



Max M. Kampelman Papers

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New York University
The Albert Gallatin Lecture

AN ADDRESS BY

The Honorable
Max M. Kampelman

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1996
6:00 P.M.

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THE ALBERT GALLATIN LECTURE

A statesman, scholar, and humanitarian, Albert Gallatin was one of the most prominent founders of New York University. A former Secretary of the Treasury under Presidents Jefferson and Madison, and a minister to France and to England under Presidents Madison and Adams, Gallatin joined a group of leading private citizens to found New York University in 1831.

Gallatin declared that he wished to devote the remainder of his life "to the establishment, in this immense and fast-growing city, of a system of rational and practical education fitted for all and graciously opened to all." He believed that unless the standard of education was uplifted it would be "impossible to preserve our democratic institutions." He was elected first president of the governing council and became instrumental in securing support for the University.

Since that time, New York University has held fast to the philosophy of its founders. Inspired by the tradition begun by Albert Gallatin, a dedicated group of alumni founded The Albert Gallatin Associates in 1956. In acknowledgment of their leadership and commitment, the University honors as members of The Albert Gallatin Associates individuals who make annual gifts to the University or to one of its schools, colleges, or divisions.

The Albert Gallatin Lecture has been established to provide an opportunity for Gallatin Associates and others to participate in the life of the University. The lecture features an internationally recognized figure who has made significant intellectual, cultural, political, or scientific contributions to the global community.

PROGRAM

PRESIDING

Bruce Berger

CHAIRMAN, ALBERT GALLATIN ASSOCIATES

GREETINGS

L. Jay Oliva

PRESIDENT, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

ADDRESS

*Entering the Twenty-First Century:
Democracy or More of the Same?*

The Honorable Max M. Kampelman

CLOSING

Bruce Berger

MAX M. KAMPELMAN
LAWYER, DIPLOMAT, EDUCATOR, WRITER



Max M. Kampelman, a lawyer, diplomat and educator, was counselor of the Department of State and ambassador and head of the United States Delegation to the Negotiations with the Soviet Union on Nuclear and Space Arms in Geneva, before returning in January, 1989, to rejoin the law firm of Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson, where he is now "Of Counsel." He serves as chairman of Georgetown University's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy and as vice chairman of the United States Institute of Peace by presidential appointment. He also serves as a member of the Executive Committee of the American Bar Association Special Committee on the Central and Eastern European Law Initiative, designed to provide assistance to the emerging democracies of Europe. His book, *Entering New Worlds: The Memoirs of a Private Man in Public Life*, was published in 1991 by HarperCollins.

On January 18, 1989, President Reagan awarded him the Presidential Citizens Medal, which recognizes "citizens of the United States who have performed exemplary deeds of service for

their country or their fellow citizens." He has also been the recipient of the Knight Commander's Cross of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany. He was appointed by President Carter and reappointed by President Reagan to serve as ambassador and head of the U.S. Delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which met in Madrid from 1980 to 1983. He subsequently served as ambassador and head of the U.S. Delegation to the CSCE Copenhagen Conference on the Human Dimension in June 1990, the CSCE Geneva Conference on the National Minorities in July 1991, and the CSCE Moscow Conference on the Human Dimension in September 1991. He previously was a senior advisor to the U.S. Delegation to the United Nations and served as legislative counsel to U.S. Senator Hubert Humphrey. From 1989 to 1993, he was chairman of the Board of Governors of the United Nations Association, and is now chairman emeritus of Freedom House, and honorary chairman of the Jerusalem Foundation.

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

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

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
ALBERT B. GALLATIN LECTURE
BY
MAX M. KAMPELMAN

New York, N.Y.

November 7, 1996

That immortal master of English rhetoric, Mr. Samuel Goldwyn, is reported to have begun his speech by explaining that he had a few words to say before he began to talk! So do I.

It is to express my appreciation to New York University for inviting me to be a part of this historic Gallatin lecture series. My first association with New York University began in February 1937, nearly 60 years ago, when I enrolled as a freshman at the University Heights Campus, then in the Bronx. My father had recently died, leaving my mother and me with few financial resources. We could not afford the tuition, but we lived within walking distance of the campus so I began to look for work on campus during the school year to supplement whatever I could earn off campus during the summer months. During those college years, I worked as a clerk in our bookstore, sold The New York Times to students and faculty, checked hats and coats at school dances, represented a merchant who rented tuxedos for the junior and senior proms, and helped a professor write a book about Samuel Johnson.

When the time came for me to attend law school, it was financially apparent that I would attend classes at night while I worked during the day, and New York University was there for me again. The deeply personally enriching process

continued, while I first worked in a sweater factory, then for a labor union which represented the workers in the factory, and finally through the recommendation of one of my professors, as a clerk for one of the city's major law firms. Life took many unanticipated and challenging turns thereafter, the details of which are unnecessary for this evening's purpose. But throughout that path, as I faced endless forks in the road, I recognized the importance of this University to my personal growth and development. It was that same Samuel Goldwyn, incidentally, who reportedly advised a high school graduating class that in life whenever they reached a fork in the road, they should "take it!" I always, of course, followed that advice.

Today, I am asked by the University to search my experience as a lawyer, teacher and diplomat and then share my perceptions with you as our nation and the world prepare to enter the 21st century. This is a timely assignment for me in a week in which I celebrate my 76th birthday.

Let me first put the task in perspective, my own, one lifetime. We are all of us accustomed to a whole series of conveniences which we understandably take for granted. Yet, during my early childhood, I recall that 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. The list can go on — all in one lifetime.

Also in my lifetime, medical knowledge available to physicians has increased perhaps more than ten-fold. The average life span steadily increases. 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.

The changes that have characterized my 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.

As an indication of the change yet to be seen, more than 100,000 scientific journals annually publish the flood of 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. In recent days we have learned of new unanticipated and previously unrecognized forms of organic life deep on our ocean floors which may account for perhaps one-half of all the biomass on Earth. Biology could be the revolutionary science of the next century. Our science is today indeed a drop, while 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 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, as the Cold War was coming to an end, I was called back to government service on a number of 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's governments, with no exception, unanimously agreed at a meeting in Copenhagen, where I headed the American delegation, 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 depressingly impotent, obsessed with challenges it could not face. It was not just that Saddam Hussein remained in power. It was also erupting savagery 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 or taken from their homes in a process of "ethnic cleansing." All of this was accompanied by a leaderless inability to stop the violence and brutality. We were 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 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 question, 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 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 undermining 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 fear and resistance is real and must be taken into account.

Equally important, however, we must understand that the explosions we hear are frequently the sounds of escaping steam as the lids of repression that characterized the Soviet system are removed from boiling kettles. Fingers and faces that are too close get scalded. How to harness the energy of that boiling water into a samovar of refreshing tea remains a great challenge and opportunity.

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.

This development is associated with 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 to 30-year life span level. In the past two centuries, the length of life one could expect for a newborn in the advanced countries jumped to more than 70 years and it is going up. For example, among Americans aged 65 to 74, the death rate fell more than 26 percent from 1970 to 1988. 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, all the historical evidence shows that raw materials have become less scarce rather than more. Food is an especially important resource. Despite rising population, per person food consumption is up over the last 30 years and food production is keeping pace with that rise. The increase of human height in the West is another mark of improved nutrition.

The less fortunate want to catch up with what is realistically at hand. The need is great and the challenge is formidable. We are told that of the 5.3 billion inhabitants of the earth, half may still be suffering from inadequate nutrition. 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. And the least affluent want to catch up.

Keeping up with scientific and technological opportunities requires openness to information, new ideas, and the freedom, economic and political, 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, 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.

That is why Freedom House, an organization I have the privilege of serving as Chairman Emeritus, reports 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 also becoming clear is that the wealth and power of nations is coming to depend more on intellectual resources than on natural resources.

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.

The world today depends on a truly international marketplace. In a single 24-hour day more than a trillion dollars is exchanged internationally through computer technology. More than half the goods made in our country have at least one foreign component. Our large companies, such as GM, Ford, IBM, Coca Cola make more money outside than inside the U.S.; just as Honda makes most of its money outside of Japan.

Professor Lee Huebner, former publisher of The International Herald Tribune, speaks of an upstate New York community whose city council had to choose, after a heated public debate, whether to buy an elevator from the Komatsu Company of Japan or the John Deere Company of the United States. The John Deere model was \$15,000 more expensive, but because of enormous political support for a "buy America" decision, the John Deere elevator was finally chosen. Then they found out that the John Deere elevator had actually been manufactured in Japan and that the Komatsu elevator was assembled right here in America.

Cultures are inter-mingling. Two out of every three new McDonald's restaurants are outside the U.S. International travel brings only a few examples of unique national dress and much more of the same jeans and sneakers and T-shirts worn by "the global teenager." Describing this global lifestyle, John Naisbitt's book,

Megatrends, presents a typical daily routine: drinking French Perrier, shopping for Scandinavian furniture, dressing in Italian fashions, eating Chinese for lunch, and then listening to British rock music while driving a Japanese automobile to dinner at Burger King. That picture can describe a perfectly normal weekend these days in Atlanta, Madrid, or Osaka.

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 respect 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 vigilance, its military strength, and its role as world leader.

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 in the Balkans and, if we can still succeed, it is clear we will need to continue to contribute our own troops to a NATO force designed to protect that peace.

But it is not just the Balkans that call for our military presence and leadership, preferably within an international context. There are 24 nations with a developing ballistic missile capacity that can carry biological, chemical and nuclear weapons of mass destruction. Iraq, in recent months, 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 our friends and allies. They will soon be able to reach us. Indeed, a senior Chinese official recently boasted to a diplomat friend of mine that China would soon have missiles capable of reaching Los Angeles. Chinese military expansion and modernization, particularly naval, is awesome and serious. North Korea is also developing and selling modern missiles to middle east "rogue" states at the same time as it maintains a powerfully threatening conventional military posture. We also know that Russia's political and economic insecurities have weakened the ability of its government to control and regulate its massive military and nuclear arsenal at the same time as it inexplicably continues to develop new and improved naval and air weapons.

We today have no operatively effective defenses against missile attacks, whether they be nuclear, chemical or biological. In a recent test, we disturbingly found that our technological dependency opened the Pentagon's worldwide operations to deep hostile penetration using readily available software. In another test, tens of thousands of requests for data flooded our web sites, paralyzing them as telephone lines and automatic switches could no longer carry their load. Trading on the New York Stock Exchange was frozen; automatic teller machines went haywire, crediting and debiting erroneous sums at random; air traffic and railroad computer control centers were knocked out of action. America was, in effect, shut down with impunity — and the terrorists could not be identified.

Obviously, to meet these and other vulnerabilities, we need internal strength and vigilance. We must also lead an international effort to thwart terrorism and fanaticism, which includes a program to strengthen the fabric of democracy where it does not exist.

But the argument is heard that our move 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 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.

With this reference to human dignity, let me now address what some may consider to be an aside, but which is fundamental to me.

A few months ago I was invited to speak at the 300th Anniversary of Christ Church in Philadelphia. This led me to think theologically and acknowledge that even though religion has the potential of providing the cement to bind us all together as Children of God, too often religion has served to divide us from one another, with great injustices being committed in the name of religion by those persuaded that theirs was the real truth and that it was their duty to God to conquer and defeat those with other truths.

An appropriate tone of humility on this subject was injected in the story told by Bishop Fulton J. Sheehan. He 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."

The ancient Hebrew tribes made a profound contribution to our civilization when they proclaimed that there was only one God. The most familiar and the most repeated of the Hebrew prayers is: "Here, O Israel, The Lord our God, the Lord is

one." 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.

Here, in this doctrine of human brotherhood, we have the spiritual basis of our evolving civilization. Here are the moral roots of political democracy, human rights, human dignity, the American dream. G.K. Chesterton, with that same appreciation, called America "A country with the soul of a church." 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. 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. Obviously, an image is by definition quite different from 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 Koran warns against the influence of Satan. The Protestant theologian Reinhold Niebuhr used the term "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 that good and evil are also intrinsic in 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 may well be 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." This, in turn, suggests to me that it is not liberalism or conservatism with their ideological rigidities that define the political goal of human dignity. It is rather the culture of democracy that we must strive to strengthen and maintain. Reinhold Niebuhr wrote: "Man's capacity for justice makes democracy possible, but Man's inclination toward injustice makes it necessary."

No society is assured stability unless its citizens believe it is a just society and that its laws are worthy of obedience. That is what makes a lawful society. Where law ends, tyranny begins. It is this commitment and understanding which must characterize our country's role in the world, a dramatically changing world.

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, destined 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. 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? That is as yet unclear.

We have been the moral as well as the military leader of the world, but it appears to me we are in a deep moral slide. We are at or near the top of the industrial world in the rate of murder, rape, drug use, child abuse. Much of our popular culture is violent, vulgar, mindless and perverse. As a result, our traditional confidence about ourselves and our mission has been undermined. We can do better. We must do better.

It is unlikely that the immediate post-cold war euphoria that gripped us for a short period of time will soon bring with it a new world of freedom and the end of the clash of cultures. But I do know that the clash within us and the societies we create between that which is noble and that which is base and ignoble is likely to continue as we struggle to evolve further. To ignore that duality is to become irrelevant to reality.

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.

Thank you.