



Max M. Kampelman Papers

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STATEMENT BY
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THIRD MOSCOW INTERNATIONAL BOOK FAIR (IN EXILE)
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"In the beginning was the Word, and the
Word was with God, and the Word was God".

We see from the reading of Scripture that from the early beginnings of Man, the inner-wisdom of our souls understood that the Word, spoken and inscribed, was the very essence of Man's humanity. It is an essential part of the thought process that distinguishes Man from the rest of the animal world. It is an integral part of Man's dignity and his soul.

The Word is the vehicle through which the human being communicates the learning of one generation to that of the next. It provides the mechanism through which we can evolve into a higher form of being, an evolutionary process which our earliest teachers have told us, it is Man's destiny to strive to fulfill. Those who are religious among us call this process the reaching for that which is God-like in us; climbing Jacob's ladder.

Our respect for the Word, for the Book, for Learning -- these are the vital ingredients of our eternal search for a richer and deeper and broader civilization.

But even as we strive toward and yearn for this higher form of being, we must be aware that Man does not escape from the contradictions of nature that surround us all.

Jewish learning describes this dichotomy of our nature as "yaitzer hatov" and "yaitzer hara" -- that which is good and noble within us and that which is destructive within us. Freud used his own terms to describe this conflict. The great Christian theologian, Reinhold Neibuhr, called it "The Children of Light and The Children of Darkness". We have the potential within us for goodness and greatness; and we have the potential as well for evil.

This reality, this destiny to struggle, this conflict within us and within our world, is what we note and commemorate tonight. We recognize that in our generation and in those that will follow, as in those of our fathers, grandfathers and ancient ancestors, there are forces within Man reaching for the stars; and there are forces seeking to extinguish the light from those stars by enslaving the mind through control of the Word, through the corruption of the Book.

The struggle is inevitable, but the results of that struggle for any single generation are not. The struggle for human emancipation calls for those so dedicated ^{IN EVERY AGE} to gather their energies and sharpen their perceptions to first recognize and ^{THEN} identify the existence of the evil. That initial recognition is essential if we are to understand and then overwhelm it. We who share the dreams of liberty owe it to our past and to our future to use our time on this earth to take those dreams, in our day, at least one step nearer their realization.

In Moscow this month, Soviet authorities have sponsored

a propaganda event they call the Third Moscow Book Fair. We meet this evening, within this historic ^{Symbol of Freedom, the} New York Public Library building, so that we might proclaim that a society which exiles and imprisons its authors, which persecutes its innovative thinkers, which uses its psychiatric hospitals to destroy those who insist upon the independence of their souls -- this Soviet society has no right to identify itself with the Word or the Book. It may use its powers as a military and police-dominated state to coerce its citizens and its neighbors, but that power does not earn for it the respect of history or the respect of the millions of human beings on this earth who understand that the persecution of human beings represents the dark side of Man's nature, ~~that which is evil and~~ that which must be overcome.

The danger to our values represented by the Soviet Union is particularly threatening because those who govern that repressive society have learned to subvert the Word. They have thus embraced words like "democratic" and "people's" and attached these words of nobility to their slave societies. Their purpose is to obfuscate the inhumane character of their system, but they cannot succeed. In attempting to capture our words of dignity and substance and in sponsoring book fairs, they attest to the importance of the Word and the Book. What they fail to understand is that in recognizing the power of the Word and the Book they are strengthening a force which will help to destroy them.

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Victor Hugo once said that there is no power greater than an idea whose time has come. The idea of democracy and of human rights, which has had its voice ^{in our day} stifled in too many areas of the world, is an idea whose time has come! It is an idea that has been evolving since our beginning. It has become rooted in the very marrow of our bone. It is an idea which our generation will carry forward. It is an idea which will prevail, because no other idea meets our inner needs.

The dilemma we face, however, is that the conflict is not one of ideas alone. In Madrid a few months ago, while listening to a talk being made by the Soviet delegate, one of my colleagues, a distinguished diplomat from a neutral country, whispered to me: "He talks about ideas. It is not their ideas we worry about. It's their tanks!" I suggest that this observation illustrates the full dimension of the problem we must act to meet. And our response must be as fully defined in as many dimensions as is the threat that we face.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is a privilege for me to be with you this evening identifying myself with Robert Bernstein and his fellow publishers, our hosts and sponsors. Those who fight this battle for human dignity and freedom do so in behalf of all of us. It is also essential that I say a word about the Helsinki Watch Committee. No private organization in the world does more to remind all of us that the human rights principles of the Helsinki Final Act must be universally

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observed if we are to achieve international stability.

Finally, ladies and gentlemen, it is a sobering privilege to join all of you in paying tribute to the men and women from the Soviet Union whom we honor, writers of distinction and courage, many of whom are with us tonight and others of whom are in Soviet labor camps and in exile.

I pledge to those men and women of clear voice and conscience who are with us that your work, your goals, your friends who remain in the Soviet Union, will continue to be remembered by the delegation of the United States in Madrid as we pursue our work under the Helsinki Final Act.

And I have no hesitation in stating that when our sessions in Madrid end, we who are identified with the goals of the Helsinki process and human rights will work to see to it that the United States of America continues to earn the right to be the leader of the free world by remaining true to its ideals.

The advocacy of human rights in all areas of the world must remain a vital goal of our nation's international policy. It is an indispensable part of our national self-interest. It is called for by the value system that unites us as a nation. Human rights is the essence of America.

Thank you.