



Max M. Kampelman Papers

Copyright Notice:

This material may be protected by copyright law (U.S. Code, Title 17). Researchers are liable for any infringement. For more information, visit www.mnhs.org/copyright.

REMARKS BY
MAX M. KAMPELMAN
SENIOR ACADEMIC CONVOCATION

GEORGETOWN, UNIVERSITY

WASHINGTON, D. C.

APRIL 14, 1984

FATHER HEALY, REV. CLERGY, MEMBERS OF THE FACULTY,
STUDENTS, FAMILIES, FRIENDS:

MY CONGRATULATIONS TO THE SENIORS WHO ARE SOON TO
RECEIVE THEIR DEGREES AND MOVE ON TO NEW DIMENSIONS OF PERSONAL
MATURITY AND CAREER DEVELOPMENT. YOU HAVE STUDIED AT AN
EXTRAORDINARILY FINE INSTITUTION OF LEARNING, ONE IN WHICH
SCHOLARSHIP IS SUPPLEMENTED BY AN ATMOSPHERE OF DEEP AND BROADLY
ENCOMPASSING RELIGIOUS VALUES. THIS IS A JESUIT INSTITUTION,
BUT IT IS ONE WHICH WARMLY ACCEPTS AND EMBRACES ALL WHO ASPIRE
TO LEARNING AND ARE WILLING TO PURSUE THE EXCITING ADVENTURE
OF SEEKING INNER TRUTH.

YOU AND I HAVE EVERY REASON TO BE GRATEFUL FOR THE OPPORTUNITY
WE HAVE HAD TO BE A PART OF THIS UNIQUE AND CHALLENGING ENVIRON-
MENT, PRESIDED OVER BY A SCHOLAR AND LEADER OF EXQUISITE TALENTS,
WHO IS EQUALLY COMFORTABLE DEMONSTRATING HIS MASTERY OF ESOTERIC
ENGLISH POETRY AS WELL AS CONTEMPORARY PRACTICAL POLITICS. MY
PROFOUND THANKS TO OUR HIGHLY RESPECTED PRESIDENT, FATHER
TIMOTHY J. HEALY.

FOR MYSELF, I SHALL ALWAYS CHERISH THE HONORARY DEGREE
CONFERRED UPON ME BY GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY TODAY.

THESE ARE DANGEROUS TIMES. THEY WILL REQUIRE OUR INNER
STRENGTH, UNDERSTANDING AND FAITH; AND MOST PARTICULARLY THEY
WILL REQUIRE THE ENERGY AND INTELLIGENCE OF YOUR GENERATION.

EACH GENERATION FACES ITS OWN UNIQUE CHALLENGES. BUT THROUGH THE AGES THEY APPEAR TO HAVE ONE COMMON CHARACTERISTIC. MEN AND WOMEN SEEM CAPABLE OF MOBILIZING THEIR TALENTS TO UNRAVEL THE MYSTERIES OF THEIR PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT. WE HAVE LEARNED TO FLY THROUGH SPACE LIKE BIRDS AND MOVE IN DEEP WATERS LIKE FISH. BUT HOW TO LIVE AND LOVE ON THIS SMALL PLANET AS BROTHERS AND SISTERS STILL ELUDES US. IN EVERY AGE, THAT HAS BEEN THE ESSENCE OF THE CHALLENGE.

IN THE ONWARD EVOLUTION OF THE SPECIES HOMO SAPIENS TOWARD THE SPECIES HUMAN BEING, WE ARE BEING ASKED IN EACH GENERATION TO STRETCH TOWARD THE SUPREMACY OF THAT WHICH IS GOD-LIKE IN US. THE OBSTACLES THAT WE FACE ARE OPPORTUNITIES PROVIDED US TO FULFILL THAT EVOLUTIONARY DESTINY.

THE IMMENSE CHALLENGE TO THIS GENERATION IS TO FIND THE BASIS FOR LASTING PEACE AMONG THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD SO THAT THEY MIGHT LIVE IN DIGNITY. IN THIS NUCLEAR AGE, THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THAT GOAL IS OVERWHELMING.

FOUR YEARS AGO THIS MONTH, I WAS ASKED BY PRESIDENT CARTER TO HEAD THE AMERICAN DELEGATION TO A MEETING IN MADRID TAKING PLACE PURSUANT TO THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT OF 1975. THIS RESPONSIBILITY, RENEWED IN 1981 WHEN I WAS REAPPOINTED BY PRESIDENT REAGAN, LED TO THREE INTENSIVE YEARS OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION.

THE 1975 AGREEMENT WAS BASED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT "DETENTE" WAS THE GOVERNING PRINCIPLE OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS. YET, TODAY THERE IS NO "DETENTE". EAST-WEST TENSIONS ARE DEEP. IN SPITE OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE HELSINKI AGREEMENTS, SOVIET REPRESSION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IS TAKING PLACE ON A MASSIVE SCALE; POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS DISSIDENTS ARE IMPRISONED; INCARCERATION IN PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS IS A FREQUENT FORM OF POLITICAL PUNISHMENT; EMIGRATION HAS DECLINED TO ITS LOWEST LEVELS; AND 110,000 SOVIET TROOPS ARE BRUTALIZING AFGHANISTAN AND ITS PEOPLE. THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT BEHAVES AS IF IT NEVER SIGNED THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT.

WE QUICKLY LEARNED THAT TO PROCLAIM "DETENTE" IN WORDS DID NOT AUTOMATICALLY PRODUCE IT. TODAY, WE MUST FACE THE REALITY THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS 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.

I SUSPECT THAT WE WHO VALUE FREEDOM WILL PAY A HEAVY PRICE AND SUFFER GREAT ANGUISH AS WE COME TO GRIPS WITH THIS REALITY. THE INTEGRITY AND STRENGTH OF OUR SOCIETY AND OF OUR PEOPLE WILL UNDERGO THE GREATEST CHALLENGE OF OUR HISTORY AS WE LEARN HOW TO LIVE WITH SOVIET MILITARY POWER, CHALLENGE IT, AND SIMULTANEOUSLY STRIVE TO MAINTAIN THE PEACE WITH HUMAN LIBERTY THAT WE SEEK.

WE LOOK UPON OURSELVES AS A NATION COMMITTED TO THE VALUES OF FREEDOM. LIBERTY TO US IS NOT ABSTRACT. WE KNOW IT IS NOT ABSTRACT TO THOSE UNABLE TO ENJOY IT.

BUT LET US EXPLORE FOR A MOMENT WHETHER OUR "RIGHTS OF MAN" VALUES, WHICH WE LOOK UPON AS A SOURCE OF OUR STRENGTH, MAY NOT COMPLICATE OUR PURSUIT OF PEACE. WHAT ARE THE IMPLICATIONS OF INJECTING MORALITY CONSIDERATIONS INTO AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY? IS THERE NOT A TENSION CREATED WHEN WE ENGAGE IN MORAL CONDEMNATION OF TOTALITARIAN AND AUTHORITARIAN SOCIETIES AND THEN UNDERTAKE TO NEGOTIATE TOWARD UNDERSTANDING WITH THOSE WE CONDEMN?

THE ALTERNATIVE, OF COURSE, IS SILENCE. BUT IS SILENCE NOT A FORM OF ACQUIESCENCE? AND IF SILENCE IS MORALLY UNACCEPTABLE, IS VERBAL CONDEMNATION ADEQUATE WHEN WE KNOW IT IS LIKELY TO BE INEFFECTUAL? IS "ACTION" BY US THEN CALLED FOR? IF SO, WHAT KIND?

DO WE HAVE THE MORAL RIGHT TO ENCOURAGE PEOPLE WHO LIVE UNDER REPRESSIVE REGIMES AND SEEK TO CHANGE THEIR CONDITIONS? IS THERE A MORAL DUTY TO INTERVENE? WOULD THIS NOT BE IN CONFLICT WITH INTERNATIONAL LAW? OR DOES INTERVENTION DEPEND ON WHETHER IT WILL WORK AND AT WHAT COST?

I AM AWARE OF THE ASSERTION THAT THE BEST WAY TO HELP THOSE WHO ARE VICTIMS OF AUTHORITARIAN OR TOTALITARIAN REGIMES IS TO SET A FINE EXAMPLE. I SUSPECT THIS FUDGES THE QUESTION. THE EXAMPLE WE SET, NO MATTER HOW NOBLE, WILL DO LITTLE TO ALLEVIATE THE CONDITION OF THOSE VICTIMIZED BY REPRESSION. WE SHOULD ALSO UNDERSTAND THAT EVEN SETTING AN EXAMPLE MAY PRODUCE INCREASED TENSION. THE GOOD EXAMPLE SET BY

WEST GERMANY ONLY LED TO A WALL OF CONCRETE AND FIRE AROUND COMMUNIST GERMANY. A GOOD EXAMPLE MAY WELL BE PERCEIVED AS A THREAT. THAT THREAT, IN TURN, COULD PRODUCE FEARS AND LEAD TO INCREASED REPRESSION.

THE PEOPLES OF THE SOVIET UNION, WHO COMPRISE HUNDREDS OF DIFFERENT NATIONALITIES, SHARE THE SAME VALUES OF HUMAN DIGNITY THAT WE PROCLAIM. THEY ARE AS DEDICATED TO THE ELIMINATION OF WAR AS ANY OTHER PEOPLES. THEY HAVE NO WISH TO BE ISOLATED FROM THEIR NEIGHBORS AND FROM THE FORWARD MOVEMENT OF CIVILIZATION. THIS CREATES AN INSECURITY ON THE PART OF THEIR AUTHORITIES, WHO THEN GO TO EXTRAORDINARY LENGTHS TO FENCE IN THEIR OWN CITIZENS.

THERE IS A RELATED SET OF QUESTIONS. ARE WE CONSISTENT WITH OUR VALUES IF WE HAVE ALLIES WHO DO NOT SHARE THEM? OUR FOUNDING FATHERS ACCEPTED AN ALLIANCE WITH A FRANCE GOVERNED BY A TYRANNICAL MONARCH, AT THE SAME TIME AS WE FORCEFULLY EXPRESSED OUR DETESTATION OF ABSOLUTE MONARCHIES. DURING WORLD WAR II WE ENTERED INTO AN ALLIANCE WITH STALIN, WHOM HISTORY WILL RECORD AS PERHAPS THE MOST BRUTAL HUMAN BUTCHER OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, CERTAINLY A CLOSE COMPETITOR OF HITLER FOR THAT TITLE.

MUST WE BE CONSISTENT? SOME WOULD HAVE US SEEK TO IMPROVE OUR RELATIONS WITH CASTRO'S CUBA, INCREASE OUR TRADE WITH COMMUNIST RUSSIA, AND APPLY SANCTIONS AGAINST RACIST SOUTH AFRICA.

TO RAISE THESE QUESTIONS IN THIS ACADEMIC ENVIRONMENT IS NOT TO UNDERMINE THE LEGITIMACY OF MORALITY IN OUR FOREIGN POLICY. MORALITY MUST BE A MAJOR COMPONENT OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY. IT MAY BE AN INDISPENSABLE INGREDIENT FOR THE DOMESTIC CONSENSUS THAT IS REQUIRED IF ANY FOREIGN POLICY IN OUR DEMOCRACY IS TO BE EFFECTIVE. BUT STRATEGIC SELF INTEREST MUST ALSO BE A MAJOR CONSIDERATION OF AN EFFECTIVE AND DESIRABLE FOREIGN POLICY.

THERE ARE SOME WHO RESPOND TO THE DANGER TO US REPRESENTED BY SOVIET MILITARY POWER AND THEOLOGY BY IGNORING OR DENYING ITS EXISTENCE. THAT WOULD BE FATAL FOR US. THERE ARE OTHERS WHO ARE SO OVERWHELMED BY THE DIFFICULTIES AS TO PLACE ALL OF THEIR TRUST IN MILITARY POWER AND ITS USE ALONE. THAT VIEW CARRIES WITH IT THE SEEDS OF TRAGEDY AS WELL.

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.

ALL RESPONSIBLE PEOPLE UNDERSTAND THAT WE MUST DEFINE OUR OBJECTIVES CONSISTENT WITH HOBBS' FIRST LAW OF NATURE: "TO SEEK PEACE AND TO FOLLOW IT." WE MUST ENGAGE IN THAT PURSUIT OF PEACE WITHOUT ILLUSION, BUT WITH PERSISTENCE, REGARDLESS OF PROVOCATION. THUS, IN MADRID, WE TALKED, DEBATED, NEGOTIATED, ARGUED, DINED, CONDEMNED, TALKED SOME MORE. WE ACHIEVED SOME RESULTS IN AGREED-UPON WORDS. WE HAVE NOT YET ACHIEVED A CHANGE IN ATTITUDE OR IN PATTERNS OF BEHAVIOR.

THE SOVIET UNION IS NOT LIKELY SOON TO UNDERGO WHAT JONATHAN EDWARDS CALLED "A GREAT AWAKENING," OR SEE A BLINDING LIGHT ON THE ROAD TO DAMASCUS. 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.

WE HOPE THE TIME WILL SOON COME WHEN SOVIET AUTHORITIES COMPREHEND THAT REPRESSIVE SOCIETIES IN OUR DAY CANNOT ACHIEVE INNER STABILITY OR TRUE SECURITY. WE HOPE THEY WILL COME TO UNDERSTAND THE NEED TO SHOW THE REST OF US THAT CRUELTY IS NOT INDISPENSABLE TO THEIR SYSTEM AND IS, INDEED, THOROUGHLY COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE TO THEIR IDEALS.

WE HOPE, BUT IF WE ARE TO BE PRUDENT, WE CANNOT TRUST. WE MUST NEGOTIATE; AND WE MUST BE FIRM AND PATIENT. BOTH WE AND THE SOVIET UNION MUST APPRECIATE THAT NEGOTIATION MEANS MORE THAN TALKING. IT MEANS LISTENING AS WELL. IT IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT FOR US BOTH TO UNDERSTAND THAT OUR SUPER-POWER STATUS DOES NOT NECESSARILY CONFER ON US SUPER WISDOM. A MAJOR DIFFICULTY IN OUR NEGOTIATION IS A FEELING BY BOTH OF US THAT THE OTHER IS NOT LISTENING. THEY WANT US TO LISTEN TO THEIR SECURITY NEEDS. WE WANT THEM TO APPRECIATE OUR'S AND TO APPRECIATE AS WELL THAT NO COUNTRY'S NATIONAL SECURITY INTERESTS CAN BE FOSTERED THROUGH AGGRESSION AND THROUGH A LACK OF RESPECT FOR THE SOVEREIGNTY OF NEIGHBORS.

FINALLY, WE AMERICANS MUST UNDERSTAND THAT POLICY IN A DEMOCRACY REQUIRES PUBLIC SUPPORT; AND THAT MUST ENCOMPASS THE UNDERSTANDING THAT IF THE POSSESSION OF POWER IS TO BE EFFECTIVE AS A DETERRENT, THERE CANNOT BE A RENUNCIATION OF ITS USE AS A LAST RESORT IN THE PURSUIT OF OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS AND VALUES. WE ARE ENTERING A PERIOD IN WHICH THIS MAY WELL BE THE ULTIMATE DETERMINANT IN WHETHER WE CAN ACHIEVE THE PEACE WITH DIGNITY WHICH WE SEEK. AND WITH THIS, WE RETURN TO OUR VALUES.

IN THESE JESUIT HALLS IT IS GOOD TO BE REMINDED THAT OUR NATION'S VALUES HAVE DEEP RELIGIOUS ROOTS. WHEN THE ANCIENT TRIBES OF ISRAEL UNIQUELY PROCLAIMED THAT THERE WAS ONLY ONE GOD, THEY ESTABLISHED THE BASIS FOR HUMAN BROTHERHOOD, FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, FOR DEMOCRACY, FOR OUR SYSTEM OF JURISPRUDENCE. IF THERE IS ONLY ONE GOD, THEN WE ARE ALL OF US HIS CHILDREN; AND THUS BROTHERS AND SISTERS TO ONE ANOTHER.

THE PROPHET MICAH SUCCINCTLY EXPRESSED THIS VIEW WHEN HE SAID: "HAVE WE NOT ALL ONE FATHER? HATH NOT GOD CREATED US?" THE RABBIS POINTED OUT THAT THE VERY FIRST QUESTION IN THE TALMUD IS, "WHEN MAY MORNING PRAYERS BE RECITED?" AFTER MIDNIGHT? BEFORE DAWN? AFTER DAWN? THE ANSWER THE RABBIS GAVE IS: ONE RECITES THE MORNING PRAYERS WHEN THERE IS ENOUGH LIGHT FOR A MAN TO RECOGNIZE HIS BROTHER.

A FURTHER RABBINIC STORY REFERS TO THE HAGGADAH TALE, RECITED NEXT WEEK IN JEWISH HOMES ALL OVER THE WORLD, OF THE EGYPTIAN ARMIES DROWNING IN THE SEA OF REEDS. WHEN THAT DROWNING TOOK PLACE, THE ANGELS IN HEAVEN BEGAN TO SING

THE PRAISES OF THE LORD. AND THE LORD REBUKED THEM BY SAYING:
"MY CHILDREN ARE DROWNING AND YOU WOULD SING."

WE MUST NEVER TIRE OF OUR EFFORTS TOWARD LASTING PEACE.
THE PROBLEMS THAT DIVIDE US ARE REAL AND NUMEROUS. WE TRUST
OUR NEGOTIATING EFFORTS WILL PRODUCE RESULTS. BY THE NATURE OF
THINGS, HOWEVER, WE UNDERSTAND THAT EVEN WITH AGREEMENT WE
WILL STILL BE NEARER TO THE BEGINNING THAN TO THE END OF OUR
PURSUIT. WE MUST HAVE PATIENCE AND BE CLEAR-HEADED.

WE WILL COME CLOSER TO OUR GOAL TO THE EXTENT THAT WE
UNDERSTAND THAT OUR VALUES ARE AT THE CENTER OF IT ALL. OUR
QUEST FOR PEACE IS TO PRESERVE THE HUMAN BEING AND THE
CIVILIZATION HE IS CONTINUING TO BUILD SO THAT THE EVOLUTIONARY
PROCESS OF WHICH WE ARE AN INTEGRAL PART CAN CONTINUE TO
STRENGTHEN THAT WHICH OUR RELIGIOUS TEACHERS CALL THE GOD-
LIKE WITHIN US.

ALL OF US AND OUR SOCIETIES FALL SHORT OF OUR ASPIRATIONS.
WE GROW BY STRETCHING TO REACH THEM. AS WE DO SO, HOWEVER,
LET US BE REASSURED BY THE CONVICTION THAT THE FUTURE LIES
WITH FREEDOM BECAUSE THERE CAN BE NO LASTING STABILITY IN
SOCIETIES THAT WOULD DENY IT. ONLY FREEDOM CAN RELEASE
THE CONSTRUCTIVE ENERGIES OF MEN AND WOMEN TO WORK TOWARD
REACHING NEW HEIGHTS. A HUMAN BEING HAS THE CAPACITY TO
ASPIRE, TO ACHIEVE, TO DREAM, AND TO DO. WE SEEK THESE
VALUES, WITHIN THE LIMITS OF WHAT THE GREAT PROTESTANT THEOLOGIAN,
REINHOLD NIEBUHR, CALLED "MORAL REALISM", FOR ALL THE CHILDREN
OF GOD. YOUR TASK IS TO STRETCH YOURSELVES TO COME CLOSER
TO THAT REALIZATION.

TO THE CLASS OF 1984, WE SAY "GO TO IT!"

THANK YOU, AND MAY YOU ALL HAVE THE BLESSINGS OF GOD.