Max M. Kampelman Papers

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Version 3
August 20, 2018

Tuesday, November 14, 1995

8:00 PM	**WELCOME:**	The Reverend James A. Trimble, D.D. *Rector, Christ Church* Roger G. Hall, *Conference Chairman*
8:15 PM	**PRESENTER:**	Max M. Kampelman *U.S. Ambassador and Head of the United States Delegation of the Conferences on Security and Cooperation in Copenhagen, Madrid, Geneva and Moscow.*
8:45 PM	**RESPONDERS:**	The Right Reverend Lord Robert Runcie *Former Archbishop of Canterbury*
9:00 PM		Dr. William J. Taylor, Jr. *Senior Vice President for International Security Affairs at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, D.C.*
9:15 PM		Dr. Claire P. Palley *Legal Consultant to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Cyprus. Member of United Nations Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.*
9:30 PM		Question and Answer Session with audience and speakers.
10:00 PM		Conference Ends.
	MODERATOR:	Robert Seigel, *Host* *NPR's "All Things Considered"*

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Christ Church in Philadelphia

Christ Church was established on 15 November, 1695, and for 66 years was the only Church of England parish in the city of Philadelphia. The present building was started in 1727 and completed in 1744. The tower and steeple, financed in part by lotteries managed by Benjamin Franklin, were completed in 1754. The building is an outstanding example of colonial architecture in the Georgian spirit.

Many of the "treasures" of Christ Church are still a part of the on-going life of the parish. The communion vessels given by Queen Anne, and on loan to the Philadelphia Museum of Art, are still used every Christmas and Easter. The baptismal font in the back of the church was sent to Philadelphia in 1697 from All Hallow's Church Barking-by-the-Tower, London. It is the font in which William Penn was baptized. The Holy Communion is celebrated each Sunday on a table given by noted Philadelphia craftsman Jonathan Gostelowe in 1788.

Buried in the chancel of Christ Church is the Right Reverend William White, ninth Rector of the parish, Chaplain of the Continental Congress, and first Bishop of Pennsylvania. Following the American Revolution, Bishop White was instrumental in reorganizing and revitalizing the shattered Church of England into the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. The Constitutional Convention of the Episcopal Church was held in this building in 1789.

Old Christ Church Preservation Trust

presents

THE SOUL OF AMERICA IN A WORLD OF VIOLENCE: A RELIGIOUS RESPONSE

A Three-Day Conference in November 1995

NOVEMBER 14: VIOLENCE IN THE WORLD

NOVEMBER 15: VIOLENCE IN THE NATION

NOVEMBER 16: VIOLENCE IN THE CITIES

at

Christ Church
Second Street Above Market
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

at
8:00 PM

on the Occasion of the
300th Anniversary of Christ Church

CHRIST CHURCH IN PHILADELPHIA

REMARKS BY

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

Philadelphia, PA **November 14, 1995**

I am conscious of the privilege and honor that is mine this evening as I participate in the opening session celebrating the 300th anniversary of a national heritage, the illustrious and distinguished Christ Church here in Philadelphia. When Dr. Trimble and his associates invited me to this historic event some months ago, I accepted without hesitation out of a life-long conviction that religion has the potential of providing the cement to bind us all together as Children of God. I say this in the full realization that too often religion has served to divide us from one another and that throughout history, including this very day, great injustices have been committed in the name of religion by those who were persuaded that theirs was the real truth and that it was their duty to God to conquer and defeat those with other truths.

The First Amendment to our Constitution, prohibiting Congress from making any law "respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof", was the earliest and most successful attempt, within the spirit of religion, to guard against those who might improperly use government power to corrupt it. Alexis de Tocqueville quickly grasped the significance of the separation of church and state, noting:

> "Upon my arrival in the United States, the religious aspect of the country was the first thing that struck my attention; and the longer

I stayed there the more did I perceive the great political consequences resulting from the state of things, to which I was unaccustomed. In France I had almost always seen the spirit of religion and the spirit of freedom pursuing courses diametrically opposed to each other; but in America I found that they were intimately united, and that they reigned in common over the same country . . . I found that they differed upon matters of detail alone; and that they mainly attributed the peaceful dominion of religion in their country to the separation of church and state."

G.K. Chesterton, with that same appreciation, called America "A country with the soul of a church".

It is appropriate here to note an alleged experience of Bishop Fulton J. Sheehan who was scheduled to speak in Philadelphia at City Hall and decided to walk there from his hotel. He lost his way and was forced to ask some boys to direct him. One of them asked "What are you going to do there?" "I am going to give a lecture," replied the Bishop. "About what?" the boy asked. "About how to get to heaven. Would you care to come along?" "Are you kidding" said the boy, "you don't even know how to get to City Hall."

One subject this evening is "violence in the world" and our country's role and responsibility as a part of the world. As I look at our world, I see challenge and opportunity and I would like to share my perspective with you.

The ancient Hebrew tribes 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 ancient Hebrews might not even be remembered today, except as a learned footnote in history, and certainly their offspring would have been lost in the vast chasm of history, had this new and astute insight not permeated our civilization.

There are deep historic, cultural and religious ties between the Jewish ethic and American values. From the early days of our beginnings as a nation when the Puritans used the Hebrew language as the language of their prayers, the ties that have bound Judaism to American have been strong. As early as September, 1653, twenty-three Jewish refugees from Brazil landed at the Harbor of New Amsterdam determined to settle. It is interesting to note that they were not welcome by Peter Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor, who protested to the Dutch West Indies Company: "Giving them liberty, we cannot refuse the Lutherans and Papists". Following the decision to permit the Jews to settle, the governor then refused their request to bar arms and join the militia guarding the colony. The Jews insisted. They prevailed.

To this day, the holiest and most repeated of Jewish prayers is called the Sh'ma Yisroel," translated as "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is one!" The Talmud asks: "Why did God create only one man?" In order that all men would have the same ancestor, and no man could claim superiority over another, was the response. A rabbinic story refers to the Haggadah tale of the Egyptian armies drowning in the Sea of Reeds. The angels in heaven began to sing the praises of the Lord. And the Lord rebuked them by saying, "My children are drowning and you would rejoice?"

Here, in this doctrine of human brotherhood, we have the essence of our religious creed, the spiritual basis of our evolving civilization. Here are the moral roots of political democracy, human rights, human dignity, the American dream. The notion that human beings are the children of God and that they thus have the potential for developing that which is God-like within them is clearly anathema to any political system which does not respect the dignity of the human being.

Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish social scientist, wrote many years ago that he was struck by the strength and depth of American values with their roots in religious ethics. They reflected themselves, he said, in the power of the "ought" as a guiding light for our actions. The "is" of our lives as individuals or as a nation, may not always be consistent with the "ought", but the "ought" is the moving force in bringing us steadily closer to the values and ideals we proclaim. Achieving the "ought," however, requires effort and dedication.

The Book of Genesis states that Man was created in the divine image. This concept of Man's divine nature easily led to the philosophic and political emphasis during the Age of Reason that we were primarily rational and noble beings. The problem, however, was that the perception of Man as rational and God-like could not explain Man's continued capacity for cruelty against Man and Nature. Obviously, an image is by definition not quite the same as the original.

The philosophic notion of the coexistence of good and evil is found in many ancient civilizations, and remains even stronger as experience has seared our reality. 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 that there is also in each one of us an ingredient which is destructive and "evil". The Protestant theologian Reinhold Niebuhr called it "Children of Light and Children of Darkness". The Catholics refer to "original sin". Freud and others based their understanding of Man on this insight. And, this dichotomy in Man means the good and the evil is also intrinsic to the societies created by Man.

How else can we explain totalitarianism except as an expression of that destructive drive? How else can we understand the Holocaust, or the cruelty of the Stalinist system? If there is one thing that history has taught us, it is that we ignore the dark side of Man only at our peril. We have the capacity to reach for the stars, but we do so with our feet deep in the dirt of the earth.

For me this means that the history of civilization becomes the effort to strengthen the light within us, our children, our families, the societies we create. This is the real meaning of the evolutionary challenge. One might say it is the evolution of the species Homo sapiens to that of the species Human Being.

Much is said of the change that has characterized our moment in history. The changes are so fast, so dramatic, so basic that we can barely see their details let alone their scope and consequences. The changes are beyond calculation, probably greater in our one lifetime than have taken place in all of mankind's previous history, with newer, greater developments on the horizon that will probably make the awesome developments of our time dwarf by comparison. What we have seen and experienced is only the beginning. As an indication of the change yet to be seen, more than 100,000 scientific journals annually publish the flood of new knowledge that comes out of the world's laboratories.

There is much more ahead. 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.

This month I noted my 75th birthday, an enriching time of my life. During my early childhood, strange as it may appear to the younger among you, 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 birth control pills, no ball-point pens, no transistors. The list can go on — all in one lifetime.

In my lifetime, medical knowledge available to physicians has increased perhaps more than ten-fold. The average life span, certainly in the West, keeps steadily increasing. Advanced computers, new materials, new biotechnological processes are altering every phase of our lives, our deaths, even our reproduction.

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 our dramatic scientific and technological achievements. Just as the individual human body makes a natural effort to keep the growth of its components balanced, and we consider the body disfigured if one arm or leg grows significantly larger than the other, so is the world body politic disfigured if its knowledge component opens up broad new vistas for development while its political and social components remain in the Dark Ages.

It is perhaps a supreme irony of our age that we have learned to fly through space like birds and move in deep waters like fish. But, we have yet to learn how to live and love on this small planet as brothers and sisters. In every age, this has been the challenge, but it is today more urgent than ever as we realize that our continued existence as a species depends on a fragile thread.

In my role as Chairman Emeritus of Freedom House, I have learned that in this decade of the 1990s, 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 in the growth of democratic influence is a necessary effort by the body politic to catch up with the world of science and technology. What is becoming clear is that the wealth and power of nations is coming to depend more on intellectual resources than on natural resources.

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. It is threatening our beliefs. We will resist the changes. We will hold on tight and with a determined frenzy to the familiar, the tribal, the traditional!"

Following my retirement from government service in January, 1989, I was called back to government service on a number of occasions to deal with the need and mechanism for a new united and free Europe to evolve. At first, I found the prevailing mood of Europe to be 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 were indispensable prerequisites to assure European security and cooperation. There was no doubt. We were entering a "new world order."

By 1992, the mood was decidedly different. Europe felt depressingly impotent, obsessed with challenges it could not face. It was not just that Saddam Hussein remained in power. It was also the savagery in too many areas of the world, with ethnic strife and xenophobia dividing people, villages, neighborhoods. It was the human race once again demonstrating its capacity for extreme cruelty, with hundreds of thousands of refugees slaughtered and displaced from their homes in a process of "ethnic cleansing", with the words "concentration camp" reappearing in our consciousness and consciences. All of this was accompanied by a leaderless inability to stop the violence and brutality. We were reminded us of Shakespeare's MacDuff: "And heaven looked on and would not take their part."

The question may well be asked: Are we entering an age of democracy, a new world based on the religious values of human dignity, or an age of disorder which repeats the hatreds and divisions and savageries of yesterday? In helping us to understand the dimensions of this urgent dilemma, we must appreciate that in addition to the fear felt by many who see an unknown future they do not understand, there are also forces and people now enjoying power and its fruits who see change as a real threat to that power and its privileges. Equally important, we must appreciate that 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 water into a samovar of refreshing tea. We should also appreciate that there are stronger and more urgent sounds of impatient hope and expectation not to be neglected.

The promises and realities of modern technology for better living cannot be hidden and their availability cannot long be denied. Fundamentalism, nationalism, race and ethnicity are today making themselves increasingly felt, but they face severe competition. 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 that such societies, which provide advantages of better health, improved sanitation, adequate food and water, economic opportunity, leisure for self-enrichment, are only hours away. They want that dignity and better living for themselves and for their children — and they don't wish to wait.

The less fortunate are increasingly becoming aware of a most amazing demographic fact, the dramatic decrease in the world's death rate. It took thousands of years to increase life expectancy at birth above the 20-year level. In the past two centuries, the length of life one could expect for a newborn in the advanced countries jumped from under 30 years to more than 70 years and it is going up. This has been accompanied by a gain in life expectancy. For example, among American males aged 65 to 74, death fell 26 percent from 1970 to 1988; and among females of that age, the decrease in the death rate was even greater. The life span in poor countries, as a result of advances in agriculture, sanitation and medicine, has also increased by 15 to 20 years.

People have since antiquity worried about running out of natural resources- flint, game, animals, oil. Yet, amazingly, all the historical evidence shows that raw materials have become less scarce rather than more. Food is an especially important resource. The evidence is particularly strong that improvements are significant despite rising population. And per person food consumption is up over the last 30 years. The increase of height in the West is another mark of improved nutrition. Ten thousand years ago, only 4 million people could keep themselves alive. In the 19th century, the Earth could sustain only 1 billion people. Now, more than 5 billion people are living longer and most are more healthy than ever before. A case can be made that this increase in the world's population represents humanity's victory against death.

The less fortunate, aware of the existing disparity, want to catch up with what is realistically at hand. The need is great and the challenge is formidable. Abba Eban recently reminded us that of 5.3 billion inhabitants of the earth, half may still be suffering from inadequate nutrition. Life expectancy, which exceeds

70 years in developed countries, is still as low as 30 to 40 in parts of Asia and Africa. (Interestingly, while life expectancy is clearly rising in China, it is going down in Russia.) Hundreds of millions of people are afflicted by water-carried diseases for which preventative remedies and cures exist. Some 800 million adults in the world are believed to be illiterate. The disparity between affluent countries and the least affluent remains great.

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. Armed national boundaries can keep out vaccines, but they cannot keep out germs, or ideas, or broadcasts. 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 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, 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 interrelated world community.

As national boundaries are buffeted by change, the nations of the world become ever more interdependent. We are clearly in a time when no society can isolate itself or its people from new ideas and new information anymore than one can escape the winds whose currents affect us all. Canada cannot protect itself from acid rain without the cooperation of the U.S. The Government of Bangladesh cannot prevent its tragic floods without active cooperation from

Nepal and India. To cure a polluted Mediterranean requires the active cooperation of the twenty countries that border that mass of water.

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, missiles — all of which know no national boundaries. Science has no national identity. Technology has no homeland. Information requires no passport. One essential geopolitical consequence of this new reality is that there can be no true security for any one country in isolation. We must learn to accept in each of our countries a mutual responsibility for the peoples in other countries.

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

Let me at this point note the fact that the end of the Cold War, significant as it was in reducing world tension, has regrettably not ended the need for our country to maintain its military strength.

The Charter of the United Nations and the Helsinki Final Act make it clear that to achieve peace and stability we must all insist that there can be no profit from military aggression. We and Europe failed to meet the first challenge to

that principle when the Serbs in Europe moved militarily with brutality and hate against their former Yugoslav fellow citizens. Europe and we did not stop this drive toward ethnic cleansing and we have thereby undermined European stability. Our country is now belatedly attempting to correct our earlier lack of leadership and, if we can still succeed, it is probable that we will be asked to contribute our own troops to a NATO force designed to protect that peace. I believe that had we acted at the early stages of the conflict, we would have avoided that need for troops, but we did not.

But it is not just the Balkans that threaten a world free of violence. There are 24 nations with a ballistic missile capacity that can carry biological, chemical and nuclear weapons of mass destruction. These missiles can today reach our friends and allies. They will soon be able to reach us. Advanced conventional weapons are proliferating the world through international suppliers, including American. Chinese military expansion and modernization, particularly naval, is awesome and serious. North Korea is also developing and selling modern missiles at the same time as it maintains a powerfully threatening conventional military posture. We also know that Russia's political and economic insecurities have strengthened its nationalistic extremists and weakened the ability of its government to control and regulate its massive military arsenal at the same time as it continues to develop new and improved naval and air weapons. The potential for greater violence in the world in evident.

The argument is also heard that our effort to foster democracy in other geographic areas is a misguided and doomed effort to transfer the religious 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 Judaic Christian culture alone.

It is true that the modern idea of democracy originated in the West. But Judaism, Christianity and Islam originated in the Middle East and those ideas spread to all parts of the globe. The ideas of freedom need not be confined to Western Europe and North America. Westerners do not uniquely 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.

One Islamic scholar recently wrote, "In the new Muslim world order, Muslim political traditions and institutions . . . continue to evolve and are critical to the future of democracy in the Middle East." At a recent dinner conversation in our home, a young Saudi friend of ours, a Ph.D. in Political Science, expressed irritation at the arrogant thought that he, his family, friends and fellow citizens were unqualified to live in freedom and human dignity.

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 Americans, who today have the greatest power and influence, bear the greatest responsibilities. We are, therefore, obliged to carry the flag of democracy, the rule of law, and human rights. We must remember that the struggle for human dignity is a continuing one, if we are ever to achieve a world not dominated by violence. Are we wise enough to know how to assist the

historic developments now underway? Do we have the insight, discipline, unity, and will to fulfill our responsibilities?

Our country was the preeminent military and moral power in the world. The United States is still the undisputed military leader. But, morally, we have been in a deep slide. America now finds itself at or near the top of the industrialized world in rates of murder, rape, drug use, divorce, abortion, child abuse and births to unwed mothers. Our elementary and secondary education system often places us at the bottom of the industrialized world. Much of our popular culture is vulgar, violent, mindless and perverse. Al of these things together have shattered our traditional confidence about ourselves, our mission, and our place in the world.

We can do better. We must do better. We all pray that we will do better — and I use the word "pray" advisedly because I believe religion must increasingly assert itself in emphasizing that all the Children of God must enjoy the dignity of that role and have a responsibility to one another to help achieve that dignity.

The United States is today the largest and oldest continuing democracy in the world. It is the political expression of our religious faith. Our task is to achieve the firm sense of purpose, readiness, steadfastness, and strength that is indispensable for our nation's 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 political and religious 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 that 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.

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