

Max M. Kampelman Papers

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REMARKS BY

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New York, NY

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I appreciate the opportunity provided me by Jerry Smith to consider how the opportunity I have had for an intense and enriching diplomatic experience affects my current perceptions as we prepare to enter the 21st century. Two words come to mind: "change" and "law." Understanding both are crucial if we are to realize our hope that the new century will bring with it a new world order, one based on human dignity and civilized international behavior.

As I think of change, I recall that during my early childhood, 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 food, no contact lenses, no birth control pills, no air-conditioning, no frozen food, 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 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, which require a monopoly of information, 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.

The changes that have characterized our moment in history have been 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 this 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. And 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 today indeed only a drop, our ignorance remains an ocean.

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.

Following my retirement from government service in January, 1989, 1 was called back to government service on five occasions to deal with the need and the 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."

Within a year or two, the mood was decidedly different. Europe felt and feels 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." We have been continuously reminded 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 their power and its privileges. This combination has produced a fierce resistance to the rapid change we are experiencing. It is as if a part of us is saying: "Not so fast. Stop the world. We want to get off. 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!" This resistance is real and must be taken into account.

It is, however, also relevant to note that 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 and even new forms of fascism 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 will want that dignity and better living for themselves and for their children - and they do not wish to wait.

The argument is 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. 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.

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. Protected 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. We know that people cherish their flag, their language, even their currency. But, if the 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 treat a polluted Mediterranean requires the active cooperation of the twenty countries that border that mass of water. To understand the New York Stock Exchange, we must follow the Tokyo and London stock exchanges.

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 face

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 even learn to accept in each of our countries a mutual responsibility for the peoples in other countries.

This brings us to the issue of law. In this decade following the Cold War, a larger part of the world's population is living in relative freedom than ever before in world history. I suggest that what we have been observing in the growth of democratic influence is a necessary effort by the body politic to catch up with the globalization tendencies in the worlds of science, technology and commerce.

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. Modern liberalism evolved out of that faith. 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.

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 Koran warns against the influence of Satan. 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. We need standards by which to judge. We then must judge. We need law and the will to enforce it.

For me this means that the history of civilization and the real meaning of the evolutionary challenge is the realization that it is not "liberalism" or "conservatism" with their ideological rigidities that define the political goal of human dignity. It is rather the political culture of law and democracy that we must strive to strengthen and maintain. Reinhold Nieburh wrote: "Man's capacity for justice makes democracy possible, but Man's inclination toward injustice makes it necessary." 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. Those of us who today have the greater power and influence, bear the greater responsibilities.

The rule of law, the establishment of agreed upon standards designed to regulate and channel behavior into responsible, humane and civilized channels, must be extended beyond the nation-state, primary as that instrument of

government may be. The Charter of the United Nations and the Helsinki Final Act are the most recent examples of our effort to introduce the rule of law into international standards of behavior. The premise in both of these documents is that there can be no profit from military aggression. Without a proper and serious enforcement of that principle, our international system will remain a disorderly, violent and insecure one. We have yet to learn that.

We and Europe failed to meet the first post-cold war challenge to that principle when the Serbs in the former Yugoslavia moved militarily with brutality and hate against their former Yugoslavia fellow citizens. We did not stop the violence and criminal behavior, a failure we are only now belatedly, and perhaps too late, attempting to correct. There are other dangers and there will be other challenges.

There are today 24 nations striving to attain ballistic missile capacity that can carry biological, chemical and nuclear weapons of mass destruction. Iraq has admitted to the United Nations that it has produced large quantities of biological poison weapons as well as 25 missile warheads and 166 bombs filled with those lethal agents. These missiles can today reach parts of Europe, Africa and Asia from the rogue states of North Korea, Iran, Iraq, Libya. They will soon be able to reach the United States. And none of us today has the capacity to defend ourselves against those missiles other than to threaten retaliation!

Advanced conventional weapons are proliferating the world through international suppliers. Chinese military expansion and modernization, which include a significant nuclear component, is of great concern to its neighbors. 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 and nuclear arsenal at the same time as it continues to develop new and improved naval and air weapons.

There is a race under way between those who strive to establish and extend the rule of law in the international community and those who are defying that process while they can and seeking to profit from their illicit preparations. We can win that race if we recognize there is a race and that we must win it. Our strength is in our goal, its reasonableness, its justice, and its compatibility with human values and aspirations everywhere.

Thank you.

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