



## Max M. Kampelman Papers

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### **The Shelby Cullom Davis Award**

This award was established in 1982 to honor outstanding leaders whose careers have been characterized by integrity and courage. The recipient is selected by the Board of Directors of the Ethics and Public Policy Center. The 1982 award was presented to Ambassador Jeane J. Kirkpatrick.

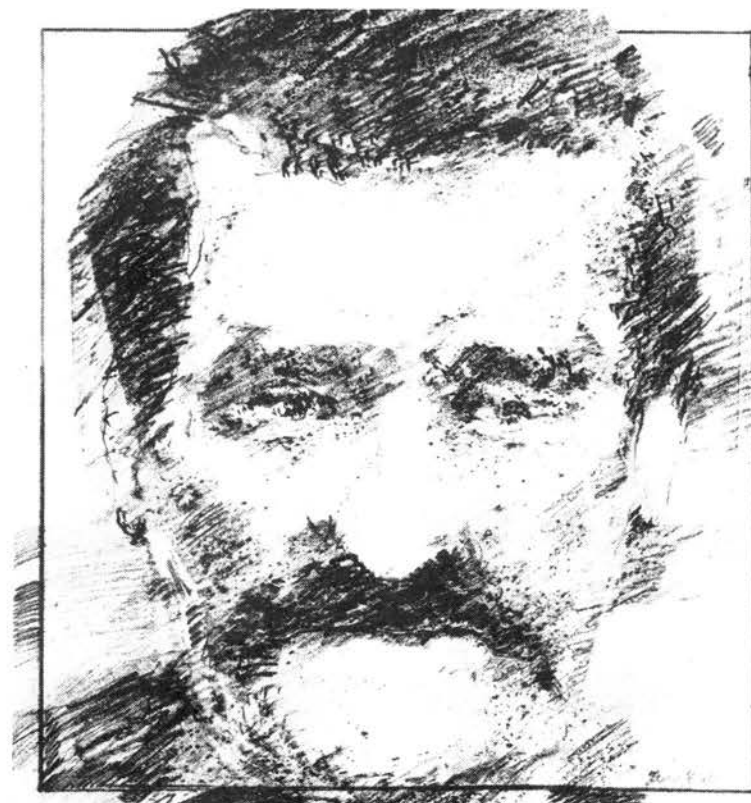
Ambassador Shelby Cullom Davis has had a distinguished career in finance, education, and public service, including the post of United States ambassador to Switzerland 1969-75. He is the chairman of Shelby Cullom Davis and Company in New York and serves on the board of the Ethics and Public Policy Center.

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The Center is a non-profit educational organization located at 1030 Fifteenth Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. Its program of research, writing, publications, and conferences is intended to encourage debate on domestic and foreign policy issues among leaders in the religious, educational, academic, business, political, and other realms.

The Center affirms the political relevance of the great Western ethical imperatives — respect for the dignity of every person, individual freedom, justice, the rule of law, and limited government. It maintains that both moral reasoning and empirical calculation are essential in the shaping of public policy.

The members of its Board of Directors are: Leslie M. Burgess, chairman; Kenneth Baker, S.J.; William H. Brady, Jr.; Shelby Cullom Davis; Midge Decter; Kenneth R. Giddens; Joshua O. Haberman; Carl F. H. Henry; Richard John Neuhaus; Paul Ramsey; Richard Shifter; Joseph P. Sullivan; and Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr.



## **Salute to Lech Walesa**

*The Waldorf-Astoria, New York  
October 21, 1983*

Second Annual Dinner  
Ethics and Public Policy Center  
Washington, D.C.

## Salute to Lech Walesa

### Honorary Sponsors

The Honorable Bill Bradley, United States Senator, New Jersey  
The Honorable Mario M. Cuomo, Governor of New York  
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The Honorable Frank R. Lautenberg, United States Senator, New Jersey  
The Honorable Daniel Patrick Moynihan, United States Senator, New York

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United States Trust Company of New York

The drawing of Lech Walesa was made especially for this occasion and contributed by JAN GLINSKI, a Polish artist who lives in Brooklyn.

Music is by the Slavic Arts Ensemble.

ERNEST W. LEFEVER  
President, Ethics and Public Policy Center

ERNEST GORDON  
President, Christian Rescue Effort for the  
Emancipation of Dissidents (CREED)

MAX M. KAMPELMAN  
Chairman, United States Delegation,  
Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe

SHELBY CULLOM DAVIS  
Former United States Ambassador to Switzerland

LESLIE M. BURGESS  
Chairman, Board of Directors,  
Ethics and Public Policy Center

President RONALD REAGAN  
*(Special Filmed Message)*

ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI  
Former National Security Advisor

THOMAS H. KEAN  
Governor of New Jersey

JEANE J. KIRKPATRICK  
United States Permanent Representative  
to the United Nations

EDWARD I. KOCH  
Mayor of New York

TYMOTUSZ KARPOWICZ  
Professor, University of Illinois, Chicago

Archbishop JOHN F. WHEALON  
Archdiocese of Hartford, Connecticut

REMARKS BY  
MAX M. KAMPELMAN  
DINNER IN HONOR OF LECH WALESA

ETHICS AND PUBLIC POLICY CENTER

Waldorf Astoria, New York

Friday, October 21, 1983

Dr. Lefever, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen.

In introducing me, Dr. Lefever noted my services as chairman of the American delegation to the recently concluded Madrid Review Meeting under the Helsinki Final Act. The question of whether the United States should participate in that meeting, which began in September, 1980, was not one lightly taken. The Soviet Union had been blatantly and defiantly violating the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act with its aggression against other states and repression of its own citizens. Men and women of good will and firm conviction questioned, therefore, whether we might not have our values better served by refusing to appear at that meeting as a protest against those violations.

It was during these deliberations that the name of Lech Walesa began to sear our awareness. Solidarity, symbolizing the rebirth of a movement for freedom in Poland, reappeared on its national scene with an initial set of demands. Among those demands was that the text of the Helsinki Final Act be republished in the Polish press so that the Polish people could be reminded of their rights under that international agreement.



For me, and for many others, that act made it necessary for us to go to Madrid. The movements for freedom in Poland and elsewhere had to know that they had friends in the West who would not forget them, their plight, or their aspirations.

It is appropriate that an organization committed to ethical and human values should be honoring Lech Walesa this evening. The earnest desire of free peoples to express their gratitude for that man's commitment, under stress, to the values we share is common to us all. The Nobel Award is a part of that expression. We honor him in the wish to give him support, but we know that his example gives us strength.

A few months ago, in a letter, Mr. Walesa reminded us that with the birth of Solidarity a process began which cannot be halted. A new sense of awareness was evident among the people of Poland. That changed awareness, he said, was in people "everywhere, in every factory, steelmill, mine and shipyard -- everywhere -- even in the prosecutors' offices, courts, the police and security service."

He referred to the "system of shared fundamental values" which firmly united the peoples of Poland and the United States and identified the source of those shared values as "not hard to find -- it is contained in every copy of the Bible." The thrust of Mr. Walesa's message was to emphasize the relationship between peace in the world and the repudiation of violence at home. We here tonight agree. A government which declares

war against its own people cannot be trusted not to declare war against its enemies.

History will record that those who remind the world of this truth represent the effective, realistic and real peace movement of our day. There can be no peace without freedom. The quiet of the repressed and the oppressed, too tired or too intimidated to lift their voices, is not the peace we seek.

Ladies and gentlemen, with our presence here tonight we declare our solidarity with Lech Walesa and his associates and with all peoples, nations and organizations for whom the defense of peace with human dignity is our most important cause.

AMBASSADOR JEANE KIRKPATRICK

Dr. Jeane Kirkpatrick is today a symbol of our nation's striving for a world where the principle of freedom for all peoples will be its governing principle. Her thoughts, her words --profound and perceptive -- have excited our imaginations and proven themselves to be vital weapons in the struggle for human freedom.

This American is proud that Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick is representing me and my fellow citizens at the United Nations. I know that my expression of these sentiments is an expression on your behalf as well.

Working and planning and striving in a forum which is today dominated by forces and states whose governing principles are contrary to those of liberty and democracy, Jeane Kirkpatrick is beginning to remind the United Nations that it must once again become an instrument for human emancipation and freedom.

The world looks upon Jeane Kirkpatrick as one of our country's most outspoken intellectual leaders for the cause of liberty. An author, a political scientist of distinction, a provocative social thinker and a highly respected public servant, my wife and I know her as something more. We know her and cherish her as a friend.

Ambassador Kirkpatrick, a founding member of this board of the Ethics and Public Policy Center was the first recipient, last year, of the Shelby Cullom Davis Award which brings us together tonight.

It is my privilege and pleasure to introduce to you a person whose recent entry into public service has illuminated our nation, and whose continued public service is devoted to be wished for, Jeanne Kirkpatrick.

# Ethics and Public Policy Center

1030 Fifteenth Street N.W., Suite 300   ☐   Washington, D.C. 20005   ☐   (202) 682-1200

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Ernest W. Lefever  
President

October 28, 1983

The Honorable Max Kampelman  
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver, and Kampelman  
600 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20037

Dear Max:

You were a superb master of ceremonies at the Salute to Lech Walesa dinner and I am most grateful to you for the understanding and sympathy you brought to the entire event.

According to all accounts, the Lech Walesa dinner was highly successful. Enclosed is a special report on the dinner, together with a story from the New York Times.

Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick's outstanding address dealing with the nature of our Soviet adversary will be published by the Center and will be sent to you as soon as it comes off the press.

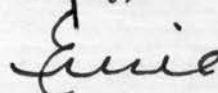
The dinner should be seen as one event in the ongoing work of the Center in behalf of freedom with justice. We are now planning a special study on the status of human rights, including religious freedom, in Poland.

And we are already looking forward to honoring Ambassador Paul H. Nitze with the Shelby Cullom Davis Award at our third annual dinner to be held at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington, D.C.

Again, let me thank you for your support.

It was especially nice that Maggie was able to join us at the head table.

Sincerely,



Ernest W. Lefever

Enclosures:

Special Report on the Salute to Lech Walesa Dinner  
New York Times Story, October 23, 1983

SHARON - AAT  
OK / IM THE CHAIRMAN  
MK

*The Ethics and Public Policy Center  
requests the pleasure of your company  
at a celebration of freedom and courage*

### *A Salute to Lech Walesa*

*honoring the leader of the  
Polish Solidarity Union  
and recipient in absentia of the  
Shelby Cullom Davis Award*

*Grand Ballroom  
The Waldorf-Astoria  
New York City*

*Friday, October 21, 1983  
8:00 P.M.*

*Black Tie*

*Reception, 7:00*

*One place, \$500*

*Sponsor, two places, \$1,000*

*Patron, ten places, \$5,000*

*Please return the enclosed response card*

**COMPLIMENTARY**

### *The Shelby Cullom Davis Award*

This award was established in 1982 to honor outstanding leaders in public service whose careers have been marked by integrity and courage. Shelby Cullom Davis himself has had a distinguished career in finance, education, and diplomacy, including the post of U.S. Ambassador to Switzerland, 1969-75.

Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, first recipient of the Davis Award, will participate in this year's program, along with Ambassador Max Kampelman, chief U.S. delegate to the Helsinki talks, and the noted Polish author Tymoteusz Karpowicz, who will accept this year's award on behalf of Lech Walesa and will read the personal message Mr. Walesa sent for the occasion. Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski will be among the honored guests.

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The Ethics and Policy Center was established in 1976 by Ernest W. Lefever to clarify and reinforce the bond between the Judeo-Christian moral tradition and domestic and foreign policy issues. A nonpartisan effort, the Center is supported by tax-deductible contributions from foundations, corporations, and individuals.

Members of its board are: Kenneth Baker, S.J.; William H. Brady, Jr.; Leslie M. Burgess, chairman; Shelby Cullom Davis; Midge Decter; Kenneth R. Giddens; Joshua O. Haberman; Carl F. H. Henry; Richard John Neuhaus; Paul Ramsey; Richard Schifter; Joseph P. Sullivan; and Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr.

For further information about this occasion, telephone Margaret Webb at the Center, located in Washington, D.C. at (202) 682-1200 or (202) 328-7400.



10/21

October 5, 1983

Dr. Ernest W. Lefever  
President  
Ethics and Public Policy Center  
1030 Fifteenth Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20005

Dear Ernie:

Maggie and I wonder whether it would be feasible to have two of our children also present at the October 21 dinner. Our daughters, Sarah and Julia, have a keen interest in the subject matter and would love to attend if that were possible. Don't hesitate to let us know if there are difficulties in the way. They would understand and so would we.

All our best to you and to Margaret.

Sincerely,

Max M. Kampelman

MMK:pg



Max & Maggie -  
So glad that  
Max will be  
at the helm.

Ernest W. Lefever  
*President*

## Ethics and Public Policy Center

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1030 Fifteenth Street N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20005  
(202) 682-1200

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Ernie", with a long vertical line extending upwards from the top of the signature.

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ETHICS AND PUBLIC POLICY CENTER

# Newsletter

WASHINGTON, D.C.

*Values Have Consequences*

DECEMBER 1983, NUMBER 6

*This issue's report on the Salute to Lech Walesa is accompanied by a two-page picture section. Other topics touched upon are nuclear arms, crime and punishment, freedom of the press, the need for an ideology, Jews and political liberalism, and the confusion in Christian social ethics.*

## **Center Honors Lech Walesa**

"Few men or women in our time have dared to speak the truth to power as boldly as the Polish shipyard worker **Lech Walesa**. Even fewer have sought freedom for their people with as much wisdom and integrity."

These words are from the citation presented to the founder of the Polish Solidarity movement at an October formal dinner for some 675 guests at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York. On behalf of Walesa, Polish author **Tymoteusz Karpowicz** accepted the Center's second annual **Shelby Cullom Davis Award** for integrity and courage in public service.

Professor Karpowicz also read Walesa's acceptance message, sent to the Center through underground channels. Walesa wrote, "I am proud that a Polish worker has been given such an award." He spoke of his fellow workers and of those "who are denied their jobs because of their convictions" and said, "On their behalf, I would like to thank you for your solidarity, the solidarity of all people which will help us to survive this difficult time and which will not allow us to be isolated."

In a filmed message, President **Ronald Reagan** said in part, "Lech Walesa is Everyman, Everyman at his best, and free men and women everywhere, and the millions in bondage who wish to breathe free, are with Lech Walesa now in spirit—and in solidarity. I congratulate the Ethics and Public Policy Center and its board of directors for choosing to give this year's Shelby Cullom Davis Award to a man whose name will forever be enshrined in the world's hall of authentic heroes."

United Nations ambassador **Jeane J. Kirkpatrick**, recipient of last year's Davis Award, said in the principal address that U.S. foreign policy and the cause of freedom are harmed by an "intellectual confusion" about who "we" are and who "they" are. In a trenchant critique of

the Soviet Union, she said the pattern of Soviet expansion "is by now discouragingly familiar: choose a weak government, organize a national liberation front, add a terrorist campaign to disrupt order and provoke repression, weaken an already weak economy, then intensify the violence." The United States, she said, is often "more inventive in finding reasons why we should *not* help peoples resist incorporation into the Soviet empire than in finding ways to help."

Other speakers included former national security advisor **Zbigniew Brzezinski**; Governor **Thomas Kean** of New Jersey; Mayor **Edward Koch** of New York; and Ambassador **Max Kampelman**, chief U.S. delegate to the recently concluded Madrid Review Meeting under the Helsinki Final Act, who served as master of ceremonies.

Brzezinski said Solidarity was led by "men who have a sense of history and morality." "We are here to condemn a dictatorship whose aim is not only to dominate but fundamentally to transform those it seeks to dominate," he said. But it will not succeed, for "the fundamental inevitability of our times is freedom. You sense this everywhere—you sense it in Latin America, you sense it in Asia, you sense it above all behind the Iron Curtain. The idea of freedom, which moved men and women only in a small part of Western Europe and in thirteen isolated colonies some two centuries ago, has now become the universal motive force of political action."

Patrons of the event were the Adolph Coors Foundation, A-P-A Transport Corporation, the Lauder Foundation, and the Reader's Digest Association.

The evening was enriched by string music from the Slavic Arts Ensemble and by a drawing of Walesa made for the program by Jan Gliniski, a Polish artist now living in the United States. The Voice of America and Radio Free Europe broadcast portions of the event into Eastern Europe. Among other media covering the dinner were the *New York Times* (which carried a fifteen-inch story in the main news section on Sunday, October 23), Associated Press, United Press International, NBC, and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

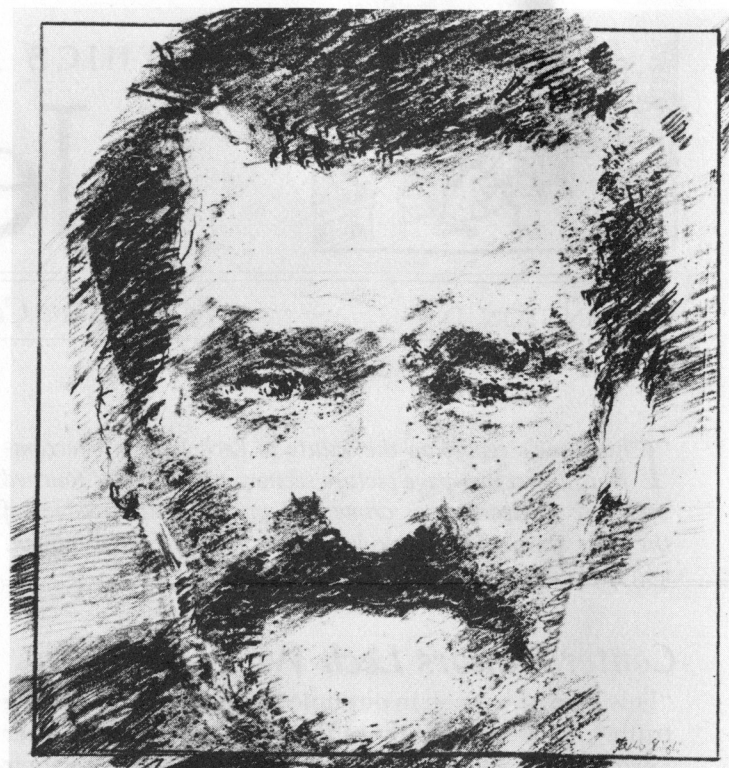
The event did not go unnoticed in Moscow. In the November 2 issue of the *Literary Gazette*, Igor Belyaev

*(Continued on page 4)*





Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski



Lech Walesa by Jan Glinski



Center board chairman Leslie Burgess; Ambassador Shelby Cullom Davis



John Allen, James Adams, Mari Ann Blatch of  
The Reader's Digest Association



Commentary editor Norman Podhoretz; Ambassador Charles Lichenstein;  
(with cup) UN Human Rights Commission delegate Richard Schifter

# Salute to Lech Walesa

*The Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York  
October 21, 1983*



Ambassador Charles Lichenstein; Freedom House head Leonard Sussman;  
Committee for the Free World head Midge Decter; Dr. Ernest Lefever



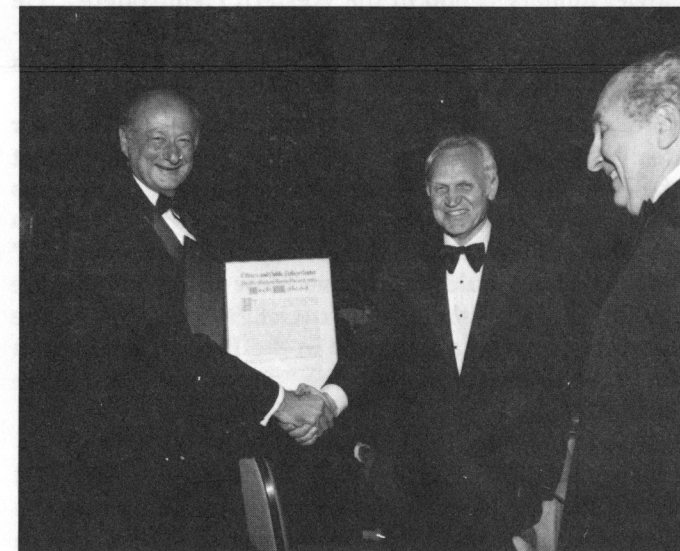
Archbishop John Whealon and others at head table



Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick



Governor Thomas Kean; author Arianna Stassinopoulos



Mayor Edward Koch, Professor Tymoteusz Karpowicz,  
with Walesa citation; Ambassador Max Kampelman



criticized the Center for its "noisy ceremony" honoring the "freshly baked" Nobel laureate, denounced Ambassador Kirkpatrick for vilifying the Soviet Union, and castigated the United States for "interference in the internal affairs of Poland."

"I found the Salute to Lech Walesa most moving and impressive . . . an unforgettable evening. I appreciate the goals and aspirations of your organization," said Nicholas Cannistraro, Jr., vice president of marketing at the *Washington Post*. Lee Edwards, president of the Center for International Relations, commented that "the spiritual presence of the man whom we honored and the moving remarks of Ambassador Kirkpatrick" made the event one that "will remain bright in my memory for years to come." "A memorable evening," said Professor David Sidorsky of Columbia University, "and I cherish having been there." And Irene Dubicka-Morawska and Thaddeus Morawski, advisors to the Solidarity and Human Rights Association, wrote that "in a time marked frequently by abandonment of Eastern Europe, many of us Polish-Americans were reinforced by the thought that your organization values the man and the movement he represents."

The Center is publishing Ambassador Kirkpatrick's address under the title *We and They: Understanding Ourselves and Our Adversary*. Other statements are in *A Tribute to Lech Walesa*. For more information about these two pamphlets, see "New Publications." Longer-range publication plans include a study of the status of human rights, including religious freedom, in Poland.

The 1984 Shelby Cullom Davis Award will be presented November 15 at the Washington Hilton. Nominations are welcome (see the enclosed R.S.V.P.).

### *Third Seminar on Nuclear Arms*

The Center held its third and final trans-Atlantic seminar on **ethics and nuclear arms** in Washington in mid-October. Some fifty theologians, church leaders, government officials, and arms control experts came from four NATO countries: Great Britain, the Netherlands, West Germany, and the United States. Several had attended the previous seminars at Bishop's Stortford, England, and Wolfheze, the Netherlands.

A variety of perspectives was evident among the speakers, who included Dean **Edward Norman** of Peterhouse, Cambridge University; theologian **Wolfhart Pannenberg** of the University of Munich; **Stephen Haseler** of London, visiting scholar at the Ethics and Public Policy Center; **Roger Molander**, former president of Ground Zero; the Reverend **J. Bryan Hehir** of the U.S. Catholic Conference, who was the principal staff advisor to the bishops for their recent pastoral letter on war and peace; **Robert A. Gessert** of Logistics Management Institute; and Dutch political scientist **Alting von Geusau**.

Two U.S. government officials spoke also, **Sven Kraemer** of the National Security Council and **Stanley H. Riveles** of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

Dr. Haseler asserted that "the new fear of war" was due not to the existence of nuclear weapons, a new moral sensibility, or heightened East-West tensions but to "a perceived instability in world politics and, in Europe, a perceived instability in the power balance between East and West. . . . The cause is not the loss of American nuclear superiority but rather the loss of American political will."

Selected papers from the three seminars will be published by the Center under the (tentative) title *Ethics and Nuclear Arms: American and European Perspectives*. A German version of the papers is under way also.

### *For Computer Buffs Only*

The Center is blessed with a supermicro computer system produced by Molecular Computer. It has a 30 megabyte hard disk and can serve thirty-two users at once. We have eleven TeleVideo terminals and three printers.

### *New Publications*

**Seymour Siegel** of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council asserts in Center essay #48, **Who Speaks for American Judaism?**, that political liberalism, prevalent in the Jewish community, is true neither to Jewish interests nor to Jewish teachings. He sees signs of a significant turn toward conservatism.

This essay is an edited version of one session of the Ethics and Public Policy Center's third annual conference, "Who Speaks for the Churches?," held in Washington last April. The main address by Rabbi Siegel, formerly a professor at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, is followed by responses from **Marshall J. Breger**, a visiting fellow in legal policy at the Heritage Foundation and an associate professor at New York Law School; **Joshua O. Haberman**, senior rabbi of Washington Hebrew Congregation (Reform); and **David Saperstein**, co-director and counsel of the Religious Action Center (Union of American Hebrew Congregations and Central Conference of American Rabbis). **Midge Decter**, executive director of the Committee for the Free World, wrote the foreword.

Another conference session forms the substance of Center essay #50, **Speaking to the World: Four Protestant Perspectives**. Lutheran theologian **Richard John Neuhaus** argues that the current confusion in Christian social ethics reflects a fundamental crisis of faith, and that a thorough theological renewal is called for. The alternative, he says, is "a continued and pitiable division of Christians along political lines. When we stop believing the faith we start figuring out how to use it. . . . When

we no longer have the courage to challenge secularism, we learn to play by secularism's rules." The respondents are Methodist bishop **Earl G. Hunt, Jr.**; Princeton religion professor **Paul Ramsey**; and African Methodist Episcopal bishop **Philip R. Cousin**, who has since become president of the National Council of Churches.

**Stephen Haseler**, visiting scholar at the Center, is the author of Center essay #49, **Advancing Democratic Principles: A European Examines a Neglected American Asset**. To compete successfully with adversaries of the West in the battle of ideas, says Haseler, Americans should build more effectively on the near universal recognition that the United States is democratic, free, and dynamic, while the Soviet Union is "repressive, bureaucratic, and boring."

**We and They: Understanding Ourselves and Our Adversary** (essay #51) is an incisive analysis of the Soviet Union and its behavior in the world by **Jeane Kirkpatrick**, adapted from her address at the Center's Salute to Lech Walesa. Other statements from this celebration of human freedom appear in **A Tribute to Lech Walesa** (essay #52). This collection includes tributes by President **Ronald Reagan**, Ambassador **Kirkpatrick**, Dr. **Zbigniew Brzezinski**, Ambassador **Max Kampelman**, Mayor **Edward Koch**, Governor **Thomas Kean**, and Professor **Tymoteusz Karpowicz**; messages by Governor Mario Cuomo, Senator Alphonse D'Amato, author James Michener, Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, and former USIA director Frank Shakespeare; and a reproduction of the drawing of Walesa made especially for the event and of the citation in calligraphy.

To order these new publications, see the R.S.V.P.

## The Spoken Word

**Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn** was the guest of honor at an October dinner seminar in the Center's "An Evening With . . ." series hosted by Mr. and Mrs. Pat Buchanan. In a provocative talk entitled "Beyond Democracy" the Austrian author and scholar stressed the need for the Free World to have a firm and coherent ideology to oppose false totalitarian ideologies: "The Free World for a generation and a half has merely tried to parry the blows of the enemy. When it succeeded in thwarting an attack we shouted triumphantly, but it has never taken the initiative because it has never had a vision, a theoretical let alone a concrete aim. The nihilism which now plagues the still-Free World must come to an end if we are not to perish." Dr. von Kuehnelt-Leddihn also addressed a Center luncheon on the subject "Europe and America: The Great Misunderstanding."

At a November luncheon, **Thomas Oden**, professor of theology and ethics at Drew University, discussed the topic of his forthcoming Center study, tentatively entitled *The Churches and the Multinationals*. Professor Oden

is examining activities of religious groups that seek to modify the policies of American corporations through stockholder resolutions, boycotts, and other means. Among the corporations represented at the luncheon were Adolph Coors, Bristol-Myers, Castle and Cooke, Dresser Industries, General Motors, Gulf and Western, IBM, and InterNorth.

At a December "Evening With **Edwin Yoder**," the Pulitzer Prize-winning newspaperman who now writes a syndicated column for the *Washington Post* discussed press responsibility. Freedom of the press, like all other freedoms, is not absolute, Yoder said; the reporter or interpreter of current events must consider possible adverse consequences of his words. Ramifications of Yoder's view were vigorously debated by the hosts of the evening, Mr. and Mrs. James R. Whelan (he is the publisher of the *Washington Times*), and other guests, among whom were Martin Agronsky, host of the TV public-affairs program "Agronsky and Company"; Aram Bakshian, a speechwriter for three presidents who is now a columnist; Kenneth Y. Tomlinson, director of the Voice of America, who formerly was with *Reader's Digest*; and Smith Hempstone, a veteran political columnist and roving correspondent, now editor of the *Washington Times*.

Later that month **Clare Boothe Luce** was featured at another dinner seminar, at the home of Dr. and Mrs. Lefever. Mrs. Luce commented on her acquaintance with Winston Churchill and other world figures and reflected on the mystery of greatness in our time. Among the guests were William J. Bennett, chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities; Richard Schifter, U.S. representative to the U.N. Human Rights Commission, a Center board member; Michael Novak, a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute; John O'Neil of General Tire and Rubber; and John Utley, associate editor of the *Times of the Americas*.

## Crime and Punishment Conference

How should we deal with convicted criminals? How can we make punishment fit the crime? What are the relative merits of prison and other forms of punishment in deterring crime, compensating victims, rehabilitating criminals, and maintaining public safety?

These and other questions will be addressed at the Center's fourth annual conference March 29-30, 1984, at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington. Under the theme **Crime, Punishment, and the American Ethic**, participants will consider the nature of crime, types of punishment, and public attitudes toward crime and the criminal justice system.

Among the speakers will be **Edwin Meese III**, the White House; **Norman Carlson**, U.S. Bureau of Prisons; playwright **Henry Denker**; **S. Robert Lichter**, George Washington University; **Dan Popeo**, Washington Legal



Foundation; **Stephen R. Schlesinger**, Bureau of Justice Statistics; **Ernest Van Den Haag**, Fordham University; and **Daniel Van Ness**, Prison Fellowship. **Warren Calkins**, director of seminars for the Brookings Institution, will be the chairman. For more information, see the enclosed flyer.

## Open Door Policy

The door of the new Center offices was open to a variety of visitors on November 18. First came the board of directors, for its semi-annual meeting. Later, several board members—chairman **Leslie Burgess**, Father **Kenneth Baker**, Mr. **Kenneth Giddens**, Rabbi **Joshua Haberman**, Pastor **Richard John Neuhaus**, and Dr. **Paul Ramsey**—became the official first guests at an open house. Also helping to warm the new office space were **Edwin Meese**, counselor to President Reagan; **Edmund Robb**, chairman of the Institute on Religion and Democracy; author **Uwe Siemon-Netto**, whose essay *On the Brink: The Myth of German Anti-Americanism* appears as a Center reprint; **Michael Johnson**, director of international affairs at the FMC Corporation; and numerous other denizens of Washington's public policy, political, corporate, and academic communities.

## Staff Activities

Hours after President Reagan announced on October 25 that he had ordered troops into Grenada, the national newspaper *USA Today* asked Center president **Ernest Lefever** to write a response. In "Reagan's Decisive Act Deserves Our Support" (Oct. 26), Lefever asserted that the U.S. action was carried out "with minimum force and full respect for the safety of the civilian population to prevent a Marxist ruling elite from subverting the fragile democracies in the area and from providing a base for Soviet military action in the Western Hemisphere." He was later interviewed on the subject by Cable News Network's "Daywatch" and in Chicago by WHMM-TV's "Evening Exchange."

In another *USA Today* column (Oct. 5), Dr. Lefever dealt with U.S.-Philippine relations. Failure to support the Philippines "could set in motion a series of events that would replace a less-than-democratic regime with one that snuffs out both democracy and human rights," he said; this would be a grave blow to security in the region. In the *Washington Post* (Oct. 9) he discussed the morality of covert action, and in the *Presbyterian Layman* (Sept./Oct.) his subject was the "dangerous political activism" of the World Council of Churches.

Also in October, Dr. Lefever spoke at a Shavano Institute seminar in Dallas on "How Business Can Take Part in the War of Ideas." In November he addressed the Corporate Responsibility Group of Greater Chicago on

the same topic, which is also dealt with in the Center's 1983 study *Scholars, Dollars, and Public Policy: New Frontiers in Corporate Giving*.

Center senior vice-president **Raymond English** spoke on citizenship education at a seminar sponsored by the Worcester (Massachusetts) Forum for the Study of Values in Massachusetts. Mr. English also had columns in the *Washington Times*, on education and on Grenada.

Research associate **Robert Royal** was the author of a review of Walker Percy's *Lost in the Cosmos* in *National Review* and of an article in *Catholicism in Crisis* that examined the role of Catholic religious in public life.

Center research assistant **Richard Sincere** spoke at the annual meeting of the American Civil Defense Association and serves on the board of the *Journal of Civil Defense*. He spoke on civil defense on radio and TV in Baltimore, St. Louis, New York, and Washington; at a Conference on Strategic Defense and Nuclear War held at the New Jersey Institute of Technology; and at the Citizens' Congress on National Security. An article by him responding to the ABC-TV movie on nuclear war "The Day After" appeared in *USA Today* (Nov. 28).

## Current and Consequential

In the November 1983 issue of *Encounter*, U.N. ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick and George Urban discuss vital issues of peace, disarmament, a new "Cold War," revolts in the Soviet empire, and a "real" détente. This remarkable conversation, one of the most perceptive interpretations of U.S. foreign policy to appear in years, will be available as a Center reprint.

### THE CENTER AND ITS BOARD

The Ethics and Public Policy Center, established in 1976, conducts a program of research, writing, publications, and conferences to encourage debate on domestic and foreign policy issues among religious, educational, academic, business, political, and other leaders. A non-partisan effort, the Center is supported by contributions (which are tax-deductible) from foundations, corporations, religious organizations, and individuals. Ernest W. Lefever is the founder and president.

**The board:** Leslie M. Burgess, chairman; Kenneth Baker, S.J.; Shelby Cullom Davis; Midge Decker; Kenneth R. Giddens; Felix Gorrell; Joshua O. Haberman; Carl F. H. Henry; Richard John Neuhaus; Paul Ramsey; Richard Schifter; Joseph P. Sullivan; and Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr.

1030 Fifteenth Street N.W., Suite 300  
Washington, D.C. 20005  
(202) 682-1200



ETHICS AND PUBLIC POLICY CENTER

# Newsletter

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Values Have Consequences

DECEMBER 1983, NUMBER 6

*This issue's report on the Salute to Lech Walesa is accompanied by a two-page picture section. Other topics touched upon are nuclear arms, crime and punishment, freedom of the press, the need for an ideology, Jews and political liberalism, and the confusion in Christian social ethics.*

## Center Honors Lech Walesa

"Few men or women in our time have dared to speak the truth to power as boldly as the Polish shipyard worker **Lech Walesa**. Even fewer have sought freedom for their people with as much wisdom and integrity."

These words are from the citation presented to the founder of the Polish Solidarity movement at an October formal dinner for some 675 guests at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York. On behalf of Walesa, Polish author **Tymoteusz Karpowicz** accepted the Center's second annual **Shelby Cullom Davis Award** for integrity and courage in public service.

Professor Karpowicz also read Walesa's acceptance message, sent to the Center through underground channels. Walesa wrote, "I am proud that a Polish worker has been given such an award." He spoke of his fellow workers and of those "who are denied their jobs because of their convictions" and said, "On their behalf, I would like to thank you for your solidarity, the solidarity of all people which will help us to survive this difficult time and which will not allow us to be isolated."

In a filmed message, President **Ronald Reagan** said in part, "Lech Walesa is Everyman, Everyman at his best, and free men and women everywhere, and the millions in bondage who wish to breathe free, are with Lech Walesa now in spirit—and in solidarity. I congratulate the Ethics and Public Policy Center and its board of directors for choosing to give this year's Shelby Cullom Davis Award to a man whose name will forever be enshrined in the world's hall of authentic heroes."

United Nations ambassador **Jeane J. Kirkpatrick**, recipient of last year's Davis Award, said in the principal address that U.S. foreign policy and the cause of freedom are harmed by an "intellectual confusion" about who "we" are and who "they" are. In a trenchant critique of

the Soviet Union, she said the pattern of Soviet expansion "is by now discouragingly familiar: choose a weak government, organize a national liberation front, add a terrorist campaign to disrupt order and provoke repression, weaken an already weak economy, then intensify the violence." The United States, she said, is often "more inventive in finding reasons why we should not help peoples resist incorporation into the Soviet empire than in finding ways to help."

Other speakers included former national security advisor **Zbigniew Brzezinski**; Governor **Thomas Kean** of New Jersey; Mayor **Edward Koch** of New York; and Ambassador **Max Kampelman**, chief U.S. delegate to the recently concluded Madrid Review Meeting under the Helsinki Final Act, who served as master of ceremonies.

Brzezinski said Solidarity was led by "men who have a sense of history and morality." "We are here to condemn a dictatorship whose aim is not only to dominate but fundamentally to transform those it seeks to dominate," he said. But it will not succeed, for "the fundamental inevitability of our times is freedom. You sense this everywhere—you sense it in Latin America, you sense it in Asia, you sense it above all behind the Iron Curtain. The idea of freedom, which moved men and women only in a small part of Western Europe and in thirteen isolated colonies some two centuries ago, has now become the universal motive force of political action."

Patrons of the event were the Adolph Coors Foundation, A-P-A Transport Corporation, the Lauder Foundation, and the Reader's Digest Association.

The evening was enriched by string music from the Slavic Arts Ensemble and by a drawing of Walesa made for the program by Jan Glinski, a Polish artist now living in the United States. The Voice of America and Radio Free Europe broadcast portions of the event into Eastern Europe. Among other media covering the dinner were the *New York Times* (which carried a fifteen-inch story in the main news section on Sunday, October 23), Associated Press, United Press International, NBC, and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

The event did not go unnoticed in Moscow. In the November 2 issue of the *Literary Gazette*, Igor Belyaev

(Continued on page 4)



# Ethics and Public Policy Center

1666 Connecticut Avenue N.W. □ Washington, D.C. 20009 □ 202 328-7400

Ernest W. Lefever  
President

August 24, 1983

RECEIVED

AUG 25 1983

Ambassador Max Kampelman  
600 New Hampshire Ave., NW #1000  
Washington, DC 20037

Dear Max:

I am delighted that you will serve as master of ceremonies at our Salute to Lech Walesa dinner, Friday, October 21, 1983, at the Waldorf Astoria. You are the right person at the right time for the right purpose.

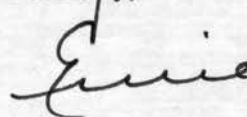
We are also pleased that Maggie will be able to join you for this black-tie event, including the 7:00 o'clock reception before the dinner. You both will be our overnight guests at the Waldorf. You will be receiving an appropriate invitation shortly.

As I told you, Walesa will be getting the Shelby Davis Award given last year to Jeane Kirkpatrick who will also be on the program this year along with Zbigniew Brzezinski and other notables. We have invited Vice President Bush and Governor Mario Cuomo to take part. We are hoping for one thousand guests, but will be happy if half that number are present.

The entire event will be a celebration of the unending human quest for freedom and dignity. Our Board of Directors unanimously selected Walesa for this honor and we extended the invitation through the Solidarity underground and received his written acceptance and speech in a plain envelope from Milan, Italy.

We will be in touch with you as plans unfold. I hope that the summer has given you a bit of time for rest and recreation.

Cordially,



Ernest W. Lefever

P.S. Enclosed is our latest brochure with our new address and phone number.

## Board of Directors

Leslie M. Burgess, *Chairman* □ Kenneth Baker, S.J. □ William H. Brady, Jr. □ Shelby Cullom Davis □ Kenneth R. Giddens  
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# Ethics and Public Policy Center

1666 Connecticut Avenue N.W. □ Washington, D.C. 20009 □ 202 328-7400

AUG 6 1983

Contact: Michael Warder  
(202) 682-1200 or  
(202) 328-7400

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

## Lech Walesa to be Honored

Washington, D.C., August 25 --- Lech Walesa, leader of the now banned Polish Solidarity Union, has agreed to accept the second annual Davis Award for "outstanding public service marked by integrity and courage." The award will be given by the Washington-based Ethics and Public Policy Center at a dinner on October 21, 1983, in the grand ballroom of the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York City.

Ernest W. Lefever, the Center's president, announced today that participants in the Salute to Lech Walesa dinner will include U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Jeane Kirkpatrick; Ambassador Max Kampelman, chief U.S. delegate to the Helsinki talks; Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski, former National Security Advisor; and noted Polish author Tymoteusz Karpowicz, who will accept the award on behalf of Mr. Walesa and read his message which was smuggled out of Poland.

"The evening will be a celebration of the unending human quest for freedom and dignity and a message of encouragement for the countless millions throughout the world who are denied the blessings of liberty," said Dr. Lefever, adding: "Lech Walesa's effective leadership and quiet courage has earned him universal respect." Mr. Walesa was chosen by a unanimous vote of the Center's board of directors.

The Shelby Cullom Davis Award, named for its donor, was first awarded in 1982 to Jeane Kirkpatrick. Founded in 1976, the Ethics and Public Policy Center is a nonprofit, educational organization with an active research, writing, publication, and conference program. (For details, see enclosed brochure.)

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### Board of Directors

Leslie M. Burgess, *Chairman* □ Kenneth Baker, S.J. □ William H. Brady, Jr. □ Shelby Cullom Davis □ Kenneth R. Giddens  
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10/21

# Ethics and Public Policy Center

1030 Fifteenth Street N.W., Suite 300   ☐   Washington, D.C. 20005   ☐   (202) 682-1200

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Ernest W. Lefever  
President

October 7, 1983

Mr. Max M. Kampelman  
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Kampelman  
600 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W. Suite 1000  
Washington, D.C. 20037

Dear Max:

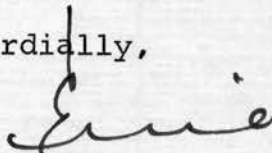
Sarah and Julia will be our most welcome guests at the "Salute to Lech Walesa" dinner along with you and Maggie.

At present it looks like my two sons will also be attending.

We are working hard on the program and within a few days I would like to have a conference with you about your duties as master of ceremonies. It looks like President Reagan will present his message to the dinner by means of video tape, but this is not yet certain.

We have a strong program and the Nobel Prize to Walesa will not hurt our cause.

Cordially,



Ernest W. Lefever

## WALESA PROGRAM SCHEDULE

Reception	7:00 P.M.
Enter Grand Ballroom - Music starts	7:45 P.M.
Dr. Ernest W. Lefever, President Ethics and Public Policy Center, introduces Dr. Ernest Gordon, President of the Christian Rescue Effort for the Emancipation of Dissidents	8:00 P.M.
Dr. Gordon gives invocation	8:03 P.M.
Dinner begins	8:06 P.M.
Dr. Lefever gives brief welcome and introduces the emcee, Ambassador Max M. Kampelman, Chairman, United States Delegation, Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe	9:06 P.M.
Ambassador Kampelman makes brief remarks (3 min) and introduces Ambassador Shelby Cullom Davis, founding sponsor of the award and Board member of the Ethics and Public Policy Center	9:09 P.M.
Max Kampelman introduces head table	9:15 P.M.
Max Kampelman introduces Leslie M. Burgess, Chairman of the Board of the Ethics and Public Policy Center	9:20 P.M.
Mr. Burgess reads messages	9:22 P.M.
Max Kampelman introduces President Reagan's message	9:26 P.M.
President Reagan's message is presented	9:27 P.M.
Max Kampelman introduces Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski, former National Security Advisor	9:29 P.M.

Dr. Brzezinski offers remarks	9:31 P.M.
Max Kampelman introduces Thomas Kean, Governor of New Jersey	9:41 P.M.
Governor Kean makes remarks	9:43 P.M.
Max Kampelman introduces Jeane Kirkpatrick, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations	9:53 P.M.
Ambassador Kirkpatrick gives address	9:55 P.M.
Max Kampelman introduces Mayor of New York Edward Koch	10:10 P.M.
Mayor Koch offers remarks, reads citation, and introduces Karpowicz	10:11 P.M.
Prof. Karpowicz reads citation in Polish, Walesa's acceptance speech in English and Polish, and recites poem	10:21 P.M.
Phone call	10:30 P.M.
Max Kampelman introduces Archbishop John F. Whealon of Hartford, Conn., to give benediction	10:35 P.M.
Archbishop Whealon gives benediction	10:36 P.M.
Max Kampelman says "Goodnight"	10:39 P.M.

# Ethics and Public Policy Center

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Contact: Michael Warder  
(202) 682-1200

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

## **Lech Walesa to be Honored at Waldorf Astoria Celebration**

Washington, D.C., October 17 — Lech Walesa, winner of the 1983 Nobel Prize for Peace, will also be honored by the Washington-based Ethics and Public Policy Center at a Salute to Lech Walesa dinner at the Waldorf Astoria in New York on October 21. He will receive in absentia the Shelby Cullom Davis Award, which last year went to Jeane Kirkpatrick, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations.

Ambassador Kirkpatrick will make the main address at this celebration of the unending quest for human freedom and dignity. Also participating will be New York Mayor Edward Koch; New Jersey Governor Thomas Kean; Ambassador Max Kampelman, chief U.S. delegate to the Helsinki talks; Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski, former national security advisor; and Archbishop John F. Whealon of Hartford, Connecticut. The noted Polish author Tymoteusz Karpowicz will accept the award on behalf of Mr. Walesa and read his acceptance speech, which was smuggled out of Poland.

Dr. Ernest W. Lefever, founder and president of the Ethics and Public Policy Center, expressed regret that Mr. Walesa could not be present in person

(continued)



to receive the award, adding: "We have cabled Polish Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski requesting his permission for Mr. Walesa to travel to New York with the assurance of a safe return. We also urged that he be allowed to attend the Nobel award ceremony in Oslo."

Mr. Walesa was unanimously chosen in November 1982 to receive the Davis Award for "outstanding public service marked by integrity and courage" by the Board of Directors of the Ethics and Public Policy Center. His signed letter of acceptance reached the Center in May 1983. Mr. Walesa will be given a citation, not a cash award.

Founded in 1976, the Ethics and Public Policy Center is a non-profit educational organization dedicated to reinforcing the bond between the Judeo-Christian moral tradition — respect for human rights, individual freedom, justice, and the rule of law—and current political and economic problems.

Note: For further information, see enclosed brochure.

**SALUTE TO LECH WALESIA PROGRAM**  
(A Guide for EWL, MYW, and Max Kampelman)

1. Lefever:

Ladies and gentlemen, please take your places. We would like to begin this celebration of freedom by asking God's blessing. May I introduce Dr. Ernest Gordon, president of the Christian Rescue Effort for the Emancipation of Dissidents to give our invocation? Dr. Gordon . . .

2. Dr. Gordon: Please stand for the invocation.

(He delivers prayer.)

3. Lefever: I hope you enjoy your dinner and your table companions.

**DINNER**

4. Lefever:

Ladies and gentlemen: It is my special pleasure to welcome you to this dinner in behalf of the Board of Directors of the Ethics and Public Policy Center, and especially in behalf of Ambassador Shelby Cullom Davis who has made possible the award being given tonight.

We believe with our Founding Fathers that all men everywhere and at all times have been "endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights" — Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness. We also hope — in the spirit of Abraham Lincoln — that the world will not forever remain half slave and half free. We believe in the indivisibility of freedom — a society cannot enjoy freedom of speech without freedom at the ballot box; it cannot have freedom of religion without freedom of movement; it cannot have academic freedom without freedom of the press. And each freedom carries with it a heavy burden of responsibility.

In this rich and diverse audience tonight there are hundreds of persons whose family or friends have suffered the torments of tyrants past and present. Some of you have families who perished in Hitler's death camps. Others have lost loved ones in Stalin's Gulag.

Tonight we are celebrating freedom by honoring one of its heroes. We are sending a message of hope to the millions of our fellow human beings around the world who do not yet enjoy the blessings of liberty. At the same time, we are reminding ourselves that, cliché though it is, eternal vigilance is the price of

liberty.

Now, it is my pleasure to introduce a fellow American who has been in the vanguard of the struggle for human rights and who will serve as our Master of Ceremonies. I have known Max Kampelman for more than 25 years. Among the things we have in common is that we both worked for the late Senator Hubert Humphrey. Ambassador Kampelman is a distinguished scholar, attorney, diplomat, and political activist in the best sense of that term.

Most recently he has earned the gratitude of his countrymen and the Free World by serving with valor and discernment as Chairman of the U.S. Delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. With the rank of ambassador he has led our delegation in Madrid since 1980. Under the rubric of the Helsinki Accords he has stood up for dissidents and others in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union who have been denied their basic human rights. We are all in debt to this man, Max Kampelman.



5. Max Kampelman: (Remarks - 3 minutes)

*THIS IS A MOST DIST. AUDIENCE. I HOPE YOU WILL UNDERSTAND I DO NOT IDENTIFY ALL IN THIS AUDIENCE WHO DESERVE SPECIAL MENTION. I SHALL LIMIT MYSELF TO THOSE WHOSE ROLE TONIGHT BRINGS THEM TO THIS BALCONY AND TO ONE REPRESENTATIVE GROUP IN THE ORCHESTRA.*

6. Kampelman: (Introduces Ambassador Shelby Cullom Davis and his wife first;

then other members of the head table, very briefly)

Ambassador Shelby Cullom Davis, as Ernie (Dr. Lefever) has said, established an annual award for public service marked by unusual "integrity and courage."

Ambassador Davis himself has had a distinguished career in finance, education, and diplomacy, including the post of U.S. Ambassador to Switzerland from 1969 to 1975. He is chairman of Shelby Cullom Davis and Company here in New York and serves on the board of the Ethics and Public Policy Center. Also here with him is Mrs. Davis. Will you both stand, please?

My other introductions will be briefer; please hold your applause to the end.

*MY LONG TIME FRIEND AND ASSOCIATE*

(1) You have already met <sup>1</sup>Ernie Lefever, the President of the Ethics and Public Policy Center, who is here with his wife, Margaret.

(2) Other members of the Center's Board of Directors are:

(a) Leslie Burgess -- of whom more later -- and his wife Dr. Sarah Jastak-Burgess.

(Spotlight on TABLE 5)

(b) Midge Decter, Executive Director of the Committee for the

Free World.

*I HAVE THE HONOR AND PLEASURE TO DOXUS AS A*  
(c) Richard Schifter, who <sup>WITH</sup> happens to be a law partner of mine.

Dick heads the U.S. delegation to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights in Geneva.

(d) Paul Ramsey, Emeritus Professor of Religion at Princeton University.

*(e) AMBASSADOR CHARLES LICHTENSTEIN, US DEL. TO THE UN  
A MAN OF FEW BUT CLEAR WORDS*

*EDITOR OF COMMENTARY*

*(f) STAFF HONORARY*  
*(g) NORMAN POLSKA*  
Now, back to the long table: <sup>YOUR</sup> From left to right, (audience

perspective):

Governor Thomas Kean of New Jersey;

MRS. BURGESS

Dr. Ernest Gordon, who gave that moving invocation;

Mrs. Zbigniew Brzezinski;

Mr. Boleslaw Wierzbianski, Editor and Publisher of the Polish Daily

News and Commissioner of the Human Rights Commission of the

City of New York;

(Mrs. Shelby Cullom Davis)

*SICIL THE NEXT FOR*

(Mr. Leslie Burgess)

(Jeane Kirkpatrick — skip, leave till last)

*ERNEST LEFEVRE*

(Max Kampelman)

Professor Tymoteusz Karpowicz, whom <sup>BT</sup> I will introduce more fully

later;

Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski, who will speak to us in a short while;

(Ambassador Shelby Cullom Davis)

*MY WIFE, MY FATHER, MY CONSCIENCE*

Mrs. Max Kampelman;

*MARK LEFELD*

*MY FORMER TEACHER AND DOCTORATE FACULTY ADVISED AT THE U. OF MICHIGAN*

Dr. Evron Kirkpatrick, for many years executive director of the

American Political Science Association;

Mrs. Boleslaw Wierzbianski;

Archbishop John Whealon of Hartford;

Mrs. Ernest Gordon;

Mayor Edward Koch of New York City;

And, to my right, the Honorable Jeane Kirkpatrick, of whom more

later

7. Kampelman: Now let me say a further word about Leslie Burgess, chairman of the Board of the Ethics and Public Policy Center. Mr. Burgess is <sup>A DISTINGUISHED AND</sup> ~~Executive~~ <sup>ESUCCESSFUL BUSINESSMAN</sup> Consultant to the Fluor Corporation, and he also serves on the board of directors of the Kosciuszko Foundation here in New York. I will now call upon Leslie Burgess to read some messages. Mr. Burgess.

8. Burgess: It is a real pleasure for me to be with you tonight and an honor to serve as chairman of the Board of the Ethics and Public Policy Center along with my distinguished colleagues and to work with Ernie Lefever and his dedicated staff. Now I will read some of the messages we have received for this event.

(1) Governor Mario Cuomo of New York: (to be added)

(2) Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan: (to be added)

(3) Senator Alfonse D'Amato:

"I regret that a previous engagement prevents me from joining you this evening as you gather to honor Lech Walesa. . . .

"From the shipyards of Gdansk, Walesa has emerged as a symbol of the struggle for freedom and dignity. His experience has served as an inspiration to millions of men and women who continue to be denied even the most basic of human rights by totalitarian dictators. . . .

"The selection of Walesa . . . serves to focus the attention of the world on the repressive policies pursued by the Polish



authorities. As a member of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, I have become painfully familiar with the disregard for human rights and civil liberties displayed by Communist officials both in Poland and elsewhere. The time has come to expose these blatant violations of the U.N. Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the Helsinki Final Act. In this regard, Lech Walesa has truly served to advance the course of peace through his dedicated defense of human rights."

(4) Author James Michener, whose recent book on Poland is on the best-seller lists:

"As a great admirer of Poland and the Polish people, I salute Lech Walesa as a true patriot. His courage has been an example to those who enjoy political freedom in the world, and a symbol of hope to those millions politically oppressed. My warmest greetings, James Michener."

(5) Senator Bill Bradley: (to be added)

(6) Senator Frank Lautenberg: (to be added)

(7) Here is a message from the former director of the Voice of America, now President of RKO General, Mr. Frank Shakespeare:

"Lech Walesa is an extraordinary man whose efforts in behalf of freedom will be remembered long after the names of Poland's oppressors are forgotten. In honoring Walesa, you honor one of the great men of the century."

(8) Now, an indirect word from His Holiness, Pope John Paul II, who was

unable to send a message to this dinner, but who did salute Lech Walesa on the occasion of his receiving the Nobel Prize for Peace. This is what he said:

"I wish to send you my cordial congratulations. There is a special eloquence in the fact that in this way are honored the will and the efforts undertaken with the intent of resolving the difficult problems of the workers and society in Poland."

9. Kampelman: Thank you, Mr. Burgess. And now, if modern technology works  
*It's my great honor to introduce to you*  
its magic, ~~we will hear from~~ the President of the United States. (Room darkens,  
and President Reagan's face and voice will be projected to guests.)

10. President Reagan: (via film)

11. Kampelman: President Reagan has expressed his regret that he could not be here in person, but we are most grateful for his warm and heartfelt message.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, it is my privilege to introduce a distinguished <sup>and leading</sup> ~~AMERICAN~~ <sup>AMERICAN</sup> ~~BORN IN POLAND. DR. B WAS BORN TO AND NOURISHED ON HUMAN VALUES AND THEIR INTER-~~  
~~RELATIONSHIP TO DIKICANY. IN ISRAEL THERE IS A TRIBUTE TO DR. B'S FATHER WHO, AS A POLISH DISSENT SAVED LARGE NUMBERS OF JEWS DURING THE NAZI PERIOD~~  
Polish-American. If one has to be hyphenated, I can think of no better combination than Polish and American (anticipate great applause). Poland has

had a glorious and tragic history, located as it is between two great and often ambitious powers, Germany and Russia. <sup>ITS BASIC STRENGTH IS REFLECTED IN THE STATEMENT</sup> ~~As one wag put it,~~ "Poland is like a <sup>TURN</sup>  
 canary trying simultaneously to swallow two cats."

As President ~~Jimmy~~ Carter's National Security Advisor, Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski has probably had to swallow more than two cats. <sup>SENIOR</sup> ~~SERIOUSLY, ZBIG~~ <sup>A SENIOR AMERICAN AT THE</sup>  
<sup>GEORGETOWN UNIV CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTL STUDIES, HE IS ALSO THE</sup>  
~~Brzezinski, as his friends call him, is now, Herbert Lehman Professor of~~  
<sup>A TRUSTEE OF F.H. WHICH I HAVE THE</sup>  
 Government at Columbia University. ~~He has had a long interest in human rights,~~  
<sup>AND TO CHAIR, DR. B. ADD TO HIS SCHOLARSHIP A COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRATIC</sup>  
~~especially in his native Poland. Among his many affiliations, he has served as a~~  
<sup>VALUES</sup>  
~~trustee of Freedom House and Amnesty International. He believes, as I do, that~~  
 there is no basic conflict between national security and human rights when both  
<sup>INDEED, THEIR INTERACTIVE RELATIONSHIP IS A SOURCE OF</sup>  
 of these objectives are properly understood. Professor Brzezinski: <sup>OK</sup> <sup>STRENGTH</sup>

12. Brzezinski: (remarks, 8-10 minutes)



13. Kampelman: (Introduces Governor Thomas Kean of New Jersey) Although this "Salute to Lech Walesa" is a non-political celebration, no such occasion would be complete without including at least one politician. We have two on the program. The first is Governor Thomas Kean of New Jersey, the 48th elected governor of that state. Governor Kean is also an educator, a conservationist, and a journalist. He has taught political science at Rutgers University and once was a television commentator. Now, given the brief time allotted for his remarks, we will see whether his brevity as a journalist will prevail over his inclinations to be ample as a politician. Governor Kean, the floor is yours:

14. Governor Kean: (remarks, 10 minutes)

15. Kampelman: The address of the evening will be given by a person who literally needs no introduction and who is, as it happens, a close friend and colleague of mine. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, has many other claims to fame. She was the first recipient of the Shelby Cullom Davis Award for "integrity and courage" and a founding director of the Ethics and Public Policy Center.

Everyone here knows of the courage, honesty, and intelligence she has brought to the grueling task of representing U.S. and Free World interests on the East River, of her warm devotion to liberty and human rights, and of her deep understanding of the tragic realities of an increasingly dangerous world.

(Kampelman may add words of his own.)

16. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick: (address, 15 minutes)

17. Kampelman: (Introduces Mayor Edward Koch of New York) If any city in the world represents the diversity and unity of <sup>THE HUMAN RACE</sup> humankind, it is New York City. Its accomplishments, its problems, its promise, yes, its magic, all conspire to make it a symbol of the United States of America <sup>AND ITS VIBRANT DEMOCRACY</sup>

Edward Koch is the son of immigrants from Poland who became the 105th Mayor of the City of New York. <sup>AND AS SUCH HAS BECOME AS MUCH AS HE HAS CAPTURED THE VITALITY OF THIS GREAT CITY.</sup> He served in the United States House of Representatives for 10 years. <sup>AND (AS PROOF OF HIS FRIENDSHIP) ED KOCH AND I MET WHEN HE WAS A MEMBER OF CONGRESS.</sup> He is now serving his second 4-year term at the helm of this great city. <sup>IN THE SPIRIT OF POLITICAL CATERING TO REFORMS, AS A DEMOCRAT, AM PROUD OF A FELLOW DEMOCRAT WHO SPEAKS ABOUT INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS TO HIS CONSTITUENTS.</sup> Mayor Koch, we look forward to your remarks:  
<sup>STATE</sup> <sup>WATCH TOWARD I. KOCH.</sup>

18. Mayor Koch: (Remarks, citation, and introduction, 10 minutes)

- (a) Remarks (7 minutes)
- (b) Reads Lech Walesa citation (2 minutes)
- (c) introduces Professor Karpowicz (2 minutes)

And now it is my special pleasure to introduce the person who will receive the award in behalf of Lech Walesa who, for obvious reasons, cannot be with us tonight. Professor Tymoteusz Karpowicz was born in a small Polish village in 1921. During the Nazi occupation he was a member of the Polish underground. After the war he embarked on his academic and literary career. After the Communist takeover of Poland in 1949 and the official pressure to conform to "socialist realism," Professor Karpowicz retreated from active literary life until 1956 and finally migrated to this country in 1975. He is now a professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures at the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle.

In 1975, he received the Alfred Jurzykowski Award, the so-called "Polish Nobel Prize."

Ladies and Gentlemen, I present to you Professor Karpowicz:

19. CEREMONY: Mayor Koch hands citation to Karpowicz and shakes hands with him. (Shelby Cullom Davis, Max Kampelman, and Lefever look on. Also: Photos of Davis, Kirkpatrick, and Koch shaking hands with Karpowicz. (Lefever will arrange).

Participants return to their seats:

20. Professor Karpowicz: (10 minutes)

- (a) Reads citation in Polish
- (b) Reads Lech Walesa acceptance in English and Polish
- (c) Reads portions of his poem to Walesa in English

21. Phone call

22. Kampelman: This has been a thrilling and inspiring evening and nothing further needs to be added by me. I would, however, like to end as we began, by asking <sup>Divine</sup> God's blessing on us all. I now call upon Archbishop John F. Whealon, who since 1969 has led the Catholic archdiocese of Hartford, Connecticut, <sup>to clear the benediction.</sup>  
Archbishop Whealon:

23. Archbishop Whealon: (Gives benediction)

24. Kampelman: Thank you all for honoring us with your presence. Good night, and have a safe journey home.