



## Max M. Kampelman Papers

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6006 Milo Drive  
Bethesda, MD 20816  
March 8, 1993

Dr. Max M. Kampelman  
3154 Highland Place, N.W.  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Max:

We greatly appreciate your willingness to speak at the Concord-St. Andrews Men's Club breakfast meeting next Sunday, March 14. The group meets at 8:15 for juice and coffee, and sit down for breakfast at 8:30. Wives and guests are also invited. There should be about 40 persons present.

I have the privilege of introducing you and will keep it short. We have indicated that you may speak on negotiating with the Russians, but feel free to speak on anything that interests you at the time.

The church is located at the northeast corner of River Road and Goldsboro in Bethesda. Just beyond the Kenwood Country Club, turn right on Goldsboro and then right into the church parking lot. The entrance to the church social hall is at the rear of the church.

We should be ready for you to speak by 9 a.m., with time for questions until about 9:40 a.m. We are greatly honored that you are willing to come and help inform our congregation on significant international issues. All best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

*Jack Corbett*

P.S. Perkins Pedrick is the president of the group, and the program chairman is Paul Sisco, whose brother, Joseph Sisco, was formerly Undersecretary of State.

*Sarah Anne and I are looking forward to your coming! - J + SA.*

ST. ANTHONY'S  
REMARKS BY  
MAX M. KAMPELMAN

April 18, 1993

A basic flaw of the peace movement has been its failure to take sufficient account of the main point urged by the brave dissidents and human rights activists of central and eastern Europe. Namely, that the cause of freedom within their societies was the key to the pursuit of peace between East and West. These dissidents understood the ideological moral core of the issues at stake in the cold war. Instead, the peace movement seemed to be governed by a spirit of anti-anti-communism.

\* \* \*

It is true that the threat of nuclear war has been dramatically diminished. That has happened, however, not because of the "arms control," which seemed to be favored by the peace movement, but because the revolution of 1989 in central and eastern Europe and the new Russian revolution of 1991, as well as the changes and reforms within the Soviet

Union that began in 1985, made real arms reduction possible. New regimes and new leaders were put in place with whom it was possible to negotiate the peacemaking. The nature of those regimes changed. Just as no Frenchman loses sleep because of the British nuclear force, it is understandable that people in Tokyo and Tel Aviv are justifiably concerned about a nuclear armed North Korea or Iraq. It is a mistake to regard nuclear weapons as a kind of independent variable in world affairs.

\* \* \*

Detailed instructions on the fine points of foreign policy or detailed policy are not among the tasks of the Church. The gifts confirmed by Episcopal ordination are not to be understood as somehow parallel to the competencies acknowledged by election, senatorial confirmation or executive appointment. The Church has a great deal to teach about the truth, as to the nature of man. The Church can identify a moral horizon against which the foreign policy of our country is shaped and towards which our action in the world should be directed.

\* \* \*

The end of the cold war did not mean the end of history. Instead, it restored history towards normal rhythms. The

outbreak of ethnic violence is terribly disappointing and frustrating, as well as the accelerating decomposition of nation states in Africa. On the other hand, there are also encouraging signs as we see reasonably successful transitions to democracy in Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic and Bulgaria. The process of democratization, furthermore, continues in east Asia and Latin America.

\* \* \*

Within our own country, it is important for us to resist the kind of simplistic notion that our society would be so much better if we would reduce the defense budget. This misconceives the sources of our own domestic troubles. SAT scores are not too low and teenage pregnancy rates are not too high because there has been an insufficient reallocation of resources from the Pentagon to the Department of Health and Human Services and the Department of Education.

\* \* \*

We should be proud that U.S. foreign policy of the both Republican and Democratic presidents seems dedicated to serve the ends of justice, freedom, security and the general welfare and peace. These seem to be the principles governing our notion of "national interests," as well as American "purpose."

One of the most eloquent expressions of that policy was President Reagan's epochal 1982 address to the British Parliament in Westminster Hall, which led to the creation of the U.S. National Endowment for Democracy.

\* \* \*

Collective security is important and we seemed determined to embrace it. It does not, however, give birth to itself. It works when there is leadership forcing it to work against violators of international law, or as President Clinton has put it "against those who trample on the conscious of the international community."

\* \* \*

When do we intervene? Must it only be when boundaries are crossed? Would Hitler's persecutions have been beyond the reach of other states if carried out within the internationally recognized boundaries of Germany? Is humanitarian intervention to take place only in accordance with "the CNN rule?" i.e., when the pictures get too awful on television, it's time to intervene.

\* \* \*

A recent study by Professor R. J. Rummel of the University of Hawaii compares the number of wars fought by democratic and undemocratic governments since 1816, as well as the number of people killed in those wars. The starkest contrast seems to be in the number of people killed within non-democratic governments by those governments. Rummel finds no example of a democracy waging war on another democracy between 1816 and 1991. He says that today, while democracies include perhaps 40% of the world's people, there is no threat of war among them. He continues that when former enemies become stable democracies, they stop making war on each other, i.e., France and Germany since 1945, and Western Europe in general.

When non-democracies take out after their own citizens and others in their control, the results are far more shocking than anything that happens on the battlefield. Since 1900, Rummel estimates that there have been about 37 million battlefield casualties, while in the same period, democide, as he calls this murder of people by national governments, has taken 149 million lives. The outrageous examples are the U.S.S.R., Red China and Nazi Germany. Meanwhile, democracies still anguish over whether to execute even a single murderer.

All of this leads to the conclusion that a commitment to democracy and an encouragement to the growth of democracy is essential to the attainment of peace.

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WRITER'S DIRECT LINE

April 20, 1993

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Mr. Jack Corbett  
6005 Milo Drive  
Bethesda, MD 20816

Dear Jack:

Thank you very much for your thoughtful letter of April 20. I also want to thank you and Sarah Anne for your hospitality. I enjoyed the session at the church.

You will recall that my response with respect to the church engaging in politics was done in response to a question and not as part of my theme. Nevertheless, it does reflect my views. I recall during one holiday service at our local synagogue meeting a United States Senator at the end of the service, outside of the temple. The sermon had covered a number of social issues and clearly was politically oriented, though extremely well-delivered. The Senator was a Republican. He looked pained and said to me: "I felt as if I did not belong in that synagogue." Clearly, the Rabbi had no right to alienate that congregant by expressing his own personal political and social views. I do not believe that a degree in theology is necessarily a qualification for political and social judgments any greater than the qualifications possessed by any citizen or any congregant. The idea of politicizing religion, therefore, makes me uncomfortable. In effect, it's using a pulpit to advance one's personal political and social views. The fact that the churches in recent years and the theological school have been permeated with liberal thinking, much of which is quite consistent with my own, does not alter my feeling about it. In any event, that's the reason why I expressed the views I did.

In effect, there is a fine line, not easy to distinguish, between a personal opinion and a judgment about morality and ethics. Even though the line is fine, it still exists and there should always be a recognition that others, equally motivated sometimes by noble ideals, may have arrived at a different conclusion.

My warmest best wishes to you both. Once again, my thanks for your many courtesies.

Sincerely,



Max M. Kampelman

P A X

WORLD FUND INC

April 20, 1993

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman  
3154 Highland Place, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20008-1241

Dear Max:

We were greatly pleased with your presentation Sunday morning for our Men's Club and guests. Your focus on human rights was very compelling. Many members of the audience later expressed their appreciation for your wide-ranging knowledge and thoughtful analysis.

I apologize for my error in relating your teaching to the University of Pennsylvania instead of to Minnesota. I know better!

Your statement that you did not believe that churches should get involved in politics caused smiles among our church friends who knew of my 20 years as a "lobbyist" for the United Methodist General Board of Church and Society on Capitol Hill. During those years I worked with coalitions of Jewish, Catholic, and other Protestant denominations, labor unions, the League of Women Voters, and the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. I was involved in helping to educate and mobilize our grassroots members on issues such as civil rights, the Genocide Convention, welfare reform, gun control, international peace and justice, and congressional reform. With other staff at the Board I drafted proposals for the Social Principles of the United Methodist Church, for debate and approval by the quadrennial general conferences of our denomination. I am enclosing a copy of the most recent statement. The section on Political Responsibility on page 24 was one of the sections I wrote before leaving the Board in 1980, which has remained unaltered.

Among the organizations lobbying for an eight-hour day early in the twentieth century and for U.S. support of the United Nations in the 1940's were the mainline churches, including the Methodists. I would be interested in your attitude toward this type of interaction between organized religion and government.

You may recall that Sarah Anne introduced several friends from Sri Lanka to you following your program, the Rajasinghams. They were very impressed with your talk, and expressed an interest in meeting with you and/or others influential in government to discuss their concern for the persecution of the Tamil minority in their homeland. Mrs. Saku Rajasingham, a doctoral candidate in human rights, had some minimal contact with Rep. Solarz.

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Sarah Anne is trying to arrange for them to meet with someone on Sen. Sarbanes staff, as he is on the Southeast Asia committee of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee. Do you know of others in the Congress or the State Department with whom they might talk?

Again, Max, thanks so much for sharing your experience and your wisdom with our church members. We were proud to claim you as an old friend.

We are sending a modest contribution to Freedom House in your honor.

Very sincerely,

*Jack -*

Jack and Sarah Anne Corbett

6006 Milo Drive  
Bethesda, MD 20816  
301-229-6229

*Hello to Maggie!  
Sarah Anne*