



Max M. Kampelman Papers

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*The First
Decade And
Beyond*

UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE



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The Honorable John Whitehead

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 10, 1994

Greetings to everyone gathered in our nation's capital to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the United States Institute of Peace.

During the Institute's first decade, the Cold War ended, ushering in a new age and new opportunities for peace. But as ethnic, religious, and regional conflicts persist, we still face many challenges.

The Institute and its work to foster understanding about conflict resolution are more important than ever. I am proud that the United States has such an organization, publicly chartered, devoted to research and training, and dedicated to peace-building. Since its inception, the Institute has provided intellectual and moral leadership, and has brought together the best minds -- regardless of party affiliation or ideology -- in pursuit of common goals.

In commending all those responsible for the success of the Institute, I would like to make special mention of the family of the late Senator Spark Matsunaga. The Matsunaga Medal of Peace is a tribute to the Senator's lifelong commitment to peace education and his resolve that American leadership work to build a better world. These goals are being realized daily in the important work of the Institute of Peace, and all of you can be proud of your efforts to fulfill Senator Matsunaga's vision.

Best wishes for a memorable celebration.

Bill Clinton

THE WORK OF THE INSTITUTE

The United States Institute of Peace Act, passed by Congress and signed into law in 1984, established the Institute as a publicly funded federal institution devoted to strengthening our national capabilities to promote international peace based on freedom and justice.

To implement this broad mandate, the work of the Institute is organized into six core program areas:

- **Grants.** The Institute supports promising academic and practical research, education, and training projects and dissemination of information through grants to nonprofit organizations (including colleges and universities), official public institutions, and individuals.

- **Fellowships.** The Institute invests in people—outstanding scholars, diplomats, other professionals, and doctoral students—many of whom conduct their projects at the Institute and participate in its daily life. The Jennings Randolph fellowship program for scholars and practitioners of all countries is named after the former senator from West Virginia who was a long-time sponsor of legislation to create the Institute.

- **Research and Studies.** The Institute promotes innovative policy analysis through study groups, workshops, and conferences on issues of pressing interest to practitioners, decision makers, researchers, and the public.

- **Education.** Students and teachers are supported through an array of activities, including an annual national high school peace essay contest which engages students directly in a competition for scholarships, curriculum development projects, and training seminars for high school and post-secondary teachers. The general pub-

lic is served through mass media projects, outreach programs, and publications.

- **Training.** Civic leaders, government officials, and foreign affairs practitioners in the U.S. and overseas participate in training programs on conflict resolution skills, international negotiations, and democracy building.

- **Library and Information Services.** The Jeannette Rankin Library Program, named for the Montana peace activist who was the first woman elected to Congress, promotes state-of-the-art information retrieval and bibliographic projects and provides on-line access through the Internet.

The Institute also has special research and policy development initiatives in the following areas, often in collaboration with agencies of the U.S. government:

- **Religion, Ethics, and Human Rights**
- **Rule of Law**
- **Preventive Diplomacy**
- **International Negotiating Behavior**

The work of the Institute's core program and initiatives is communicated to the widest array of audiences through its two outreach programs:

- **Publications and Marketing.** Information is disseminated to key audiences through a variety of printed formats, including the Institute's bimonthly newsletter, *Peacewatch*, the Peaceworks series, monographs and books.

- **Public Affairs and Information.** The Institute's work is disseminated to the media, civic groups, and the general public through Special Reports, current issues briefings, a speakers bureau, radio programming, the Internet, and other outreach activities.



A Decade of Institution Building

*The United States Institute of Peace Act
established the foundations of a dynamic
institution...*

to strengthen our national capacities to leash international
violence and manage international conflict;

to develop new and tested techniques to promote
peaceful economic, political, social, and cultural relations
in the world;

to develop new, comprehensive peace education and
training programs, basic and applied research projects, and
programs providing peace information;

to advance the history, science, art, and practice of
international peace and the resolution of conflicts among
nations without the use of violence;

to promote peacemaking activities of educational
institutions, government, private enterprise, and voluntary
associations; and

to support institutions providing programs in international
affairs, diplomacy, conflict resolution, and peace studies.

*As the Institute enters its second decade,
its mandate is more relevant than ever to
meeting the challenges of international
conflict resolution and peacebuilding into
the 21st century.*

Building Peace: The First Decade and Beyond



Born during the Cold War, the Institute of Peace has
developed in a few short years into a central location for
cutting-edge thinking about post-Cold War security issues.

The Institute has grown through the hard work of many—
in the Institute, in Congress and the executive branch, and
through the support of many citizens around the country.

A guiding tenet of the Institute's work has been to
facilitate communication among the groups that are most
concerned with international conflict resolution and
the realization of a more peaceful world.

Through the Institute's efforts, we have a rough map of
the intellectual terrain that constitutes the complex field of
international conflict resolution research and training.

The Institute today serves simultaneously as a research
center, a training organization, a grantmaking foundation,
and a facilitative center for hands-on international
problem solving and dialogue.

The Institute has established successful scholarship and
training programs for students and teachers at all educational
levels, from high school through graduate school.

The Institute today enjoys a solid and growing reputation
for bringing the best minds and thoughtful options to bear on
questions of international peace and conflict resolution.

The work of peace building gains great support from an
informed citizenry—one that understands issues of the day
in their complexity and can articulate thoughtful attitudes in
public fora and, when appropriate, in the voting booth.

Excerpts adapted from the Chairman's Statement,
"A Successful Beginning", in the Institute's 1994 Biennial Report



HENRY A. KISSINGER

Henry Alfred Kissinger was sworn in on September 22, 1973, as the 56th Secretary of State, a position he held until January 20, 1977. He also served as Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs from January 20, 1969, until November 3, 1975. In July 1983 he was appointed by President Ronald Reagan to chair the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America and from 1984 to 1990 he served as a member of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board.

Currently, Dr. Kissinger is Chairman of Kissinger Associates, Inc., an international consulting firm. He is also a Counselor to the Chase Manhattan Bank and a member of its International Advisory Committee. Among his other activities, Dr. Kissinger is a member of the Boards of Directors of American Express Company, Continental Grain Company, CBS Inc., The Revlon Group, Inc., and Freeport-McMoRan Inc. and is an Honorary Director of R.H. Macy & Co. He is a Trustee of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and a Director of the International Rescue Committee.



Among the awards Dr. Kissinger has received are the Nobel Peace Prize in 1973; the Presidential Medal of Freedom (the nation's highest civilian award) in 1977; and the Medal of Liberty in 1986.

Dr. Kissinger was born in Fuerth, Germany; came to the United States in 1938; and was naturalized a U. S. citizen in 1943. He served in the Army from 1943 to 1946. He graduated summa cum laude from Harvard College in 1950 and received M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from Harvard University in 1952 and 1954.

From 1954 until 1969 he was a member of the faculty of Harvard University, in the Department of Government and the Center for International Affairs. He was Director of the Harvard International Seminar from 1952 to 1969.

Dr. Kissinger is the author of numerous books and countless articles on U.S. foreign policy, international affairs, and diplomatic history. His most recent book is *Diplomacy*. His column, syndicated by the Los Angeles Times Syndicate, appears in leading U.S. newspapers and in more than 40 foreign countries.



Building Peace The First Decade and Beyond

United States Institute of Peace
Tenth Anniversary Celebratory Dinner

December 1, 1994

Call to Order

Dr. Harriet Hentges

Invocation

Rev. Sidney Lovett

Welcome

The Honorable Richard H. Solomon

The Honorable Chester A. Crocker

Reflections on the Institute

The Honorable Dan Glickman

Spark M. Matsunaga Medal of Peace

Professor Elspeth Rostow

Mrs. Spark M. Matsunaga

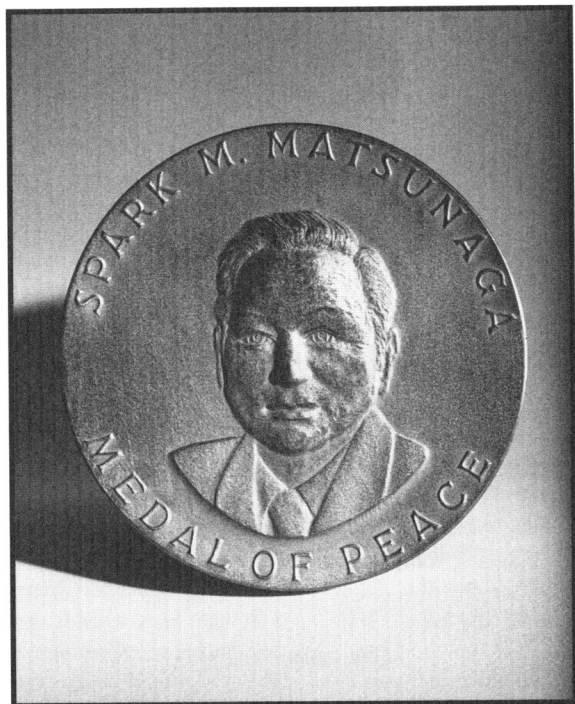
Introduction of Speaker

The Honorable Max Kampelman

Keynote Address

The Honorable Henry Kissinger

"Perspectives On Diplomacy in the Twenty-First Century"



Spark M. Matsunaga Medal of Peace

The Spark M. Matsunaga Medal of Peace, established by Congress in 1990 in honor of the late senator from Hawaii, is the first national peace medal. It honors individuals who have made extraordinary contributions to promoting peace among the nations and peoples of the world. Laureates receive a bronze medal designed and struck by the U.S. Mint and a \$25,000 cash award.

Congress authorized the United States Institute of Peace to select the laureates from among nominations sought from political and civic leaders, diplomats and statesmen, scholars and educators, and conflict resolution experts from the United States and other countries, as well as from

the general public. Nominations are reviewed by an advisory panel of eminent persons in the areas of education and world affairs. Final selections are made by the Institute's board of directors.

Laureates may be public officials or political or civic leaders; educators, scholars, or authors; or leaders of public or private organizations engaged in international peacemaking. They may be people who have acted to prevent, contain, or terminate an international conflict or proponents of a significant ethical, philosophical, religious, legal, cultural, or political theory that promotes the non-violent resolution of international conflict.

SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

In a public career of more than four decades that included service as an Hawaii territorial legislator, U.S. representative, and U.S. senator, Spark Masayuki Matsunaga was guided by a faith in human beings that appealed to what President Abraham Lincoln called "the better angels of our nature."

In a 1939 college essay he wrote, "If we want peace, we must educate people to want peace. If in our teaching we emphasize the life and work of our great contributors instead of our great destroyers, people will come to realize that moral courage is bravery of the highest type and America will be called the Champion of Peace."

Spark Matsunaga was the son of immigrant sugar plantation workers on the Hawaiian island of Kauai. Born in 1916, he was educated in Kauai public schools and at the University of Hawaii and began a teaching career that was cut short by World War II. Matsunaga volunteered for service in the armed forces and fought in Italy alongside other Japanese-Americans in the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, the most decorated unit of its size in the history of the U.S. Army.

Returning to civilian life with a bronze star and two purple hearts, Matsunaga's military service emboldened him to explore new avenues for teaching people about peacebuilding in a world where the threats of communism and the arms race were only beginning to be understood. Like so many Americans, he had experienced the horrors of war and its attendant injustices: discrimination, dislocation, physical pain, and loss of loved ones and friends. After graduation from Harvard Law School, Matsunaga was elected to the Hawaii territorial legislature in 1954, and rose to the position of majority leader in the Hawaii House of Representatives.

Matsunaga was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1962 and served there until his election to the U.S. Senate in 1977. A self-described "realistic optimist" and "practical dreamer," he contemplated the establishment of a national peace institution. In 1979 Matsunaga was appointed to the congressionally chartered Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution, and later was elected its chairman. The commission held public hearings throughout the United States and in 1980 recommended the establishment of a national institution dedicated to peace research, education, and training.

While in the Congress, Matsunaga was also actively involved in issues concerning justice and social welfare. He introduced the first Native Hawaiian Claims Settlement Act in 1974 and continued through-

out his career to support the claims issue as well as legislation improving the education and health of native Hawaiians and preserving their unique culture.

In the U.S. Senate, he led an effort to pass a resolution calling for demilitarization of space and the promotion of a joint U.S.-USSR mission to Mars. In the area of civil rights, he took the lead in pressing for legislation to provide compensation for Americans of Japanese ancestry who were deprived of their civil rights and interned by the U.S. government during World War II. A poet since his youth, Matsunaga successfully persuaded Congress to create the national post of U.S. Poet Laureate in the Library of Congress.

Spark Matsunaga died in 1990. He is remembered as a man who saw peace in very basic and personal terms—as the fervent hope of people and the committed goal of government.

*"If we want
peace, we
must educate
people to want
peace."*



SPARK M. MATSUNAGA MEDAL OF PEACE

JIMMY CARTER 39th President of the United States

As President of the United States and as a private citizen, Jimmy Carter has made the vision of a more peaceful world a centerpiece of his labors. Guided by uncompromising respect for human rights and democracy, President Carter has brought hope and promise to peoples of the world long subjected to violence, poverty, and despair.

He committed the prestige of the presidency and the full measure of his personal energies to the Camp David peace process, which ended decades of conflict between Egypt and Israel and served as a foundation for the broader Arab-Israeli peace

process that is so promising today. His emphasis on human rights as a cornerstone of U.S. foreign policy has given hope to millions living under repressive regimes and has encouraged the wave of democratic reforms in Latin America, Asia, and elsewhere.

Upon leaving office, President Carter assumed a new role which he said bears the "only title more important than President—that of citizen of the United States." Using his presidency as a foundation, Citizen Carter has continued to dedicate his efforts to the pursuit of peace and justice, most notably through The Carter Center, an institution that he founded. Moved by the hopelessness of the "forgotten wars" which languish beyond the purview of traditional peacemaking efforts, and by the fragile promise of genuine democratic movements around the world, the Center has launched innovative activities to advance human rights, alleviate hunger, and promote conflict resolution. It convenes forums that bring together political and civic leaders from around the globe to consider solutions to world problems.

Building on the unique experience and solemn responsibilities of America's highest public office, President Carter has sought common purpose with other former world leaders in efforts to promote peace, justice, and freedom. Through these and other activities, The Carter Center is a living monument to public service and an inspiration for leadership, hope, and responsible citizenship.

President Carter's achievements strongly reflect the ideals of the late Senator Spark Matsunaga and his efforts to expand society's appreciation of the dedication, skills, and vision required of those who seek a more peaceful world.

For his extraordinary dedication to the peaceful resolution of international conflicts and the advancement of human rights and for his ongoing efforts as a former president to promote peace, justice, and democracy throughout the world.



RONALD WILSON REAGAN 40th President of the United States

Ronald Wilson Reagan brought to the office of President of the United States a lifelong belief in his country as a world leader and an example of the virtues of democracy and free enterprise. Quoting John Winthrop, the first governor of the colony of Massachusetts, President Reagan called on the United States to be a "shining city on the hill" to its allies—and a beacon of hope and courage to those throughout the world who suffer under tyranny's heel. The legacies of his presidency include a world with far fewer weapons of mass destruction, and stronger institutions in Europe and the United States ready to engage newly free peoples in common pursuits which would promote human rights, democracy, peace, and security.

President Reagan believed that to live constantly under a nuclear sword of Damocles was an unacceptable condition for humanity. This belief inspired him to bold efforts designed to turn the world away from the arms race and toward the face of freedom.

It was President Reagan's determination and daring vision that led to the signing in 1987 of the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, the first agreement to eliminate a whole class of nuclear weapons and a major step toward his vision of what others considered an "unthinkable" goal—the abolition of all nuclear weapons.

Believing that human rights and democracy would ultimately triumph behind the Iron Curtain, President Reagan supported the emerging independent trade union movement in Poland and encouraged fundamental change in Soviet domestic and foreign policies, inspiring people through the world who sought to rid their societies

of oppression and tyranny. Emphasizing the relationship between peace and democracy, he also used the powers of his office to promote the Helsinki human rights process, which flourishes today as an important avenue for building consensus among the nations of Europe, the former Soviet Union, and the other countries of the North Atlantic community.

President Reagan's achievements strongly reflect the ideals of the late Senator Spark Matsunaga and his efforts to expand society's appreciation of the dedication, skills, and vision required of those who seek a more peaceful world.



For his visionary efforts to eliminate nuclear weapons and reduce the threat of nuclear war, and for his steadfast support of freedom and human rights in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.



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Richard H. Solomon, President, United States Institute of Peace (nonvoting)

MMK SCHEDULE
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
DECEMBER 14-15, 1994

Wednesday, December 14

10:00 a.m. Depart National via shuttle

11:00 a.m. Arrive LaGuardia

Council on Foreign Relations
Advisory Group on Council's Europe Studies Program
Harold Pratt House, 58 East 68th Street
212-734-0400

4:50 p.m. Depart JFK UA#27

7:55 p.m. Arrive Los Angeles

Accommodations at Century Plaza
2025 Avenue of the Stars
Conf. #022Q16
310-277-2000

Thursday, December 15

11:00 a.m. Meeting with President Reagan
2121 Avenue of the Stars (34th floor?)
POC Kathy Bush 310-552-1980

1:05 p.m. Depart Los Angeles via UA #66

8:47 p.m. Arrive Dulles

REMARKS BY
MAX M. KAMPELMAN
UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE
TENTH ANNIVERSARY CONFERENCE
INTRODUCTION OF HENRY KISSINGER

Washington, DC

December 1, 1994

When the Speaker of the House of Representatives introduces the President of the United States at a Joint Session of the Congress, his statement goes something like this: "It is a high honor and distinct privilege to introduce to you the President of the United States." Dr. Kissinger's prominence and distinction do not require an introduction that is any longer or more elaborate than that provided the President. But, this audience, distinguished as it is, is not a Joint Session of the Congress; Dr. Kissinger, having been born outside of the United States, is ineligible to serve as our President (Henry, I will add "regrettably ineligible"); and I have early chosen not to aspire to elected public office. Furthermore, you and I know that Dr. Kissinger would not be satisfied with a brief ungilded introduction.

I do not intend to introduce politics into this celebration, but many of you are aware that my political experience before I turned bi-partisan was intimately related to that of my friend, Hubert Humphrey, whose many virtues did not include that of brevity. Indeed, it is said that Muriel Humphrey once told her husband: "Hubert, a speech need not be eternal to be immortal." To the organizers of this meeting, therefore, who have suggested that my role this

evening be limited to five minutes, I, here, note the implausibility of that recommendation.

Dr. Kissinger's illustrious and extraordinary career as a scholar, writer, public servant, diplomat and entrepreneur have earned for him most all of the recognition, prizes, praise, and distinctions that the civilized world has to offer. Yet, he continues to channel his enormous energies, experience and wisdom in the service of our country as we struggle to find how best to fulfill our responsibilities and opportunities in this post-Cold War period.

Tonight, Dr. Kissinger looks into the 21st century, a century which will inherit and reflect the dramatic, unanticipated changes which we have been experiencing and which are symbolized by the fall of the Berlin Wall, the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact and the dissolution of the Soviet Union. But, fully to understand those political changes requires us to appreciate the even more overwhelming and unbelievable changes of our lifetime in science, space, medicine, computers, and communication,-- profound changes at least as far reaching (and perhaps more so) as the changes produced by the printing press, the compounding of iron into steel, the steam engine, the harnessing of electricity.

Henry Adams wrote in 1909 that "the world did not double or treble its movement between 1800 and 1900, but measured by any standard known . . . the tension and vibration and volume and so-called progression of society were fully a thousand times greater in 1900 than in 1800." Using that measure, the pace of change between 1900 and today is totally beyond calculation.

In the world of science and technology, the word "impossible" is losing its meaning in our lexicon. Can there be any doubt that these changes in our lives and in our society are destined to have an impact not only on the economy of our world, but on our politics and on our diplomacy? We know, for example, that the nations of the world have become ever more interdependent. We know that keeping up with scientific and technological opportunities requires openness to information, new ideas; and that a closed society cannot compete in a world experiencing an information explosion that respects no national boundaries. We know that even though those national boundaries can keep out vaccines, they cannot keep out germs, or ideas, or broadcasts. We know that the sound of a whisper or whimper in one part of the world can immediately be heard and seen in all parts of the world.

Dr. Kissinger's recent book Diplomacy is the definitive work on that intricately fascinating subject. His first and last chapters deal with "the new world order." When he brings out a new edition of his work after we have entered the 21st century, we will learn from him whether our nation has been able to provide the leadership necessary to salvage the ideals of the United Nations, the CSCE and NATO from their limitations and appalling failures of today. That is not yet clear.

In the meantime, in that search for further understanding, the United States Institute of Peace, on this its 10th Anniversary, is proud to present to this audience one of our nation's most outstanding citizens and public servants of the 20th century, Dr. Henry Kissinger.