



Max M. Kampelman Papers

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REMARKS BY
MAX M. KAMPELMAN
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
"THE CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP IN THE NEW WORLD ORDER"

Madison, Wisconsin

March 30, 1995

I am immensely pleased to be on your campus again. Many years ago I taught summer school courses here at the School for Workers. I was then teaching political science at the University of Minnesota. This campus and State were exciting places in which to live, to enjoy, to debate, to dream. Minnesota was similarly blessed. These were the stimuli that led me to learn, to teach, to politic, to public service, to public life.

When I left private life for government service fifteen years ago, it was to head up our nation's delegation to a conference dealing with European security and cooperation. I engaged in a three-year session with the Soviet Union on the relationship and importance of human rights as a condition for cooperation and stability. This led to a new assignment ten years ago to explore and negotiate agreements on nuclear arms reductions with the Soviet Union. The success of these two negotiations contributed to the end of the Cold War. We were on the threshold of dramatic new opportunities. I returned to private life.

Five years ago, as the Cold War was ending, I was called back to work with Europe on how we could take advantage of these new opportunities. The

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

Less than two years later, I was called back to the government again. The mood was decidedly different. The euphoria was gone. Europe felt depressingly impotent, obsessed with challenges it could not face. Savagery had reappeared with ethnic strife and xenophobia dividing people, villages, neighborhoods. There was growing anti-Semitism, even where there were few or no Jews. The human race was once again demonstrating its capacity for cruelty, with hundreds of thousands of refugees displaced from their homes; and the words "concentration camp" were re-introduced into our consciousness and consciences. The ironic reappearance of Sarajevo as a symbol of war brought back awful reminders of yesterday. And all of this was then accompanied by a seeming inability to stop the violence and brutality. The mood and reality is no better today.

The question may well be asked: Instead of entering an age of democracy, a new world based on human dignity, have we not entered an age of disorder similar to the hatreds and divisions of yesterday? Is it in our power to influence the answer to that question?

Francis Fukiyama, using Hegel's historical analysis, optimistically called the post-Cold War period "The End of History," meaning that the direction in which we were heading was making it clear that democracy and liberty were our destiny, given their obvious superiority as systems of governance. Harvard University's Sam Huntington, on the other hand, sees an inevitable clash of civilizations on a worldwide scale. I would like this afternoon to place these profound issues in a broader context.

During my early childhood, one lifetime, there were no vitamin tablets; no anti-biotics; no television; no dial telephones; no refrigerators; no FM radio; no synthetic fibers; no dishwashers; no electric blankets; no airmail; no transatlantic airlines; no instant coffee; no Xerox; no air-conditioning; no frozen foods; no contact lenses; no birth control pill; no ball-point pens, no transistors. The list can go on.

In my lifetime, medical knowledge available to physicians has increased perhaps more than ten-fold. More than 80% of all scientists who ever lived, it is said, are alive today. The average life span keeps steadily increasing. Advanced computers; new materials, new bio-technological processes are altering every phase of our lives, deaths, even reproduction. We are living in a period of information power, with the telefax, electronic mail, the super computer, high definition television, the laser printer, the cellular telephone, the optical disk, imaging, video-conferences, Internet, the satellite dish. Combining these instruments produces near miracles. No generation since the beginning of the human race has experienced and absorbed so much change so rapidly -- and it is only the beginning. As an indication of that, more than 100,000 scientific

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

These developments are stretching our minds and our grasp of reality to the outermost dimensions of our capacity to understand them. Moreover, as we look ahead, we must agree that we have only the minutes glimpse of what our universe really is. We barely understand the human brain and its energy; and the endless horizons of space and the mysteries found in the great depths of our seas are still virtually unknown to us. Our science is indeed a drop, our ignorance remains an ocean.

It has been said that necessity is the mother of invention. I suggest the corollary is also true: Invention is the mother of necessity. Technology and communication are necessitating basic changes in our lives. Information has become more accessible in all parts of our globe, putting authoritarian 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 the dramatic scientific and technological achievements we see around us. Just as the individual human body makes a natural effort to keep the growth of its components balanced, and we consider the body disfigured if one arm or leg grows significantly larger than the other, so is the world body politic disfigured if its knowledge component opens up broad new vistas for development while its political and social components remain in the Dark Ages. Yet, we would be blind to ignore the

hopeful reality that in this decade of the 1990's, according to Freedom House, an organization I have the honor to serve as Chairman Emeritus, a larger part of the world's population is living in relative freedom than ever before in the history of the world. I suggest to you that what we have been observing and experiencing where there has been a growth of democratic influence is a necessary effort by a significant part of the body politic to catch up with the world of science and technology.

Whether that effort will be successful is not clear because what we have also been unexpectedly observing is a fierce resistance to that change. It is as if a part of us is saying: "Not so fast. Stop the world. We want to get off. We are not ready. We are not prepared for this new world we are being dragged into. We will resist the changes. We will insist on holding on, even with violence, to the familiar, the tribal, the traditional!" This phenomenon cannot in the short run be dismissed, as fundamentalism, nationalism, race, and ethnicity make themselves increasingly felt.

But we must not permit this resistance to overwhelm us. There are other stronger and more urgent sounds of impatient hope and expectation. The explosions we hear are frequently the sounds of escaping steam as the lids of repression are removed from boiling kettles. Fingers and faces that are too close get scalded. We must harness the energy of that boiling steam into a samovar of refreshing tea. The promises and realities of modern technology for better living cannot be hidden and their availability cannot easily or long be denied. The communication age has opened up the world for all to see. The less fortunate are now aware that they can live in societies, including their own, which respect their dignity as human beings. From radio and television they

know such societies are only hours away. They want that dignity and better living for themselves and for their children -- and they don't wish to wait.

It is significant here to note that virtually every war now raging is taking place in "information-poor" environments where the states are as yet too undeveloped to have a large media presence or where the media is under strict state control.

Keeping up with scientific and technological opportunities requires openness to information, new ideas, and the freedom which enables ingenuity to germinate and flourish. A closed tightly controlled society cannot compete in a world experiencing an information explosion that knows no national boundaries. Peoples now trapped in the quagmire of ancient ethnic and national grievances and enmities may soon come to recognize that they are thereby dooming themselves, their children and their grandchildren to become orphans of history, lost in the caves of the past. There is room for ethnic, national, religious, racial and tribal pride. We have learned that national boundaries, national flags, and national languages remain vital to large numbers of people. 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.

National boundaries are buffeted today by scientific and technological change. The nations of the world have become ever more interdependent. Scientists have come to understand that the universe exists in a coordinated context. There is similarly a growing coordinated system now permeating international politics. We are clearly in a time when no society can isolate itself

or its people from new ideas and new information anymore than one can escape the winds whose currents affect us all. As the world draws closer together, it becomes more difficult to caricature and dehumanize "enemies." It also intensifies the sympathy we feel for observable human suffering no matter how distant. National boundaries can keep out vaccines, but those boundaries cannot keep out germs, or thoughts, or broadcasts.

This suggests, among many other implications, the need to reappraise our traditional definitions of sovereignty. The requirements of our evolving technology are increasingly turning national boundaries into patterns of lace through which flow ideas, money, people, crime, terrorism, nuclear missiles -- all of which know no national boundaries. One essential geo-political consequence of this new reality is that there can be no true security for any one country in isolation. We must learn to accept in each of our countries a concern for the peoples in other countries. Power politics has changed its character. There are new rules.

This phenomenon helps to explain why world leaders increasingly believe they are forced to consult and coordinate with one another, with their own publics, and with a global audience. The Gulf War, for example, required a major management effort by the Bush Administration, with other states and with the "information environment," an effort as extensive perhaps as the actual military effort itself.

The argument is heard in our society that we cannot be the policemen of the world. I respectfully suggest that no community -- and our nation is an

integral part of an evolving economic, technological, scientific and political world community -- can survive, let alone flourish, without a police force. We have an obligation to be part of such a force.

The argument is also heard that our effort to foster democracy in other geographic areas is a misguided and doomed effort to transfer the values of our culture to other cultures not hospitable to those values. Our Western values, it is said, particularly by defenders of Middle East and Asian authoritarian systems, are unique to our culture alone. I believe this to be an over-simplified cop-out.

We have human rights differences with China. During the last 250 years the West produced two sharply differing systems defining the relationship between government and the governed, namely the Enlightenment ideas of democracy and human rights, on the one hand, and Leninism, on the other hand. The Chinese made the wrong choice for themselves when they chose the Western-born Leninist alternative. It is their Leninism, and not their Confucianism, that is at the root of our differences and their misfortune. All dictators, whether in the East or West fear and resist the spread of freedom. Mainland China signed a variety of international human rights conventions and pledged to subscribe to them when it joined the United Nations. They must be held accountable.

It is true that the modern idea of democracy originated in the West, but it traces its roots to the Middle East and the Judaic concept of human brotherhood among the children of God. Christianity and Islam originated in the Middle East and those ideas spread to all parts of the globe. The ideas of the Enlightenment

need not be confined to Western Europe and North America. Westerners do not carry a democracy gene. We know that the ideology of the Enlightenment has established a bridgehead in all of the non-Western civilizations. Young people of today's Japan, for example, are in many ways culturally closer to their American and European contemporaries than they are to their grandparents. Japan has increasingly become part of the democratic West.

It is true that militant Islam today rejects the principles of the Enlightenment. It looks upon life in a Western society as a direct threat to the core values of its faith. Militant Islam, however, is not all of Islam. Turkey and Pakistan remain committed to the strengthening of democracy, and elections are becoming more of a factor in different parts of the Middle East. A few months ago, I had dinner with a Saudi Arabian friend, a Ph.D. in Political Science. He was indignant over what he believed to be a prevailing Western view that he, his people, his culture, his values were incompatible with the political principles of human dignity and liberty.

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

We have, regrettably, not yet shown the maturity to fulfill those responsibilities and provide the leadership that the world requires. Our indecisiveness in many areas produces the sound of an uncertain trumpet. This is

not a talk on current events, but with respect to the first challenge to that leadership, that presented by the aggression in the former Yugoslavia, we have permitted Serbia, the aggressor, to shift the international discussion to the question of how much of the illegally and cruelly seized territory it can keep in a peace treaty, thereby making it clear to other potential aggressors that military aggression can be profitable -- a formula for catastrophe. The slogan "never again," which was originally meant as a call never again to permit another Holocaust, has now been diluted into a slogan for the opening of museums while we watch genocidal slaughter on television and concentrate on our creature comforts and whether our taxes are too high. Is it because it is Moslems that are the victims, not "one of us," not quite deserving of our commitment, just as Jews were not quite deserving of commitment during the Nazi regime?

We can do better. We must do better. The world needs our leadership. We must understand and fulfill our responsibility to champion the cause of human dignity and freedom from aggression in the world. For this a new bipartisan consensus on the nature and dimensions of our post-Cold War foreign policy is urgently required. A serious dialogue is called for between Congress and the Presidency. This dialogue and consensus must be based on an appreciation of the dimensions of the changes that affect us and the world order that is seeking to emerge. The information revolution we are experiencing is here quite relevant.

Public policy is increasingly being shaped by public opinion, which is in turn decisively influenced by the rapidly growing information phenomenon. A healthy democracy requires a widely competitive information spectrum. This

includes an awareness on the part of public officials that they must participate in that spectrum in order to inject a criteria of national interest (and, hopefully, a moral compass) into the equation and thereby offset the prevailing tendency on the part of the media to over-simplify and, wittingly or unwittingly, to distort information on the altar of attracting attention. The media tends to process information the way we too often eat -- on the run. Fast food and instant analysis produce short-run gratification, but neither is quite as nourishing as when the product is prepared with care and properly consumed and digested. Competition within the information spectrum is indispensable if public opinion is to exercise its influence on public policy responsibly.

The United States can obviously not escape the new rules and the new realities. The dominant international theme is no longer "two camps." Multilateral and trans-national cooperation on a host of issues is required. Unilateralism is fast becoming impractical. The new world of foreign policy is not bipolar, or unipolar, or multipolar. We have evolved into an integrated global system and we must play a central leading role in it once we understand the dimensions, opportunities and limitations of that role.

Science and technology are today globalized and the results have been awesome in their benefits to the human race. Our economies are rapidly moving toward globalization and that, too, shows promise of dramatic improvement in the human condition. The world of politics lags behind and impedes our ability to absorb successfully the benefits of science, technology and economics. It is in our interest as a nation that we harmonize our national interest with the globalization trends that surround us. This requires us to decisively lead in the

direction of a political relationship among the nations of the world committed to peace and human dignity.

Our task is to achieve the firm sense of purpose, readiness, steadiness, and strength that is indispensable for our effective and timely foreign policy decision-making. Our political community must resist the temptation of partisan politics and institutional rivalry as we develop the consensus adequate to meet the challenge. Our country is today the oldest continuing democracy in the world. Our political values and our character traits have helped us build the most dynamic and open society in recorded history, a source of inspiration to most of the world. We must come to appreciate what the American dream means to the world and the burden that puts on us to advance the cause of democracy and human dignity for those who do not today enjoy that blessing. When we do that, we help assure stability, security, and a better world for ourselves and our children.

Thank you.

MMK AND MBK SCHEDULE
MADISON, WI
March 29-31, 1995

Wednesday, March 29

12:00 noon Depart National Midwest #402
12:55 p.m. Arrive Milwaukee
1:30 p.m. Depart Milwaukee
2:05 p.m. Arrive Madison met by University staff

POC Katherine Maschievitz 608-262-9070

Accommodations at The Concourse Hotel
1 West Dayton Street
608-257-6000

3:00 p.m. Press interview w/*The Capital Times* (hotel lobby)
5:45 p.m. Meet in lobby for dinner
6:00 p.m. Dinner at L'Etoile

Thursday, March 30

9:30 a.m. Depart hotel for morning seminar
9:55 a.m.-
11:25 a.m. Seminar w/grad students
11:45 a.m. Faculty and student lunch at University Club
1:00 p.m. -
3:00 p.m. Free
3:00 p.m. Wisconsin Public Radio
4:30 p.m. Lecture
5:55 p.m. Depart Madison Midwest #1158
6:25 p.m. Arrive Milwaukee
6:50 p.m. Depart Milwaukee Midwest #417
9:30 p.m. Arrive National

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1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
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(202) 639-7020

UNIVERSITY OF
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1995

MADISON

DAVID TRUBERT, DEAN
KATHY MESCHIEVITZ

8/20

608-262-9070

F 608-262-6988

Spring of '95

\$1,500 Honorarium
+ expenses

wait for letter

e biographical data sketch. We are absolutely
n to be our human rights and democracy speaker
isconsin-Madison. Your distinguished career and
e activities are exemplary and epitomize the
hope to bring to Madison each year to speak to
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he coming academic year to plan the spring 1995
evitz of my office will work with your staff to
ing location of whatever business or first class travel
appropriate.

and positive response to our invitation.

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Special
people
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COMMENTS:

ad

xc: Richard Bilder
Catherine Meschievitz

Office of International Studies and Programs

1995

MAX M. KAMPELMAN
SUITE 800
1001 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20004-2505

March 5, 1994

Professor David M. Trubek
Voss-Bascom Professor of Law and
Dean of International Studies
University of Wisconsin
1411 Van Hise Hall
1220 Linden Drive
Madison, WI 53706

Caroline Meschery

Dear Professor Trubek:

Thank you very much for your most helpful letter of February 28. I would be honored and pleased to serve as your lecturer in the spring of 1995. The background you provided was most interesting and I commend you for the program.

We can work out the details and the schedule as soon as you are in a position to do so. I informed Professor Bilder, incidentally, that at this stage of my life, I travel either business or first class, rather than economy. I don't believe that either of us would look upon this requirement as presenting a serious problem.

My warmest best wishes to you.

Sincerely,



Max M. Kampelman

P.S. You will find enclosed a rather detailed biographical sketch.



February 28, 1994

Mr. Max Kampelman, Esq.
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson
Suite 800, 1001 Pennsylvania Avenue N.W.
Washington D.C. 20004-2505

Washington D.C.

Dear Mr. Kampelman:

It is my pleasure to invite you to give a public university lecture at the University of Wisconsin-Madison as the 1995 distinguished lecturer in our new International Studies Annual Lecture Series on Human Rights and Democracy. At my request Professor Richard Bilder of the UW Law School spoke with you recently concerning our interest in having you be our second annual lecturer in the Spring of 1995. He indicated that you were interested in learning more about the series and possibly coming to Madison.

Under my direction, the Office of International Studies is establishing a new lecture series in order to promote greater understanding of human rights issues on a global scale and explore the intersections of human rights and democracy around the world. The audience for the lecture will be a broad, interdisciplinary campus group of faculty, students and staff, as well as informed community and state citizens. Our initial lecture in the series will occur April 14, 1994. My Office will support the lecture series with gift and endowment funds available for the enhancement of international studies at the Madison campus. Each year we will work collaboratively with faculty from campus international studies programs and the Law School to select speakers for the series. Your name emerged from just such a process this year, led by Professor Bilder on behalf of our office.

We would like you to be the second speaker in the series and invite you to speak on whatever aspect of your work in human rights you feel would be of interest to the Madison campus community. Certainly your experiences and insights associated with the Council for Cooperation and Security in Europe would be of interest to many of us. Should you accept our invitation, both Richard and I would be happy to discuss aspects of what your talk might focus on. We plan to sponsor the annual human rights lecture in the Spring of every year, and while dates can be flexible we would suggest targeting mid to late April 1995 for your talk.

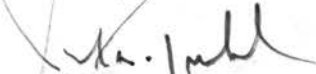
As our 1995 human rights and democracy speaker, my office would be able to provide you with round trip economy air fare, hotel accommodations, meals and miscellaneous expenses while in Madison and an honorarium of \$1,500.00. The lecture would be widely publicized and a campus reception would be held following the talk to allow you to meet with campus administrative and faculty leaders and others interested in human rights issues.

Office of International Studies and Programs

I sincerely hope that you will be able to accept our invitation. We hope to be able to announce our 1995 speaker in conjunction with the upcoming initial lecture in the series, and thus would appreciate a reply in the near future. If you have any questions about the lecture series or this invitation please do not hesitate to contact me or Assistant Dean Catherine Meschievitz of my office. Either of us can be reached at 608-262-9833.

We look forward to hearing from you and hope that you will be able to join next year in Madison.

Sincerely,



David M. Trubek
Voss-Bascom Professor of Law and
Dean of International Studies

xc: Richard Bilder
Catherine Meschievitz

DRAFT
03/28/95
12:58 PM

Addendum for possible use with University of WI speech.

[Our task, furthermore, is to help influence the constructive energies of the emerging democratic societies so that they are channeled into the full peaceful realization of their aspirations. It is in our interest to fulfill that task with determination. If we fail to fulfill our historic responsibility -- and we may be inadequate to the task today -- 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.]

*** * ***

[We who believe that democracy works best for us must increasingly come to understand that it will work best for us only to the extent that it works well for others. We are, therefore, called upon to carry the flag of democracy, the rule of law, and human rights.]

*** * ***

[Our ambivalent uncertainties, furthermore, have encouraged anti-democratic and anti-reform communists and fascists in the former Soviet Union. When reformers were in the position to influence events in Russia, we made promises of financial assistance that we did not deliver. It should not surprise us that this led to a repudiation of the reformers by a disgruntled, impoverished people. Today, Soviet-era managers are back in power, its society riddled by Mafia-type corruption and violence.]

We respond to threats from the Russian military by slowing the entry of Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic into NATO membership, thereby appearing to legitimize a special Russian interest in decisions affecting former Warsaw Pact countries. Our initial official statements on Chechnya led Yeltsin to believe he had a green light to proceed. We further encourage the Russian military by publicly proclaiming that it is appropriate for them to have a military presence in the other former Soviet states, now legally independent member states of the United Nations, so long as those states consent to that Russian military presence. The days of Stalin and Brezhnev come to mind when we were told that Soviet troops were in the Warsaw Pact states at their invitation.]

*** * ***

[During the Cold War, to take our nuclear strategy as an example of a new challenge we face, we based our policy on "MAD," mutual assured destruction. Security was to be achieved by leaving our respective civilian populations unprotected against nuclear missiles from the other side. Even the most reckless political leader, we assumed, would not attack if his population was vulnerable to catastrophic nuclear retaliation. But is this today any longer relevant or practical given the proliferation of nuclear weapons and missiles to carry them? Can we assure restraint and good judgment on the part of religious fanatics or desperate leaders tempted to engage in nuclear blackmail? Russia has proposed a joint global missile defense against nuclear attack from rogue states. We have not yet accepted that proposal.]

*** * ***

[Russia no longer poses a serious nuclear threat to us, but it still possesses many thousands of nuclear weapons. Furthermore, the command, control and safe custodianship of those weapons remains in doubt for the immediate future given Russian instability and the temptation to sell to the highest bidder. It takes, we are unofficially told, about 33 pounds of nuclear-grade uranium plus 11 pounds of plutonium to produce a nuclear weapon; and the Soviet Union produced and still possesses hundreds of tons of those materials. Yet, we and our allies and friends still have no defenses against missiles that can carry nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, because opponents of a defense have found it effective to use a slogan, "star wars," as a substitute for realistic analysis and debate.]

From the Desk of MAX M. KAMPELMAN

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1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
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(202) 639-7020

MADISON

DAVID TROBEC, DEAN

KATHY MESCHERITZ

822

608-262-9070

F 608-262-6998

Spring of '95

\$1,500/honaria
+ expenses

wait for letter

01/04/95

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Muskie

Edmund S. The Hon. & Mrs.

SPOUSE: Jane

HOME: ~~5409 Albia Road~~

~~Bethesda MD 20816~~

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Phone:

Fax:

COMMENTS:

OFFICE: Chadbourne & Park

Title:

1101 Vermont Avenue, NW

Washington DC 20005

Phone: 289-3041 or

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2nd Office:

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Small group
& public lecture

UNIVERSITY OF
WISCONSIN
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1995

March 21, 1994

Ambassador Max M. Kampelman
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson
Suite 800
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue N.W.
Washington D.C. 20004-2505

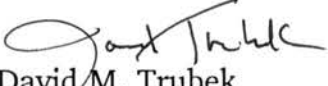
Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

Thank you for your recent letter and the biographical data sketch. We are absolutely delighted you have accepted our invitation to be our human rights and democracy speaker for the spring 1995 at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Your distinguished career and national and international public service activities are exemplary and epitomize the character and stature of those whom we hope to bring to Madison each year to speak to the university community. Your participation next year will insure a successful start to the annual venture.

We look forward to working with you in the coming academic year to plan the spring 1995 event. Assistant Dean Catherine Meschievitz of my office will work with your staff to arrange details and scheduling, including location of whatever business or first class travel arrangements you may find most appropriate.

Again, thank you for your rapid and positive response to our invitation.

Warmest best wishes,


David M. Trubek
Dean of International Studies and
Voss-Bascom Professor of Law

xc: Richard Bilder
Catherine Meschievitz

Office of International Studies and Programs