



## Max M. Kampelman Papers

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Herbert M. Bridge Arthur Siegal Albot M. Franco  
Norman Sarkowsky Raymond Galante  
and

The World Without War Council  
invite you to a breakfast briefing with

Max M. Kampelman  
Ambassador and Chairman of The U.S. Delegation to the  
Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe  
(the Helsinki Conference)

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Tuesday, November 1, 1983 7:30~9:00am  
Dupar Room ◀ 6th floor ◀ South Tower ◀ Westin Hotel  
RSVP to Barry Goren 523-4755

# THE WORLD WITHOUT WAR COUNCIL

in cooperation with

American Jewish Committee

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Christian Embassy for Israel - Seattle Consulate

Community Relations Committee of the Jewish Federation

Jewish Education Council

National Conference of Christians & Jews

Samuel and Althea Stroum Jewish Community Center

Seattle Action for Soviet Jewry

presents

## ***"Human Rights In The Soviet Union And Eastern Europe: Strategies For Action In The Post-Jackson Era"***

**Tuesday, November 1, 1983 7:30 P.M.**  
**Stroum Jewish Community Center's Auditorium**  
**3801 E. Mercer Way, Mercer Island, WA 98040**

Admission: Complimentary

For information contact: Barry Goren, Executive Director  
World Without War Council  
(206) 523-4755

Free "Action Kits" and other resource material



**MAX M. KAMPELMAN**

Chairman and Ambassador of the U.S. delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. (The Helsinki Review Conference). One of America's truly distinguished statesman and a long time associate of the late Senator Hubert Humphrey. Mr. Kampelman has recently completed three years of intense negotiations with senior Soviet diplomats on the subject of human rights in Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R.



**SISTER ANN GILLEN**

Executive Director for the National Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry. She has been a leading American activist on behalf of Soviet Jewry for over a decade. She is currently a member of the Board of Directors of Common Cause and the National Coalition of American Nuns.



**GEORGE S. WEIGEL, JR.**

Scholar-in-residence at the World Without War Council in Seattle. He is also a regular columnist for both the Weekly and the Catholic Northwest Progress. Mr. Weigel has been a leading commentator on questions of human rights, ethics and war.



**Samuel & Althea Stroum  
Jewish Community Center**

OF GREATER SEATTLE

3801 East Mercer Way • Mercer Island, Washington 98040

*Jewish Federation*



*of Greater Seattle*



**United Way**



**JWB**

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**THREE GOOD REASONS TO BE AT THE J.C.C.  
ON TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1983 AT 7:30 P.M.**

**MAX M. KAMPELMAN**

**SISTER ANN GILLEN**

**GEORGE S. WEIGEL, JR.**

November 3, 1983

Barry M. Goren  
World Without War Council  
Northwest Regional Office  
1514 NE 45th Street  
Seattle, Washington 98105

Dear Mr. Goren:

You will find enclosed a receipt covering Mr. Kampelman's round-trip air travel to Seattle and a receipt for his hotel.

With respect to the air travel, I have been informed that the actual round trip cost from Washington, D.C. to Seattle is \$856.00.

In addition to the above, there was a taxi fare in Washington to National Airport in the amount of \$8.00 and a taxi fare from Dulles International Airport to Washington, on the return, in the amount of \$30.00.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

Nancy C. Tackett

Enclosures



# WORLD WITHOUT WAR COUNCIL

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28 October 1983

Max M. Kampelman  
c/o Leonard Sussman  
Freedom House  
20 W. 40th St.  
New York, New York 10018

Dear Max,


Enclosed are two items for your review as you fly across the country.

\* Some "talking points" about the World Without War Council that Bob Pickus suggested we provide you with

\* "Pluralizing the Soviet Union"--an article by George Weigel written for the Target Seattle: Soviet Realities program

We'll see you at the airport Monday night.

Best,

  
Barry M. Goren

PS: Phone numbers in case of emergency:

WWWC Office: (206) 523-4755  
Barry (home): (206) 324-4866  
George (home): (206) 523-2709

BG:jak

PPS: Would you be able to bring two or three copies of Three Years At the East/West Divide with you so we can promote it in Seattle?





ALL PENDING  
NOTE HOTEL

# WORLD WITHOUT WAR COUNCIL

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5 October 1983

Mr. Max M. Kampelman

Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver and Kampelman

Suite 1000

600 New Hampshire Ave. N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20037

Dear Mr. Kampelman,

I am writing to sketch out the schedule for your Seattle visit on Tuesday, November 1st.

7:30-9:00AM

Breakfast briefing for Jewish community leaders at the Westin Hotel (see enclosed invitation)

9:00-12:00

Currently open time. I have asked Rosanne Royer, wife of Seattle's Mayor Charles Royer (and World Without War Council Board Member) to join me in showing you and your wife around Seattle.

12:00-2:00PM

Target Seattle: Soviet Realities Program (see enclosed program). There will probably be one or two respondents to your address which you should plan to last 30 to 40 minutes.

We will provide lunch for you and Mrs. Kampelman.

2:30-4:00

Cathedral Fellows Colloquium (see enclosed). This will be a group of 25-30, representing media, business, labor, religious and civic leaders.

4:30-6:00

Public Reception at the Polish Hall. Sponsored by the WWWC and a coalition of Eastern European and human rights groups. You will be presented with a scroll expressing our appreciation for the good work you have done.

6:00-7:00

A relaxed dinner at the home of Jean Rosen of the WWWC Board of Directors.

7:30-9:00

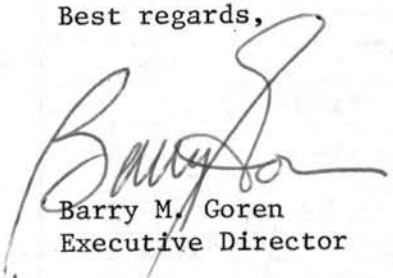
Public Program at the Jewish Community Center sponsored by the WWWC and various Jewish organizations. Title of the program is "Human Rights in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union: Strategies for Action in the Post-Jackson Era." Sister Ann Gillen and George Weigel will also speak at the program.

Max M. Kampelman  
5 October 1983  
Page Two

It is quite a full day. We felt that a man of your experience and stature should receive maximum exposure in our town.

George Weigel tells me you will be joining him for dinner on Monday evening, October 31. Please let me know when you and Mrs. Kampelman will be arriving in Seattle and I'll plan to meet you at the airport. I am totally at your disposal while you are in Seattle. Please tell me how I might be helpful in making your visit pleasant and restful after your busy November 1st workday.

Best regards,



Barry M. Goren  
Executive Director

P.S.: Hotel reservations have been made at the Alexis Hotel in Seattle.

encl: as stated  
BG:jak

*1007 First Ave*

*624-4844*



26 September 1983

MEMO

For: Cathedral Fellows, past and present

From: George Weigel *GW*

Re: an invitation to the first 1983-84 Cathedral Fellows Colloquium

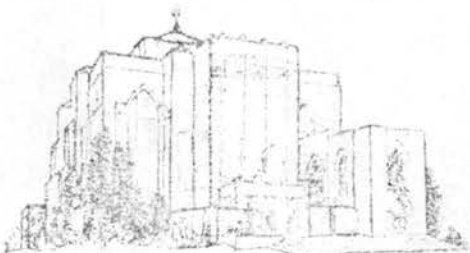
On November 1, 1983, from 2:30 until 4 p.m., we will hold the first Cathedral Fellows Colloquium of 1983-1984, in Leffler House at St. Mark's Cathedral. Participants will include Cathedral Fellows past and present.

Our guest on November 1 will be Ambassador Max M. Kampelman, who has just completed his third year as the Chairman of the U.S. Delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which reviews compliance with the Helsinki Accords of 1976. Mr. Kampelman was appointed to this position by President Carter, and re-appointed by President Reagan.

Max Kampelman is one of the genuinely distinguished statesman of American public life. Long associated with the late Senator Hubert Humphrey, Kampelman has served Presidents of both parties in a series of important posts. He has recently completed service as the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars at the Smithsonian Institution (a Presidential appointment), and is currently Chairman of the Board of Freedom House, the New York-based human rights organization. His current Board affiliations include the Hebrew University in Jerusalem; Georgetown University; the Coalition for a Democratic Majority; the Anti-Defamation League; and the American Peace Society. An attorney with the Washington, D.C. firm of Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver, and Kampelman, Mr. Kampelman was also host of the PBS series "Washington Week in Review" from 1967-1970. He is coming to Seattle as the guest of the World Without War Council, with which he has had a long association, and to speak at Target Seattle: Soviet Realities -- a topic with which he is intimately familiar, having just finished three years of intense negotiations and rhetorical exchange with senior Soviet diplomats at Madrid, including Foreign Minister Gromyko.

Our conversation with Max Kampelman will be informal, off-the-record, and as broad-ranging as you care to make it. Coffee and tea will be available.

Do let me know whether you are able to attend by calling Julia Kittross at the office of the World Without War Council, 523-4755.



**cathedral associates**

St. Mark's Cathedral • 1245 Tenth Avenue East • Seattle, Washington 98102 • (206) 323 1040

10/31



# WORLD WITHOUT WAR COUNCIL

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19 September 1983

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

Dear Mr. Kampelman:

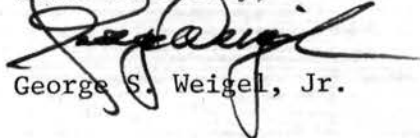
Thank you for your letter of 7 September. My wife and I are delighted that you and Mrs. Kampelman will be able to join us for dinner on October 31. One of the sadnesses we can share that evening is the death of our mutual friend Scoop Jackson, whose importance to America I tried, inadequately, to capture in the enclosed memorial piece published out here.

My colleague Barry Goren will be in touch with you about the details of your schedule here.

I hope your European tour was successful.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,



George S. Weigel, Jr.

10/31

August 19, 1983

Mr. Barry Goren  
Executive Director  
World Without War Council  
1514 N.E. 45th Street  
Seattle, Washington 98105

Dear Mr. Goren:

I now have your letter of August 11th. I am responding to it although I believe we have talked about it on the telephone.

With respect to your question as to whether we "require" first-class air travel, let me say that since I am now past the age of 39, I prefer it or business class, when it is available. It is, of course, not a question of a requirement; it is, however, a preference for a long trip.

With respect to your inquiry as to whether I can arrive on Monday, October 31st, I believe I can. I would arrive that evening. I am trying to decide now whether to accept a speaking invitation in Minneapolis on the evening of October 30th. In that event, I could leave sometime mid-day on the 31st, in order to get to Seattle. Otherwise, I would simply leave Washington sometime in the afternoon in order to reach Seattle on the evening of the 31st.

Your letter to the Editor was on the mark.

All my best to you.

Sincerely,

Max H. Kampelman

MMK:de



RECEIVED

AUG 15 1983

# WORLD WITHOUT WAR COUNCIL

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11 August 1983

Mr Max M. Kampelman

Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Kampelman  
600 New Hampshire Ave. N.W., Suite 1000  
Washington, D.C. 20037

Dear Mr. Kampelman,

I am thrilled that you'll be able to join us in Seattle in the Fall. It will be an honor to host you.

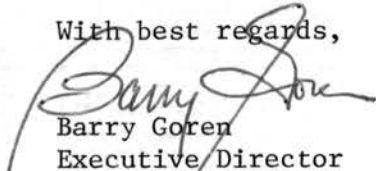
In order to plan your visit it would be helpful to know the following:

- 1) Will you and your wife require First Class air travel?
- 2) Is it possible for you to arrive in Seattle sometime on Monday, October 31 and depart Wednesday morning, November 2? (Of course, the longer you wish to stay, the better.)
- 3) Assuming you can be with us for a day and a half, how much "private" time would you like with your wife? There are many things we would like to do with you, but don't want to impose.

After you provide this information, I will get back to you with more details about what we are planning.

On behalf of your many admirers in Seattle, I want to thank you for your willingness to come.

With best regards,

  
Barry Goren  
Executive Director

P.S.: I thought the enclosed exchange that appeared in the Seattle Times last Winter might interest you. It does a good job of laying out the differences in perspective between the World Without War Council and the "standard peace movement."



8/24/83

Dear Mr. Goren:

Here are the pictures  
you requested. Should you  
need anything further, please  
don't hesitate to contact us.

Debbie Eagan

Attach.

October 27, 1983

TO: Ambassador Kampelman  
FM: Cathy Cosman  
ON: Talking Points on Religion in the USSR

### Constitutional and Legal Provisions

The 1977 Soviet Constitution grants only one right to religious believers. Article 124 grants "freedom to hold religious services." Compared to the first Soviet Constitution in 1918, this provision is a regression -- the 1918 Constitution granted the right to "conduct religious and anti-religious propaganda."

Despite the legal separation of church and state, a mass of other Soviet laws and regulations reveals that in fact the state attempts to exercise total control over every aspect of religious life in the USSR. Indeed, the existence and role of the Council on Religious Affairs under the Soviet Council of Ministers gives the lie to Soviet claims of the separation of church and state. The role of the Council on Religious Affairs is to ensure the implementation of myriad Soviet laws which regulate every aspect of organized official religious life in the USSR.

Some of the most onerous Soviet laws on religion include the following: religious groups cannot own their own buildings, rather they must rent these premises from the state which can revoke the rental agreement at any time should the congregation not live up to all the Soviet legal requirements; every congregation and religious leader must be registered with the state authorities in order to achieve legal status; religious groups must obtain permission from the state to maintain theological schools, monasteries and for the printing of religious materials (which are also censored); prohibition of any organized teaching of religion to minors except by their parents at home -- in fact, people under the age of 18 are not supposed to be inside a church.

In addition to these legal restrictions on organized religious life, the Soviet state has arrogated to itself the right to decide which religious denominations have the right to exist: outlawed religious groups include the Uniate or Greek Rite or Ukrainian Catholic Church (four million members at time of dissolution in 1944); Jehovah's Witnesses (considered a world-wide Brooklyn-based conspiracy); the True Orthodox Church (an Orthodox group which split from the other Orthodox churches in reaction to Soviet church policy).

### Statistics on Major Religious Groups in the USSR

Soviet officials tend to differentiate religious believers in the USSR into two groups: "traditionalists" for whom religion is an integral part of cultures "subsumed" into Soviet society: 44 million Muslims (Sunni among Turkmen, Uzbek, Tadzhik, Kazakh, Tatars, Kirghiz, etc and Shia among Azeribaidzhanis) 44 million Orthodox Christians (among Russian, Ukrainian, Georgian, Moldavian, and Armenians) and 250,000 religious Jews; and "converts" who made individual choices to adopt a certain religion: 4 million Roman Catholics (Lithuanian, Polish; minorities among Latvians and Germans) and 4 million Protestants (Latvian and Estonian Lutheran Churches; Baptists, Adventists, Pentecostals, Mennonites).



"HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION AND  
EASTERN EUROPE: STRATEGIES FOR ACTION  
IN THE POST-JACKSON ERA"

REMARKS BY  
MAX M. KAMPELMAN

NOVEMBER 1, 1983

Seattle, Washington

I am pleased to be with you in Seattle this evening. Before we begin our discussion, I want to express my appreciation to the people of the State of Washington for having given Senator Henry Jackson the base from which he was able to serve our country and its values for more than 35 years. One of the large figures of our nation's history, let us pray that we can, even after his death, follow his leadership and example. They are a formula for our country's destiny. There is regrettably no figure in public life today who matches his stature.

On a number of occasions today, I have met with groups and spoken of human rights, soviet Jewry, and the complexities of East-West relations, including the intricacies of negotiating with the Soviet Union. Tonight, I hope you will permit me to put all of this into a context which is common to us as members of the American-Jewish community.

The eternal values that characterize the essence of Judaism are values that are intimately related to the essential character of our American civilization. It is those values that have dominated our country's concerns during these past three years during which we negotiated with the Soviet Union in Madrid under the Helsinki Final Act of 1975.

Let me take a moment to define those values and then apply them to my task this evening.

The anthropologists tell us that there is such a thing as "folk memory". There are strong cultural, ethnic and national feelings which become an integral part of a community's thought processes and way of life. We of the United States, although a young country, are developing such a folk memory. The Jewish folk memory has contributed greatly to that process.

Interwoven within our Jewish folk memory is the constant awareness that in our past, in our present and in our contemplations of the future, there is our commitment as a people to the values of law, of learning, of the spirit. Wherever we may live, whether in South Africa, South America, Southern California or in the Soviet Union, this intermingling and respect for human values and learning is part of our folk memory. That is why we are called the "People of the Book."

These values are at the essence of our Jewish heritage and our Jewish life. The ancient scholars of Judaism studied law and proclaimed justice because they knew that the growth and development of the human personality toward God-like aspirations required a society based on order and equity.

In reaffirming our faith in these values, we are following the path established by the ancient Hebrew tribes, whose greatest contribution to our civilization was their proclamation to their neighbors that there was only one God. The immense significance of that proclamation was in the concept that if

there is only one God, then we are all of us his children and thus brothers and sisters to one another.

Here is the cornerstone of our civilization's belief in human brotherhood. Here, indeed, is the basis for our law, our system of jurisprudence and our political democracy.

Thus, if there is to be any justification for the continued survival of the descendants of those ancient Hebrew tribes, it must be in the reaffirmation by them -- by us -- of those truths of human brotherhood. It must be in a rededication to the values of learning and human growth.

There is one other relevant important truth taught us by the ancient Hebrew sages. It is that each of us has not only the capacity to stretch and evolve into a higher dimension of self, into a more God-like being, but that we also have the capacity for evil, for cruelty and for injustice. The Hebrews taught that there exists within each of a "yaitzer hatov" and a "yaitzer hara", that in the heart which is good and that in the heart which is evil. The Christian theologian, Reinhold Niebuhr, called it "Children of Light and Children of Darkness". This dichotomy is also basic to the teachings of Freud.

This duality within the human being reflects itself in human institutions as well. The commitment to democratic government is the political expression of the "light" within the human spirit. Totalitarian societies, where human repression prevails, reflect the "dark" side of the human spirit. Judaism

teaches us that we must not be blind to the existence of evil; and that we must constantly work to overwhelm it as part of man's evolution toward a higher form of being.

This brings me to the Madrid meeting, to the Helsinki process, to East-West relations.

The Helsinki Final Act was signed in 1975 by all the countries of Europe, except Albania, plus Canada and the United States, 35 in all. It was based on the premise that "detente" and peace were at hand. It was a unique international agreement in that it accepted the principle that European security was more than a function of military arms control. Security, it was understood, was a reflection of the total human relationship. The Helsinki Final Act thus not only incorporated military confidence-building measures, it also included important commitments to human rights and to human contacts. The human dimension was recognized as an indispensable part of the peace process.

We convened in Madrid in 1980 pursuant to an instruction in the original accords that we gather periodically in review meetings to explore ways of building upon the beginning steps taken in 1975. But what was clear for all of us to see was that Soviet behavior since 1975 reflected a deliberate disregard for the Helsinki undertakings.

The invasion of Afghanistan, the military coercion against the people of Poland, the growing virulent antisemitism in the Soviet Union, the persecution of Orthodox Christians, the arrest

and imprisonment of Helsinki monitors, the increasing jamming of Western broadcasts, the drastic reduction of Jewish and other emigration, the gruesome use of psychiatric hospitals as a form of political punishment -- each and every one of these cruelties is a betrayal of promises made by the Soviet Union when it signed the Helsinki Final Act in 1975. Each was documented at Madrid, in and out of formal sessions.

I will long remember a coffee session I arranged for a visiting Congressional group with the head of the Soviet delegation, a 75-year old Deputy Foreign Minister, a member of the Central Committee and former editor of Pravda and Izvestia. The meeting, intended to be brief, continued for two and one half hours. Its theme was set by one member of Congress, a Catholic priest, wearing his collar, talking with vehemence, conviction and eloquence about Scharansky and Soviet Jewry. I frequently contemplate the impression Father Drinan made on the Soviet delegation that day.

I recall the exchange with an Eastern European ambassador during which I turned over the names of 1200 families seeking to leave his country for ours whose applications had not been acted upon. "I urge you to communicate with your government about this," I said. "It makes no sense for me to be taking this issue up at our meeting or for this issue to be an irritant between our two countries. I have other fish to fry." He understood. A week or ten days later he came to me with 600 names, said their visas had been issued and the remaining

families on the list would be acted upon within a matter of weeks. They were.

Finally, I remember a Chanukah in Madrid. It was the second night and a number of fine women from our country and elsewhere, active with Soviet Jewry concerns, had arranged a reception in a local hotel. I rose to light the candles when the phone rang. It was Moscow. Arrangements had been made to gather a number of the Jewish refuseniks in the apartment of Abe Stolar. I was brought to the phone. Other delegates from Western states followed me. We told Dr. Alexander Lerner, Mr. Stolar and their friends gathered around the phone that evening that they had friends. They were not alone. They were not forgotten. There was hardly a dry eye in that room. We will not forget.

The essence of a memory is that it not be forgotten. The Madrid meeting is over, but we must not forget. And here we complete the circle. Our Jewish values and our country's democratic values stem from the same roots. The struggle to enhance that part of the human process which is represented by light rather than darkness is a struggle which takes many forms, and requires steadfastness and great patience.

Those of us concerned with human rights in the USSR fully understand that the issue cannot be separated from the totality of our relations.



We must understand that the Soviet Union respects military strength. Its incentive for negotiating an agreement is grater when the positions taken by its negotiating partner have the added dignity of being supported by that strength.

We must also appreciate that the leadership of the Soviet Union is serious. Its diplomats are serious and well-trained, and they appear to be ideologically committed to Leninism. The comment of one Soviet diplomat to one of our arms control negotiators: "We are neither philanthropists nor fools" tells much of their seriousness of purpose. Their response in a negotiation is motivated by one primary consideration: their perceived national self-interest.

We must not forget that the Soviet Union remains committed to the Leninist principle that violence is both necessary and justified in the pursuit of their Communist destiny. Thus, the Soviet Union is the major threat to our security and values -- an aggressive society seeking, with its massive military and police power, to expand its influence; and a repressive society determined to defend its totalitarian power, whatever the human cost.

Yet, we dare not and cannot blow the Soviet Union away. We cannot wish it away. It is here and it is militarily powerful. We share the same globe. We must try to find a formula under which we can live together in dignity.

We must engage in that pursuit of peace without illusion, but with persistence, regardless of provocation. Thus, in Madrid, we attended, talked, debated, negotiated, argued, dined, condemned, talked some more. We achieved some results in words. We have not yet achieved a change in patterns of behavior. That will only come, if it ever does come, when the Soviet Union concludes that it is in its interest to change, and when its leadership decides that it can best keep itself in power if the pattern is changed.

The Soviet Union is not likely soon to undergo what Jonathan Edwards called "a great awakening". Yet, the imperatives for survival in the nuclear age require us to persist -- through the deterrence that comes from military strength, through dialogue, through criticism, through negotiation -- to persist in the search for understanding, agreement, peace.

Our objectives are clear. How to realize them is less so. How do we persuade Soviet authorities, who have a stake in stability, to comprehend that repressive societies in our day cannot achieve inner stability or true security? Will they come to understand the need to disprove that cruelty is an indispensable part of their system? Are they capable of understanding that the Leninist aim of achieving world Communism through violence has no relevance in this nuclear age? Dare we hope that an evolving Soviet leadership will in the long run see that it cannot survive without humanizing its controls and its image in the world?

The Soviet Union, I believe, is now pondering our message. They accepted our words in Madrid. They have heard from us that just as their deeds undermined our confidence in their intentions, so must their deeds, and not just their words, begin to restore that confidence.

In the meantime, we must be patient and we must be firm. And we must have the strength and confidence that comes from faith.

Our task as Jews and as Americans is to fulfill our duty to continue the evolutionary process and to lead our children and grandchildren so that they fulfill their commitment of faith and their historic responsibilities. Our mission is nothing less than the stretching of ourselves toward the God-like dimensions that it is our destiny to strive to attain; and it is our mission as Jews and as Americans to keep the banner of human dignity high.

Thank you.