



Max M. Kampelman Papers

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The Seventh B'nai B'rith World Center
Jerusalem Address 1993-5754

to be given by

Ambassador Dr. Max M. Kampelman

former head of the United States

Delegation on Nuclear and Space Arms

Introduction: **Moshe Arens**, former Minister of Defense

Response: **MK Prof. Naomi Hazan**,

former chairman, Truman Institute

for the Advancement of Peace, Hebrew University

Chairman: **Mr. Shalom P. Doron**,

Chairman, B'nai B'rith World Center

in the presence of the **Hon. William Brown**,

Ambassador of the United States of America

Wednesday, October 13, 1993 at 8:00 p.m.

**at the Van Leer Auditorium, 43 Jabotinsky St.,
Jerusalem.**

Tickets: 20 NIS, available in advance at the B'nai B'rith

World Center, P.O.B. 7522, 5 Keren Hayesod St., Jerusalem

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Please use enclosed form to order.

"הרצאת ירושלים" השביעית של המרכז העולמי
של בני ברית. תשנ"ד

על ידי

השגריר ד"ר מקס מ. קמפלמן

לשעבר ראש משלחת ארה"ב

לשיחות פירוק הנשק עם בריה"מ

דברי פתיחה: **משה ארנס**, לשעבר שר הבטחון

תגובה: **ח"כ פרופ' נעמי חזן**,

לשעבר יו"ר מכון טרומן למען קידום השלום,

האוניברסיטה העברית

יו"ר: **שלום פ. דורון**,

יו"ר המרכז העולמי של בני ברית

בנוכחות **ויליאם בראון**, שגריר ארה"ב בישראל

יום ד', כ"ח בתשרי תשנ"ד (13.10.93) בשעה 20.00

באולם וון ליר, רח' ז'בוטינסקי 43 ירושלים.

האירוע יתקיים בשפה האנגלית.

כרטיסים: 20 ש"ח. ניתן להשיג מראש במרכז העולמי

של בני ברית. רח' קרן היסוד 5 ירושלים.

טל: 02-251743, פקס: 02-258097

נא להשתמש בדף ההזמנה הרצ"ב לרכישת כרטיסים.

The Jerusalem Address was established by the B'nai B'rith World Center in 1985 as its most prestigious forum for addressing fundamental issues pertaining to Israel and the Jewish people. The Jerusalem Address has consistently hosted some of the most outstanding minds of our times.

Dr. Max M. Kampelman - lawyer, diplomat and educator. He has held extensive public office in the United States under both Republican and Democratic administrations, most notably as Ambassador and Head of the U.S. delegation to the Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Arms from 1985 to 1989. Dr. Kampelman is currently a partner in the leading Washington D.C.-based law firm of Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson. Dr. Kampelman was recently appointed by the President as a Board Member of the Eurasia Foundation and as Vice Chairman of the United States Institute of Peace. He serves as Chairman of Freedom House, Chairman of the Board of Governors of the United Nations Association and Chairman of the Jerusalem Foundation. In 1989, President Reagan awarded him the Presidential Citizens Medal, which recognizes "citizens of the United States who have performed exemplary deeds of service for their country or their fellow citizens." Dr. Kampelman has also held multiple posts as Ambassador and Head of the U.S. delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). His new book, **Entering New Worlds: The Memoirs of a Private Man in Public Life**, was published by HarperCollins.

"הרצאת ירושלים" נוסדה ב-1985 ע"י המרכז העולמי של בני ברית בירושלים כבמה היוקרתית ביותר לדיון בשאלות יסוד הנוגעות לישראל ולתפוצות עד היום.

במסגרת "הרצאת ירושלים" הופיעו כמה מהוגי הדעות הבולטים בזמננו. **ד"ר מקס קמפלמן** - עו"ד, דיפלומט ומחנך. ד"ר קמפלמן החזיק בתפקידים ציבוריים רמי דרג בממשלים רפובליקאים ודמוקרטים בארה"ב. הבולט בהם, בשנים 1985-1989, כשגריר וכיו"ר המשלחת האמריקאית לשיחות לפירוק נשק עם ברית המועצות שהתקיימו בז'נבה. לאחרונה הוא נתמנה ע"י הנשיא למספר גופים ציבוריים. ד"ר קמפלמן משמש גם כיו"ר קרן ירושלים. בשנת 1989, העניק הנשיא רונלד רייגן לד"ר קמפלמן את "אות האזרח" אשר באה להוקיר אזרחים אמריקאים אשר פעלו פעולות יוצאות דופן למען המדינה או אזרחיה.

ד"ר קמפלמן גם שימש במספר תפקידים רמי דרג במסגרת משלחת ארה"ב לוועידה לבטחון ולשיתוף פעולה באירופה (CSCE). ספרו החדש של ד"ר קמפלמן, **"Entering New Worlds: The Memoirs of a Private Man in Public Life"** יצא לאור לאחרונה.

The B'nai B'rith World Center - "Jerusalem Address"

1985 - Abba Eban,

"Reflections on 'Heritage"

1986 - Prof. George Steiner,

"The Dissent from Reason"

1987 - Rabbi Dr. Lord Immanuel Jakobovits,

"Religious Response to the Holocaust"

1988 - Professor Shlomo Avineri,

"Glasnost, the Jews and Soviet Policy in the Middle East"

1989 - Seymour D. Reich

"The Challenge of Jewish Unity"

1991 - Bernard-Henri Levy

"The Intellectual and the Struggle for Liberty"

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B'nai B'rith
World Center-
Jerusalem



המרכז העולמי
של בני ברית-
ירושלים

The Seventh B'nai B'rith World Center Jerusalem Address

1993-5754

"Negotiating Towards a New World: The Art of Conflict Resolution Through Diplomacy"

to be given by

Ambassador Dr. Max M. Kampelman

former Head of the United States Delegation

to the Negotiations

on Nuclear and Space Arms

•

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של המרכז העולמי של בני ברית
תשנ"ד

"משא ומתן לקראת עולם חדש:
אומנות פיתרון סכסוכים באמצעות הדיפלומטיה"
ע"י

השגריר ד"ר מקס קמפלמן
לשעבר ראש משלחת ארה"ב
לשיחות פירוק הנשק עם ברה"מ

•
assistance provided by:

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B'NAI B'RITH

■ CELEBRATING 150 YEARS OF SERVICE ■

13 OCTOBER 1843-
13 OCTOBER 1993

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טלקס 26144 BX JM IL EXT 7698

P R E S S R E L E A S E

Date: 13 October 1993
Contact: Alan Schneider, director

Release: Immediate
No. 93-33

Ambassador Dr. Max M. Kampelman to deliver Seventh B'nai B'rith World Center "Jerusalem Address"

Jerusalem: Dr. Max Kampelman, former head of the U.S. Delegation to the Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Arms, will deliver the Seventh B'nai B'rith World Center "Jerusalem Address".

Dr. Kampelman's address is entitled "Negotiating Towards a New World: The Art of Conflict Resolution Through Diplomacy". The "Jerusalem Address" will be held on October 13, 1993 at 8 p.m. at the Van Leer Auditorium, 43 Jabotinsky St., Jerusalem.

Mr. Moshe Arens, former Minister of Defense will provide introductory remarks and M.K. Prof. Naomi Hazan, former chairwoman of the Truman Institute for the Advancement of Peace of the Hebrew University, will respond to Dr. Kampelman's address. The address will be held in the presence of William Brown, ambassador of the United States.

The "Jerusalem Address" is being held this year on the 150th anniversary of the founding of B'nai B'rith, the world's largest Jewish membership organization, on October 13, 1843.

The Jerusalem Address was established by the B'nai B'rith World Center in 1985 as its most prestigious forum for addressing fundamental issues pertaining to Israel and the Jewish people. The Jerusalem Address has consistently hosted some of the most outstanding minds of our times, including: Abba Eban, Prof. George Steiner, Rabbi Dr. Lord Immanuel Jakobovits, Prof. Shlomo Avineri, Seymour D. Reich and Bernard-Henri Levy.

Dr. Max Kampelman is a lawyer, a diplomat and an educator. He has held extensive public office in the United States under both Republican and Democratic administrations, most notably as Ambassador and Head of the U.S. delegation to the Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Arms from 1985 to 1989.



B'NAI B'RITH^{2/...}
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B'nai B'rith International 1640 Rhode Island Ave. N.W. Washington D.C. 20036, U.S.A.

Dr. Kampelman is currently a partner in the leading Washington D.C. based law firm of Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson. Dr. Kampelman was recently appointed by the President as a Board Member of the Eurasia Foundation and as Vice Chairman of the United States Institute of Peace. he serves as Chairman of Freedom House, Chairman of the Board of Governors of the United Nations Association and Chairman of the Jerusalem Foundation.

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Funding for this year's "Jerusalem Address" has been provided, in part, by the United States Information Service and the Reuben and Edith Hecth Foundation.

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18 October 1993

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman
Freid, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson
Washington D.C. 20004
U.S.A.

Dear Dr. Kampelman,

We would like to express our sincerest appreciation for the stunning lecture you delivered at our Seventh "Jerusalem Address" and the special effort you made in traveling to Israel especially for the address. We trust that your retrun trip was comfortable and that you found your wife in good health.

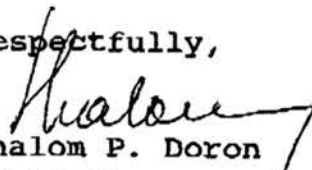
Your lecture fulfilled in the highest sense the goal of the "Jerusalem Address" - to address fundamental issues pertaining to Israel and the Jewish people. It presented a incisive and engrossing examination of the changes taking place around the world and the impact this has on our lives today, also insofar as these changes effect the relationship between nations. Your comments over dinner were no less fascinating.

We have attached clippings from the Jerusalem Post which make mention of your visit. The "Jerusalem Address" was also prominently reported on the "Foreign Report" radio program and on the Hebrew and English news broadcasts. We have also attached by mail additional pictures from the event.

We are hopeful that the "Jerusalem Address" is just the beginning of your relationship with the B'nai B'rith World Center in Jerusalem. We would be most pleased if you would inform us of your next trip to Israel so that we could arrange to meet.

As we are currently in the process of preparing a transcript of the event, it would be helpful if you could ask your secretary to forward to us a diskette with your speech.

Respectfully,


Shalom P. Doron
chairman


Alan Schneider
director



B'NAI B'RITH

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SP note



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המרכז העולמי של בני ברית • ירושלים
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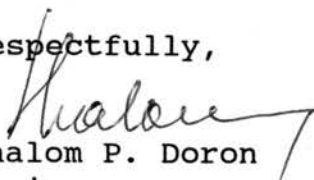
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Alan Schneider
director



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B'nai B'rith International 1640 Rhode Island Ave. N.W. Washington D.C. 20036, U.S.A.

SP-1 / A611281 10/21

B'NAI B'RITH INTERNATIONAL

KENT E. SCHINER, PRESIDENT

August 25, 1993

Ambassador Max Kampelman
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver
& Jacobson
1001 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #800
Washington, DC 20004-2505

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

B'nai B'rith is celebrating its 150th anniversary this year in late October. We have planned several programs which deal intensively with the types of issues that have engaged us over this century and a half. Not surprisingly, some of those issues relate to our strong concerns about foreign policy, the development of democracy and the protection of human rights.

On Thursday, October 21, 1993, we have scheduled a colloquium on the "Assertion of Nationalism in the Post Cold War Era", to be held in the Dean Acheson auditorium at the Department of State from 9:00 - 11:00 in the morning.

We have an acceptance from former foreign minister Abba Eban of Israel. Clifton Wharton, Deputy Secretary of the Department of State has been invited to open the program, an invitation has been extended to Guido di Tella, Foreign Minister of Argentina.

We are interested in examining both the positive and negative aspects of the New World Order. We have particular concerns about the prospects for peace in the Middle East and in the states of the former Soviet Union; the future of Bosnia is a major focus of ours, too, but we are also cognizant of the economic conditions that foster the violence and nationalism in many emerging states and also impairs the response of western democracy to the world's needs.

We hope that you will be able to join us in our anniversary program.

Sincerely,

Kent E. Schiner

MMK SCHEDULE
JERUSALEM, ISRAEL
10/11-17/93

Monday, October 11

6:10 p.m. Depart Dulles TWA #894

Tuesday, October 12

6:35 a.m. Arrive Paris
9:30 a.m. Depart Paris TWA #800
3:00 p.m. Arrive Tel Aviv
Met by Alan Schneider at airport
Accommodations at Ramada Hotel
6 Wolfson Street
(T) 972-2-528-111; (F) 972-2-511-976

Wednesday, October 13

8:30 a.m. Breakfast w/Teddy Kollek, et al.
Ramada Hotel

7:30-8:00 evening B'nai B'rith Address

Thursday, October 14

Breakfast with Joel Singer
1:00 p.m. Lunch w/Dan Elazar et. al., at
Jerusalem Center
Beit Milken, 13 Tel Hai Street
(0) 011-972-2-619281
8:00 p.m. B'nai B'rith Dinner - Laromme Hotel
3 Jabotinsky Street
(T) 972-2-656-666

Friday, October 15

Saturday, October 16

Accommodations at Tel Aviv Hilton
Independence Park
972-3-520-2222; (F) 972-3-527-2711
Asso. of Americans & Canadians in Israel
Tribute to Murray Greenfield

Sunday, October 17

8:15 a.m. Depart Tel Aviv TWA #885
2:15 p.m. Arrive Kennedy
4:05 p.m. Depart Kennedy TWA #747
5:20 p.m. Arrive National

11-3
REMINDER: Talk to Arens re 6 acres + 14.6 acres
Igal Diamont/Washington International School

THE JERUSALEM POST

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1993 • TISHREI 30, 5754 • RABIA TANI 29, 1414



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THE TABA TALKS

Friday, October 15, 1993 The Jerusalem Post

Israel and the PLO: Partners in opposing crime

P.4

...if this agreement has

...and counterterrorism



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Participants

Meir GABAY
Civil Service Commissioner

Dr. Max KAMPELMAN

Zalman SHOVAL
Former ambassador to U.S.

Dan HALPERIN
Partner IFTIC - Investment Company

Dr. Avishai BRAVERMAN
President Beer Sheva University

Efraim EVRON
Former ambassador to U.S.

Asher WEIL - member, B'nai B'rith World Center
Executive Committee

Ruby APSLER
Director, U.S. Cultural Center, Jer.

Dr. Yoel ZINGER
Legal Advisor to the Foreign Ministry

Shalom P. DORON
Chairman B'nai B'rith World Center

Prof. Itzhak MAYER
Vice-Chairman B'nai B'rith World Center

Alan SCHNEIDER
Director, B'nai B'rith World Center

Menachem NAVOT
Former Ministry of Defense Official

Zena HARMAN

Apologies

Shlomo Gazit
Mordechai Gazit
Moshe Arad
David Bar Ilan
Moshe Maor
Shaul Eisenberg
Uri Lubrani
Aaron Yariv
Shimon Shetreet

REMARKS

BY

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

B'NAI B'RITH WORLD CENTER

"NEGOTIATING TOWARDS A NEW WORLD:
THE ART OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION THROUGH DIPLOMACY"

Jerusalem, Israel

October 13, 1993

There is an old Yiddish shtetl tale in which a man goes to his tailor to order a pair of pants. The measurements are taken; the fabric agreed upon; the price arrived at; the date of delivery determined. On the scheduled date, the man arrives and learns that the pants he ordered are not ready. Disappointed, he agrees to return a week later. They are still not ready. Irritated, but helpless to do anything about it, he returns a week after that. Again, not ready. Finally -- and it's now six weeks after he placed the order -- the pants are ready. The customer, very angry by now but also relieved, says to the tailor: "Tell me, it took God only six days to make the world. Why does it have to take six weeks for you to make a pair of pants?"

The tailor takes his customer to the window of his shop, points outside and then says: "Yes, your question is a good one. But take a look at that world and then look at this fine pair of pants!"

My friends, as a student, a teacher, a lawyer, a diplomat, I have had an opportunity to look at our world, its opportunities and its disappointments, and I would like to use the broad and pretentious topic of my lecture as permission to share with you my perceptions of where we are in this world and where we appear to be heading. Neither the United States, massive and immense as it is; nor Israel, tiny as it is, are masters of their own destiny, capable of isolating themselves from the forces of the world's politics, economics, science, or technology.

Three years ago, in late 1990, I had the privilege of being part of the American Delegation to the European heads of government Summit meeting in Paris. I recall well that 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 and detailed specificity, were indispensable prerequisites to assure international security and cooperation. There was no doubt. We were entering a "new world order."

One year later, I was again a member of the American Delegation to the Summit meeting in Helsinki. The mood was decidedly different. Europe felt depressingly impotent,

obsessed with challenges it could not face. The international institutions designed to preserve the peace -- the United Nations, The Council of Europe, the European Community, NATO, the Western European Union, CSCE -- were and still appear today ineffective.

It is not just that Saddam Hussein remains in power. It is also the savagery in too many areas of the world, with ethnic strife, brutality and xenophobia in the former Yugoslavia, the former Soviet Union and elsewhere dividing people, villages, neighborhoods. It is growing anti-semitism, even where there are few or no Jews. It is the human race once again demonstrating its capacity for cruelty, with hundreds of thousands of refugees displaced from their homes. The ironic reappearance of Sarajevo as a symbol of war has brought back awful reminders of yesterday. And all of this has been accompanied by a seeming inability to stop the violence. Indeed, not only has there been an inability to stop the violence, it also appears that the gains achieved by that aggression are, in effect, being legitimized by the international community, thereby establishing a dangerous precedent which bodes ill for the future of our community.

The question may well be asked: Are we entering an age of democracy or have we entered an age of disorder and

disintegration? It is appropriate as we ponder this seminal question 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 fluorescent lights; no birth control pills; no ballpoint pens; no transistors. We could go on and on with that list of now commonplace essential elements of our daily lives that did not exist during the early years of many of us in this auditorium.

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, the satellite dish, video-conferencing. 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, I remind you 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 awesome energy; and the horizons of never-ending space as well as the mysteries found in the great depths of our seas are still virtually unknown to us. Our knowledge is indeed a drop, while 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. Science, technology and communication are necessitating basic changes in our lives. Information has become more accessible to 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 the growth of one arm or leg is significantly less 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 disintegration of authoritarianism in the former Soviet Union, Latin America, and parts of Asia and Africa 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. The resistance is certainly evident here 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. You are threatening our beliefs and our traditions. 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 the resistance to overwhelm us. I am convinced that it is a resistance which cannot prevail.

We are surrounded by explosive noises, but much of that is the sound of escaping steam as the lids of repression are being removed from boiling totalitarian kettles. Fingers and faces that are too close get scalded. If we of the West, for whom democracy and human dignity have been political rallying slogans, have the will and the wisdom, we can help harness the energy of that boiling water and transform it into a samovar of refreshing tea.

Peoples deprived of dignity for centuries are increasingly coming to appreciate that the advantages of better health, improved sanitation, adequate food and water, economic opportunity, leisure for self-enrichment -- that all these and more can belong to them and their children wherever they may live. The communication age has opened up the world for all to see. The less fortunate are learning from radio, television and the motion pictures that these changes produced by science, technology and learning are only an hour, or two, or three away. They are now increasingly aware that they can live in societies, including their own, which respect their dignity as human beings. They want that dignity and better living for themselves and their children -- and they don't wish to wait.

Freedom House, a 51-year old organization in the United States, which I have the privilege of serving as Chairman Emeritus, annually publishes an authoritative report-card survey

of all 186 nations and 66 related territories. That 1992 survey reports that with a world population of more than 5.4 billion people, about 69%, 3.7 billion people, are today living in free or partly free countries and territories, the most ever in recorded history. This is particularly significant when we recall that the most populated country in the world, China, accounts for the major part of this 31%.

Keeping up with economic, 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.

Walls, iron gates and troops can sometimes protect a geographic boundary line. Border guards can keep out a vaccine;

but fences and borders and declarations of national sovereignty cannot keep out germs, or ideas, or broadcasts. We also see that they are often unable to keep out terrorists or refugees.

The nations of the world have become ever more interdependent. 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. One essential geo-political consequence of this new reality is that there can be no true security for any one country in isolation. Israel understands this. Insecurity and instability are contagious diseases. Neighbors are bound to suffer the consequences of that disease. We must learn to accept in each of our countries a mutual responsibility for the peoples in other countries.

This suggests, among many other implications, the need for us to reappraise our traditional definitions of sovereignty. We learned in the classroom that sovereignty was once lodged in the emperor by divine authority. This personal concept evolved into a territorial one. With the emergence of the nation state in the 17th century, it became identified with a political entity. By the 19th century, "sovereignty," "statehood" and "nation" became intertwined. Today, its meaning is even more difficult to define. Our American Declaration of Independence places sovereignty in the people. Much of our early political theory

looked at sovereignty as residing in our states. Yet, our country, like others, is a united sovereign nation. The U.S. lives comfortably with all three rhetorical claims.

The concept of divided and shared sovereignty is now spreading. Nations are by agreement curtailing their sovereign powers over many of their own domestic and security affairs. Article 9 of the Constitution of Japan provides that "the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation." In my role as negotiator on nuclear arms with the Soviet Union, we overcame an early reluctance to invade sovereign rights and agreed in 1988 that observers and on-site inspectors could inspect military facilities and maneuvers to verify agreements made. Bangladesh cannot prevent tragic floods without active cooperation from Nepal and India. Canada cannot solve its problem of acid rain without the cooperation of the United States. The Mediterranean is polluted by 18 -- perhaps 20 -- countries. The requirements of our evolving technology and its consequences are turning national boundaries into patterns of lace through which flow ideas, money, peoples, crime, terrorism, missiles -- none of which respect national boundaries. Serbia and Croatia, I suggest, will come painfully to learn that lesson.

Our global economic community is learning the lesson. There is no way adequately to understand the New York or Tel Aviv Stock Exchange without understanding the Tokyo and London

exchanges. An article in a recent issue of The Wall Street Journal had as its theme "So you want to buy an American made automobile, do you?" The article pointed out that such an automobile includes parts made in perhaps 12 to 15 different countries. A dress sold in London might have been woven in Taiwan from cotton grown in the U.S., its buttons manufactured in South Korea, and the dress then shipped to Milan for a "Made in Italy" label to be sewn on to it.

We are also learning that it is no longer the size of a country that economically matters. The natural resources of a country today matter less than they once did. The functioning economies of Japan, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, South Korea illustrate this change. The pauperization of the former Soviet Union illustrates another aspect of that change. It is the mastery of knowledge that increasingly will determine the destiny of peoples and areas. Clearly, Israel can take heart as it finds a leading role in this new Age of Knowledge.

Our task, furthermore, -- and I speak of those of us fortunate enough to live in free democratic societies -- is, where we have influence, to help influence the constructive energies of the emerging democratic societies so that they are channeled into the full, peaceful realization of their aspirations. If we fail to fulfill that 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 issue of sovereignty merits further attention. The interdependence of the world and the globalization of its economy does not imply or suggest the disappearance of the nation-state, which is showing resilience as an important focus of national pride and ethnic preservation. Nations appear unwilling to renounce the flag or forget history. Abba Eban, in a recent analysis of the prospects for confederation between Israel, the West Bank, and Jordan, commented on the apparent contradiction of a politically fragmented world existing alongside an economically integrated one. He suggests that regional confederations may harmonize the contradiction.

There is a related development. For hundreds of years, international society has been organized on the basis of separate sovereign states whose territorial integrity and political independence were protected and guaranteed by an evolving international law. The United Nations Charter, in embodying and reflecting the values of the state system, reaffirmed the principle of non-use of force across international boundaries and the companion principle of non-intervention in internal affairs. These principles were at the core of the recent collective effort, led by the United States, to defend Kuwait against external attack.

Into this principle, Woodrow Wilson, one of America's most illustrious political scientists and presidents, introduced in the early 20th century a new principle, that of self-determination of peoples, intended as a blow against colonialism. Its effect, however, introduced mischievous consequences in many parts of the world. Increasingly, violence associated with ethnic conflicts has been justified with assertions of the right of self-determination. What has been misunderstood is the fact that the right of self-determination of peoples does certainly not include the right to secede from established and internationally legitimized nation-state borders.

The League of Nations made it clear on a number of occasions that there was no positive international right of secession. Instead, the principle of "minority rights" was introduced and with time strengthened. These minority rights were not enumerated in detail, but were generally assumed to include cultural freedoms relating to language, religion, education, and commerce.

The principle of self-determination is mentioned twice in the United Nations Charter. A 1945 UN report explained that the principle conformed to the purposes of the Charter "only insofar as it implied the right of self-government of peoples, and not the right of secession." This respect for existing boundaries is not based on the soundness or justice of the borders, but rather on a pragmatic justification that the respect is

necessary for peace and stability. The assumption is that if those boundaries are unjust, they should be changed by mutual agreement, through negotiation, public opinion, moral argument, practical appeal, and political pressure.

But what if developments within a state are perceived as threatening to peace and stability? Does that legitimize international concern?

As the crises of the 1990's have developed and persisted, there is a growing awareness of the need to look across state boundaries to the sources of instability within states. The dividing line between "internal affairs" to be protected against intervention and the responsibility of the international community to intervene in order to preserve peace and important human values is shifting.

When I began to be a serious participant in international diplomacy, in 1980, my efforts in Madrid to highlight and condemn Soviet violations of human rights were met with intense rebuttals by Soviet authorities who asserted that the United States was unlawfully interfering in their internal affairs, thereby violating the United Nations Charter and a specific provision of the Helsinki Final Act. I challenged those rebuttals.

Within a year, the Soviets began to criticize specific American policies with regard to women, blacks and Indians, which, in spite of factual inaccuracies, I openly welcomed as an acknowledgment that internal human rights conduct was a proper subject of international inquiry. In 1985, at the first meeting between President Reagan and Soviet President Gorbachev in Geneva, human rights was an agreed-upon item on the agenda.

In November, 1990, following an historic set of agreements in Copenhagen, the countries of Europe signed the Charter of Paris and agreed to "cooperate and support each other with the aim of making democratic gains irreversible." A detailed formula for democratic pluralism and the rule of law was specified. A few months later in Geneva, there was a clear statement that "issues concerning national minorities, as well as . . . commitments concerning the rights of persons belonging to them, are matters of legitimate international concern and consequently do not constitute exclusively an internal affair of the respective state." In late 1991, in Moscow, Europe unanimously declared the "commitments undertaken in the field of the human dimension are matters of direct and legitimate concern to all participating States and do not belong exclusively to the internal affairs of the State concerned." It was my privilege to head the American delegation at all four of these important negotiations in Madrid, Copenhagen, Geneva and Moscow.

The international community is heading toward a realization that the principle of "self-determination" can best be expressed by insisting on human rights for all who live in a state; in effect, a respect for their cultural, religious, economic and political self-expression.

What does all this mean? For the United States -- wealthy, militarily strong, influential -- it means a special leadership responsibility, which we are hesitatingly, with reluctance and with ambivalence beginning to understand. For Israel, the task is even more challenging and dangerous. Israel fits quite comfortably into the new world of global interdependence. Indeed, it has been an actor in the dramatic movement toward a community in which knowledge replaces natural resources, size and geography as a crucial ingredient for success.

The establishment by Israel of political democracy, taken for granted in the relative safety of North America, is all the more remarkable given the dangers faced by Israel in its young history. Societies facing far less formidable threats than Israel have neglected the individual liberty of their citizens. This vibrant society, faces strains and tensions stemming from the violence and hatred that surrounds its borders. And yet Israel is aware of and can never forget that the realities of water, power, trade, communication, and health call for cooperation through regional rather than national solutions.

Israel obviously yearns to avert a rendezvous with further war and bloodshed. Its practical needs require it to chart the course of other Western nations who have forsworn conflict for productivity. At stake in the peace deliberations now underway is nothing less than the issue of whether Israel and its neighbors will be allowed to embrace the high-road of economic growth, political stability and individual opportunity. Only through this course will Israel be able to fulfill its mission as a home to the Jewish people and to Jewish values.

Paul Johnson, in his epic History of the Jews, applauds the contribution of the Jewish people over the ages to the concept of justice, equality, social responsibility, dignity -- indeed, to the primacy of reason and rationality. Yet, while America and France in the 18th and 19th centuries, for example, proclaimed the supremacy of liberty, the British Parliament rejected the concept of liberty for Jews and Pope Pius VI in Rome condemned the Jews of that city to public disgrace. Is it any wonder that the Jew came through experience to doubt the power of rationalism and the primary dependence on others, turning inward instead into the mystical depth of his own religion?

It seems to me appropriate to refer to values and to religion, even were I not in Israel talking to a Jewish audience. I am persuaded that values matter a great deal.

Significant political meaning is found in the Talmudic reference to Rabbi Ben Azzai's assertion that the most important verse in the whole Bible is the one from the Book of Genesis stating that Man was created in the image of God. Why, the Sages also asked, was only one Man created? So that each of us has the same ancestor and no one can claim superiority over another, was the response.

The ancient tribes of Israel made a profound contribution to civilization when they proclaimed that there was only one God. This was at a time when the prevailing view of their neighbors was that there were many gods. If there is only one God, then we are all of us His children and thus brothers and sisters to one another. The "Sh'ma Yisroel", the holiest and most repeated of Jewish prayers ("Hear, O Israel, the Lord of God, the Lord is One"), symbolizes the essence of that message.

In recent years, I have on occasion been called upon to serve my Government and much of that service required me to be overseas during our important Jewish holidays. I have, therefore, been at services in London, Geneva, Brussels, Paris, Madrid, Copenhagen, Amsterdam, Israel, Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kiev, Helsinki, Vienna, Bucharest, Budapest, Prague, Belgrade, Sydney in Australia, Johannesburg in South Africa and Salisbury in Zimbabwe. It is inspiring wherever we may be as Jews and whatever language may be spoken, to hear the familiar ring and

message of the Sh'ma, the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. It is our common language and declaration of faith as Jews.

Here, in this doctrine of human brotherhood, we have the essence of our religious creed, the spiritual basis of our evolving civilization. Here, too, are the moral roots of political democracy.

But this is only a part of Jewish teaching and theology, that part consistent with the belief that Man was made in the divine image. But an image is not necessarily a reality. It is evident that the perception of Man as God-like cannot explain Man's continued capacity for cruelty against Man and nature.

The philosophic notion of the coexistence of good and evil is found in many ancient civilizations, but it is particularly strong in the writings of the Jewish teachers. The Jewish scholars taught that there is in each one of us an ingredient in the heart and soul which is good and God-like. But, they continued, there is also in each one of us an ingredient which is destructive and "evil." The sages defined it as "yaitzer hatov" and "yaitzer hara". The Protestant theologian Reinhold Niebuhr called it "Children of Light and Children of Darkness." Freud and others based their understanding of Man on this insight. This dichotomy in Man means the good and the evil is also intrinsic to the societies created by Man.

The history of civilization then becomes a process to strengthen the "yaitzer hatov" within us, our children, our families, the societies we create. Human beings can be rational, creative, wise, generous; but they can be stupid, selfish, cruel and sinful. This is the real meaning of the evolutionary challenge, the evolution of the species Homo sapiens to that of the species human being. This requires struggle. There will continue to be struggles against the "yaitzer hara" within us.

How else can we explain human brutality except as an expression of that destructive drive? How else can we understand the Holocaust, or the brutalities of terrorism, or the cruelty of the old Stalinist system? If there is one thing that experience has taught us, it is that we ignore the dark side of Man only at our peril. The Age of Reason expressed the highest aspirations of man's enlightened nature -- but it did not account for his contrary impulses. We have the capacity to reach for the stars, but we do so with our feet deep in the dirt of the earth.

Israel has begun a vital negotiating process which both illustrates and tests these traditional Jewish teachings. It will be a long and difficult road. Arafat and the PLO have yet to demonstrate that they and terrorism are now distinguishable.

I did not hear Arafat renounce violence as I sat and listened to him speak on the White House lawn. I have yet to hear the Arab states at war with Israel renounce that status of war, or, as a minimum, announce the end of their boycott of Israel in spite of American urgings that they do so.

There is no doubt that a negotiation process is a risky one. It is something like stepping on slippery stones to cross a rushing stream or river. The danger of falling is real and its consequences may be disastrous. And yet, it is often the only way to get across. The supreme achievement of statesmanship is patiently, through negotiation, to pursue peace with dignity, always recognizing the threat to that peace and always protecting vital interests and values. We should recall the message of Winston Churchill that diplomatic negotiations "are not a grace to be conferred but a convenience to be used."

I began negotiating with the Soviet Union in behalf of the United States in 1980, shortly after their invasion of Afghanistan. A number of my friends urged me not to do so. They said I was legitimizing the outlaw nature of the Soviet regime by providing them with the dignity and stature of being our equal as partners in the negotiation. I understood that objection, but I also knew that refusing to negotiate would not lessen the fact of their existence, their military strength, or lead them to more responsible behavior.

A negotiation is not a reason to seal one's lips and withhold proper and legitimate criticism. Israel must continue to resist, respond to, and sharply condemn terrorism. That criticism, however, must be accurately and correctly stated because personal and national credibility is indispensable for a successful negotiation.

A negotiation is not a reason to abandon issues of principle or vital security interests, no matter how firm a contrary position taken by the other side. Similarly, a proposal by the other side must not be called "unacceptable" if it might in time be accepted. This will only lead the other side to believe that other positions labeled as "unacceptable" may be accepted. This can lead to a miscalculation and that is a constant danger to peace.

Finally, it must be understood that a successful negotiation need not always produce an immediate agreement. It will obviously be desirable for the negotiations now under way to end with an agreement that meets Israel's security needs and other aspirations; but negotiators must always be careful to avoid an agreement that may undermine one's interests. Since negotiators understandably like to be identified with success, the temptation here is great, particularly with a media perception that "success" means a signed piece of paper.

In the early morning hours of July 4, 1976, I was asleep at the King David Hotel when my phone rang. The hotel operator excitedly announced "we rescued the Jews at Entebbe. The planes are about to land." Israel must always have the means, the capacity, the strength to meet the Entebbe challenges of tomorrow. But Israel must also be able to summon the moral and physical courage to recognize that the challenges of the next century may not be those of the last. An Israel at peace can fulfill this role.

It was my privilege to be in Israel as its Air Force brought many hundreds of Ethiopian Jews home. The enthusiasm, the pride, yes, the love of one Jew for another, that day was contagious. Likud, Labor, Histadrut, politics -- the pettiness that sometimes blinds the vision of human beings -- these all for a few hours disappeared into perspective. Israel must never lose its zeal, capacity and strength to live up to its mission to be the Jewish national homeland, a haven for those who choose to, or who have no other choice but to call it home. An Israel at peace can fulfill this role.

The goal of peace is real and genuine, but the reality of violence and terrorism cannot be obliterated by the dreams of what can be. Nor can Israel be totally dependent on the support of others for its own security and welfare.

We have every reason to imagine and work for a Middle East at peace, with Israel as the economic, technological and educational center of the region. Negotiations hold great promise. We would like students from Syria and Jordan to study at the Hebrew University and the sick from Cairo and Amman to be treated at the Haddasah Hospital. Israeli consultants should be welcome to jet off to Kuwait and Qatar advising governments on water management in the desert. It would be good for Israeli government officials to meet in Beirut to negotiate the details of a Middle East free trade area. Israeli-Saudi Arabian companies engaging in joint ventures would be successful. Much of this is today a dream, but Jews remember that Theodore Herzl's vision was also once a dream. Negotiations may not produce a result. They may not be successful. But they must be tried because they are probably the only way to get across.

I close, my friends, like I began -- by reminding you that the changes produced in our day by the dramatic scientific, technological, communication and economic developments that we have noted are relentless. They are having and will continue to have political consequences leading to integration, greater freedom, and democracy. The Middle East cannot long exempt itself from this development as its men and women seek human dignity for themselves and their children.

The United States and Israel are joined together in this effort. A leading State Department official, speaking of the Middle East, recently made an important statement:

"Those who are prepared to take specific steps toward free elections, creating independent judiciaries, promoting the rule of law, reducing restrictions on the press, respecting the rights of minorities and guaranteeing individual rights will find us ready to recognize and support their efforts, just as those moving in the opposite direction will find us ready to speak candidly and act accordingly."

This is an excellent guiding principle with which to proceed in the peace negotiations.

Thank you.



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"NEGOTIATING TOWARDS A NEW WORLD:
THE ART OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION THROUGH DIPLOMACY"

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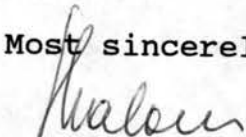
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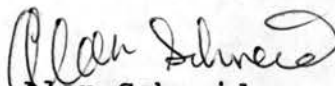
Dr. Max Kampelman
Freid, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue N.W.

We are very pleased to present you with five copies of a transcript of the Seventh B'nai B'rith World Center "Jerusalem Address" which you delivered here last October. The effect of your address and visit are still being felt here, and we would like to take this opportunity to again express our gratitude for your special efforts in coming to Jerusalem to deliver the address.

We will be distributing the transcript to government officials, opinion shapers in Israel, to your personal acquaintances here and to B'nai B'rith. Please let us know if you would like additional copies of the transcript.

Most sincerely,


Shalom P. Doron
chairman


Alan Schneider
director

4100-101



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B'nai B'rith International 1640 Rhode Island Ave. N.W. Washington D.C. 20036, U.S.A.

The Seventh
B'nai B'rith
World Center
Jerusalem Address



1993

NEGOTIATING
TOWARDS A
NEW WORLD:
THE ART OF
CONFLICT
RESOLUTION
THROUGH
DIPLOMACY

BY AMBASSADOR DR. MAX M. KAMPELMAN

Jerusalem, October 13, 1993

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The Seventh B'nai B'rith World Center Jerusalem Address — 1993

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Jerusalem, October 13, 1993

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FOREWORD

Shalom P. Doron, Chairman, B'nai B'rith World Center

Professor Hazan, Mr. Arens, Ambassador Brown, ambassadors, foreign dignitaries, members of the Board of the B'nai B'rith World Center, ladies and gentlemen.

It is a distinct pleasure to welcome you all here to the seventh B'nai B'rith World Center Jerusalem Address.

Our address today, entitled, "Negotiating Toward a New World: The Art of Conflict Resolution Through Diplomacy", is being held at an auspicious juncture: We have witnessed, in the last few weeks, previously unthinkable developments in a process which we hope will bring peace to the people of Israel and to the entire region. Diplomacy and dialogue were at the core of this monumental process.

This period also has special significance for us in the B'nai B'rith family: exactly 150 ago today, 12 German Jewish refugees met in a New York cafe and established what was to become the largest international Jewish organization in the world — B'nai B'rith. These visionary men recognized back in 1843 that the Jewish people could be strengthened and served by an organization which would bridge the gap, even in those days, between Jews of varied origins, religious viewpoints and economic backgrounds. These 12 founders established a commitment to promote Jewish culture and identity, defend Jewish interests and work for the betterment of society at large. These principles are the bedrock of the B'nai B'rith tradition and their implementation has been the golden thread which joins the innumerable good works of this organization over the decades.

The founding members of B'nai B'rith inaugurated its benevolent activity with a collective donation of \$60 to a fund for widows and orphans. This year B'nai B'rith will spend more than 25 million dollars on education, social services, youth activities and other community programs in the 52 countries in which it is active. The first B'nai B'rith was established in pre-state Israel over 100 years ago and today B'nai B'rith Israel has 120 active lodges and units throughout the country.

With headquarters in Washington D.C. and over 20 district offices around the world, B'nai B'rith has succeeded in adapting its programs to the changing needs of world Jewry. Today, B'nai B'rith's agenda is heavily focused on political action on behalf of Israel and Jewish interests around the world, Jewish education, youth affairs and the strengthening of Jewish identity to help ensure the continuity of the Jewish people in the face of the challenges posed in the Diaspora.

B'nai B'rith enters its fourth jubilee by rededicating its efforts to the strengthening of Jewish community life, support of the State of Israel and the promotion of social justice, human rights and democratic ideals around the world.

If I may turn for a moment to the activities of the B'nai B'rith World Center in Jerusalem — The World Center was established in 1981 to serve as the permanent and official presence of B'nai B'rith International in Israel's capital, serving all the organization's agencies through varied programs and services. The World Center's main role is to help strengthen ties between Israel and the diaspora through the extensive, international network of B'nai B'rith. This is done through various projects including the recently established World Center Award for Media in memory of Wolf Matsdorf,

symposia on the religious-secular conflict and a broad range of other programs in Israel and abroad.

The "Jerusalem Address" is the World Center's most prestigious forum, established in 1985 as a platform for addressing fundamental issues pertaining to Israel and the Jewish people. The Jerusalem Address has attracted some of the most outstanding minds of our times, including Abba Eban, the philosopher Prof. George Steiner, former chief rabbi of Great Britain, Rabbi Lord Immanuel Jakobovits, Prof. Shlomo Avineri of the Hebrew University, former B'nai B'rith president and chairman of the Conference of Presidents Seymour Reich and the French writer Bernard-Henri Levy.

Before calling upon Mr. Moshe Arens, the former minister of defense, to present introductory remarks and to introduce our speaker, I wish to call upon the Ambassador of the United States in Israel, His Excellency William Brown, for his comments.

I would also like to take this opportunity to thank the United States Information Service and the Reuben and Edith Hecht Foundation, without whose assistance this event could not have been held.

COMMENT

Hon. William Brown, Ambassador of the United States of America

Distinguished members of the panel, ambassadors, distinguished guests, ladies and gentleman.

How privileged and honored I am to be here at what I view as a great confluence of events: the celebration of the 150th anniversary of this great organization, B'nai B'rith, and the occasion of a speech by a man I admire so much, Max Kampelman. I want to call to your attention a wonderful book, Max's autobiography, called "Entering New Worlds: The Memoirs of a Private Man in Public Life" published in 1991. Throughout the whole book, I was terribly impressed with the courage of your convictions and, at the same time, with your flexibility and also with the evolution of our philosophy as you moved beyond passivism to peace. I am so excited about it that I am reading it with my wife and comparing notes.

I bring you very special greetings, Max, from Samuel Lewis. We humbly suggest that we both follow in your footsteps, being a decade or so younger, though I for one feel about 50 years behind you in accomplishments and intellectual achievements. We were all career officers, ambassadors and chairmen of the board of trustees of the great Harry S Truman Institute at Hebrew University. Sam and I share with you certain great ideals. All three of us are Democrats, you openly, Sam a little less so, I a closet type as a career officer. All three of us in a sense are Reagan Democrats, strongly liberal in our domestic agenda and conservative in our foreign policy outlooks. We salute you. I salute you so much that I even venture to say that, having opened MacDonalds earlier this evening in Tel Aviv, this "M" that I am wearing on my lapel really stands for "Maxie", so I am still happy to wear it.

In the preface of this great autobiography, Max pays tribute to those who helped him in putting it together. He solemnly swears to them and himself that he will never write another book. The final chapter is a coda entitled: Beyond Passivism to Peace, A Memorandum.

If I could indulge just a bit, I would like to quote the last few paragraphs of this chapter:

"My personal religious convictions are consistent with the evolutionary struggle to attain godlike dimensions. For me, this is what our ancient scholars and teachers meant when they said that we are made in the image of God. For me, this is a religious truth arising out of the contributions made by the ancient Hebrew tribes when they asserted that there was only one God, for it is this contribution that gives rise to the concept of human brotherhood, the basis for political democracy. Nevertheless, I am convinced that vigilance is continually required.

Aristotle taught us that all forms of government, including democracy, are transitional and vulnerable to the corrosion of time, new problems, and missed opportunities. We are at risk if we remain smug and content about our present strengths and weakness of our adversaries. For all that, our political objectives are consistent with the drives and direction of our evolving civilization. That should give us strength and confidence as we prepare to enter the new worlds ahead.

When we are growing up, we are taught not be afraid of the dark. It is my conviction that as our world evolves, in this moment of history so pregnant with hope and the promise of a free and decent tomorrow, we must not be afraid of the light and where it can take us."

The next word in the book is "Finis" and then there is a parenthesis that says "to be continued."

Max, we all join together in hoping that it will indeed be continued. Ba'hatzlacha.

INTRODUCTION

Hon. Moshe Arens, former Minister of Defense

I first have an admission to make. In about eighteen years of politics and public service, I have always been on the receiving end of introductory remarks. I did receive a great deal of material from B'nai B'rith about Max, and I know Max for a great number of years, but when I went throughout the material I realized that I had not been aware of all his accomplishments and all that he had done. If I were to read all that material to you, there would be no time left for his speech. I do feel that as the man charged with introducing him, I should read to you at least some of the things he has accomplished.

Max M. Kampelman, a lawyer, diplomat and educator, was Counselor of the Department of State and Ambassador and Head of the United States Delegation to the Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Arms in Geneva, before returning in January, 1989, as a partner in the Washington, New York, Los Angeles and London law firm of Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson. He was recently appointed by the President of the United States as a Board Member of the Eurasia Foundation and the United States Institute of Peace, where he is Vice Chairman. He serves as Chairman of Freedom House, Chairman of the Board of Governors of the United Nations Association, and Chairman of the Jerusalem Foundation. He also serves as a member of the Executive Committee of the American Bar Association Special Committee on the Central and Eastern European Law Initiative, designed to provide assistance to the emerging democracies of Europe. His new book, *Entering New World: The Memoirs of a Private Man in Public Life*, was published by HarperCollins.

On January 18, 1989, President Reagan awarded him the Presidential Citizens Medal, which recognizes "citizens of the United States who have performed exemplary deeds of service for their country or their fellow citizens". He has also been the recipient of the Knight Commander's Cross of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Dr. Kampelman was appointed by President Carter and reappointed by President Reagan to serve as Ambassador and Head of the U.S. Delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which met in Madrid from 1980 to 1983. He has served, by Presidential appointment, as Ambassador and Head of the U.S. Delegation to the CSCE Copenhagen Conference on the Human Dimension in June 1990, the CSCE Geneva Conference on National Minorities in July 1991, and the CCSCE Moscow Conference on the Human Dimension in September 1991. He previously was a Senior Advisor to the U.S. Delegation to the United Nations and served as Legislative Counsel to U.S. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey.

An educator, he received his J.D. from New York University and his Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Minnesota, where he taught from 1946 to 1948. He has also served on the faculties of Bennington College, Claremont College, the University of Wisconsin, and Howard University. He lectures frequently in the United States and abroad and has written extensively in scholarly and public affairs journals. He served on the governing boards of a number of universities and has received thirteen honorary doctorate degrees.

So what can I add to that.

I met Max when I came to the United States as Israeli ambassador in February 1982. So

many things have happened in the Middle East and Israel since then that we tend to push into the background events of ten or eleven years ago. It might be surprising to remind you that winter 1982 was a period of some crisis in U.S.- Israel relations. It is true that Ronald Reagan — in my mind the best friend that Israel has ever had in the White House — was president. Yet as a result of the Israeli Airforce destruction of the nuclear reactor in Baghdad — something that in the meantime had been applauded but was not received with great enthusiasm in Washington at the time — and as a result of a law that was passed then in the Knesset which applied Israeli law to the Golan Heights, there was considerable tension between the United States and Israel. This resulted in a suspension of the delivery of F-16 aircraft that had been contracted by the Israeli Airforce, something really without precedence until then, and there was even talk of the possibility of sanctions or punitive measures being taken by the administration or by Congress.

So this was a difficult time for an ambassador who had really no diplomatic experience — I was just an amateur ambassador — and I was eager to look for someone who could provide wise council and advice and I very quickly found it in Max Kampelman. I will be forever grateful to him and I think the State of Israel can be grateful to him for the advice that he rendered to me at the time and the advice that I know he continued to render to ambassadors posted to the United States after me.

When I visited with Max and his wife Maggie and consulted with them, I would think back to the period of World War II and to the terrible days of the Holocaust — a time when the American Jewish leadership had difficulty in finding its voice or at least in making its voice heard. I felt gratified then and, I must say, proud, that the American Jewish community has developed a leadership that knows how to make its voice heard, when it is needed, in support of the Jewish people and in support of the State of Israel and Max Kampelman is one of those leaders.

Max made a very important contribution to the opening of the gates of the Soviet Union which brought about the immigration of Soviet Jews to Israel. There is a long list of contributions that Max is responsible for that will go down in the history of the State of Israel and indeed the history of the Jewish people.

The subject that Ambassador Kampelman has chosen for his talk tonight is one that is of great general interest but I am sure that the audience here realizes that it is of very particular interest here in Israel. We have been involved in a conflict not only since the creation of the State of Israel in 1948 but really since the beginning of modern Jewish immigration to Eretz Yisrael so it is a conflict that has been going on now with the surrounding Arab world and with the local Palestinian population for over one hundred years. All Israelis, whether they are in public life or are just plain citizens have been wrestling with the question of how to resolve this conflict and trying to determine whether it can be resolved through diplomatic means. It is a subject that I have given and continue to give thought to. My observation is that if you look back in history in search for real fundamental conflicts that have been solved by diplomatic means — not reasonably easy conflicts to solve like conflicts over fishing rights but the kind of conflicts we have been involved in here or the conflict between the Western World and Germany or the conflict between England and France many years ago — it is very hard to find such examples. Such conflicts were resolved, it is true, but usually by one side agreeing to unconditional surrender after being beaten into surrender, as happened between the United States and Japan or the United States and the Axis during World War Two. Or the conflict might be resolved when one side simply withers away or collapses quickly as happened recently with the Soviet Union which brought the Cold War to an end. Conversely, the conflict might simply wither away over a very long period of time, like

the Hundred Years War between England and France. But when we look for examples where a deep and fundamental conflict was resolved by diplomacy, by good will, by agreement, by compromise, it is not too easy to find examples in history of that happening except quite lately here in this region. It happened between Israel and Egypt in 1977 and a treaty was signed in 1979. A conflict that had been going on formally for almost 40 years and actually longer than that, was brought to an end at Camp David as a result of diplomatic negotiations. We want to believe that this conflict was brought to a final end, although when we look at Egypt today we see the potential for instability there. This includes the possibility that fundamentalism might be strengthened and bring about a change of regime in Egypt. We are concerned that some steps back might be taken, but we are sufficiently hopeful so as not to spend too much time thinking about that possibility.

We had a new breaking of ground just recently in the Declaration of Principles which was the beginning of a diplomatic process between Israel and the PLO. So maybe a precedent is being set by us here in Israel that you can resolve a fundamental conflict by diplomatic means. This is why I together with you will be listening with great anticipation and expectation to Ambassador Kampelman's talk tonight.

Seventh B'nai B'rith World Center Jerusalem Address

Ambassador Dr. Max M. Kampelman

NEGOTIATING TOWARD A NEW WORLD: THE ART OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION THROUGH DIPLOMACY

The great master of English rhetoric, Mr. Samuel Goldwin, once addressing an audience, began his address by saying that he had a few words to say before he began to talk, and I too have a few words to say before I begin to talk. One of them is to express my appreciation to Ambassador Arens and Ambassador Brown for their very kind comments. I enjoyed every one of their lovely exaggerations. As Misha Arens was talking to you I was thinking to myself that I would much rather be in the audience hearing him expound further on the issue of the upcoming, impending, negotiations in his brief talk rather than my own much longer talk. I am grateful to B'nai B'rith to be here and also express my appreciation to Mr. Alan Schneider, director of the B'nai B'rith World Center, who has been very patient and courteous in arranging this event and in making my stay comfortable.

There is an old Yiddish shtetl tale in which a man goes to his tailor to order a pair of pants. The measurements are taken; the fabric agreed upon; the price arrived at; the date of delivery determined. On the scheduled date, the man arrives and learns that the pants he ordered are not ready. Disappointed, he agrees to return a week later. They are still not ready. Irritated, but helpless to do anything about it, he returns a week after that. Again, not ready. Finally -- and it's now six weeks after he placed the order -- the pants are ready. The customer, very angry by now but also relieved, says to the tailor: "Tell me, it took God only six days to make the world. Why does it have to take six weeks for you to make a pair of pants?"

The tailor takes his customer to the window of his shop, points outside and then says: "Yes, your question is a good one. But take a look at that world and then look at this fine pair of pants!"

My friends, as a student, a teacher, a lawyer, a diplomat, I have had an opportunity to look at our world, its opportunities and its disappointments, and I would like to use the broad and pretentious topic of my lecture as permission to share with you my perceptions of where we are in this world and where we appear to be heading. Neither the United States, massive and immense as it is; nor Israel, tiny as it is, are masters of their own destiny, capable of isolating themselves from the forces of the world's politics, economics, science, or technology.

Three years ago, in late 1990, I had the privilege of being part of the American Delegation to the European heads of government summit meeting in Paris. I recall well that 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 and detailed specificity, were indispensable prerequisites to assure international security and cooperation. There was no doubt. We were entering a "new world order."

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One year later, I was again a member of the American delegation to the summit meeting in Helsinki. The mood was decidedly different. Europe felt depressingly impotent, obsessed with challenges it could not face. The international institutions designed to preserve the peace -- the United Nations, The Council of Europe, the European Community, NATO, the Western European Union, CSCE -- were and still appear today ineffective.

It is not just that Saddam Hussein remains in power. It is also the savagery in too many areas of the world, with ethnic strife, brutality and xenophobia in the former Yugoslavia, the former Soviet Union and elsewhere dividing people, villages, neighborhoods. It is growing anti-semitism, even where there are few or no Jews. It is the human race once again demonstrating its capacity for cruelty, with hundreds of thousands of refugees displaced from their homes. The ironic reappearance of Sarajevo as a symbol of war has brought back awful reminders of yesterday. And all of this has been accompanied by a seeming inability to stop the violence. Indeed, not only has there been an inability to stop the violence, it also appears that the gains achieved by that aggression are, in effect, being legitimized by the international community, thereby establishing a dangerous precedent which bodes ill for the future of our community.

The question may well be asked: Are we entering an age of democracy or have we entered an age of disorder and disintegration? It is appropriate as we ponder this seminal question 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 antibiotics; 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 fluorescent lights; no birth control pills; no ballpoint pens; no transistors. We could go on and on with that list of now commonplace essential elements of our daily lives that did not exist during the early years of many of us in this auditorium.

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, the satellite dish, video-conferencing. 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, I remind you 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 awesome energy; and the horizons of never-ending space as well as the mysteries found in the great depths of our seas are still virtually unknown to us. Our knowledge is indeed a drop, while 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. Science, technology and communication are necessitating basic changes in our lives. Information has become more accessible to 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 the growth of one arm or leg is significantly less 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 disintegration of authoritarianism in the former Soviet Union, Latin America, and parts of Asia and Africa 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. The resistance is certainly evident here 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. You are threatening our beliefs and our traditions. 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 the resistance to overwhelm us. I am convinced that it is a resistance which cannot prevail.

We are surrounded by explosive noises, but much of that is the sound of escaping steam as the lids of repression are being removed from boiling totalitarian kettles. Fingers and faces that are too close get scalded. If we of the West, for whom democracy and human dignity have been political rallying slogans, have the will and the wisdom, we can help harness the energy of that boiling water and transform it into a samovar of refreshing tea.

Peoples deprived of dignity for centuries are increasingly coming to appreciate that the advantages of better health, improved sanitation, adequate food and water, economic opportunity, leisure for self-enrichment -- that all these and more can belong to them and their children wherever they may live. The communication age has opened up the world for all to see. The less fortunate are learning from radio, television and the motion pictures that these changes produced by science, technology and learning are only an hour, or two, or three away. They are now increasingly aware that they can live in societies, including their own, which respect their dignity as human beings. They want that dignity and better living for themselves and their children -- and they don't wish to wait.

Freedom House, a 51-year old organization in the United States, which I have the privilege of serving as Chairman Emeritus, annually publishes an authoritative report-card survey of all 186 nations and 66 related territories. That 1992 survey reports that with a world population of more than 5.4 billion people, about 69%, 3.7 billion people, are today living in free or partly free countries and territories, the most ever in recorded history. This is particularly significant when we recall that the most populated country in the world, China, accounts for the major part of the remaining 31%.

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Keeping up with economic, 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.

Walls, iron gates and troops can sometimes protect a geographic boundary line. Border guards can keep out a vaccine; but fences and borders and declarations of national sovereignty cannot keep out germs, or ideas, or broadcasts. We also see that they are often unable to keep out terrorists or refugees.

The nations of the world have become ever more interdependent. No society can isolate itself or its people from new ideas and new information any more than one can escape the winds whose currents affect us all. One essential geo-political consequence of this new reality is that there can be no true security for any one country in isolation. Israel understands this. Insecurity and instability are contagious diseases. Neighbors are bound to suffer the consequences of that disease. We must learn to accept in each of our countries a mutual responsibility for the peoples in other countries.

This suggests, among many other implications, the need for us to reappraise our traditional definitions of sovereignty. We learned in the classroom that sovereignty was once lodged in the emperor by divine authority. This personal concept evolved into a territorial one. With the emergence of the nation state in the 17th century, it became identified with a political entity. By the 19th century, "sovereignty," "statehood" and "nation" became intertwined. Today, its meaning is even more difficult to define. Our American Declaration of Independence places sovereignty in the people. Much of our early political theory looked at sovereignty as residing in our states. Yet, our country, like others, is a united sovereign nation. The U.S. lives comfortably with all three rhetorical claims.

The concept of divided and shared sovereignty is now spreading. Nations are by agreement curtailing their sovereign powers over many of their own domestic and security affairs. Article 9 of the constitution of Japan provides that "the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation." In my role as negotiator on nuclear arms with the Soviet Union, we overcame an early reluctance to invade sovereign rights and agreed in 1988 that observers and on-site inspectors could inspect military facilities and maneuvers to verify agreements made. Bangladesh cannot prevent tragic floods without active cooperation from Nepal and India. Canada cannot solve its problem of acid rain without the cooperation of the United States. The Mediterranean is polluted by 18 -- perhaps 20 -- countries. The requirements of our evolving technology and its consequences are turning national boundaries into patterns of lace through which flow ideas, money, peoples, crime, terrorism, missiles -- none of which respect national boundaries. Serbia and Croatia, I suggest, will come painfully to learn that lesson.

Our global economic community is learning the lesson. There is no way adequately to understand the New York or Tel Aviv Stock Exchange without understanding the Tokyo

and London exchanges. An article in a recent issue of *The Wall Street Journal* had as its theme "So you want to buy an American made automobile, do you?" The article pointed out that such an automobile includes parts made in perhaps 12 to 15 different countries. A dress sold in London might have been woven in Taiwan from cotton grown in the U.S., its buttons manufactured in South Korea, and the dress then shipped to Milan for a "Made in Italy" label to be sewn on to it.

We are also learning that it is no longer the size of a country that economically matters. The natural resources of a country today matter less than they once did. The functioning economies of Japan, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, South Korea illustrate this change. The pauperization of the former Soviet Union illustrates another aspect of that change. It is the mastery of knowledge that increasingly will determine the destiny of peoples and areas. Clearly, Israel can take heart as it finds a leading role in this new Age of Knowledge.

Our task, furthermore, -- and I speak of those of us fortunate enough to live in free democratic societies -- is, where we have influence, to help influence the constructive energies of the emerging democratic societies so that they are channeled into the full, peaceful realization of their aspirations. If we fail to fulfill that 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 issue of sovereignty merits further attention. The interdependence of the world and the globalization of its economy does not imply or suggest the disappearance of the nation-state, which is showing resilience as an important focus of national pride and ethnic preservation. Nations appear unwilling to renounce the flag or forget history. Abba Eban, in a recent analysis of the prospects for confederation between Israel, the West Bank, and Jordan, commented on the apparent contradiction of a politically fragmented world existing alongside an economically integrated one. He suggests that regional confederations may harmonize the contradiction.

There is a related development. For hundreds of years, international society has been organized on the basis of separate sovereign states whose territorial integrity and political independence were protected and guaranteed by an evolving international law. The United Nations Charter, in embodying and reflecting the values of the state system, reaffirmed the principle of non-use of force across international boundaries and the companion principle of non-intervention in internal affairs. These principles were at the core of the recent collective effort, led by the United States, to defend Kuwait against external attack.

Into this principle, Woodrow Wilson, one of America's most illustrious political scientists and presidents, introduced in the early 20th century a new principle, that of self-determination of peoples, intended as a blow against colonialism. Its effect, however, introduced mischievous consequences in many parts of the world. Increasingly, violence associated with ethnic conflicts has been justified with assertions of the right of self-determination. What has been misunderstood is the fact that the right of self-determination of peoples certainly does not include the right to secede from established and internationally legitimized nation-state borders.

The League of Nations made it clear on a number of occasions that there was no positive international right of secession. Instead, the principle of "minority rights" was introduced and with time strengthened. These minority rights were not enumerated in detail, but were generally assumed to include cultural freedoms relating to language, religion, education, and commerce.

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The principle of self-determination is mentioned twice in the United Nations Charter. A 1945 UN report explained that the principle conformed to the purposes of the Charter "only insofar as it implied the right of self-government of peoples, and not the right of secession." This respect for existing boundaries is not based on the soundness or justice of the borders, but rather on a pragmatic justification that the respect is necessary for peace and stability. The assumption is that if those boundaries are unjust, they should be changed by mutual agreement, through negotiation, public opinion, moral argument, practical appeal, and political pressure.

But what if developments within a state are perceived as threatening to peace and stability? Does that legitimize international concern?

As the crises of the 1990's have developed and persisted, there is a growing awareness of the need to look across state boundaries to the sources of instability within states. The dividing line between "internal affairs" to be protected against intervention and the responsibility of the international community to intervene in order to preserve peace and important human values is shifting.

When I began to be a serious participant in international diplomacy in 1980, my efforts in Madrid to highlight and condemn Soviet violations of human rights were met with intense rebuttals by Soviet authorities who asserted that the United States was unlawfully interfering in their internal affairs, thereby violating the United Nations Charter and a specific provision of the Helsinki Final Act. I challenged those rebuttals.

Within a year, the Soviets began to criticize specific American policies with regard to women, blacks and Indians, which, in spite of factual inaccuracies, I openly welcomed as an acknowledgment that internal human rights conduct was a proper subject of international inquiry. In 1985, at the first meeting between President Reagan and Soviet President Gorbachev in Geneva, human rights was an agreed-upon item on the agenda.

In November, 1990, following an historic set of agreements in Copenhagen, the countries of Europe signed the Charter of Paris and agreed to "cooperate and support each other with the aim of making democratic gains irreversible." A detailed formula for democratic pluralism and the rule of law was specified. A few months later in Geneva, there was a clear statement that "issues concerning national minorities, as well as . . . commitments concerning the rights of persons belonging to them, are matters of legitimate international concern and consequently do not exclusively constitute an internal affair of the respective state." In late 1991, in Moscow, Europe unanimously declared the "commitments undertaken in the field of the human dimension are matters of direct and legitimate concern to all participating states and do not belong exclusively to the internal affairs of the state concerned." It was my privilege to head the American delegation at all four of these important negotiations in Madrid, Copenhagen, Geneva and Moscow.

The international community is heading toward a realization that the principle of "self-determination" can best be expressed by insisting on human rights for all who live in a state; in effect, a respect for their cultural, religious, economic and political self-expression.

What does all this mean? For the United States -- wealthy, militarily strong, influential -- it means a special leadership responsibility, which we are hesitatingly, with reluctance and with ambivalence beginning to understand. For Israel, the task is even more

challenging and dangerous. Israel fits quite comfortably into the new world of global interdependence. Indeed, it has been an actor in the dramatic movement toward a community in which knowledge replaces natural resources, size and geography as a crucial ingredient for success.

The establishment by Israel of political democracy, taken for granted in the relative safety of North America, is all the more remarkable given the dangers faced by Israel in its young history. Societies facing far less formidable threats than Israel have neglected the individual liberty of their citizens. This vibrant society faces strains and tensions stemming from the violence and hatred that surround its borders. And yet Israel is aware of and can never forget that the realities of water, power, trade, communication, and health call for cooperation through regional rather than national solutions.

Israel obviously yearns to avert a rendezvous with further war and bloodshed. Its practical needs require it to chart the course of other Western nations who have forsworn conflict for productivity. At stake in the peace deliberations now underway is nothing less than the issue of whether Israel and its neighbors will be allowed to embrace the high-road of economic growth, political stability and individual opportunity. Only through this course will Israel be able to fulfill its mission as a home to the Jewish people and to Jewish values.

Paul Johnson, in his epic "History of the Jews," applauds the contribution of the Jewish people over the ages to the concept of justice, equality, social responsibility, dignity -- indeed, to the primacy of reason and rationality. Yet, while America and France in the 18th and 19th centuries, for example, proclaimed the supremacy of liberty, the British parliament rejected the concept of liberty for Jews and Pope Pius VI in Rome condemned the Jews of that city to public disgrace. Is it any wonder that the Jew came through experience to doubt the power of rationalism and the primary dependence on others, turning inward instead into the mystical depth of his own religion?

It seems to me appropriate to refer to values and to religion, even were I not in Israel talking to a Jewish audience. I am persuaded that values matter a great deal. Significant political meaning is found in the Talmudic reference to Rabbi Ben Azzai's assertion that the most important verse in the whole Bible is the one from the Book of Genesis stating that Man was created in the image of God. Why, the sages also asked, was only one man created? So that each of us has the same ancestor and no one can claim superiority over another, was the response.

The ancient tribes of Israel made a profound contribution to civilization when they proclaimed that there was only one God. This was at a time when the prevailing view of their neighbors was that there were many gods. If there is only one God, then we are all of us His children and thus brothers and sisters to one another. The "Sh'ma Yisrael", the holiest and most repeated of Jewish prayers ("Hear, O Israel..."), symbolizes the essence of that message.

In recent years, I have on occasion been called upon to serve my government and much of that service required me to be overseas during our important Jewish holidays. I have, therefore, been at services in London, Geneva, Brussels, Paris, Madrid, Copenhagen, Amsterdam, Israel, Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kiev, Helsinki, Vienna, Bucharest, Budapest, Prague, Belgrade, Sydney in Australia, Johannesburg in South Africa and Salisbury in Zimbabwe. It is inspiring wherever we may be as Jews and whatever language may be spoken, to hear the familiar ring and message of the Sh'ma,

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the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. It is our common language and declaration of faith as Jews.

Here, in this doctrine of human brotherhood, we have the essence of our religious creed, the spiritual basis of our evolving civilization. Here, too, are the moral roots of political democracy.

But this is only a part of Jewish teaching and theology, that part consistent with the belief that Man was made in the divine image. But an image is not necessarily a reality. It is evident that the perception of Man as God-like cannot explain Man's continued capacity for cruelty against Man and nature.

The philosophic notion of the coexistence of good and evil is found in many ancient civilizations, but it is particularly strong in the writings of the Jewish teachers. The Jewish scholars taught that there is in each one of us an ingredient in the heart and soul which is good and God-like. But, they continued, there is also in each one of us an ingredient which is destructive and evil. The sages defined it as "yetzer hatov" and "yetzer hara". The Protestant theologian Reinhold Niebuhr called it "Children of Light and Children of Darkness." Freud and others based their understanding of Man on this insight. This dichotomy in Man means the good and the evil is also intrinsic to the societies created by Man.

The history of civilization then becomes a process to strengthen the "yetzer hatov" within us, our children, our families, the societies we create. Human beings can be rational, creative, wise, generous; but they can also be stupid, selfish, cruel and sinful. This is the real meaning of the evolutionary challenge, the evolution of the species Homo Sapiens to that of the species Human Being. This requires struggle. There will continue to be struggles against the "yetzer hara" within us.

How else can we explain human brutality except as an expression of that destructive drive? How else can we understand the Holocaust, or the brutalities of terrorism, or the cruelty of the old Stalinist system? If there is one thing that experience has taught us, it is that we ignore the dark side of Man only at our peril. The Age of Reason expressed the highest aspirations of man's enlightened nature -- but it did not account for his contrary impulses. We have the capacity to reach for the stars, but we do so with our feet deep in the dirt of the earth.

Israel has begun a vital negotiating process which both illustrates and tests these traditional Jewish teachings. It will be a long and difficult road. Arafat and the PLO have yet to demonstrate that they and terrorism are now distinguishable. I did not hear Arafat renounce violence as I sat and listened to him speak on the White House lawn. I have yet to hear the Arab states at war with Israel renounce that status of war, or, as a minimum, announce the end of their boycott of Israel in spite of American urgings that they do so.

There is no doubt that a negotiation process is a risky one. It is something like stepping on slippery stones to cross a rushing stream or river. The danger of falling is real and its consequences may be disastrous. And yet, it is often the only way to get across. The supreme achievement of statesmanship is patiently, through negotiation, to pursue peace with dignity, always recognizing the threat to that peace and always protecting vital interests and values. We should recall the message of Winston Churchill that diplomatic negotiations "are not a grace to be conferred but a convenience to be used."

I began negotiating with the Soviet Union in behalf of the United States in 1980, shortly

after their invasion of Afghanistan. A number of my friends urged me not to do so. They said I was legitimizing the outlaw nature of the Soviet regime by providing them with the dignity and stature of being our equal as partners in the negotiation. I understood that objection, but I also knew that refusing to negotiate would not lessen the fact of their existence, their military strength, or lead them to more responsible behavior.

A negotiation is not a reason to seal one's lips and withhold proper and legitimate criticism. Israel must continue to resist, respond to, and sharply condemn terrorism. That criticism, however, must be accurately and correctly stated because personal and national credibility is indispensable for a successful negotiation.

A negotiation is not a reason to abandon issues of principle or vital security interests, no matter how firm a contrary position taken by the other side. Similarly, a proposal by the other side must not be called "unacceptable" if it might in time be accepted. This will only lead the other side to believe that other positions labeled as "unacceptable" may be accepted. This can lead to a miscalculation and that is a constant danger to peace.

Finally, it must be understood that a successful negotiation need not always produce an immediate agreement. It will obviously be desirable for the negotiations now under way to end with an agreement that meets Israel's security needs and other aspirations; but negotiators must always be careful to avoid an agreement that may undermine one's interests. Since negotiators understandably like to be identified with success, the temptation here is great, particularly with a media perception that "success" means a signed piece of paper.

In the early morning hours of July 4, 1976, I was asleep at the King David Hotel when my phone rang. The hotel operator excitedly announced "we rescued the Jews at Entebbe. The planes are about to land." Israel must always have the means, the capacity, the strength to meet the Entebbe challenges of tomorrow. But Israel must also be able to summon the moral and physical courage to recognize that the challenges of the next century may not be those of the last. An Israel at peace can fulfill this role.

It was my privilege to be in Israel as its air force brought many hundreds of Ethiopian Jews home. The enthusiasm, the pride, yes, the love of one Jew for another, that day was contagious. Likud, Labor, Histadrut, politics — the pettiness that sometimes blinds the vision of human beings — for a few hours these all disappeared into perspective. Israel must never lose its zeal, capacity and strength to live up to its mission to be the Jewish national homeland, a haven for those who choose to, or who have no other choice but to call it home. An Israel at peace can fulfill this role.

The goal of peace is real and genuine, but the reality of violence and terrorism cannot be obliterated by the dreams of what can be. Nor can Israel be totally dependent on the support of others for its own security and welfare.

We have every reason to imagine and work for a Middle East at peace, with Israel as the economic, technological and educational center of the region. Negotiations hold great promise. We would like students from Syria and Jordan to study at the Hebrew University and the sick from Cairo and Amman to be treated at Hadassah Hospital. Israeli consultants should be welcome to jet off to Kuwait and Qatar advising governments on water management in the desert. It would be good for Israeli government officials to meet in Beirut to negotiate the details of a Middle East free trade area. Israeli-Saudi Arabian companies engaging in joint ventures would be successful. Much of this is today a dream, but Jews remember that Theodore Herzl's vision was also once a dream.

The Art of Conflict Resolution Through Diplomacy

Negotiations may not produce a result. They may not be successful. But they must be tried because they are probably the only way to get the message across.

I close, my friends, like I began -- by reminding you that the changes produced in our day by the dramatic scientific, technological, communication and economic developments that we have noted are relentless. They are having and will continue to have political consequences leading to integration, greater freedom, and democracy. The Middle East cannot long exempt itself from this development as its men and women seek human dignity for themselves and their children.

The United States and Israel are joined together in this effort. A leading State Department official, speaking of the Middle East, recently made an important statement:

"Those who are prepared to take specific steps toward free elections, creating independent judiciaries, promoting the rule of law, reducing restrictions on the press, respecting the rights of minorities and guaranteeing individual rights will find us ready to recognize and support their efforts, just as those moving in the opposite direction will find us ready to speak candidly and act accordingly."

This is an excellent guiding principle with which to proceed in the peace negotiations.

Thank you.

RESPONSE

Professor Naomi Hazan, M.K.

Thank you Dr. Kampelman, for your very rich and inspiring address.

The job of the respondent at the end of an evening is two-fold: to be as brief as possible while picking up on some of the themes that were presented in the major address without being overly critical. As I read the address and listened to it I have no problem with the second task, but I would like to highlight certain themes and perhaps add to them.

It seems to me that the starting point for any discussion about the future is that the world is changing dramatically before our eyes. Old references no longer exist. We understand full well that we are on the eve of the creation of a new world order and we do not know what this order is going to look like. In other words, the sense of uncertainty and hence insecurity, is incredible. I think that Ambassador Kampelman eloquently highlighted this point. But allow me to emphasize certain elements of this new world order in a mildly different way.

There are three characteristics that I would like to point out because they are extremely pertinent to our situation here today. First, periods of global uncertainty evoke incredibly subjective emotions. In many respects, the attitude, both of academics and of practitioners in this new period of uncertainty is one of intellectual insecurity and hence emotional reaction. I cannot recall a period where optimism and pessimism were terms used to describe political events as in the past couple of years. And I think it behooves us to understand that we are reacting instinctively, emotionally and subjectively while our task is to mold what is happening in a rational, wise and prudent manner.

So the first characteristic is the highly emotionally charged nature of this uncertain period.

The second characteristic — and I know I am treading on extremely precarious ground — but it struck me as Ambassador Kampelman was speaking, that the nature of the use of force in the last few years has changed dramatically. Force is used not necessarily by organized or conventional armies but by bands and militias and vigilantes usually against innocent citizens. Also, the major interventions of the last couple of years has been to protect human rights. What an incredibly different use of force and reaction to force than we had been accustomed to during the Cold War period. And I think that is true here as well as in other parts: Somalia, ex-Yugoslavia, ex-Soviet Union, etc.

The third characteristic of this period of uncertainty and the one I would really like to emphasize, is that such periods are rare moments in history. During such periods individuals, leaders and citizens have an opportunity to shape, mold, restructure and reorder their environment. In other words we are not victims of events — rather it is one of the rare instances in which volunteerism is really important and the way we work and what we do and how we create become extremely significant. And we have seen acts of creation in the post-Cold War period which are exemplary in terms of the values they wish to convey, the norms they exhibit and the vision of a future of progress and of human dignity that they try to achieve. We have witnessed in recent years acts of human volunteerism which I think are a sum total of human folly by choice. And it is in this context that we must address the situation and the decisions that have been made here in

the post Cold War period. And yes, Israel had to make choices to adjust to the new and changing world and these are conscious and voluntary choices. As many parts of Africa and some portions of Latin America and Asia now unfortunately know — if one did not make choices in the last few years, one ran and runs the distinct danger of fading into oblivion, of becoming totally marginalized in this world. So we have to make choices. And these are very difficult choices. But were we going to use the capacity to exercise human will in order to strengthen ourselves and run the risk of going in a particularistic direction or were we going to consciously resuscitate the ingenuity and creativity of the Jewish people and the State of Israel in order to adjust to the new world order.

And I am going to say something that is going to cost me politically, but I think that it is very important to do it in this context. I think that the choice of going in the direction of propelling Israel not only as a partaker but as a leader in an enlightened and progressive future world — that decision was taken under the Likud government when it decided to enter into the Madrid process. This was a crucial decision because it pointed us in a different direction and allowed us to capitalize in the last few weeks on the initial decision and start making further difficult and extremely hopeful choices.

Therefore, with the skillful revival in recent months of the ancient craft of diplomacy and with the understanding that in order to split sovereignty or divide sovereignty or share sovereignty one has first to grant sovereignty to another people, we are entering into a new era.

I think that the most significant message of Ambassador Kampelman's address is that peace is not an objective. Peace is a vehicle, a mechanism, a means of creating a more decent, a more prosperous, a more just society. If we indeed have embarked on this course it behooves us to understand that we do so not only to respect the dignity of all peoples in the area but primarily to come to terms with ourselves, to improve ourselves and to perhaps be a part of the molding of the new world order that is evolving before our eyes.

DISCUSSION

Question from audience: Viewing the upheavals today in Russia and the continuing instability of the current regime, do you assess your achievements of reaching agreements on nuclear arms control with the former regime as a success? Also, what is your attitude towards the concern voiced by some in Israel about reaching agreements with the totalitarian regimes of Arab countries?

Answer by Dr. Kampelman: I have no doubt in my mind that the agreements we entered into with the Soviet Union were in our interest and continue to be in our interest in spite of the renewal of instability within the former Soviet Union. First of all, one of the things we accomplished was that we eliminated to zero all intermediate range nuclear weapons — the ones that have a range of 300 and 500 kilometers. The Russians are down to zero now and we are down to zero. We didn't need them. We're safer without them. What we should be doing is trying to internationalize that regime so that it extends to other countries in the world, not just the United States and, at that time, the Soviet Union. As a matter of fact, one of the real problems is that we could have moved a little bit faster under the Bush administration than we did. But in a democracy, when there is a change in leadership the new leader will inevitably want to make a mark for himself or herself and wants to go through a learning and training experience. We finished the Reagan administration and were on the verge of a treaty on the longer range missiles — ones that can cross the ocean in minutes. But the Bush administration felt they had to restudy the whole question. So we lost a year and then ended up in the same place we were a year earlier. With that year we would have now been much further along and there would have been fewer nuclear missiles today in the hands of Russians, Ukrainians and in Kazakhstan. But I have no doubt that we are better off with the agreement.

Now you ask what happens if you make an agreement with an Arab country and then the government changes. Well, if the agreement is renounced by the new Arab government it is simply renounced by Israel too. If on the other hand Israel does not wish to renounce it and wishes to continue the procedure then Israel has the option to continue in the procedure. The logic of skepticism is the logic that says don't do anything.

Q. What is your attitude towards the Declaration of Principles signed between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization?

A. When I read the Declaration of Principles, I read it as an agreement to enter into negotiations. I never looked upon that agreement as one which deals with all the problems that arise from the initial willingness to negotiate. Two final observations. First, there is something a little bit unhealthy about having such negotiations — namely negotiations that go to the fundamental issues — take place in secret. Second, what I see in the agreement is that it crosses an initial threshold — both sides agreed that the other would serve as a negotiating partner and sets a schedule along which to proceed. That is the way I view the scope of the agreement and that is why the fact that the issues were not yet resolved might not disturb me as much as it might disturb some others. The tough part starts now and may last much longer than any artificial calendar designed in advance of the detailed negotiations.

The B'nai B'rith Jerusalem Address

- 1985 - Abba Eban,
"Reflections on 'Heritage'"
- 1986 - Prof. George Steiner
"The Dissent from Reason"
- 1987 - Rabbi Lord Immanuel Jakobovits,
"Religious Response to the Holocaust"
- 1988 - Prof. Shlomo Avineri,
"Glasnost, the Jews and Soviet Policy in the Middle East"
- 1989 - Seymour D. Reich
"The Challenge of Jewish Unity"
- 1991 - Bernard-Henri Levy
"The Intellectual and the Struggle for Liberty"

MAX M. KAMPELMAN • Biographical Summary

Max M. Kampelman, a lawyer, diplomat and educator, was Counselor of the Department of State and Ambassador and Head of the United States Delegation to the Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Arms in Geneva, before returning in January, 1989, as a partner in the Washington, New York, Los Angeles and London law firm of Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson. He was recently appointed by the President as a Board Member of the Eurasia Foundation and the United States Institute of Peace, where he is Vice Chairman. He serves as Chairman of Freedom House, Chairman of the Board of Governors of the United Nations Association, and Chairman of the Jerusalem Foundation. He also serves as a member of the Executive Committee of the American Bar Association Special Committee on the Central and Eastern European Law Initiative, designed to provide assistance to the emerging democracies of Europe. His new book, *Entering New World: The Memoirs of a Private Man in Public Life*, was published by HarperCollins.

On January 18, 1989, President Reagan awarded him the Presidential Citizens Medal, which recognizes "citizens of the United States who have performed exemplary deeds of service for their country or their fellow citizens". He has also been the recipient of the Knight Commander's Cross of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany.

He was appointed by President Carter and reappointed by President Reagan to serve as Ambassador and Head of the U.S. Delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which met in Madrid from 1980 to 1983. He has served, by Presidential appointment, as Ambassador and Head of the U.S. Delegation to the CSCE Copenhagen Conference on the Human Dimension in June 1990, the CSCE Geneva Conference on National Minorities in July 1991, and the CCSCE Moscow Conference on the Human Dimension in September 1991. He previously was a Senior Advisor to the U.S. Delegation to the United Nations and served as Legislative Counsel to U.S. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey.

An educator, he received his J.D. from New York University and his Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Minnesota, where he taught from 1946 to 1948. He has also served on the faculties of Bennington College, Claremont College, the University of Wisconsin, and Howard University. He lectures frequently in the United States and abroad and has written extensively in scholarly and public affairs journals. He served on the governing boards of a number of universities and has received thirteen honorary Doctorate degrees.

Ambassador Kampeleman was the founder and moderator of the public affairs program on public television, "Washington Week in Review". He was chairman of the Washington public broadcasting radio and television stations from 1963 to 1970. He and his wife, Marjorie, are the parents of five children and live in Washington, D.C.

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