



Max M. Kampelman Papers

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Narrator

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Minnesota Historical Society
Interviewers

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Ambassador Kampelman's Office

BH: Brian Horrigan
MT: Molly Tierney
MK: Max Kampelman

BH: I wanted to start by, because as you know, our Greatest Generation project goes back to the Depression, as well as the war and after the war. So many of the people we've talked to who were young men or children during the Depression as you were, and a teenager, said they didn't even know that there was a depression going on. That they didn't use the word, they didn't feel like it affected them as children, they didn't notice anything. They thought everybody was poor because they were poor. But in your book you write very eloquently about the effect of the Depression on your family and you really did notice things. You write about your father and how strained it was in the house: "Even Friday nights lost some of their charm with *shabbos* dinner. It was hard to be Moses when you had failed." I thought that was a great line. Can you talk a bit about that, about the impact of the depression on you as a child first, and then growing up in the 1930's into teenagehood and how did you feel?

MK: I really don't have many memories of that, which is interesting. About feelings; I remember things, but there is a difference between remembering things and remembering feelings. I don't recall feeling different or difficult about it, I was just conscious of the fact that my parents, both of them worked hard, many hours, and as I got to a point that I could help, the help was for a long time, serving as the cashier on Saturday and Sunday. I also knew that we lived, I think in what would today be called a slum when I was born. Maybe not quite that bad. It was a Jewish neighborhood, we belonged to the local synagogue, which was Orthodox. But my mother observed Friday night with the candles, but Saturday my father would go to work. It was his shop; my mother would be participating also. So it wasn't working in a factory kind of thing, it was a different kind of relationship, and when things got better we moved to a better neighborhood. And things did get somewhat better. When I got to be, I don't remember now, but I would say when I got to be about 12, 13, I was also put to work. In the shop I served as a cashier. We had a butcher shop at one point

and served as a cashier, and then when they somehow were persuaded by a friend, a man by the name of Edward Altman, I remember that Eddie Altman, that they should give up the butcher shop, he himself was in the millinery, and they should go into the millinery business, they went into the millinery business. And again there I spent a lot of time as a cashier, but also, particularly after my father died I would work at the shop. That is, I would be sent down to 38th Street in Manhattan, for example, 40th Street in Manhattan and my mother would say, "Get three brown hats and two blue hats, felt" or in the summer, straw. She, they didn't have style numbers, but I would go and talk and I would make selections. Obviously it had some relevance to reality because we kept doing that.

BH: I love that image in your book of little Max going down to the Garment District carrying an armload.

MK: Of hats. And sometimes I would say to them to give me so-and-so, and I'd look at it and he'd show me and I'd make a selection. Or I would say, "well, you decide." It's so long ago that it isn't fresh in my mind. But I know that's about the kind of thing that it was.

BH: You said when you were 12 or 13 you remember taking up some more responsibility. That was also, 1932, 1933, really the worst years.....

MK: The worst years, yah. And things were tough, you know. For us, the worst years came a little later after my father died and my mother then felt the need to move from the nice neighborhood. But I was by then, going into college and I went into college. I no longer remember what I wrote in my book, but my parents, and my mother particularly would have liked it if I'd continued and trained to be a rabbi. I had gone to elementary school where all Jewish and high school all Jewish. The high school was the high school of a larger college which is still going, Yeshiva University in Manhattan today, which trains rabbis. As a matter of fact, I got a call about a week ago from one of my classmates in Florida with whom I've been in touch over the years. When my wife died, shortly thereafter another one of my classmates, now a rabbi; the man in Florida was not a rabbi, he's kind of a businessman, but he was a graduate of the Yeshiva, but one of my classmates, Gilbert Klepperman, who always sat next to me because of the K's, he came to Washington with his wife to talk to me. We'd been in touch with each other all these years. He was an Orthodox rabbi; also a lawyer, both. As a matter of fact, he was the chairman one year of Moyers, a big group of Orthodox rabbis. And I kept in close touch. There's another one, a third one who is living in Florida now, a rabbi, but retired in Florida. And occasionally when he and his wife drive up from Washington, I mean Florida to New York they stopped off at our house and we'd chat. So I've kept in touch. The high school that I went to, as a matter of fact, a few years ago gave a degree. They had a big dinner for me and gave me a degree. And so I've kept, not closely in touch, but in touch.

BH: So you've had a tight group of friends, boys, who you went to school with.

MK: And they've, two or three or four; I think I'm the only thing that's common to them. As a matter of fact, the fellow who called me from Florida is a businessman, retired now, asked me, "have you talked to Gil recently." He hadn't in years. That kind of thing. All right, that's.....

BH: My father-in-law has the same kind of, similar stories. He didn't go to Yeshiva, but he's still in touch with the boys he called the Bristol Boys.

MK: There you are, alright.

BH: The Bristol Boys from Bristol Avenue.

MK: Sure, it's like a gang.

BH: A gang, exactly. Still in touch at age 88 with the Bristol Boys. You graduated from high school in 1937.

MK: I don't even remember. I'm sure if you say '37, it's '37. At that point my mother really hoped that I would continue with the college. I knew myself that I would not be a rabbi. I didn't feel it attracted me, and I didn't feel that Orthodox, just as my mother was not that Orthodox really, you know. And near my home; by then we had moved to a slightly better neighborhood, near my home was the Bronx branch of New York University, which no longer exists. So, we didn't have tuition, but I went up, I talked to them, and they admitted me and I, of course, worked.

BH: You say in your book, I love that line and I also wrote that one down; very simple, "I stayed busy all the time."

MK: I sure did. (all laugh)

BH: And then he goes on to say all of the jobs that he did.

MK: Well, it's all the jobs I did. Let me, in this connection say that I worked in a bookstore. Life has a peculiar . . . I did many things as you can tell in the book: I sold the *New York Times*, I checked coats at the dances; that's why I never learned how to dance until recently, but I was there. There was one young man in one of my classes, I don't know what; my age approximately, who would always come in when I was there, but I think he would always somehow hang out in the bookstore. Actually it was not just the bookstore, it also sold candies and all kinds of things. And he loved to talk. He came in and he loved to talk. So we became friends. When I came to Washington, who do I run into but Seymour Bolten, that's who it was. So we became friends here again. He was, really a very responsible fellow with the C.I.A. His son happens today, to be the Staff

Director at the White House, Josh Bolten, and a good friend. I knew Josh when he was born, you know. As a matter of fact, I'm jumping around, but it comes to mind, I knew this president's parents very well. They knew I was a Democrat; didn't matter to them at all. They know me, they know my wife, I was invited occasionally. Mostly I'll say, jumping again, because when I was working for Reagan, and I reported to him frequently, he was Vice President. And vice presidents are frequently ignored. And I made a point that if he was not present at a briefing session, when I'd leave the president, I'd go to see the vice president, automatically, and I'd brief him. In other words, I treated him as Vice President of the United States. And we got to be quite close, he and I and his wife and my wife; the wives not so close, but friendly. And as a matter of fact, I was invited at one point to Maine and spent a couple of days there. But I never met his son, never met his son. But this was a very fine, *is* a very fine gentleman and I hear from him occasionally, or he hears from me, and then he responds occasionally. But I'm in college and working a lot and going to school the same way. But of course, I went to Law School instead of continuing with the Yeshiva.

BH: Yah. You wrote also that.....

MK: If I knew I'd be asked what I wrote, I'd be more careful about what I wrote.
(all laughing)

BH: This is kind of the framework, this script, and we're going to fill out.....

MK: That's fine, that's fine, that's fine.

BH: I thought this was really interesting and nobody else has talked about this because, not that we haven't spoken to any other Jewish people, but that I think you're the first person I've talked to who writes about or talks about a consciousness of Israel before there was an Israel. And that you wrote about, you said, "a homeland in Palestine was an ever present part of our religious training, but at NYU within my circle of friends it was simply not an issue on the front burner. You were more interested in saving the world, the Depression, improving social conditions in the country and how we would make a better society here then." I wonder if you could talk a bit more about that, about an absent consciousness about Israel or Palestine.

MK: Yah, well let me say: given the fact that I have come from the Yeshiva to New York University, there was an organization of Jewish students, there was an organization of Christian students. I think that's true on most campuses, I don't know. And somehow when they learned who I was, they elected me president of the Jewish students because I knew more about the issues than they did. That exposed me to Jewish organizations at Columbia University also, and at the downtown New York University. So I broadened, in a sense, my horizons were broadened. It also, I want to say, exposed me to the head of the Young Christian, of the Christian Association; not the student, I'm talking about the

director, who was kind of a minister. I assumed he was a Protestant minister and not just an expert on Christianity. And I remember his name to this minute: Frank (sounds like) Olmstead, and we became good friends, as a matter of fact. He is the one who, he's one of the two professors of mine who exposed me to the Quakers, and indeed, one or both of them arranged for me to spend about a month with the Quakers. They had the money or a scholarship and all the rest that I needed to be able to do that. So there was that close relationship. And the Jewish students felt that I knew more about Judaism than they did, but they identified themselves. And obviously, Israel was an integral part of discussions that took place. I don't know if I mentioned in the book or not, but as a child I knew about Palestine. As a matter of fact, throughout the Jewish community there were little boxes where you put in pennies, and we had it in our home. The spare pennies would go right in and once a week or once a month a collector would come by and take the money out of that. And it was mostly, if I remember correctly, the Jewish National Fund which was building, buying, you know, planting trees in Israel, that was there. Today they are going much further than that. Today, interestingly enough, I found without my knowledge a few years ago, the Jewish National Fund created the Max Kampelman Society of the Jewish National Fund, here in Washington, made up of Jewish Lawyers. I don't mind saying I didn't like the idea; it troubled me frankly, and I'll tell you why it troubled me. It troubled me because I thought a great many people would say, well he bought that, he made a big gift so they named it after him, when I hadn't made a gift at all, you understand? And I tried to get them to change it to Judge Brandeis, Judge Cardozo, who were then two very outstanding Supreme Court Justices, but they'd already gotten into this, so I lived with it and I occasionally still go to the meetings. But when I stand up and speak, I say, "I'm alive, don't get concerned," you know, so it's that kind of business. But in a sense, you see, I was moving away from Orthodox Judaism and getting exposed at the university level to Christians and also to a different kind of life.

BH: I think you said in a couple of places in the book that you had some concerns about Israel because of concerns about nationalism and that nationalism being one of the core problems of the twentieth century. Nationalism taken in the wrong directions. So, but it wasn't really Israel, before 1948 it wasn't a burning issue for you.

MK: No, because it really wasn't an independent national state. You know, the start of the state really was Winston Churchill. When he was in England and in charge he's really the fellow who created Israel. He doesn't get credit for it, but I don't think there would have been an Israel without Winston Churchill. That was his job and he spread it out. There's a new book out now which tells you that story. It's just come out recently by, you know I find my age has knocked out names. [Martin Gilbert] This is one of the world's outstanding historians and he just came out with a book: *Churchill and the Jews*, or something.

BH: Oh, it's not Niall Ferguson, no? So it's 1948.....

MK: He happens to be, he's writing now.

BH: No but, it's the 60th anniversary this year.

MK: Yah, 60th anniversary. He happens to be a friend of mine, this author. I've been with him in England, he's, God, one of the greatest historians of our period. It doesn't matter. I learned about Churchill's involvement really, by reading his book. He just came out with a book about two months ago: *Churchill and the Jews*; something like that. Anyhow, but you know, my identification with Israel was easy, that was it. Then of course, I graduated from college. I was on a scholarship also during this time because. . . . But I did earn money. The only job I ever got fired from was the job I had as a waiter in the summer. It was really more a bus boy than a waiter, and I got fired because I couldn't make salads that he liked. So he fired me and I remember coming back and selling magazines.

BH: Where was the job that you.....

MK: In Upstate New York.

BH: Oh, in the Catskills?

MK: The Catskills. Yah. It was a summer in the Catskills.

BH: That story did not make it into the book.

MK: It didn't? I don't remember what made it and what didn't make it.

BH: I would remember the salads.

MK: No, I remember it vividly. I think it was the only job I ever got fired from. You know, I've had many jobs. I've sold magazines, you know, I then when I thought of going to Law School I want to say the advisor to the Christian students knew of my interest in labor, and he had an interest in labor. And he's the one that introduced me to the International Ladies Garment Worker's Union. And I was going to Law School at night; I had to get a job during the day, and they gave me a job in a factory. I don't know if it's in there or not. It was a ladies factory, manufacturer. The slogan of the Local was: "It's better with a sweater." (all laughing) I'll never forget that, "It's better with a sweater." And then shortly thereafter they put me on their staff. I'd started working in the factory, gone to law school at night, but they put me on the staff and that involved getting me to meet the lawyer for the Garment Worker's Union, a man by the name of Elias Lieberman, a very distinguished, good lawyer who became a dear friend of mine for a number of years. I don't know what's in the book or not in the book; I wrote it so long ago. And I left that job only because one of my professors; the night Law School was a wonderful experience for me because it was in a period when

most of the class were German lawyers, French lawyers, you know, escapes from the Holocaust and Hitler, and they would want to continue to be lawyers, but they still needed to get a degree. So they'd work during the day and more classes... I'd say, maybe three-quarters of my class were probably Europeans. And so you sat and you talked about the law and the professor would say, "how was it in Italy; what's the law in Italy on...." You know, and so it was a very good kind of experience and I liked it; you know, I gained something from it. But one of the professors persuaded me that I should get a job in the law firm and he got me the job. It was a job with the firm of Phillips Nizer Benjamin Krim & Ballon. Louis Nizer was one of the outstanding lawyers in the nation. They specialized in entertainment law and the artists, although they were busy at all kinds of things. As a matter of fact, I had lunch with Susan Hayward because of that job. You can whistle if you want to.

BH: She doesn't know who she is; she's too young.

MK: Yah, one of the Hollywood beauties. We represented a great many actors and actresses and authors. The firm represented authors and God knows what. I remember one morning, I would get there in the morning, you see. Usually I started the morning by going to court. The previous night they'd file papers because it was an active firm. So I would go from home to the courthouse, file the papers, and then get to the law office, which was in Times Square. Well, one morning one of the partners came to me and said, "Max, I've got a luncheon date, but I'm gonna be late. Would you please go and keep her company?" And it was Susan Hayward. So we went and we had lunch together until he got there; the lunch was nearly over, you know, but it was interesting.

BH: One of my favorite actresses, I love all of her movies.

MK: But I want to say it was useful, my doing this, because when the war came and conscription came, the Court of Appeals in New York issued a ruling saying: If you are drafted you can take the Bar Exam and not wait until you got your Law Degree. But if you pass it, you can't be a lawyer until you earn your degree, which would be after the war. Well, I was conscripted and drafted. Now the fact that I was drafted as a Conscientious Objector did not change it; I checked that with the court, you see. And so that's how it ended up, my going into these camps that you read about in...

BH: So that's how you passed the Bar before you finished Law School.

MK: I passed the Bar before I finished Law School because of that Court or Appeals. I finished Law School by taking two courses at the University of Minnesota Law School with Don Fraser's father, the Dean. And when I got to Minnesota finally, I had thought about it, but I figured I would at the end of the war go back, but I talked to the dean about it, would he let me take those courses

and he said yes, but would NYU; they worked it out together and that's how I became a lawyer towards the end of the war.

MT: But this is while you were in doing the starvation experiment? This is during the experiment that.....

MK: During the experiment. As a matter of fact, I gotta leave in a few minutes; I want to say in this connection that I would not have gotten through the starvation experiment like I did; they told me I was the least damaged of the people there. I would not have been the least damaged if I had not taken that course, those courses. And fortunately, I did not know I was the least damaged during this period, and when I got the course work, by then I had met some people in the Political Science Department, like Herb McKlosky and Carol Hawkins and Everett Kirkpatrick, that I continued taking courses. And that's what saved me really.

(narrator leaves for a time and then returns)

BH: We were about to talk about Minnesota before you left. You, coming to Minnesota in 1944, in the fall of 1944, and I wonder if you could just give us your impressions of when you first got there. Had you ever, of course, you'd been out of New York before.

MK: I'd been out of New York, but had never been to Minnesota before.

BH: Never been to the Midwest.

MK: Well, I think I'd been to Chicago, but don't hold me to that.

BH: What did you think you were going to see? Did you have any preconceived notions?

MK: I really did not. I went there for the purposes of the conscription law and I was obviously totally unaware of what the experiment would mean, other than I knew I would be there and I had no concern. I figured it would be responsibly held. As I think back, I don't think I worried about it except I saw it as maybe making a contribution and a new experience. You know, I'd previously been in a hospital for feeble-minded children and I saw how that worked. I'd never been in Maine until then and now I'd never been in Minnesota 'til then. I guess I can't accurately say that there was concern. There was interest, but not concern.

BH: : I think it's still true that people who were raised on the East Coast, especially people who were raised in big cities, think when they are going to Minnesota that they are going to the great "fly-over land," or the great, just the great plains, or the cowboys and Indians.

MK: Well, I think that's probably correct that the larger picture for most people is the picture of the state as agricultural rather than industrial, but that's changing; today I don't know if that would be the case.

BH: Did your family worry about you; object to your going so far away?

MK: I don't think so. My mother was there, my father was dead, so the family was my mother. I imagine she had great concerns, but never shared them. Obviously, you know, I'd been away in Maine, I'd been away in Upstate New York. She knew there was a war going on and I would assume that she had some comfort in the fact that I was not gonna be facing bullets. I'm just assuming that, and so that's in a sense a kind of compensation for being away. I hadn't thought of it in that way, but I think that's probably the case.

BH: Were you dissatisfied with what you had first been given to do as a C.O.?

MK: Well, what I had first been given to do as a C.O. was soil conservation in Big Flats, New York, which was physically healthy. I met people from different cultures who were there because this was a Quaker camp and people from, oh, I don't 'remember, we must have had 40 or 50 people there, and they were all from different parts of the country, so it was an opening, and experience opening. And some of these people became my friends for life, you know. I just recently got a letter from the wife of one of them, (sounds like) Deterzen, who, her husband died some years ago, but I hear from her periodically. So I can't, you know, it was a new, you know, put yourself back as I am now; it was a new experience and I thought of it as the way they described it in their literature, I thought of it as something very constructive, very important, and also in an academic atmosphere, which I was familiar with and liked.

BH: How so? Oh, at the University of Minnesota.

MK: I went to school at the University of Minnesota.

BH: Oh, I meant Big Flats, New York, that wasn't academic.

MK: No, no, no, but Big Flats, New York was totally new; I'd not really seen that part of the state ever before. And I met, you know, nice people of all different faiths there. It was Quaker run, and the Quakers were there. As a matter of fact, the director was a Quaker with his wife. But the membership of our unit was mixed, and I mean, one was a YMCA director, I remember (sounds like) Deterzen, but it was mixed.

BH: I remember reading in one of your scrapbooks that you wrote articles for the campus newspaper as well as for the Conscientious Objector newspaper.

MK: Well, at the Big Flats it was just for the Conscientious Objector. Before I was drafted I was on the editorial board of that newspaper and so I'd been reading a little bit from some of the people. And I could write. I was not the editor; the editor was a leading journalist, J. Nelson Tuck, a professional journalist who was a, well, I don't know if he was a Quaker or not, but he was a pacifist, and he was then a writer for the New York *World Telegraph* or something, I can't remember the name of the paper at this moment in New York. And he was a professional. And I, you know, was going to school and I was working. But once a week I came to the office of the War Resisters' League, which was one of the organizations, and there I helped put out the paper. This was my assignment. I learned about it; I never knew how to put out a paper. But Jerry Tuck was a professional and he kind of taught us and led us. So once a week I was there and put out a weekly paper with a group of better people, but I was there.

BH: I noticed in one of the articles that you said that amongst the C.O.'s in the country that there was a feeling that their talents weren't being used in appropriate ways. Was that your understanding?

MK: Yes. Periodically, you know, you'd run into somebody who wanted to be more involved, more sacrificial. You see, we had one large national meeting in New York where we had delegates, in a sense, coming in from different parts of the country. And I'm sure some of them felt they were not being constructively used if I remember correctly, and wanted to be more constructively used. But the bulk of the people at the one national meeting I attended, the bulk of them were in mental hospitals. That seemed to be something that the Selective Service System had worked out with the Quakers. So they didn't have that feeling, they felt they were doing, they were working with patients. But there were some, for example I would say, my first assignment I didn't consider to be too great work, but it was conservation. I didn't know much about conservation but we worked and we cut down trees and planted trees, you know.

BH: So you didn't feel you were leaning on a shovel.

MK: No. I was in three units. The first unit, I'm guessing now, I would say was about 50 or 60 people. The second unit in Maine it was just two of us. And then there was the Minnesota thing where I think there were about 60 or 70 of us; maybe a hundred, I don't know.

BH: I don't think it was as many as a hundred; I can't remember.

MK: Well, including the administrators it may have been close to a hundred.

BH: Uh huh. Did you ever feel any discrimination or abuse from people because you were a C.O?

MK: No. I never felt that.

BH: Nobody said that you should have been.....

MK: No. They may have thought it, but they didn't say it. I never had that experience. There were some C.O.'s who had bad experiences, no question about it; I never did.

BH: Did you have friends who went into the service then?

MK: Oh, of course, many.

BH: And did they debate with you ever about your choices?

MK: Oh no, no. I really never, I must say I never suffered a negative; I mean people may have thought: he's getting away with murder or something. Although the kinds of things that I was doing after Big Flats, were to most people understandable if you talked about it, you know. Take care of feeble-minded children, well people kind of think you're doing something; and you are doing something good. The starvation experiment, again the same thing. I have never run into serious negative reactions by anybody in all the years. Even in Minneapolis, when I got there, I moved a little bit into the community. Mostly it was the academic community where certainly the Political Science Department was cooperative and great and we talked and I was a graduate student at that point, and then I began to teach. So these were friends.

BH: And you were still starving when you were teaching and being a graduate student? A little bit of that.

MK: Yes. Well, I was a student and starving. I mean, that was it. You probably are aware, I think we had to do, I don't remember now, 40 some odd miles a week, something like that, 40, 45 miles a week of walking. And we did. But you know, walking around the Mississippi River, if that's what you are doing, is not such a severe punishment. But it was hard when you didn't have the energy.

BH: Yah. And you describe in your book, arriving in Minneapolis at the train station, which I thought was a nice image, an image that our train station would be full of soldiers going in and out.

MK: Oh sure, sure, it was.

BH: But you also had a lot of really nice things, positive things to say about the campus and the campus community.

MK: Oh yes, I was welcomed by the campus. The campus newspaper frequently wrote up what we were doing. And the Minneapolis paper had, I think, one or two stories. I don't think it was splurge, but I think it was an interesting experience for the reader. And I met people in the community; I wasn't shy about it.

BH: Did you have much contact with Dr. Keys himself?

MK: You mean at the experiment?

BH: Yes.

MK: Why he was there every day.

BH: Ancel Keys.

MK: We were constantly meeting with him and his staff. As a matter of fact, I think we had a meeting every single day; maybe more than once a day.

BH: What was he like?

MK: Serious, friendly, impressive personality. I just heard from his daughter not so long ago.

BH: Yes, I've met her.

MK: Because I've kept in touch with him over the years. Obviously an expert in the field. He had good relationships with the Defense Department, you know. The K-ration was his ration; Keys Ration, so we had a good access there. And he periodically would hear from Washington about developments and we met once, two, three times a day and he reported to us what he'd learned, which was useful. He was part of the group; you know in a sense he was the leader, but part of the group. And he had a very good staff, very good staff. And they covered the total medical field, including the psychological. It was Dr. Joseph Brozek who was the psychological. As a matter of fact, he had an aide who was a psychologist and a C.O. and, but he was not part of, (sounds like) Getzko was his name, Harold Getzko, he was not part of our experiment except as a leader working with Brozek. He had come to Minnesota on a previous assignment, I think dealing with Vitamin B or something; I didn't know much about that. Harold Getzko. As a matter of fact, Brozek and I and his wife met socially early on; got acquainted, and the fact is they arranged a date for me with one of her friends who would occasionally walk with me along the Mississippi, and who was obviously let down because one of the first thing that went with the starvation is the sex drive, you know. But she was very understanding. As a matter of fact, I saw her about six months ago here in Washington. She was visiting her son.

BH: What's her name, Betty.....

MK: Betty Aldrich. I don't know if I even have her in the book.

BH: I think she is, because I wondered if I could still get in touch with her.

MK: I don't know enough about her. She has a son here.

BH: You said in a passage that I've quoted: "It's amazing what hunger can do. It dampens sexual appetites, essentially eliminates them. You focus on food, you daydream about it. You read cookbooks and books on nutrition. You go to bed at night thinking of food and wake up in the morning thinking of food."

MK: I want to say in this connection: there were only a couple of us who didn't live up to that. The bulk of them, I never bothered with a cookbook, I was busy with my studies. But this was accurate for all but maybe two or three of us.

BH: You kept a diary, you said in the book.

MK: We all had to.

BH: You had to. You don't remember if you saved that, do you?

MK: No, they had it. I don't know where it is. You'd think you might be able to find those diaries, wouldn't that be something? At the University of Minnesota.

MK: That would be interesting. I have no idea where they are.

BH: They kept them, so you.....

MK: It was part of the instruments of the medical, you see. I do know they told me I was least psychologically damaged and I was interested to hear that.

BH: You were expected to write down your dreams at night too, is that right?

MK: Yes. Whatever occurs to us. You see, Brozek would read it, Brozek and Harold Getzko would read these things.

BH: Meanwhile did you follow what was going on in the war?

MK: Oh, I certainly did.

BH: How did you do that? In the newspaper?

MK: Reading the *New York Times* and the *Minneapolis Tribune*. There was no other way.

MT: The *New York Times* showed up in Minnesota?

MK: Yah. I'm pretty sure I read the *New York Times*.

BH: You could come to the Library, you could probably read it at the Library. And the radio; did you listen to the radio? Did people.....

MK: Not too much. Not too much that I remember. I didn't have a radio. And mostly, you know, you gotta understand, that in spare time I had to study. I was taking classes, I had to do homework, I had to read. I mean, it wasn't, you know, it never occurred to me that I'd read a cookbook instead of reading what I had to read for the assignment, but the book is accurate in that practically all of them read the cookbooks and their minds were moving towards what they would eat when they could. They would talk about it; I did not talk about it and I did not. So I can't say that I was typical of my group.

BH: Did you know Henry Scholberg there too?

MK: Yes, I certainly did.

BH: We've talked to him as well. He's still living in Minnesota.

MK: Oh sure, sure you should. He's in your area. He would know a part that I didn't know because he was part of most of the group and I was a little bit off base, going to school and all the rest, you see.

BH: Did you, I know you wrote about it later, it wasn't right away in the book, you write about it later, I think when you start writing about Humphrey. But I wonder, did you know the reputation of Minneapolis as an anti-Semitic city when you got there?

MK: No. When I got there I learned it.

BH: How?

MK: I may have talked to a rabbi, or I met Jewish families. I did nicely myself and so somebody had a friend and I might be invited to come over; obviously I was not invited for dinner, but you know, social. And as a matter of fact I met a rabbi there, Rabbi Stanley Rabinowitz, who became a rabbi here in Washington. So, you know, you learn things. And I read. But most of this came out in 1946 when Hubert decided; let me say that at the end of conscription Washington asked me to close the unit and to stay out there. Now they may have done that because they knew I was taking classes, or maybe that was the recommendation that Ancel Keys made, knowing I was going to stay on for a while longer. So I did that. And at that point, you see, I had already known the Political Science

people because I had been taking courses with the Political Science people, and that's when Bill Anderson, the Chairman of the Department, asked me if I would be interested in thinking about teaching as a career, and if so, he needed me to do some teaching now, and then I would have to go for a Masters and Doctorate. And it seemed appealing to me. That's how I met Humphrey. Because Humphrey was friendly with the faculty. The Political Science faculty was a social science faculty; they met, I think, most every Saturday night at the house of one of them and I was invited as somebody who had begun to teach as an instructor. And Humphrey would show up every Saturday night. Now, he might not show up before midnight, having made three speeches in the meantime, but he would show up and they knew him, he was a part of the team. And so I got to know him. And so when he was elected in 1946 as Mayor, somehow we knew, I don't know how I knew that there were two things: That (sounds like) Carry McWilliams had written a piece in *The Nation* calling Minneapolis the capital of anti-Semitism in America, and the other, J. Edgar Hoover tale. He apparently was quoted as saying we were the capital of crime in America because the Chicago people, gangsters, were kicked out by the Mayor and the next big city was Minneapolis. And I remember even, the name of the gangster, "Kid" Cann. And Humphrey was there as Mayor, inheriting these two problems. Two years later Humphrey is given the annual Brotherhood Award of the National Conference of Christians and Jews; in two years. And J. Edgar Hoover gives them a badge for law enforcement. Two years as mayor.

BH: Did you ever personally feel any discrimination, anti-Semitism directed to you?

MK: No. But I do know that I was told, because when I was a subject, but I was told that if I wanted, I couldn't join the American Automobile Club in Minneapolis because they wouldn't accept Jewish. But Humphrey knew all this and we talked about it at our Saturday night meetings, you know, these were political scientists and politics was what we talked about, the community is all we talked about. And Hubert would test out ideas on us too. You know, he was determined. And he did it in two years. How he did it in two years is beyond me, but he did it in two years. He worked like hell, and I helped him partially, no question about it. Art Naftalin, who is no longer alive, but Art was full-time with him, but Art was also part of the group.

BH: And that's pretty amazing because he becomes mayor himself, Art Naftalin. And he's a Jew who becomes mayor later.

MK: Oh, but that's after the fact.

BH: Yes that's later, right, but.....

MK: Oh, it was later. He was not the immediate successor, but it was a symbol of the change that took place in Minneapolis. And it took place, you could see it.

I was in close with a couple of the rabbis and I met some of the Jewish families, so I knew what was the case, and they understood the change as it matured, you see.

BH: There were very strong Jewish communities in Minnesota. On the North Side of Minneapolis especially. We have very close ties to the Jewish Historical Society of the Upper Midwest, as it's called. So we've done exhibits with them.

MK: You know Gerry Joseph.

BH: She's in your book too, no?

MK: Yes, but she's living in Minneapolis. She's active with the board. She married Burton Joseph. She was a journalist with the *Minneapolis Tribune*.

BH: I wrote down her name when I read it in your book and I want to get in touch with her.

MK: She can help you out because she knew Humphrey well. She worked for the *Minneapolis Herald Tribune*. I guess it's called, or the "Tribune."

BH: The *Star* and the *Tribune* and now it's the *Star-Tribune*.

MK: Well, she was a journalist. And one of the families I met was the Joseph family. The father Joseph was active in the grain business. And I don't know how we met; maybe at a synagogue, maybe one of the rabbis introduced me; I don't know. But I got to know the two sons and she began dating Burton Joseph and I saw them together frequently. And they were friends of mine; continues to this day. A couple of months ago I was with them in Florida. It would have been longer than that, but, I don't think it was longer than that. They were there for the winter and I was going to a board meeting and I knew where they were because they told me, and we had dinner together.

BH: Yah, there were some very strong communities.

MK: And Gerry has been very strong at the Humphrey Institute.

BH: That's right; that's why I made a note of that. We've talked to a lot of veterans of the war, men and women, but mostly men, and a lot of people who are now your age and are looking back on their twenties and thinking about starting when they were in a CCC Camp, Civilian Conservation Corps, in the 1930's, or in the Service, or in your case. You were a part of a whole lot of groups of young people doing things together. Did you have any sense that it was something special, that it was unique to your generation, or to your; this group consciousness, did you feel like you were creating a kind of group consciousness at all?

MK: No. I had friends, of course, who were not – I couldn't think of a single friend in New York, for example, who I independently knew who agreed with me on this. They were all traditional, as they should be, and they were drafted. I never felt, this doesn't mean I wasn't discriminated against, but I never felt discriminated against. When I talked to people they all seemed to respect what I was doing. Because in a sense, you know, what I was doing was important. So it wasn't a fake.

BH: But you, quite apart from being a C.O., you were always it seems, in your book and in your other writings, you were part of these really interesting groups of people. You talked about that a little bit before lunch here, after lunch, with these people in the law school, the people at the book store that kind of coalesced into a group. Then the people at the camp, the Quaker Camp. And then after the war, the people around Humphrey and this group of dynamic thinking, interesting people. I find that, you seem to have a kind of, you and maybe others of your generation to have this real strong ability and wanting to work with other people, like-minded people.

MK: I think that's an integral part of my activities, is to work with other people. And hopefully to be doing some good. That I think is the major emphasis when I'd evaluate a subject, is for the short period of my life I want to do something that is good. And today my secretary will tell you I have too many associations that I'm associated with, too many obligations that I have undertaken. But the fact of the matter is, I figure that is my duty and I enjoy it.

BH: Your generation has been called; do you know the book by Robert Putnam called, Bowling Alone?

MK: No.

BH: It was a kind of, during the Clinton Administration in the 1990's it was a very widely discussed book of popular sociology about- it's called Bowling Alone, the Decline of American Community, and he talks about what had happened in the post-war years. But in the post-war years your generation was still young and vigorous and was a generation of joiners, of people who did things together, who joined clubs, who did things in organizations.....

MK: I think that's the story of America. Beginning with the beginning. And I think it's a characteristic of a free society and we are a free society. So you assemble, so you talk, so you read, so you agree to do things because you think being a democracy you're spoiled, you see, so you agree to do things because you begin thinking, well, we can do it. If we're together we can do it. It isn't a dictatorship that says you cannot do it. You can do it, and if you can do it, let's do it. I mean, that's really what I find in America.

BH: People like to think of that, however, as something that isn't always a constant. (interrupted by a discussion of the thunder and lightning outside) People assert that this is not a constant in American history, that in fact there are times when there is more, kind of focused group activity and more focused organizational interest and that, you know, organizations have fallen apart. You know, the things that were so important to people of your generation. Even something like the PTA membership, or the Lions Clubs, or the B'nai Brith, or these things, you know, they aren't as strong, strongly.....

MK: I think they are. I have no reason to believe that they are not as strong. I think America is filled with these groups. Washington is filled with these groups. You know, parent groups, association groups. We join. We are a nation, I think, of joiners. So I don't agree with the people who feel that somehow we have changed. We join. Judging by my mail, I could spend all my time in organizations, constantly asking questions and getting together. That's at least, my observation.

MT: I think that even, like with the internet they thought the isolation with everybody individualized, but they even developed "My Space" which is a gathering and a community and it happens naturally.

BH: The creation of community is something, though. I wanted to skip back in time a couple of years, back to 1941. You were still in New York. Do you remember Pearl Harbor and what you were doing? You don't write at all about it in the book.

MK: I don't remember; I read it, it was, you know I was active, I was in law school, but I don't remember anything specific about it. Maybe I should, but I don't. But it permeated the whole community, I mean we all knew. And the press was telling us we were going to war. I mean, it was inevitable at that point.

BH: Its absence from your memoir is striking, I think, because so many people of your generation say that they know exactly where they were and what they were doing.

MK: I have no recollection. I just have no recollection of it.

BH: Really. No radio moments, no.....

MK: You know, I'm guessing that I was terribly sorry about this like every other person was, but I was a pacifist, so it didn't change my pacifism. But a pacifist by definition would regret this kind of historical development. But I cannot, in all honesty, remember where I was or what my reaction was other than what I am now talking about. Actually, you gotta remember, I was Goddamn busy! (all laughing) Working with a number of jobs, and going to school.

BH: Sunday, it took place on a Sunday. And on Monday, December 8, 1941, was the day you officially submitted for your name change; do you remember that?

MK: I didn't remember the connection, but I do remember going in with a . . . which was something I'd been thinking and planning on doing for some time. And now that I was in a law firm, it seemed to me I would do it.

BH: Your father's brother was a Kampelman already, right?

MK: That's right. You see, when they came over from Europe, and this was true of many names, the officer: "What's your name?" And if they didn't pronounce it properly, your name was what the interviewer thought you pronounced. And in our family's case my father came over with Kampelmacher, which was the name in Europe when he was there. His brother, his older brother, when he came over the immigration official wrote "Kampelman." So one was a Kampelmacher, the other was a Kampelman. Actually, there were three brothers here, maybe more, but I knew of three brothers, and there were two Kampelmachers and one Kampelman. And it was at that point, later on, that I thought to myself, this is kind of crazy. And I was in a law firm, so I inquired, and so I changed it. Actually I was very close to my cousins in New Jersey; still am.

BH: Really. I was interested to read that your family drove over on Sundays for dinner. Passaic, wasn't it?

MK: Every Sunday. Passaic. And I spent at least a week there in the summers, getting to know these people. I'm the only one left alive of my generation. But I'm in touch with the children of my cousins. They come by here and we talk and meet or have dinner or something.

BH: My wife's family is buried over there in Clifton, New Jersey, so you know....

MK: Well, Clifton is right next door to Passaic.

BH: Yah, Clifton, a big Jewish community. Yes, we've been to the cemeteries, the family plots. Oh see, I was really expecting you to now have this Pearl Harbor memory and it was going to be connected up.

MK: It doesn't.

BH: It was going to be connected up with your name change the next day.

MK: No. No it's not.

BH: Good. It's a good thing I'm asking you, so I don't make this part up.

MK: It never occurred to me. Each of these units was accurate. Their relationship was not there.

BH: Now I have more notes here; I ran out of room on one piece of paper and I had some more notes; here they are. Are you OK timing-wise?

MK: Don't worry about my time.

BH: Okay. Timing-wise and stamina-wise? You also said that the end of the war on V-E Day, you said you didn't recall very much, but you said, "The war in Europe ended while I was on the diet." And you don't recall much about the day's news or something, but that V-J day was the beginning of a major turning point. Can you talk about that a little bit?

MK: Well, I cannot in all honesty, remember what I did that day. I would have to guess that I was pleased the thing was over, obviously. But I can't go beyond that accurately because I don't remember anything beyond that. You know, obviously if you are writing a play that's a great time to do something, get the character to do something, but this character doesn't. You know, obviously every human being was pleased that it was over, and in my case I probably was thinking, "well, this, what do we do next, what do I do next?" The question of what I'd do next never left me because I was always thinking 'when this is over' and I knew it was going to be over at some point, what do I do? And my assumption was I'd go back to Louis Nizer because he kept writing to me periodically. We'd have exchanges, not frequently, but occasionally, and he always let me know I had a job. And I assumed I'd go and have a job. I had no idea that the department would come to me and say they're gonna be short of teachers and they expected massive students under the G.I. Bill of Rights, and would I consider, at least for a year, teaching and working toward a Doctorate. I was a good teacher. But I had not anticipated that. What I anticipated, frankly, was going back East and I was a bachelor.

BH: Still a bachelor, that's right. Not for long, though.

MK: No, no, that's right. Now, having staying there turned out to be very fortunate for me for many reasons, but one of which was that Saul Bellow joined the University. And Saul was very close to one or two of the people in the Political Science Department. And so at the end of the experiment, and I was beginning to teach, I rented an apartment right near the campus. But then when I saw Saul and Saul asked if I would rent his apartment; he had a room in his apartment so I rented there. Which was very good because we became better friends, you know. As a matter of fact, somebody was sitting in your seat about two weeks ago, who was writing a book about Saul, and came to interview me about what I new about Saul, etc.

BH: Hum. I was interested to read that you babysat for Saul Bellow.

MK: Well, I was living there and I babysat, sure, sure, sure. (all laughing)

BH: Another one of your jobs. Yes, it was a wonderful passage in here talking about the distinction of the University of Minnesota in those days. It was a place of real high distinction, wasn't it. Great professors and.....

MK: Well, that was a tremendous experience for me. First of all, Minnesotans are really good people to be with. I mean, you know, the Scandinavian intrusion is constructive and it permeates, even among non-Scandinavians. And that I found very nice; always felt that it was very nice. And then I learned that I enjoyed teaching, which I would never have tried. And not only that I enjoyed it, but I was good at it. So, you know, this opened up a great many vistas. And then meeting Saul Bellow and, I kept in touch with him until he died. That's why the man came to interview me about him. You know, this was a great figure.

BH: Augie March, *The Adventures of Augie March*, is 1953, I believe, and it is his first really important novel.

MK: Novel, yah.

BH: With strongly Jewish themes in it, too.

MK: And Saul was such a, you know, a down to earth fellow.

BH: He later taught at my alma mater at the University of Chicago.

MK: I know he did. And as a matter of fact, Chicago was really his home. That's from the beginning, you could see it was Chicago. And it didn't surprise me when he taught at the University.

BH: Yah, when he went to Hyde Park. I wanted to go back to the end of the war and the bombings, the use of the atomic bombs. You wrote about it in here, you said not until that happened did you begin to be jarred loose from your pacifism. That must have been a major turning point.

MK: No, no, it was a major turning point in my life. You know, right or wrong, there was a philosophy that love had power, as well as hate. And I believed that. This is part of pacifism. It's really part of a pacifist philosophy which I absorbed. It was a natural thing for me and I absorbed it through my pacifist activities. You know, love thy neighbor. I read a lot about Gandhi, who believed in the power over enemies, because he had done it. In a sense the power of love and religion being stronger than armies. And there were some real, very fine scholarly books about pacifism that I had read and felt really myself internally, that it's time for the human race to abandon killing as a solution, and trying love as a solution, which is in effect the pacifist message. And it had a great influence on me. And then

all of a sudden there was Hiroshima and that had a profound influence on me because it demonstrated that we had reached the stage of human development where you could kill somebody without looking at him. The power of love is interrelationship. All of a sudden you drop a bomb from way the hell; and tens of thousands of people are killed. And that is what shook me. It was that event that really made me sit down and say "what the hell am I doing." There is evil; I never denied the existence of evil. Gandhi and Tolstoy said that you develop and defeat evil with love, or it's equivalent. All of a sudden you don't have to look at the person to kill him, you don't have to see the person after you've killed him. So for me, it was really the beginning of the end of my pacifism. And that was profound and it was a reality. And the fact that I also began teaching Political Science and reading broadened that horizon, you see?

BH: What you said really struck me, not only because it's powerful about your own personal story, but it stands out from what I've heard from other people of your generation in that you said you don't remember much about Pearl Harbor and all these other guys I've talked to, talk about Pearl Harbor as this great turning point for their lives. But those same people say, we didn't think anything, we didn't know what happened with the atomic bomb, we didn't think anything of it, we just thought it was a big bomb. It's an amazing absence of interest in....

MK: Not with me.

BH: Not with you. I think that's pretty amazing.

MK: That was the fundamental; that was it. And I thought about it, I talked to people about it. This was for me, the profound turn in the world which led me to leave my pacifism.

BH: Do you remember how you learned about it or; because it certainly wasn't apparent right away.

MK: Well, to me it was apparent right away. For me, this was a profound; when I read about how many people were killed, oh, this had a tremendous impact on me, right away, right away. And right away I was beginning to question.

BH: Did you ever think; this is probably a silly question, but there was an atomic bomb in 1945; did you ever think of this as becoming something of a mission for you, what you did later on, elimination of nuclear weapons in the 1980's and '90's, and today you've been writing about it and talking about it. It all began in 1945, right?

MK: Well, you must understand that until I came to Washington I was not a part of government and whatever feelings I had were vague feelings. What was hard and deliberate was the fact that I began to question my pacifism. And it's interesting that when I came to Washington with Hubert I met Paul Douglas,

senator from Illinois, who had been a pacifist, a Quaker; he was a Quaker pacifist and who volunteered and joined the service during the Second World War. And I got to know him quite well. And he went through that, which led him to leave Quakers and fight in the Second World War. His motivation was the Hitler problem, you see. But it was, again, a change. And as a matter of fact when I came to Washington I obviously got to know Senator Douglas and got to know him quite well, I knew his staff, because we worked very closely together. The liberal senators had a nice group together. And I talked to him about this. He and I talked and it led to his making it clear to me that he therefore, joined the military and was an officer. I guess he was in the Marine Corps during the Second World War. And it led me to say to him, you know, I have to do this, I ought to do this. It led me to think that. In other words to demonstrate a feeling and not just have an inside feeling. And so he introduced me to the Marines and I joined the Marines.

BH: Oh that's right, a reservist.

MK: I joined the Marines. The Marines didn't know what to do with me other than to have me work for them in the Pentagon. And so I did. And I did a lot of work for them in the Pentagon and I developed good friends in the Pentagon. A man who was a colonel became my life-long friend in the sense that he was my friend until he died. And then his wife asked me to speak at his funeral. (sounds like) _____ Hittel. You know, and after I left the government we continued as friends.

BH: So the atomic bombs that drop in 1945, and then there is a period of a few years before the Soviets get the bomb, but there is a lot of nuclear bomb talk and politics reverberating through the culture from 1945 well into the '50's. That's what we call the Cold War, I guess, but you were not, or were you; you weren't a Ban the Bomb, or antinuclear activist after '45.

MK: No, no, no. As I told you, in '45 was when I left my pacifism. So it was just the opposite.

BH: Right, exactly, but in recent years you've begun to work for the elimination of nuclear weapons.

MK: Yes. And that's the major part of my life today. And this is important; it's important to me, whether it's important to you, I don't know, in your work.

BH: Yes, it is, of course.

MK: But, I told you downstairs that I went for three months on human rights. It lasted for three years.

BH: This was to Madrid.

MK: Madrid. Without any hesitation I say to you that we, I and Reagan, destroyed the Soviet Union. I couldn't have done that, what I did, without his approval and Schultz's approval. Because I did things that normally diplomats are not supposed to do.

MT: This is George Schultz?

BH: The Secretary of State, yah.

MK: George Schultz. I mean, if you have the time, I'll tell you the story about that, which is interesting. I think I told you about this fellow, did I mention downstairs about the fellow who heard me speak and he cried.....

BH: Um hum.

MK: Alright then, because of what I was saying and I was on the radio and he was in prison?

BH: Um hum.

MK: OK. I took it upon myself as the head of the delegation. Goldberg spent three months and left in anger and the meetings ended. I decided to use this meeting to destroy the Soviet Union after I read the document. I never was taken in by the communists, incidentally; as a student, never, never. And then we fought them in Minnesota. So in this situation as I began working with our allies, 35 countries, and working with the Warsaw Pact countries and working with the neutral countries, this was my first role in diplomacy. I decided to be natural; the result being I didn't like what the Soviets did, I got up materials, I had people in New York send me materials, I had a damn good staff. One of the members of that staff is in that photograph; she's now an Undersecretary of State here in Washington. And I began this process. And after two years we united; NATO was one, I pushed it and we had daily meetings only if it was for half an hour. And they all looked up to the United States. I mean, I was the leader of the group, there was no question about it. And it was (sounds like) Genter who'd say to his German, "bring Max over; I want to be brought up to date." And I was all over Europe also, but I was working. I don't mean to talk about myself, but it was a reality. And after about two years, instead of three months, I was in Washington, I'd come back periodically and everybody knew what I was doing in Washington. I mean, they knew what I was doing; Washington knew what I was doing in Madrid, and they liked what I was doing. They never asked me to do it, but they liked it. And I knew this was consistent with what Reagan was doing and what an American would want. So on one of my trips back I would always see the secretary of state, whoever it was. In this case it was Schultz after the two years. And I said to him, "I really think we are coming to an end in Madrid." And he says, "How do you know we are coming to an end in Madrid, what do you

think, what do you see?" I said, "well, I think the Soviets are desperate to end it and I think they have been given instructions from Moscow to end the Goddamn meeting, cuz they're taking it on the chin." And they were taking it on the chin, not just at the meeting, but throughout Europe; that was clear from the public opinion polls and everything we were doing. They were taking it on the chin. So Schultz was pleased to hear this and he says, "you don't look happy." And I said, "well, I'm happy to be out of that Goddamn place and begin with my family full time again." So he said, "no, something's troubling you." And I said, "Well, I'm not conscious of anything troubling me." You know, but he was analyzing this. He saw something. And then he asked me a fundamental question, because they were going to give us everything we asked for. What I said to him that the KGB agent there, who was the number two with their mission, had come to me and I'd indicated; this was how I knew Moscow was pressing them, they'd indicated, well let's think in terms of ending this thing. And I said to him, "well, you know I won't end until I get everything I want." And he said, "we'll work something out." So it was no longer the hostility here. Finally Schultz says to me at that meeting, I'll never forget it. He said, "If you were now at the beginning of the negotiation and you would be asked by me, what would you like to see that you don't see now in the document, what would you like to see in it?" And I thought a moment and I said, "Yes, I can answer that. These are only words. They are statements, they are words, they are speeches; meanwhile there are people in jail." And I said, "I would want people out." He says, "Max, you cannot change the rules in the middle of a game." I said, "I know, that's why I'm not recommending this to you." And so we talked about that a little bit longer. Our allies would be impossible, they'll never agree, they'll all want to go home. And I agreed. Our allies wouldn't want it. Nobody would want it except if I wanted it, I'd bring it up, nobody else would agree. He thinks, then he goes to the telephone and he comes back and he says, "let's go in my car. We're going to the White House." So he and I go to the White House and we meet with Reagan. We walk right in and we meet with Reagan. And we explained to Reagan why we are there. I had, you know, he and I were pretty close by then because he was interested in the Russian thing constantly and I was talking to him. And I remember him saying, he's thinking as we are talking to him, and we are telling him the difficulty. We are telling him we'd be the only ones among the 35, which is a reality, and he says, "how would you do it, Max?" I said, "Mr. President, I haven't the slightest idea. I didn't come here with a plan. I haven't the slightest idea of how to change this." So he says to us, to Schultz and to me, he says, "you know, when I first became president I told Al Haig, who was the first Secretary of State, to bring in the Russian ambassador to see me. And he did. And I told the ambassador that if his bosses in Moscow want to have better relationships with me and the United States, I need to have a symbol, I need to have a sign that that's the direction that they want to move in." And he says, "I gave them a sign." Well, I don't know if you remember, but there were Pentecostals holed up in the American Embassy. They had been there by then, nearly two years, or about two years. And he says, "The sign I gave them was 'let the Pentecostals go back.'" There were, I think nine of them or eight of them.

"Let them go back to Siberia where their homes are. And if you let them go back to Siberia where their homes are and live freely, I'll take that as a sign that you want better relationships with me and the United States." I never knew that and Schultz didn't know this. And um, to me that was something new. And he says, "I certainly want to get them out." And then he says to me, "How will you get people out? How are you gonna do it?" And I said, "Mr. President, I haven't the slightest idea. I didn't come here to Washington with that in mind." Which I didn't. I haven't the slightest idea. But I said to him, "you know, nobody else in Madrid would like us to make any changes; our NATO allies will want to go home, the Russians will want to go home, the eastern Europeans and the neutrals will want to go home." And Schultz knows because he's been in touch with foreign ministers. So I remember Reagan saying, when I said I don't know how to do that, he said, "I think we ought to try that out." Something like that. And then he says to Schultz, "If (sounds like) Genture calls you," because I warned them that if this gets out we'll be trampled on by our friends; he says, "if Genture calls you talk to him; if the Chancellor calls I want to talk to him." That's of Germany. Germany was also then the head of the Ten; you remember there was that group of ten. Then he turns to me again and he says, "just keep me informed. I'm leaving it totally up to you as to how to do this." So, I don't know what to do. I didn't come to Washington with a plan. So I got back to Madrid and I take the KGB fella aside. He speaks English, the boss is from the State Department, the Russian State Department, he doesn't speak any English. But when I meet with him, which is frequently, the number two KGB man is the interpreter, you know. So I say, "Serge, sit down, I've got a message for you. It's a message for your boss in Moscow. You tell him that I am authorized by the President of the United States," and I told him what happened, "and by the Secretary of State, that we intend to keep to this meeting until there are changes and there are people getting out." He exploded, "You can't do this. We've been in here three years. You can't do this, it's not right. We can't agree, we can't agree, we won't agree." And then he says, "and nobody will agree." I said, "Serge, I don't want to argue with you, but I bring for your bosses a message from the President of the United States that we will not agree to end this meeting unless we can work out getting people out of Red jails and open up the doors." Well, an angry general comes back to me a few days later. He's gotta see me. He says, this, incidentally, what I'm giving you has never appeared in print, never appeared in print. And he says to me, "I have instructions from my boss to negotiate with you." That was it. "But, there are conditions," he says. "Well, what are the conditions." "Well," he says, "one condition is that none of your allies or our allies must know that we are talking about this." Well, that made sense, so I said, "That's fine." "Second condition: only three Americans are to know about this; you, and you say the Secretary of State and the President of the United States." Because I told him exactly what happened at the meeting. "Only three Americans must know about this." "Another condition: I am the only Russian you can talk to about this." And I said, "What about your chairman?" He says, "I am the only Russian you can talk to about this." I said, "what about your ambassador in Washington, he's constantly after me when I'm there." "I'm the

only Russian you can talk to about this." Well, I want you to know, we got, I don't know the figures, but I bet it was 100,000 people out of the jails. That's the story I told you at lunch. That's how this guy got out. You remember I told you about this thing, didn't I? He was one of those. At one point he comes to me and he says, "we got problems with the Pentecostals. Incidentally, I gave him a list, not of the nine Pentecostals, or eight Pentecostals; I called our embassy in Moscow and said, "Give me the names of every one of the three families." And it was about a hundred names. And I didn't give him the names of the nine, I gave him the hundred names. So he's coming to me now and he says, "We got problems with the Pentecostals." I said, "What's the problem." He said, "They don't want to go to Israel." I said, "look, the people we're sending to Israel are Jews. These Pentecostals are not Jews." "I only have authority to let people go to Israel." So I said, "Serge, so we'll let them go to Israel, they'll land in Tel Aviv, we'll have another plane taking them from Tel Aviv to Germany. He says, "I don't care what they do once they land in Israel." So that's what we had to be doing with the Pentecostals. And as I say, I believe we got out, you see, we had lists. What I didn't say is that as I left the White House with Schultz back then, just as I get to the door the president says, "Wait a minute, Max." And he goes to his desk, he opens up a drawer, he takes out, I don't remember, two, three pieces of paper, "See what you can do about getting these people out." How long he had that list; we looked, Schultz and I; this was a list of Jewish (sounds like) refuse nicks that were in jail, you see. And we got out; I don't think this is ever going to count, but it's clear to us here, we got out more than 100,000 people. Quietly, we kept our word, nobody knew about it, no American knew about it, and they kept their word. So when I look upon that Madrid experience, I look upon it with great satisfaction, and that's why I can say we destroyed the Soviet Union, you see. Now, to go to arms, which is really what we are dealing with: I developed during those three years, very good relationships with the president. He was, you know, human rights oriented and very much interested in what we were going in Madrid. And I briefed him frequently and I briefed the vice president whenever I came, not just Schultz, but the others. And, okay, then that's over and I'm back to private life; no more government, back to private life. The president on two different occasions gave me assignments that did not require my becoming a government employee, but did require my representing him. And I did. He gave me an airplane on one occasion. Because we developed a good relationship. Incidentally, he knew I was a Democrat; of course he knew. As a matter of fact, I'll tell you a separate story; can I interject with a separate story?

BH: Please.

MK: The first time I met Reagan was when he was governor and I was sitting next to him on a dais of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. I was the chairman of the American Friends of the Hebrew University, and on the board of the University. We raised money every year in the United States; all year-round, but we had an annual dinner in Florida. I was chairman and I didn't like what Carter was doing in connection with the Israelis. He was bringing the Russians into the

U.N. to help him. He was not a great friend of Israel's, as we now know from the book, but he wasn't then. He wasn't then. So I wanted to have a Republican speaker in Florida instead of the president, and I thought of Reagan. And I had a friend here who was close to Reagan and told me Reagan was running for president. So I asked him to ask Reagan if he would speak and he agreed to speak, and I'm sitting next to Reagan on the dais. "Where do you live, Mr. Kampelman?" He's governor now. "I live in Washington." "What brought you to Washington, Mr. Kampelman?" "Hubert Humphrey brought me to Washington." Suddenly his eyes light up. "One of my closest friends," he says. "When he comes to California we try to get him to stay with us at the Governor's Mansion. I campaigned for him when he ran for the senate." So he and I had a relationship independently of the Madrid business, but it was a good basis for the Madrid thing, you see. So that's that; now I'm back in private life. I get a call at 5 a.m., a telephone call, and a young lady answers the phone and she says, "Sorry to wake you, but you know that Schultz and Gromyko are meeting in Geneva now to start the relationship again." I said, "Yes, I read about it in the newspapers." "Well" she says, "I have a message for you from" who's the CBS guy on the air?

BH: Cronkite?

MK: The other one. He's now retired. He got into a fight with ...

BH: Dan Rather?

MK: Dan Rather. She says, "we've just heard from Dan Rather that the arms talks are being renewed and that you are going to head up the American delegation." Now, I'm out of government, remember? And she says to me, "and incidentally, Dan Rather asked me to say hello to you." OK. But, and I persuaded her that I knew nothing about it and wasn't lying; which was true. It never even occurred to me, never occurred to me. She says, "well, Mr. Kampelman, I have to tell you we're running with it at 6 a.m." Well I said, "Why are you running with it?" Because she believed me that I hadn't heard a word about it. She says, "because Dan Rather says so." She was very blunt about it. Anyhow, I tried very hard not to be chosen: One, I didn't know the first Goddamn thing about it; two, nobody asked me to be in the job. But the press was playing it up. So I was able to persuade the secretary that I had no interest in the job, didn't feel qualified to do the job, but nobody asked me to do the job, remember. I'm making a speech with a Minneapolis business man in Idaho who was the president of the YPO, the Young President's Organization, and I get a phone call. Who's on the phone; George Schultz, Cap Weinberger. I'm in Idaho or someplace. "The president is calling you in five minutes; you cannot say no." I said, "I'm not equipped, I'm really not trained in this." "We'll get you a deputy." The president calls me in five minutes and he says, "I know you don't want this job, Max" so it reached him, "but I want you. We had a good relationship in the previous thing and I want you, I trust you and I want you." "Yes, Mr. President." And he says, "They tell me they'll get you a good deputy." "Yes, Mr. President."

And he says, "I guess I also ought to tell you not only that I want you, but you are the only fellow that Schultz and Weinberger could agree on." (all laughing)
Which is interesting, because they were this way, you know. So, there's the....

BH: So you end up then going to....

MK: So I end up going to Geneva. Where again, let me say, because you asked the question about

BH: About nuclear arms reduction.

MK: We came out with two treaties. They are the only two treaties that exist between us on arms; on anything, but on arms. Intermediate range weapons, zero. Longer range weapons fifty percent cut. Now, before that happens we are negotiating, but at the beginning of the negotiation, before I got started, Reagan had his meeting with Gorbachev. Reagan comes back to Washington and calls a meeting of his cabinet and of the people, USIA, and CIA, and you know, who would be interested in what he's done with Gorbachev. And I'm invited to it and I'm sitting there, cuz I hadn't started my talk yet, they were just about ready to start. And he incidentally says, and he said to Gorbachev, "Wouldn't it be great if we could have zero in these negotiations." I can tell you there was consternation in that room of about 40 or 50 people, and quite a few of them very politely say, "It is not in our interest, Mr. President." He doesn't argue, he listens respectfully. A year later he meets with Gorbachev and he repeats the offer; this time publicly, and we end up with these two treaties. Well, that's considered a great accomplishment; they are the only two treaties that exist. I go back to private life. 9/11 takes place and I read in the *New York Times* that if 9/11 airplanes had carried nuclear weapons instead of the weapons they did carry, Washington and New York would have been practically obliterated. The Capitol would have been destroyed and the Pentagon. And I think of my children and grandchildren. So I go back to my office and I kept in touch with my staff who knew more about the subject than I did, and I invited to meet here in my office, sitting where you are, about half a dozen of my staff people which whom I had kept in touch and whose judgment I respected. And I gave them the story and what happened the *New York Times* and I said, "I want you fellows to tell me, was Reagan right about zero, or were you guys right, 'cause all you guys were against it, all these experts." And out of that came a feeling we ought to do something about this. We prepared a paper; not all, we brought in other people from my staff and other experts. Not all agreed. But we had a good activity; we drafted a paper. I sent the paper to George Schultz; George and I are the same age so we keep in touch with each other. And it's a paper for zero. And I sent the paper to George Schultz, telling him this is what our little group have come up with. He calls me on the telephone about a week later and he says that he's taking it up with Sydney (spelling?) Drell. Now, you know Sydney Drell's name; don't you know his name? Sydney Drell is a world class physicist now at the Hoover Institute at Stanford. And he's taking it up with Sydney Drell and the people at the Hoover

Institute. And they decided on the 20th anniversary of Reykjavik to have a two-day conference, and they would invite scientists and others to the conference in Stanford; would I open the meeting. So I did, I opened the meeting. But before that my group wanted us to have an Op Ed piece. So I prepared an Op Ed piece and I sent it to George, asking him to sign it, to write it, and he says, "no Max, I'm not ready yet. I want to wait until these two days are over." And so I took it and sent it over to the *New York Times* over my signature. I don't know if you've seen it or not.

BH: Well, yes, I have it.

MK: You have it? Okay. I want to say to you that my mail was overwhelming. And an editor from the *New York Times* calls me on the telephone and he says their mail is overwhelming and they would like to republish it in the *International Herald Tribune*, would I agree. I said I would agree. That is the beginning of what you are asking me about. We've now had two meetings in Stanford, we've had now two Op Ed pieces by Schultz and 15, 20, 25 other people, scientists and others that appeared in the *Wall Street Journal*, not in the *New York Times* and we are underway. I spent a week in London at the invitation of the British government, I spoke at the House of Commons, I met the editorial boards of their three major newspapers, I met the leaders of the two parties, pushing zero. Schultz and I, and Sam Nunn has joined us. We have two now, *Wall Street Journal* editorials. I was among the signers, though not a lead signer because I had a slight difference with them, but not serious, they know about the difference and we're gonna try to resolve it. Schultz tells me that nearly all of the former Secretaries of State and about half the former Secretaries of Defense have now signed up. I was in New York the other day, I had a session with Henry Kissinger, who introduced me to the prime minister of Spain who was there and who knew about this. The American Academy of Diplomacy is retired senior foreign policy people, ambassadors. I was, as a matter of fact, Larry Eagleburger put me in as chairman one year. Tom Pickering is now chairman and was chairman a year ago. Tom calls me on the phone and says, "This is the American Academy of Diplomacy inviting you to the State Department," this is a year ago or more, "giving you our annual Diplomatic Service Medal," or something like that. I was pleased and honored. Then he calls me on the phone and he says, "Max, I was going to introduce you, but Henry wants to introduce you." Fine. There were about 300 people there, 400 people there. So it's underway, and that's my activity. It's more than a fulltime activity. If you'd like, I can have Toni, or you can tell Toni to send you, I guess I've got now about 10, 15 major speeches on the subject. If you wanted, it probably fits into the Minnesota Historical Society. But tell Toni to send you copies of all the speeches.

BH: This editorial is dated 2006, and that's correct, that's when you wrote the *New York Times* editorial, the Op Ed piece?

MK: What year is this year, 2008?

BH: Yah, so it's two years ago.

MK: She's got it, let her send it to you too.

BH: I've got it here.

MK: Do you have the editorial there?

BH: Yes, April, 2006. So you've been very busy since then.

MK: I would say there are now about 15 speeches I've made on the subject, all on zero, and let me say that I am going next week to California. I'm speaking at the National Convention of the Evangelicals that's meeting in California. They know I'm a democrat. But they've come here, they've sat where you're sitting and they asked me if I'd come out and I said I'd be honored to come out and speak to them, which I'm doing. I've spoken at Harvard, I've spoken at Princeton. She has all of those things.

BH: I was interested; we probably should, I should probably ask a final question or two, but because you just said, now since 2006 and beginning; I don't know, when do you think that this global consciousness of yours began. It sounds to me that you had it.....

MK: I had it when I was a C.O. beforehand, yah. And I had it, I taught Political Science.

BH: And you said earlier about the lawyers who were coming from Europe to the University of Minnesota

MK: Right in my classroom. But that was the Hitler period.

BH: I think it's interesting that you go from being focused on something so intensely local and intensely personal and labor law and labor unions, and expend out from that to something really intensely global. I mean, it's an interesting journey, it's an interesting

MK: Yes it is, yes it is.

BH: And I don't know exactly how that happened. Do you?

MK: Well, let's say the world's become smaller. That's a fundamental reality, you know, and we argue like hell about what some nincompoop in Iraq is doing. And you gotta remember that the fella who built the Iraqi atomic plant admits publicly now, and he's arrested, that he sold it, and he sold it to the people of the Middle East. So all this business does Iran have it and don't have it is nonsense.

And you can cross Canada and you can cross Mexico and you can carry a valise and nobody stops you, and you can be carrying nuclear material inside of it. We're in danger. And the fact that I'm putting in endless time, endless time, is because we are in danger. And my grandchildren are in danger. So it is my cause now.

BH: Do you give any credence or credit to your experience growing up in the Depression, or your experience as a C.O. during the war to this commitment that you have now, this kind of selflessness of commitment?

MK: It's within the same strain; it's just this is the modern reflection of much of yesterday, but the more modern it is the more serious it is, the more dangerous it is. And really, I don't mind telling you that I don't know that we'll be here next week. There's not the slightest doubt in my mind; they may not go to Minneapolis, but there isn't the slightest doubt in my mind that Washington is a target. Think of what would happen to the Congress, you know, how many would be killed if it dropped on that. Do you know that we have absolutely no alternative should the Congress be destroyed? None in the law. Nothing. There is a fellow here in Washington who is trying to do something about it.

BH: That has certainly occurred to people because of the failed; it's assumed that the airplane, of course, that went down in Pennsylvania was headed for the Capitol on 9/11. Of course it wasn't carrying nuclear weapons, but it would have physically destroyed the building.

MK: But had they contained, you know, think of where it would be.

BH: I'm sure you've thought about it a lot because your family's here.

MK: Sure.

BH: I've thought about it because we have so many friends and family here.

MK: Of course. And Washington has to be a goal.

BH: I remember growing up in Houston, Texas during the cold war in the 1950's, I went to Catholic school and we were all told by the nuns that Houston was a target because of the oil industry and because of NASA, the Aeronautic and Space Administration had already

MK: Well, it would be a target, yes.

BH: I remember being terrified by that.

MK: Yah, it would be a target.

BH: During the Cuban Missile Crisis.

MK: Yah, and for all I know, they're also included as one of the targets; I have no idea. All I know is that I'm doing what I can. So, here we are.

BH: Thank you for all your time today.

MK: That's all right, I don't mind having, you know. One, I believe in history. But two, also, I'd like to see my stuff recorded. There ought to be, I'm not writing endless articles about it. One, I don't have the time, but I do write speeches.

BH: I'm assuming, you wrote in the very beginning of the book that you spent a long time with somebody recording, who gave you transcripts of recordings that you did in the late '80's when you were writing this book, or 1990...

MK: Norman Sherman.

BH: And did those tapes and transcripts go to us, to the Historical Society?

MK: I have no idea. They should have gone to you. Norman Sherman still comes to Minneapolis occasionally, and you ought to ask him. Excuse me, I just remember, no, it's not Norman Sherman, somebody calling me and asking me whether they should send their papers to the Minnesota Historical Society and I said, yes.

BH: Yes, we talked about that and it was Laingen.

MK: No, no, before; this was some time ago.

BH: Oh, really, good. That's very good, that's good for us. I just wanted to make sure that, yah Norman Sherman sat and interviewed you for more than 100 hours and you had tapes and dictation and then that became the narrative that he's writing the book from.

MK: Yes.

BH: So I'm hoping that there would be access to those as well, and there would be like a longer version of your book.

MK: I wouldn't be surprised if the Minnesota Historical Society has that; I don't know. Norman is still around.

BH: We do have this (sounds like) I'm finding it in here. It didn't jump out at me that these tapes and transcripts are there.

MT: The transcript of this is not.....

BH: But there isn't a larger transcript of 100 hours of interviews. So that would be important for us to make sure that we get that because, like I said, it would be like a longer version of your book. An unedited, unshaped, but still really for people to have access to in the future.

MK: Yah.

MT: It's hard to say.

BH: It's hard to say because we have so much and we haven't been through it. And that brings up the last thing we have to ask. (asking MT or Toni or woman in background): Did we get a signature?

MT: No.

BH: Can we get you to sign a couple of things for us, giving us permission to see the restricted parts of the papers?

MK: Oh, of course.

MT: Do you want to remove the restrictions, or do you want to keep them on.

MK: I couldn't quite hear, my hearing.....

MT: Would you like to remove the restrictions on your papers?

MK: What are the restrictions?

MT: Nobody can view anything after 1976.

BH: This is what it says.....

MK: They're not taking them away, they are just reviewing.

MT: Yah.

BH: Nobody takes anything out.

MT: No, no.

MK: Well, yes, you see the reason we put the restrictions is because of my government work, you see? But I don't see any reason why they are needed now.

BH: This is what it says under restrictions:

MK: You see, what I was concerned about was the deal we made with the Russians, you see? Where we promised the Russians we wouldn't publicize this, but that's now a long time ago.

MT: Would you mind signing here then? I just wrote it up that you have authorized the removal of

BH: Does that make that a moot....

MT: Yes, this makes that mute.

MK: I don't care about the restrictions anymore.