



Max M. Kampelman Papers

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The WOMAN'S NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CLUB

1526 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

phone (202)232-7363 ♦ fax (202)986-2791

CALENDAR NOTES FOR MARCH 1992

70th Anniversary Special Event!

Members and their guests
are cordially invited to attend

a Spring Dinner Dance
on Friday, March 20



featuring a professional demonstration:
"Dancing Through the Decades"



70th Anniversary Special Event!

\$20.00 per person
Cash Bar

Cocktails: 6:00 p.m.
Buffet Dinner: 7:00 p.m.

MARCH 2 MONDAY

Ambassador MAX M. KAMPELMAN, lawyer, diplomat, and educator, will talk on "Memoirs of a Private Person in Public Life," based on his recent autobiography, *Entering New Worlds*. His diplomatic skills have been recognized by both Democratic and Republican administrations. In the mid-1940s he was Hubert Humphrey's senatorial aide and counselor. Subsequently he served under Presidents Carter, Reagan, and Bush as negotiator on human rights and arms control. He also found time to create the popular PBS program "Washington Week in Review." Ambassador Kampelman will be introduced by his long-time friend JANE FREEMAN, former First Lady of Minnesota and our own former president of WNDC. Book available for purchase. Time: 12:15 p.m. Price: Members \$12.00, Non-member guests \$15.00.

MARCH 5 THURSDAY

Dr. MADELEINE KORBEL ALBRIGHT, president of the Center for National Policy, is one of the nation's foremost foreign policy analysts and a favorite WNDC speaker. At an evening program she will share her views on "American Foreign Policy in the 90s." Dr. Albright is the Donner Professor of International

Affairs and Director of the Women in Foreign Service Program at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service. Time: Cash bar 5:30 p.m., Dinner 6:30 p.m., Program 7:15 p.m. Price: Members \$17.00, Non-member guests \$20.00.

MARCH 9 MONDAY

JANET L. NORWOOD, who recently retired as commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, has been described by one senator as "a national treasure." She will present the facts behind our current hard times in her talk, "Jobs, Jobs, Jobs: What's New on the Employment Front?" Ms. Norwood will be introduced by NANCY M. GORDON, assistant director for Human Resources in the Congressional Budget Office. Time: 12:15 p.m. Price: Members \$12.00, Non-member guests \$15.00.

MARCH 10 TUESDAY

Trips and Tours invites you to take some time to "smell the roses" at the Philadelphia Flower Show. See *WNDC News* for details.

MARCH 12 THURSDAY

On paper, at least, the Cambodian conflict has ended.

EDITOR: SARA RAU (703) 573-7037

THE WOMAN'S NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CLUB

MARCH 1992

MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	APRIL
<div>2</div> <div>Luncheon Speaker Amb. MAX KAMPELMAN "Memoirs of a Private Person in Public Life" Int.: Jane Freeman LIBERAL ARTS COM. 2:15 pm</div>	<div>3</div> <div>SEMINAR COM. 10:15 am DEMS FOR THE 90s STEERING COM. 7 pm</div>	<div>4</div> <div>ED TF 10:30 am PUBLIC RELATIONS COM. 12 noon</div>	<div>5</div> <div>Dinner Speaker Dr. MADELEINE ALBRIGHT "An American Foreign Policy in the 90s" 6:30 pm HEALTH/SS TF 10:30 am</div>	<div>6</div> <div>BRIDGE LESSON 10 am HOUSING TF 10:30 am</div>	<div>APRIL 2</div> <div>Luncheon Speaker ALAN FERN "Facing History: Can You Make a National Portrait Gallery Interesting?" Int.: Tom Freudenheim</div>
<div>9</div> <div>Luncheon Speaker Dr. JANET NORWOOD "Jobs, Jobs, Jobs: What's New on the Employment Front?" Int.: Nancy M. Gordon PUBLIC POLICY COM. 10 am</div>	<div>10</div> <div>Trip to Philadelphia Flower Show SEMINAR COM. 10:15 am</div>	<div>11</div> <div>EXECUTIVE COM. 11:30 am</div>	<div>12</div> <div>Luncheon Speaker BILL HEROD "Cambodia: Reconstructive Surgery or a Touch of Khmer Rouge?" Int.: Jeremy Stone PROGRAM ASSOCS. 10 am FOREIGN POLICY TF 10 am</div>	<div>13</div> <div>BRIDGE LESSON 10 am</div>	<div>APRIL 7</div> <div>Dinner Speaker STEVE ROBERTS "Politics and the Legislative Process" Int.: Cokie Roberts 6:30 pm</div>
<div>16</div> <div>Luncheon Speaker JIM LEHRER "Short List" MEMBERSHIP COM. 10:30 am</div>	<div>17</div> <div>Roundtable Speaker HEATHER BOOTH "Building Progressive Politics" SEMINAR COM. 10:15 am Buffet Lunch served in the Rayburn Lounge</div>	<div>18</div> <div>GOVERNING BOARD 10 am D.C. TF 10 am BLDG. & GROUNDS 12 noon ECONOMY TF 1 pm</div>	<div>19</div> <div>Luncheon Speaker MARVIN KALB "Press Coverage of Presidential Campaigns" Int.: Daniel Schorr</div>	<div>20</div> <div>70th ANNIV. SPRING DINNER DANCE</div>	<div>APRIL 9</div> <div>Luncheon Speaker SUSAN WOODWARD "Yugoslavian Crisis"</div>
<div>23</div> <div>Luncheon Speaker Sen. BARBARA MIKULSKI "The Economy, Health Policies, & Women's Issues in the Coming Elections" Int.: Nancy Kopp</div>	<div>24</div> <div>Second Day on the Hill (TRIPS & TOURS) SEMINAR COM. 10:15 am</div>	<div>25</div> <div>WOMEN'S ISSUES TF Older Women: 10 am Younger Women: 6 pm ENV/ENERGY TF 1 pm</div>	<div>26</div> <div>Luncheon Speaker PETER GALBRAITH "The Legacy of Iraq" Int.: Elizabeth Moynihan HUMAN RTS TF 10:15 am</div>	<div>27</div> <div>MAILING COM. 9:30 am</div>	<div>APRIL 22</div> <div>70th Anniversary Dinner Program</div>
<div>30</div> <div>Luncheon Speaker RUTH R. CRONE "Affordable Housing: Tackling the Problem on a Regional Basis" Int.: Marilyn Melkonian Pre-lunch Workshop 10 am</div>	<div>31</div> <div>SEMINAR COM. 10:15 am</div>	<div>Information on cancellations will be broadcast on WETA, WGAY, WMAL, and WGMS</div>			<div></div>

DEMOCRACY AND THE WINDS OF CHANGE

ADDRESS BY

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

TO THE

WOMEN'S NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CLUB

Washington, D.C.

March 2, 1992

A week ago today, I was at Glassboro State College, New Jersey, to speak at the 25th Anniversary of the summit meeting between President Lyndon B. Johnson and Soviet Premier Alexsey Kosygin. The prevailing view of the time was that we were destined to live in a world permeated with the ideological and power conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union, each of which had the capacity to destroy the other.

Like a great many political predictions, that one also proved to be inaccurate in the face of great and unpredictable changes in human affairs. Indeed, in the most recent summit of a few weeks ago between Presidents Yeltsin and Bush, a joint declaration was issued based on the premise that our two countries were now friends and allies and partners in the search for peace, liberty and human dignity for all peoples. The most destructive ideological system and massive military machine of the 20th century has crumbled.

My theme this afternoon is to analyze and understand how and why our world is changing so fast and so dramatically.

Let me illustrate the change. During my early childhood, there were no vitamin tablets; no anti-biotics; no television; no refrigerators; no transcontinental telephone communications; no FM radio; no synthetic fibers; no dishwashers; no electric blankets; no airmail; no transatlantic airlines; no instant coffee; no Xerox; no air-conditioning; no frozen foods; no contact lenses; no birth control pill; no ballpoint pens; no transistors. We could go on endlessly. Yet, today, we take these tangible products for granted, as ours by birthright and as an indispensable part of living.

During my lifetime, medical knowledge available to physicians has increased conservatively more than ten-fold. More than 80% of all scientists who ever lived, it is said, are alive today. The average life span keeps steadily increasing. Advanced computers, new materials, new bio-technological processes are altering every phase of our lives, deaths, even reproduction. No generation since the beginning of the Human Race has experienced and absorbed so much change so rapidly -- and it is only the beginning. As an indication of that, more than 100,000 scientific journals

annually publish the flood of new knowledge that pours out of the world's laboratories.

We are living in a period of information power, with the telefax, electronic mail, the super computer, high definition television, the laser printer, the cellular telephone, the optical disk, imaging, video-conferences, the satellite dish. Combining these instruments produces near miracles.

These developments are stretching our minds and our grasp of reality to the outermost dimensions of our capacity to understand them. Moreover, as we look ahead, we must agree that we have only the minutest glimpse of what our universe really is. Our science is indeed a drop, our ignorance remains an ocean.

We are brought up to believe that necessity is the mother of invention. I suggest the corollary is also true: invention is the mother of necessity. Technology and communication are necessitating basic changes in our lives. The world is very much smaller. There is no escaping the fact that the sound of a whisper or a whimper in one part of the world can immediately be heard in all parts of the world.

But the world body politic has not kept pace with those scientific and technological realities; and what we have been observing and experiencing in the dramatic political changes that have been absorbing our attention is a necessary effort by the body politic to catch up with the worlds of science and technology.

What we have also been observing is a fierce resistance to change in the form of an intense fractionalization, as large numbers of peoples have had their emotions inflamed by nationality and religious appeals. We certainly see this in the former Soviet Union and we see it in the Middle East. It is as if a part of us is saying: "Not so fast. Stop the world. We want to get off. We are not ready. We are not prepared for this new world we are being dragged into. We will resist the changes. We will hold on tight and with a determined frenzy to the familiar, the tribal, the traditional!" This phenomenon cannot in the short run be ignored as religion, nationalism, race, and ethnicity make themselves increasingly felt.

Simultaneously, however, we hear the stronger and more urgent sounds of impatient hope and expectation. The promises and realities of modern technology for better living cannot be hidden. The communication age has opened up the world for all to see. The less fortunate are now aware that they can live in

societies, including their own, which respect their dignity as human beings. From radio and television they know such societies are only hours away. They want that better living for themselves and their children -- and they don't wish to wait.

People across the world are standing for liberty. The striving for human dignity, furthermore, is universal because it is an integral part of our human character. These aspirations for human dignity come from different cultures, different parts of the world. A larger part of the world's population is today living in relative freedom than ever before in the history of the world.

The latest authoritative Freedom House annual survey shows that 1991 was the freest year since that fifty year old organization, which I have the honor to Chair, began its monitoring effort. We monitor all 171 nations. Of that number, 89 are free and 37 are partly free -- 126 out of 171. With a world population of nearly 5.4 billion people, more than 3,700,000,000 people, or nearly 70%, live in free or partly free countries, the highest ever.

There is growing international awareness that the trend toward freedom and democracy is prompted not only by a deep inner drive for human dignity, which makes it real, but by the

growing realization that democracy seems to work best. Governments and societies everywhere are discovering that keeping up with scientific and technological opportunities requires openness to information, new ideas, and the freedom which enables ingenuity to germinate and flourish. A closed tightly-controlled society cannot compete in a world experiencing an information explosion that knows no national boundaries.

As national boundaries are buffeted by change, the nations of the world become ever more interdependent. We are clearly in a time when no society can isolate itself or its people from new ideas and new information anymore than one can escape the winds whose currents affect us all. National boundaries can keep out vaccines, but those boundaries cannot keep out germs, or thoughts, or broadcasts.

This suggests, among many other implications, the need to reappraise our traditional definitions of sovereignty. The Government of Bangladesh, for example, cannot prevent tragic floods without active cooperation from Nepal and India. Canada cannot protect itself from acid rain without collaborating with the United States. The Mediterranean is polluted by at least 18 different countries. The requirements of our evolving technology are increasingly turning national boundaries into

patterns of lace through which flow ideas, money, people, crime, terrorism, ballistic missiles -- all of which know no national boundaries.

One essential geo-political consequence of this new reality is that there can be no true security for any one country in isolation. Unilateral security will not come for us from either withdrawing from the world or attempting national impregnability. We must learn to accept in each of our countries a mutual responsibility for the peoples in other countries.

Alexis De Tocqueville, in his profound book, Democracy in America, wrote that the most dangerous time for an authoritarian regime -- and he specifically used Russia for his illustration -- is when it is undergoing change or reform. At about the same time that De Tocqueville wrote, another distinguished French scholar, the Marquis de Custine, writing about Russia, said: "Whenever the right of speech shall be restored to this muzzled people, the astonished world will hear so many disputes arise that it will believe the confusion of Babel again returned".

We are witnessing these dangers, this confusion, this uncertainty, every day. We see growing evidence of social upheaval, political dissatisfaction and economic disaster combining with strong feelings of nationalism and tribalism thereby undermining stability and threatening violence. We are profoundly impressed with the fact that the violence is not greater, that the movement toward greater freedom and democracy continues. We must acknowledge the heroic efforts being made by those who today lead and those who recently have led the Soviet Union and its former republics. Our task is to help influence the constructive energies of those societies so that they might be channeled into the full peaceful realization of their aspirations. It is in our interest to fulfill that task with determination. We have begun. We are not doing enough and we must do more. Our response to date, in the words of our Librarian of Congress, Dr. James Billington, has "been hesitant in tone, trivial in content, and very nearly humiliating in its effect." This must change.

The emerging democracies of Europe, including the former republics of the Soviet Union, are urgently also seeking to develop free market economic systems along with their political democracy. They believe this combination will work for them. But the temporary dislocations and abrupt adjustments are and will continue to be painful. They urgently need our help, a

jump-start, just as we provided for Europe at the end of World War II. That aid worked for them and for us then. It can again in this period of obvious opportunity to shape our future. If we fail to fulfill our historic responsibility we will be condemned by our children and grandchildren who will pay the price for our failure to assure the peace and human dignity that is at hand.

I had the privilege in 1990 and 1991 of returning to government service to head three American delegations in negotiations which resulted in a set of principles unanimously adopted by all the countries of Europe asserting that political democracy and the "rule of law" were essential if stability, security and peace were to prevail in Europe. A democratic process has begun whose dynamic is gaining immense support.

Within every age the drive for human dignity has been dominant, but the struggle is a continuing one. Our political effort is well underway. Our economic effort has barely begun. Aristotle taught us that all forms of government are transitional and vulnerable to the corrosion of time, new problems, and missed opportunities. The human race has the capacity to shoot itself in the foot. We are at risk if we who believe in liberty remain smug and content about our present strengths and the weakness of our adversaries.

Will we in the U.S. be able to play our part? Will we take heed lest future generations condemn us for having missed a decisive opportunity? Will we be wise enough to know how to assist the historic developments now underway? It is on the basis of these criteria that history will judge us.

Our task is to achieve the firm sense of purpose, readiness, steadiness, and strength that is indispensable for effective and timely foreign policy decision-making. Our political community must resist the temptation of partisan politics and institutional rivalry as we develop the consensus adequate to meet the challenge. Our country is today the oldest continuing democracy in the world. Our political values and our character traits have helped us build the most dynamic and open society in recorded history, a source of inspiration to most of the world. It should be a source of inspiration for us as well. We cannot take it for granted. We must realize what the American dream means to the world and the burden that puts on us.

It is not arrogant for us to proclaim the virtues of our own system because it casts no credit on us. We are not the ones who created American democracy. We are merely its beneficiaries with an opportunity to strengthen it for succeeding generations and for those in other parts of the world who do not enjoy that blessing. The changes stimulated by modern technology may well assist us in forging a future based on liberty, human dignity, and democracy -- if we permit our democratic values to provide the guidelines for that journey.

When we are growing up, we are taught not to be afraid of the dark. As our world evolves, we must not be afraid of the light and where it can take us.

Thank you.

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WOMAN'S NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CLUB
1526 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

202-232-7363

March 9, 1992

Dear Max,

Your luncheon talk on March 2. was terrific. It was thoughtful and thought-provoking. Your view of the world scene and the role the U.S.A. should play in it make very good sense. I hope the White House and Congress are listening.

There were more than the usual number of men in the audience, a sign of the high expectations for a serious and stimulating talk. I hope you were pleased by the rapt attention of the audience and interest in your book.

Thank you for taking time out from your busy schedule to be our speaker. And heartfelt thanks from all of us lucky enough to have been there to hear you.

With warm regards,
Gertrude