



## Max M. Kampelman Papers

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*MMK  
Speeches*

REMARKS BY  
MAX M. KAMPELMAN  
WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS

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Thank you, Mr. Chairman. We have heard some lovely exaggerations this evening and I am grateful for all of them.

There is, I am told, a precious morsel of ancient wisdom to be found in the Jewish Talmud, passed down, I believe, from the Hebrew prophets, who gleaned its essence, in all probability, from the Old Testament. Experts in other disciplines may even find similar passages in the New Testament and in the Koran.

It goes something like this: "Quit when you are ahead!" An English wit put it another way. "Better to be silent and thought to be a fool, than to open up one's mouth and remove all doubt."

But with the pleasant encomiums running through my brain, I find that silence on my part might signify acquiescence and I cannot permit that misperception to last beyond the immediate glow of pleasure.

Jeanne Kirkpatrick and Henry Jackson are long time personal friends. We have been partners in many political struggles.

Their references to me are, therefore, devoid of objectivity. I warn you, furthermore, that they have permitted the softness of their hearts to overcome the keen judgments of their sharp brains. For that I am, of course, deeply grateful.

You are aware that I was weaned in the traditions of Hubert Humphrey. It will, thus, not surprise you if I choose to forego the opportunity to remain silent. But, as I respond, I will be guided by the admonition once given by Muriel Humphrey when she said: "Remember Hubert, a speech does not have to be eternal to be immortal."

This is obviously a grand evening for me, for Maggie, and for my children, two of whom are with us this evening, and most of whom have gained from exposure to this Center of learning. It is also good for my partners in the firm of Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver and both Kampelman and Jacobson, with offices in Washington, New York and London, to have a clearer idea of what I've been doing in recent years.

The opportunity to serve as Chairman of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars has been for me one of the most satisfying public experiences of a busy life.

I vividly recall the excitement with which Hubert Humphrey joined the effort to create a living memorial of scholarship through which to perpetuate Woodrow Wilson in our nation's capital. Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, Woodrow Wilson and Franklin

Delano Roosevelt were the Presidents whom Hubert revered and studied most during his growing years. They were the Presidents whose essence Hubert emulated during his life's service to our country.

I recall the deep sense of honor that he felt in being appointed by the President to serve as the Center's first Chairman. With my long association with Hubert, you will appreciate my keen sense of privilege to be appointed by President Carter to serve as the third Chairman of this Center.

My long time friend, William Baroody, whose son now serves as chairman of our Board, succeeded Hubert as its Chairman. Bill, your dad was a giant of a man. You have giant shoes to fill.

It might seem strange that Baroody, the Republican, A Lebanese Christian with strong ties to the Arab world - and Max Kampelman, a Democrat, a Jew with strong ties to Israel, would be friends. But it did not seem strange to either Bill or to me; although I do recall once wondering whether, were I a Republican, he would have served me at least once something more sumptuous than a sandwich and ice cream at his desk for lunch. But I understood that this informality reflected the ease and comfort of our relationship and I appreciated it.

To have succeeded Bill Baroody as the Chairman of this highly respected institution of learning was a gift that I shall always cherish.

Bill's greatest service to our Center during his long tenure as Chairman was his good judgment in asking Dr. James Billington to serve as our Center's Director. The most lasting benefit to me from my service as Chairman was to come to know Jim. The world of scholarship knows him as one of our nation's more profound historians, whose books have become 20th Century classics and whose illustrious qualities of leadership have brought luster to our Center. I know him as a caring and loyal friend, as a champion of democratic values and as an active participant in the continuing and inevitably successful struggle for human dignity.

And this brings me to this evening.

No two persons in public life mean more to be today than Scoop Jackson and Jeanne Kirkpatrick, both of whom are among my oldest friends in Washington and both of whom, like Jim Billington, are clear headed and realistic leaders in the constant, ever-demanding and yet noble effort proudly, patriotically and effectively to declare the virtues of our free society and the need unmistakably to champion and defend that society and its values.

I first met "Scoop" Jackson in 1949, my first year in Washington. He was a young Member of the House of Representatives. A stubborn Norwegian, he saw the need to build a strong, vibrant domestic society to prove the superiority of our democracy and the need for a strong national defense to help defend and deter the continuing threat to our democracy from the totalitarian right and the totalitarian left.

Just as I will always be proud of my efforts to help Hubert Humphrey become our Nation's Vice President and to help him seek the Presidency of the United States, so am I proud of my identification thereafter with those who believed that Henry M. Jackson should be given the opportunity to serve our country as its President.

Jeanne Kirkpatrick and I worked together in both of these causes, just as Jeanne and Kirk and Maggie and I worked and lived together for nearly 30 years, tied to a common commitment to the cause of democracy and freedom.

Jeanne and I and, incidentally, Hubert had the same dedicated and gifted teacher - Evron Kirkpatrick. Kirk was my faculty advisor when I received my doctorate in Political Science from the University of Minnesota.

Jeanne, we are immensely proud of your role as a voice of the United States to the world. You represent our values with clarity and determination. You reached the heights of your profession as a teacher and as a political scientist. You have now become a leader of the free world. The success of your mission is proved by the intensity of the opposition to it. You can be proud of your enemies just as you can be pleased with your friends and supporters, whose numbers are great all over the world.

Reference has been made to my current service as head of the American Delegation to the Madrid Conference on Security and



Cooperation in Europe. That conference is in many respects just a side show within the total picture of our country's international responsibilities, but it is an integral part of that totality. I conclude my remarks this evening with a brief reference to a lesson to be learned from our Madrid meeting.

Our country today faces a serious external threat. The Soviet Union represents the most direct danger to our society and its values in this century. The depth of that danger lies in the Soviet ability to camouflage its totalitarian commitment, its imperialist intentions, and its powerful military machine with the rhetoric of peace and democracy. Soviet authorities have no illusions as to what they seek and what and whom they oppose. They understand the need to mobilize all of their resources in order to win; and they do not shy away from the word "win".

The battle is being joined in all areas of the world. In Europe, 1983 is a year of decision. Confrontation in the Middle East remains imminent. In Asia, blood continues to be spilled to satisfy Soviet ambitions. In Africa, storm clouds are not far from the horizon as the Soviet Union fully appreciates the strategic position occupied by that continent and its rare strategic minerals. And in Central America, the danger is clearly at hand and obvious to those who would only look.

A united America is a strong America. It is one that can fulfill its responsibilities to itself and to others who seek

freedom. A united America, determined to be strong, can help assure us all that we can deter and discourage aggressors and thus further the prospects for peace.

Differences between the United States and the Soviet Union are profound ones. Our systems and our values conflict. Our cultures are different. Our perceptions of human nature diverge. The task of overcoming these problems without war and violence merits all of the patience, perserverence and ingenuity we can provide. We have the strength to preserve that peace and to preserve our values if we will remain united and determined.

A 19th Century deTocqueville understood the serious dimensions of the problem for democracy posed by this emphasis on the strength that comes from unity. He discussed the vitality of democracy and its institutions and predicted the United States would realize its maximum growth through the exercise of the freedoms that were inherent in our democratic system. He suggested, however, that we would face a serious challenge from growing aristocracies. With uncanny accuracy, he juxtaposed the freedom of the United States with the servitude of a Russia growing stronger.

We must today ask ourselves whether a democratic society can mobilize its resources to meet the danger to itself emanating from strong authoritarian and totalitarian societies that are not encumbered by open debate, internal divisions, frequent free elections, and the need for full public disclosure of all affairs of state?



Franklin Delano Roosevelt understood this danger to democracy and out of that understanding came his innovation version of a bipartisan foreign policy. The need is even greater today for an imaginative bipartisan approach to foreign policy.

We cannot afford in foreign policy the polarity and divisiveness that frequently becomes a characteristic of partisan politics. A modern bi-partisanship limited to vital questions of our national security will not diminish in any way the opportunity for free debate and criticism which is, after all, the essence of our democratic system. But we must try to eliminate the tendency on the part of Republicans to oppose the policies of a Democratic President and of Democrats instinctively to oppose the foreign policy of a Republican President. This blind partisanship is destructive to our strength and counterproductive to the cause of peace. Let us support or oppose foreign policy positions not on the basis of whether we are Democrats or Republicans, but on the basis of our own individual intelligence and rational thoughts as Americans.

In some small measure, my continued presence in Madrid, originally appointed by a Democratic President and reappointed by a Republican President, represents a step toward that bipartisanship. Jeanne Kirkpatrick represents yet another illustration of that which I urge. Henry Jackson's distinguished career as a United States Senator illustrates a lifetime commitment to that concept.

For bipartisanship to be effective it requires more than lip service and more, than symbols. It requires intense collaboration on all levels of foreign policy development. Were Senator Jackson to be consulted on how best to formulate and seriously inaugurate such a realistic program, our nation would be enriched.

The task requires a commitment of scholarship to its realization. Scholars such as may be found in our Center should be asked to respond to the challenge of whether a democratic government can successfully meet the external challenge of totalitarianism short of war. This is a study that requires our total participation. It goes to the very core of what Congress intended when it created the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and urged it to concern itself with the interrelationship between "the world of learning" and "the world of public affairs."

"And now to Bill, to Jim, to my Board colleagues, to the staff and scholars, to my friends - thank you."