



Max M. Kampelman Papers

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REMARKS BY
MAX M. KAMPELMAN
FREEDOM HOUSE 50TH ANNIVERSARY

Freedom Forum
Washington, DC

January 26, 1993

Two years ago, I had the privilege of being part of the American Delegation to the Paris heads of government Summit. The mood of the day was one of euphoria and self-congratulation. The Berlin Wall had been shattered; Communist regimes were falling; the Warsaw Pact was disappearing; the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was in shambles; democracy seemed to be spreading like wildfire. All of Europe unanimously agreed that political democracy and the rule of law, not as slogans but with clear detailed specificity, were indispensable prerequisites to assure European security and cooperation. There was no doubt. We were entering a "new world order."

That was a short two years ago. This past June, I again had the privilege of being a member of The American Delegation to the heads of government Summit in Helsinki. The mood was decidedly different. Europe felt depressingly impotent, obsessed with challenges it could not face.

It was not just that Saddam Hussein remained in power. It was also the savagery in too many areas of the world, with ethnic strife and xenophobia dividing people, villages, neighborhoods. It was growing anti-semitism, even where there were few or no Jews. It was the human race once again demonstrating its capacity for cruelty, with hundreds of thousands of refugees displaced from their homes; and the words "concentration camp" reappearing in our consciousness and consciences. The ironic reappearance of Sarajevo as a symbol of war brought back awful reminders of yesterday. And all of this accompanied by a seeming inability to stop the violence and brutality.

The question may well be asked: Are we entering an age of democracy or an age of disorder? Is it in our power to answer that question.

It is appropriate as we celebrate the 50th Anniversary of Freedom House that we place these profound developments in a broader perspective of historic change. During my early childhood, one lifetime, there were no vitamin tablets; no anti-biotics; no television; no dial telephones; no refrigerators; 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.

During the lifetime of most in this room, medical knowledge available to physicians has increased perhaps 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. 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. 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.

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. We barely understand the human brain and its energy; and the endless horizons of space and the mysteries found in the great depths of our seas are still virtually unknown to us. 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. Information has become more accessible in all parts of our globe putting totalitarian governments at a serious disadvantage. 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 -- and consequences follow.

But the world body politic has not kept pace with those scientific and technological achievements. Just as the individual human body makes a natural effort to keep the growth of its components balanced, and we consider the body disfigured if one arm or leg grows significantly larger than the other, so is the world body politic disfigured if its knowledge component opens up broad new vistas for development while its political and social components remain in the Dark Ages. I suggest to you that 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 unexpectedly observing is a fierce resistance to that change. 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. You are threatening our beliefs. 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 fundamentalism, nationalism, race, and ethnicity make themselves increasingly felt. But we must not permit this resistance to overwhelm us.

The explosions we hear are the sounds of escaping steam as the lids of repression are being removed from boiling kettles. Fingers and faces that are too close get scalded. We must not, however, neglect the stronger and more urgent sounds of impatient hope and expectation. We must harness the energy of that boiling water into a samovar of refreshing tea. The promises and realities of modern technology for better living cannot be hidden and their availability cannot long be denied. The American labor movement, which we honor tonight, has understood that potential. The communication age has opened up

the world for all to see. The Radios we honor tonight represent that phenomenon. 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 dignity and better living for themselves and their children -- and they don't wish to wait.

A larger part of the world's population is living in relative freedom than ever before in the history of the world. The recently released authoritative Freedom House annual survey, which monitored all 186 nations and 66 related territories, tells us that with a world population of more than 5.4 billion people, 3.7 billion people, or about 69%, are living in free or partly free countries and territories, the most ever.

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. Peoples now trapped in the quagmire of ancient ethnic and national grievances and enmities will soon come to recognize that they are thereby dooming themselves, their children and grandchildren to become orphans of history, lost

in the caves of the past. There is room for ethnic, national, religious, racial and tribal pride, but if that drive for self-identification is to produce respect and self-realization for the individual and the group, that drive must be peaceful and in harmony with the aspirations of others in our evolving inter-related world community.

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 requirements of our evolving technology are increasingly turning national boundaries into patterns of lace through which flow ideas, money, people, crime, terrorism, nuclear 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. We must learn to accept in each of our countries a mutual responsibility for the peoples in other countries.

Our task, furthermore, is to help influence the constructive energies of the emerging democratic societies so that they are channeled into the full peaceful realization of their aspirations. It is in our interest to fulfill that task with determination. 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.

The argument is made that we cannot be the policeman of the world. I respectfully suggest that no community-- and our nation is an integral part of an economic, technological, scientific and political world community -- can survive, let alone flourish, without a police force. We have an obligation to be part of such a force, with diplomacy our first responsibility and with the readiness to use force as a last resort.

The struggle for human dignity is a continuing one. Aristotle taught us that all forms of government are transitional and vulnerable to the corrosion of time, new problems, and missed opportunities. Will we in the U.S. be wise enough to know how to assist the historic developments now underway? Will we have the insight, discipline, unity and will to fulfill our responsibilities?

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. 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 can assist us in forging a future based on the rule of law, liberty, human dignity, and democracy -- if we permit our values, our strength, and our sense of responsibility to provide the guidelines for that journey.

Thank you.

AS READ

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

FREEDOM HOUSE 50TH ANNIVERSARY

Freedom Forum
Washington, DC

January 26, 1993

I do have formal remarks to deliver to you this evening. In the immortal words of that great master of English rhetoric, Samuel Goldwyn, however, I have a few words to say before I speak.

This evening's celebration of Freedom House's 50th Anniversary is made possible through the generosity and hospitality of the Freedom Forum, originally conceived as the Gannett Foundation, and today the largest media-oriented foundation in the United States. Under the chairmanship of Allen H. Neuharth, it is dedicated to a free press, free speech and the free spirit. We of Freedom House thank the Freedom Forum, its Chairman, its President, Charles Overby, its Vice President for International Operations, Chris Wells, and all of their associates. We are proud of our relationship with you.

It is my pleasure as the Chairman of Freedom House to acknowledge the co-chairpersons of tonight's dinner, both of whom will shortly be introduced to you. They are, alphabetically, Angier Biddle Duke and Bette Bao Lord. Ambassador Duke, who serves as National Secretary of Freedom House, is former Chief of Protocol under two presidents; was United States Ambassador to Morocco, Spain, El Salvador and Denmark; is a distinguished educator and international human rights advocate. Bette Bao Lord, beloved and respected author, international voice of conscience and wife of Ambassador Winston Lord, has had a unique history. She was born in China in the Year of the Tiger. Her grandfather calculated her fortune by consulting an array of charts and maps of the heavens. When he finally finished his calculations, he announced: "Eldest daughter, I have never seen so many good omens in one tiny child. Her life will be full, her spirit strong. This baby will have a rich passage."

Since news, particularly good news, should be shared and disseminated quickly, particularly under these auspices, let me now announce with great pleasure that the Freedom House Board of Directors, at its meeting this afternoon, unanimously elected Bette Bao Lord to serve as its national chairperson as we move into our second 50-year cycle of constructive activity on behalf of greater freedom and human dignity. In assuming the

Chairmanship of Freedom House, Bette inherits a tradition of responsible, national public service established by our predecessors, who include Eleanor Roosevelt, Dorothy Thompson, Herbert Agar, Frank Kingdon, Thomas Finletter, Robert Patterson, Whitney North Seymour, Harry Gideonse, Roscoe Drummond, Paul H. Douglas, Margaret Chase Smith, and Bayard Rustin.

Let me use this occasion to note the presence with us of two of our most effective and distinguished leaders, now retired. They are the famous sculptor, author, businessman, public servant and citizen of the world, Leo Cherne, Chair Emeritus of our organization, who was awarded the Medal of Freedom by President Reagan, the highest award that a President can confer on a civilian.

The other leader I now ask to rise is Leonard R. Sussman, who is now in his 27th year of association with Freedom House, having begun as its Executive Director in January, 1967. As much if not more than any single person, in my opinion, Leonard has been responsible for Freedom House's strength and stability during his tenure and until he retired as Executive Director in 1988.

It is also appropriate that I note at this point the splendid, constant and dedicated service performed for Freedom House by our President former Law School Dean, John W. Riehm,

who has served in that capacity since 1985. I cannot ask him to stand because he is regrettably absent. But I can ask you to applaud him as well as our current Executive Director, Bruce McColm, whose sensitivity and commitment to the cause of freedom and human dignity has impressed us all.

Ladies and gentlemen, we now have two important messages to bring to your attention. The first will be read by Bette Bao Lord. As we welcome her to the microphone, let us congratulate ourselves on Bette's election as Chairperson of Freedom House and let us offer her our warmest best wishes. . . .

The second message will be read by our Secretary, the Co-Chairperson of this dinner, Ambassador Angier Biddle Duke
. . . .

* * *

Now we have a brief three-minute interruption as the waiters clear the first course from the table, you exchange a thought or two with your neighbors, and I assemble my notes for my formal remarks.

PRESENTING THE FREEDOM AWARD TO MAX M. KAMPELMAN

Bette Bao Lord

Freedom House 50th Anniversary Dinner

January 26, 1993

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, PERMIT ME TO SNATCH THE MIKE, TO SPRING A SURPRISE, TO PRESENT AN UNANNOUNCED FREEDOM AWARD TO OUR OWN BELOVED CHAIRMAN -- MAX M. KAMPELMAN.

AT FIRST I THOUGHT THAT MY BIGGEST HEADACHE WOULD BE KEEPING THE ALL-KNOWING MAX IN THE DARK. I WAS WRONG. OH VEY, MY BIGGEST HEADACHE TURNED OUT TO BE SHEDDING LIGHT ON SOMEONE YOU ALL KNOW SO WELL AND WHOSE BRILLIANCE -- AS LAWYER, DIPLOMAT, NEGOTIATOR, EDUCATOR, AUTHOR, BROADCASTER, MATCHMATCHER, THINKER, WISEMAN, HUMANIST, FREEDOM ADVOCATE AND VISIONARY -- HAS ILLUMINATED THE AMERICAN FIRMAMENT FOR HALF A CENTURY.

IS IT ANY WONDER WORDS FAILED YOURS TRULY, THE WRITER?

INDEED, HIS COPIOUS RESUME EVEN FOILED YOURS TRULY, THE READER.

THEREFORE WITH 2 OUT OF THE 3 R'S DOWN, MY ONLY RECOURSE WAS RITHMETIC . . . PLUS SOMETHING BORROWED FROM ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING.

AND SO INSTEAD OF THE SONNETS FROM THE PROTUGUESE -- A TALLY

FROM THE AWED CHINESE.

HOW DO I CAPTURE THEE, MAX? LET ME COUNT THE WAYS.

MAX HOLDS 14 DEGREES.

MAX HAS TAUGHT IN 5 COLLEGES.

MAX SITS ON 13 BOARDS.

MAX HAS SAT ON 43 MORE, CHAIRING OR VICE-CHAIRING A DOZEN OR
SO.

MAX BOASTS OF 42 AWARDS.

MAX HAS AUTHORED 85 PUBLICATIONS.

OOY VEY, ABOUT THE ONLY THING THAT MAX HAS EVER DONE JUST
ONCE IN HIS SEVENTY-THREE YEARS IS TO MARRY -- WHICH GOES TO PROVE
WHAT A GAL AND PAL MAGGIE IS.

MAX HAS ADORNED BOTH REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC
ADMINIATIONS FROM EISENHOWER TO BUSH. . . THUS FAR.

MAX HAS BROUGHT HOME PLENTY OF PLAUDITS FOR PRESIDENTS
CARTER, REAGAN AND BUSH . . . THUS FAR.

MAX PRODUCES HOPE FOR ALL AMERICANS.

MAX EXPORTS HOPE TO MILLIONS AROUND THE GLOBE.

MAX IS OUR COUNTRY'S MOST FAVORED NOTION.

MAX, WE ALL LOVE THEE BECAUSE OF THE PASSION THOU HAS PUT TO
USE.

AMERICA IS FOREVER IN YOUR DEBT.