



Max M. Kampelman Papers

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REMARKS BY

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS

Secaucus, New Jersey

May 19, 1984

Mr. Chairman, my dear friend Alex, Rabbis, Friends,
Ladies and Gentlemen:

Thank you very much.

That lovely introduction brings to mind another occasion during which I was guilty of introducing the speaker of the evening with hyperbole. The speaker responded by expressing regret that his parents were no longer alive to have heard the introduction. "My father would have thoroughly enjoyed it," he said, "and my mother would have believed it!" Mr. Chairman, I thank you for your lovely exaggerations.

You must be aware how deeply touched I am by your award this evening. I am not a professional diplomat or a government official, but I shall long cherish this tribute to my brief 3-year period of public service in Madrid in behalf of our country's democratic principles and religious values.

There is an additional point I would like to make about the Award. Alex Schindler is far more deserving than I of this and any other award we can muster. I want here and now to express my appreciation for his courageous leadership and his relentless energy in our behalf in so many different

fora here and abroad. It is a source of great satisfaction to me that I can call Alex my friend.

It was my original intent to accept your Award with a few appropriate thoughts of a spiritual nature about our values and their place in our democratic society. Recent events, however, persuade me to speak in more urgent terms about related concerns of a more immediate nature. With your permission, I shall address them tonight; and fulfill my original intention when I speak at the commencement ceremonies of our Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati in 11 days.

These are dangerous times. They will require our inner strength, understanding and faith. They will require leadership. There is no reason for us to be sanguine that our generation has the necessary strength, understanding, faith, leadership, energy, and intelligence to fulfill the demands upon us as we search for peace and human dignity.

The Award you give me tonight relates to my role as head of the American delegation at an important East-West conference that took place under the Helsinki Final Act of 1975. That was an Agreement designed to strengthen the process of "detente" and help assure the cooperation between East and West, the United States and the Soviet Union, that is so indispensable to world peace.

Standards were established by that Agreement, humanitarian ones as well as military, political and economic ones. These were designed to achieve responsible, civilized international

behavior. But we came to Madrid in 1980 aware that there was no "detente." The Soviet Union had acted, particularly in the humanitarian area, as if it had never signed the 1975 Agreement.

The American delegation could have ignored that irresponsible Soviet behavior pattern in the interest of avoiding tension. We chose not to do so. We also chose to ignore the advice that boycott Madrid as a means of demonstrating our deep dissatisfaction with Soviet behavior. Instead, we appeared, we talked, we negotiated, we argued, we dined, we argued some more. We did so because we were persuaded that dialogue was important. But we did so on the assumption that dialogue is meaningless unless it is frank, precise, and candid.

We, and our Western friends, therefore, talked about the brutal presence of 110,000 troops in Afghanistan. We protested the imposition of martial law in Poland. We described in painful detail the abuse of psychiatry in the Soviet Union, the use of psychiatric hospitals as a form of political punishment. We demonstrated that Soviet anti-Semitism was rampant and government-sponsored. We described the nature of the Soviet system as a cruel and totalitarian one. And we emphasized that if the world was to reach the goal of peace with liberty that the peoples of the world so fervently pray for, it is necessary for the unanimously agreed upon Helsinki standards to be taken seriously and lived up to.

We bolstered that appeal by explaining to Soviet

authorities, privately and at our official sessions, that no Soviet promise in any area could be believed, including that of arms control, if they reserved the right to decide which of the agreements they sign they are prepared to respect.

In spite of this candid and direct talk, in spite of the verbal confrontation which permeated the Madrid meeting -- or perhaps because of it -- we were able to come to an agreement in Madrid whose words strengthened the standards of the Helsinki accords. Words are clearly not enough where they are blatantly contradicted by behavior, but words are important. Like religious standards, which are also sinned against, so are political principles indispensable in their own right in defining standards toward which to aspire and by which to judge.

During the eight months since the end of the Madrid meetings, I frequently have been led to ponder what prospects exist for East-West understanding. No question is more important.

At the outset, let me say after an adult lifetime of studying and teaching Communist theory and practice, and after three years of negotiating with a high-level Soviet delegation headed by two deputy foreign ministers and a KGB general, and after more than 350 hours of personal meetings and negotiations with the leadership of that delegation outside of the meeting halls -- I am convinced that no successful negotiation with the Soviet leadership is possible

without decisive military power.

This is not an easy lesson for us to accept. Some equate their dedication to peace with a pacifist philosophy. For some, our commendable yearning for peace brings with it a reluctance to accept unpleasant facts which make the attainment of that goal more difficult. Since we also know that the peoples of the Soviet Union desire peace just as much as we do. It is easy to be absorbed by that realization at the expense of the equal reality that it is the Bolshevik party elite which we face and not the peoples of the Soviet Union, whom that elite rules over without the legitimacy of consent.

Furthermore, it is an elite committed to an ideology in which violence plays a central role. Lenin wrote (The Proletarian Revolution):

"The revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat is rule won and maintained by the use of violence by the proletariat . . . rule that is unrestricted by any laws."

This violence, says Lenin, is not only to be used against the "bourgeoise," but also against the "centrists" and the "defenders of democracy" whom he accused of "collaboration" with the "bourgeoise."

It is here appropriate to quote from Solzhenitzyn's Nobel lecture where he insists that violence and lies "are linked in the most organic and profound fashion." He says that "violence cannot conceal itself behind anything except

lies and lies have nothing to maintain them save violence. Anyone who has once proclaimed violence as his method must inexorably choose the lie as his principle."

Let me digress for a moment into an area in which I am much less competent than you, the area of our religious beliefs. I realize that I am addressing an audience of liberal rabbis. I do so as a liberal Democrat. I am fully aware that an integral part of our liberalism would feel a great deal more comfortable in a world where issues can be resolved through rational discourse rather than force.

We must remember, however, the teachings of the ancient Hebrew sages who told us that there is in each one of us that in the heart and soul which is good and noble and Godlike, but that there is also in each one of us that which is evil -- "yaitzer hatov" and "yaitzer hara." The great Protestant theologian, Reinhold Niebuhr, called it "Children of Light and Children of Darkness." Freud and modern psychology built on this truth. This dichotomy is not only a part of the human being, it is also a part of the societies which the human being creates.

The responsibility of those who would contribute to the onward evolutionary progression of the human being and his society is to defend and extend that which is Godlike in us as we strive to overwhelm those primitive and negative instincts that are within us as well.

Democracy is the political expression of the "yaitzer

hatov" within us. It is based on the religious notion of human brotherhood. This, after all, is the great contribution made by the ancient Hebrew tribes who, challenging the belief of their day, proclaimed there is only one God. 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 root of our political democracy, of our system of jurisprudence.

But there is also a "yaitzer hara" in the societies that men are capable of creating. Totalitarianism is an expression of that destructive drive. This explains the Nazi phenomenon. To all of us familiar with the brutalities of the Soviet system, its repression and its aggression, it explains the Communist phenomenon as well.

The failure of an earlier generation timely to recognize the Hitler threat to peace and to our values led to a tragic war. Our task today is to avoid that error of avoidance and misperception. Our task is face reality intelligently, consistently and courageously. Our military strength is necessary to deter and discourage irresponsible use of force. It is also to give us the time for dialogue and determination as we seek ways to persuade the Soviet system to humanize itself in its own interest. Peace depends on the success of those undertakings.

Israel understands the need for military strength and behaves accordingly. I find it difficult to understand why many in this country who support Israel are reluctant to accept that lesson for our own country as well.

Let me now say a word about Israel, which has become increasingly and dangerously isolated as a result of a determined Soviet political onslaught. Significant alliances have been entered into by the Soviets with the PLO and other nationalist Arab forces who resist the intrusion of democratic values into their traditional oligarchical ways. Only the United States stands as a steady, faithful, and loyal friend of Israel. The slogan that "Zionism is racism" has become a philosophical basis for Soviet propaganda offensives throughout the Middle East, Asia, Africa and Latin America. (Pravda of January 17, 1984: ". . . Zionism, like Fascism, has been the lackey of big capital and the ruling circles of the imperialist powers.") Berlin was once the world capital of anti-Semitism. I am afraid, Ladies and Gentlemen, that today it is Moscow.

The growing military strength of the United States is leading an aging and unstable Soviet elite to engage in a massive and frantic program to intimidate the world half to death. Frightened that the onward movement of technology and communication will undermine its capacity to isolate its people from the ethic of freedom, which is the great attraction of Western civilization, they seek to maintain a monopoly of thought control through more and more police and military force.

The totalitarian cause would be a lost one, considering the added burden of economic and social failure, were it not for the belief that the West is divided, lazy, comfortable and increasingly

pacifist. They doubt the will of the West to resist the intimidating power of its military bluster. Soviet submarines enter Swedish waters to warn and scare as well as gain intelligence. They train and finance terrorists all over the world to destabilize the rest of us. The deep involvement of the Bulgarian secret police in the attempted assassination of the Pope, which would not have been possible without KGB complicity, is an illustration of that criminal irresponsibility.

And in our own hemisphere, in Central America, Soviet money, guns and personnel, operating directly and through Cuban and Nicaraguan proxies, seek further to inject their totalitarian influence and undermine the striving of these poverty-stricken people for self-government. Thus, in our hemisphere too, in countries geographically nearer to many parts of the United States than those parts are to Washington, the "Zionism is racism" slogan is heard and spread.

Two weeks ago tonight, I was in El Salvador as Co-chairman of an American delegation to observe elections there. We spent an hour that Saturday night with Jose Napoleon Duarte, who has since been elected president of his country. We sat in a small circle and talked about democracy. He unexpectedly volunteered the information that the PLO presence was major among the guerrillas who were threatening to kill and maim those who would dare to vote in a free and democratic election the next day. We were reminded again of the close alliance between Soviet and PLO forces, both committed to

the use of terrorism, and both determined to gain a foothold at our Southern flank.

It is no wonder that the government of El Salvador was one of the few in the world, together with democratic Costa Rica, to join the United States in support of Israel at the United Nations. It is no wonder it recently announced it was moving its embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, a step that produced immediate boycott action by the Arabs. It is no wonder, too, that there are reports of Israel being willing to aid the government of El Salvador to achieve its independence, free from the threat of Communism and PLO violence.

But what is a wonder is why so many supporters of Israel in the House of Representatives voted a few days ago against providing military aid to this newly elected democratic government of El Salvador. Is there no understanding that the fall of El Salvador and the growing influence of the Sandinistas in Central America will extend anti-Semitism and strengthen the influence of the PLO and the Soviet Union to that region of the world? Is there no awareness that at the recently concluded sessions of the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva, three virulent anti-Israel resolutions were introduced and the Nicaraguan

Sandinistas co-sponsored all three of them with Bulgaria, Cuba, Syria, the USSR and that ilk? Are we unaware that many of the Sandinistas trained in PLO camps and fought with them? Did we forget about the joint PLO-Sandinista communique of February, 1978, reaffirming the "bonds of solidarity" between them? And

that when Arafat visited Nicaragua in 1980, he was greeted with: "We say to our Brother Arafat that Nicaragua is his land and that the PLO cause is the cause of the Sandinistas."? Is it important to us that Arafat has sent pilots and armaments to the Sandinistas and guerrilla fighters to El Salvador?

Peace with dignity and the preservation of our security and values will not come from political pandering to an unsophisticated pacifist sentiment. Nor do we serve our interests or peace by misleading the Soviet elite into believing that we fear to resist their aggression and protect our values.

The peace we seek, indeed the peace we require in this nuclear age, is a stable peace. It is the peace inherent in the Hebrew word "Sholom," which means more than the temporary absence of war. "Sholom" means rather the making whole. It conveys a peace which encompasses the totality of relationships. We do not seek the peace of a Munich, or of the graveyard.

In a letter smuggled to the West from his exile in Gorky, where his own life and that of his wife Ilene Bonner are now in jeopardy, Andrei Sakharov warned that "the world is facing very difficult times and cruel cataclysms if the West and the developing countries trying to find their place in the world do not now show the required firmness, unity and consistency in resisting the totalitarian challenge. . . It is important," he wrote, "that the common danger be fully understood -- everything else will then fall into place."

With this kind of understanding, free societies will be able to survive the multiple assaults of totalitarianism and establish the conditions for genuine peace.

In recent days, a group of American Congressmen nominated Anatoly Scharansky for the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize. His courageous, public and peaceful battle for the human rights principles of the Helsinki Final Act for which he was sentenced to prison by the Soviet authorities, was listed as his eminent qualification for that Prize.

The true peacemakers of this world are those who stand up openly and honestly against totalitarian cruelty and aggression. It is the Scharanskys, the Sakharovs, the Orlovs of this world toward whom we must look if we are to move the human being forward in his stretching toward attaining more God-like dimensions. It is these men of conviction ready to fight against tyranny and for human dignity who are the true peacemakers of this world. Let us join them so that they are not alone. Our values, our security, our lives, our civilization depend on it.

Thank you.

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MAX M. KAMPELMAN, P. C.
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May 31, 1984

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

In connection with Mr. Kampelman's address at your recent Board meeting, the following are expenses incurred:

Round trip taxi fares/National Airport	\$25.00
Round trip flight/Newark	<u>54.00</u>
	\$79.00

If any additional information is required, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Sharon H. Martin
Secretary to Max M. Kampelman

/sm



5/19

RABBI ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER • UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
PRESIDENT 838 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100

March 16, 1984

Max M. Kampelman, Esq.
600 New Hampshire Ave., N.W.
Suite 1000
Washington, D.C. 20037

Dear Max:

We're starting now to plan the program for our May 18-20, 1984 UAHC Board of Trustees meeting. It will be held very close to New York City, at the Meadowlands Hilton, Secaucus, New Jersey. The location is most convenient to Newark Airport and not really difficult to get to from other area airport facilities.

If your schedule permits, we would very much want to have you receive the Maurice N. Eisendrath Bearer of Light Award on Saturday night. And, as promised, we will expect you to address the members of our Board in accepting the award. If this timing presents a problem, please let me know and we will adjust our schedule.

We are looking forward to having you with us and I hope that your wife will accompany you. Once we have your schedule we will reserve accommodations and arrange to have your flight met so you may be escorted to the Hilton.

With warm personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

reception 6 p.m.

April 4, 1984

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Alex:

Thank you very much for your letter of March 16. I will plan to be at the Meadowlands Hilton for the evening program on May 19. It will be an honor to receive the award and I look forward to the occasion. We will keep you informed of travel plans as we get closer to the event.

All my best.

Sincerely,

Max M. Kampelman

MMK:nct

(dictated but not read)

19/12-13
5/19

September 1, 1983

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Alex:

Thank you very much for your gracious letter of August 29. You were, of course, aware that I was most pleasantly surprised by your telephone call of earlier that day. It is a great honor to receive the Maurice N. Eisendrath Bearer of Light Award from the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

Maggie and I would very much like to be present at the presentation of the award, even though you indicated that presence was not necessarily a condition of the award and that I will not be asked to make a speech. The problem we have is that I had agreed weeks ago to set aside the period of November 6 for two weeks to take the first vacation that we have had in three years. We decided to do this with a two-week health kick at a place we know in Pennsylvania. I had to postpone an earlier agreed-upon date because of these Madrid responsibilities, and I, therefore, cannot postpone it again. The one alternative that I now see is the possibility of flying on Saturday evening from Philadelphia to Houston, returning again to Philadelphia on late Sunday afternoon. I would, therefore, be available either Saturday night or sometime during the morning or early afternoon of Sunday, November 13.

Let me know what you think about this approach, and I will on my end do what I can to make those arrangements.

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
Union of Ame4rican Hebrew Congrgations

September 1, 1983
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I return to Madrid on Tuesday morning Septmber 6. The Secretary is now scheduled to speak on September 9. We have meetings on September 7, 8 and 9 in Madrid. My wife and I are then starting on an eight-city tour organized by the Department of State in order to strike some blows for human dignity. My present schedule is to return on either September 24 or 25. It is, however, possible to get messages to me because I will be in daily touch with my office.

All my best to you and your family for a happy, healthy and satisfying year ahead.

Sincerely,

Max M. Kampelman

MMK:sm



AUG 31 1983

RABBI ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER • UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
PRESIDENT 838 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100

August 29, 1983

Max Kampelman, Esq.
600 New Hampshire Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037

Dear Max:

It was good chatting with you today, albeit so briefly. I am thrilled that you have agreed to accept the UAHC's Maurice N. Eisendrath Bearer of Light Award for extraordinary service to the world community. Our Committee showed great sensitivity in selecting you and it is a source of great pride to me to know that you will permit us to honor you, to express public appreciation of your efforts in Madrid, and to thank you for your life commitment to human rights and equality.

We hope you and Mrs. Kampelman will be our guests at the Biennial and the presentation of the award can be made on Sunday, November 13 or Monday, November 14, which ever is more convenient in terms of your schedule. The Biennial will be held in Houston and our headquarters hotel is the Westin Galleria.

The Union represents some 760 Reform synagogues of the United States and Canada and some 1.2 million men, women and young people. The Biennial is a most prestigious gathering of Reform Judaism's leadership. We usually have some 3000 delegates, the cream of the leadership of our synagogues. I look forward to having them meet you and to having you come to know our leadership, most especially the Officers and Board of the UAHC.

Once I know the most convenient date for you we can work out details of the award ceremony. And, of course, don't hesitate to call me if you have any specific questions to pose. I am thrilled at the prospect of having you in our midst for you truly merit the thanks and appreciation of thinking, caring people and our Reform community most certainly falls into that category!

With warm good wishes for the New Year and kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler