100 nationalities and widely disparate cultures living in 15 Republics, contain the demands for local sovereignty?

Just as the strains must not blind us to the changes, so should the changes not blind us to the difficulties that still remain. Yes, the changes are stunning -- Soviet troops out of Afghanistan; Solidarity legally recognized in Poland and permitted to declare overwhelming electoral victory; the prospect of Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola; Vietnam's agreement to withdraw from Cambodia; Communist Party officials challenged and defeated in Soviet elections; the beginning of a two party system in Hungary; interesting Soviet proposals to reduce conventional arms along lines proposed by the West.

But, of course, the basis for skepticism also remains as we look at Cuba, Soviet military assistance to Nicaragua, the awesome Soviet military budget, the Soviet's missile sale to Libya of bomber aircraft capable of threatening and further destabilizing the Middle East. We could go on.

The great challenge to our diplomacy is how to adjust to a rapidly changing Soviet Union in a rapidly changing world without endangering our security and our values. As we do so, we must at the same time be sensitive to the judgment of history and take heed lest future generations condemn us for having missed a decisive opportunity for peace with dignity.

Alexis de Tocqueville wrote in the nineteenth century that "It is especially in the conduct of their foreign relations that democracies appear to be decidedly inferior to other governments." With that observation in mind, our task is to achieve the firm sense of purpose, readiness, steadiness, and strength that is indispensable for effective and timely foreign policy decision-making. Our political community must resist the temptation of partisan politics and institutional rivalry as we develop the consensus adequate to meet the challenge of de Tocqueville's criticism.

Our country is today the oldest democracy in the world. Our forefathers said that "America is the last great hope of mankind." It still is! Our political values have helped us build the most dynamic and open society in recorded history, a source of inspiration to most of the world. It is a promise of a better tomorrow for the hundreds of millions of people who have never known the gifts of human freedom. The future lies

with liberty, human dignity, and democracy. To preserve and expand these values, the fulfillment of our religious ethic, is our special responsibility. We should look upon it as an exciting opportunity.

Thank you

@ 6/18/1989 =

IRWIN S. FIELD

June 16, 1988

Ambassador Max Kampelman U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE Washington, D.C.

Dear Max,

I am delighted you have accepted our invitation to be the principle luncheon speaker at the Annual Hebrew University Conference, which is to occur on June 18, 1989.

From your history with the University, I am sure you are well aware of the purpose and aims of the Conference which brings to Southern California a brief glimpse of the academic excellence embodied in the University.

This year, we designated the luncheon presentation as the Albert A. Spiegel lecture in recognition of the many years that Albert guided the programs. You will be officially designated as the Albert A. Spiegel Lecturer for the Conference in 1989.

Harvey Silbert, Stanley Zax and Sally Fleg are equally delighted with your decision to participate with us. Sally will no doubt be in touch with you directly sometime in the Fall to keep you abreast of Conference developments as they occur.

Please extend my very best regards to Maggie. I still have not given up hope that we will one day connect in Switzerland for a weekend together.

Best regards,

Irwin S. Field

ISF:slp

cc: Ms. Sally Fleg

FRIED, FRANK, HARRIS, SHRIVER & JACOBSON

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May 16, 1989

Ms. Sally Fleg American Friends of the Hebrew University 8665 Wilshire Boulevard Suite 301 Beverly Hills, California 90211

Dear Ms. Fleg:

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

(202) 639-7020

In response to your letter to Ambassador Kampelman of May 8, 1989, following are travel plans.

Ambassador and Mrs. Kampelman will arrive on Friday, June 16 on United flight number 191 at 3:45 p.m. and depart on Monday, June 19 on Pan Am flight number 140 at 8:45 p.m. It is my understanding that reservations have been made at the Century Plaza Hotel. I believe I also mentioned that Ambassador Kampelman keeps to a low cholesterol diet. We would very much appreciate this information being conveyed to those in charge of the various banquets.

Thank you, and should you need any additional information, please don't hesitate to let us know.

Sincerely,

Sharon H. Dardine Assistant to Max M. Kampelman

Sharon F41: Pending 6/18/89



THE COUNSELOR
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

July 7, 1988

Ms. Sally Fleg
American Friends of the Hebrew
University, Inc.
8665 Wilshire Boulevard
Suite 301
Beverly Hills, California 90211

Dear Sally:

That was a lovely letter of June 30. Thank you very much dear friend. You were most thoughtful to write. I appreciated every single one of those lovely exaggerations.

I do look forward to being with you on Sunday, June 18th next. It is down on my calendar and I have every expectation that you will have a successful conference. It will be good to see old friends again.

All my best.

Sincerely,

Max M. Kampelman



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June 30, 1988

Mr. Max Kampelman 3154 Highland Place N.W. Washington, DC 20008

Dear Max,

We have long applauded your work for the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Both the University and its Friends were strengthened by your leadership.

Now we extend our gratitude for what you have done for the people of America....and, yes, the peoples of the world....through your arduous and delicate negotiations with the Soviet Union.

All of us want to congratulate you in person when you address our 16th annual Hebrew University Conference in Los Angeles on Sunday, June 18, 1989 at the Beverly Hilton Hotel.

We have had a host of world personalities over the past decade - Philip Habib, Alexander Haig, Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Edward Heath, Zbigniew Brzezinski - delivering what is now designated as the Albert A. Spiegel Lecture. But now we have such a personality who is truly one of our own and we are pleased and delighted.

On behalf of the West Coast Friends of the Hebrew University, I extend my thanks for your acceptance of our invitation.

With warmest regards,

Sally Freg

SF/dcj

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AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY, INC.

8665 Wilshire Boulevard, Suite 301 • Beverly Hills, CA 90211 • (213) 657-6511

March 8, 1989

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman 3154 Highland Place, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Max:

I am always tempted to say 'dear Mr. Ambassador', but that's my Hungarian upbringing!

All of us are looking forward with great anticipation to your participation in our Los Angeles Hebrew University Conference weekend - Saturday, June 17 and Sunday, June 18, 1989 at the Century Plaza Hotel.

We invite you and Maggie to be our guests on the Dais on Saturday evening for our black tie Society of the Founders Dinner, honoring Ann and Jack Needleman, staunch supporters of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem for many years. They will be the recipients of the Judah L. Magnes Gold Medal Award.

On Sunday, June 18 at the Conference, you will be the luncheon speaker and will deliver the second Albert A. Spiegel Lecture. The Conference is Chaired by Irwin S. Field.

As you may know, Albert Spiegel was the Founding Chairman of our Conference and served in that capacity for 14 years. He is a past President of the Western States Region of the American Friends, former Chairman of the Greater Los Angeles Jewish Federation as well as the United Jewish Welfare Fund. He was, for a time, the "Jewish Desk" during the Reagan administration. His imprint on our Conference has been indelible.

At this year's Conference, the following academicians from the Hebrew University will address the academic sessions on Sunday morning...

Professor Alice Shalvi - Professor of English Language and Literature

Professor Shemarayahu Talmon - Judah L. Magnes Professor of Bible

Professor Yaacov Trope - Professor of Psychology

(continued)

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As we come closer to the event, I will send you additional information, and of course, you will receive formal invitations.

Kindest personal regards,

Sally Fleg

SF.ec

P.S. We would very much appreciate received a bio and a glossy photo as we go to press shortly. Thank you.



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May 8, 1989

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver and Jacobson 1001 Pennsylvania Avenue N.W. Suite 800

Washington, D. C. 20004

Dear Max:

We are delighted that you will be with us for our 16th Annual Hebrew University weekend - June 17 and 18, 1989 at the Century Plaza Hotel.

Please let us know your travel plans so that we may make proper arrangements to and from the airport to the hotel.

For your information, I am enclosing the invitations to the black tie Society of the Founders dinner on Saturday evening, June 17 and the Conference and Luncheon on Sunday morning, June 18.

We look forward to greeting you then.

Warm personal regards,

Sally (Fleg

SF/ec encls.

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American Friends of the Hewbrew University 8665 Wilshire Boulevard, Beverly Hills, California 90211 • (213) 657-6511
RICHARD S. ZIMAN
Chairman

June 9, 1989

Dear Ambassador and Mrs. Kampelman:

It is with pleasure that we invite you to be our guests on the Dais at the Annual Society of the Founders Dinner on Saturday evening, June 17, 1989 at the Century Plaza Hotel.

It will be an evening of tribute to Annette and Jack Needleman by the American Friends of Hebrew University, their family, friends and colleagues.

Please join us for a private Dais reception in the Pacific Palisades Room at 7:15 P.M., after which we will proceed to the Los Angeles Ballroom.

Please call and tell us you will join Annette and Jack on the Dais.

Sincerely,

Richard S. Ziman

RSZ/ec



THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM

... five campuses...

Mt. Scopus—Humanities, social sciences, music, law...

Givat Ram—Science, physical education, Jewish National Library...

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Eilat—Marine biology...

"The fate of Israel depends on its scholars."

-Hebrew Proverb

The American Friends of the Hebrew University

cordially invite you

to attend their

SIXTEENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

Century Plaza Hotel Sunday, June 18, 1989 9:15 a.m. to 3:00 p.m.



Academic Session: 9:15 a.m.

Los Angeles Ballroom, Century Plaza Hotel Open to the public without charge

Luncheon Session: 12:00 Noon

Los Angeles Ballroom, Century Plaza Hotel RSVP—\$40.00 per person

Young adults and students are particularly welcome. There will be no solicitation of funds.

Irwin S. Field, Conference Chairman Stanley R. Zax, Honorary President, Western States Region Albert H. Gersten, Jr., President, Western States Region Joseph Sinay, Honorary Chairman, Western States Board Harvey L. Silbert, Chairman, National and Western States Board

PROGRAM

MORNING SESSION: 9:15 a.m.

Professor Yaacov Trope "Psychological Factors in Stereotyping"

Professor Shemaryahu Talmon "The Fate of Books—The Case of Masada"

Professor Alice Shalvi "Women's Rights in Israel"

LUNCHEON SESSION: 12:00 Noon

Ambassador Moshe Arad will confer an Honorary Fellowship on Lillian Silbert

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman will deliver the Second Annual Albert A. Spiegel Lecture



Irwin S. Field



Lillian Silbert



Ambassador Max M. Kampelman



Dr. Yaacov Trope

Associate Professor Department of Psychology ... B.A., Tel Aviv University; M.A., University of Michigan; Ph.D., University of Michigan, Fulbright Scholar... Visiting Professor, New York University, University of Toronto, University of Michigan and Princeton University... University of Michigan Rackham Prize Fellow... Editorial Board of Journal of Personality and Social Psychology... Member of Hebrew University faculty since 1974.



Dr. Shemaryahu Talmon

Studies...M.A. and Ph.D., Hebrew University...Fellow, National Humanities Center, Research Triangle Park, North Carolina... Scholar in Residence. Johns Hopkins University, Harvard University, Brandeis University...Visiting Professor, University of Lucerne, Switzerland, University of California, Berkeley...Editor, Textus, Annual of the Hebrew University Bible Project ... former Chairman, International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations... Member of Hebrew University faculty since 1955.

I. L. Magnes Professor, Department of Bible



Dr. Alice Shalvi

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On the Cover:

"Carpet" pages of Massoretic text in micrography. From a handwritten bible on parchment. Burgos (Spain) 1620. From the collections of the Jewish National and University Library, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

MMK SCHEDULE June 16-19, 1989

Friday, June 16

2:30 Depart Butler Aviation

? Arrive Los Angeles
Private car to hotel (Zax)
Century Plaza Hotel
2025 Avenue of the Stars
Century City (213)277-2000

6:30 Irwin Field will pick up at hotel
6:45 Dinner at Fields home

Addars.?

PHOND = 22

Saturday, June 17

7:15 Founders reception Pacific Palisades Room ($\underline{Black\ tie}$)

8:30 Dinner Los Angeles Ballroom

Sunday, June 18

noon Luncheon in Los Angeles Ballroom MMK deliver Spiegel lecture

TBC Dinner w/Zax, Silver, et al. ?

Monday, June 19

8:00 Allied Limo (per AFHU) to LAX 9:00 Depart LAX general aviation ? Return to DC



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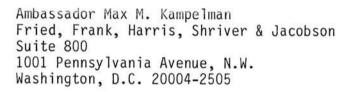
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June 20, 1989



Dear Max:

Your presence at our Conference, as well as your superb presentation, was historic.

You have set the standard for the next Albert A. Spiegel Lecture.

Thank you, thank you.

With affection,

.

SF/ec

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