

### Max M. Kampelman Papers

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#### MAX M. KAMPELMAN

SUITE 800 1001 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20004-2505

December 27, 1996

Dr. George G. Udvarhelyi Apartment 614 1055 Joppa Road Towson, MD 21204

Dear Dr. Udvarhelyi:

Since my letter to you of December 20, I notice in the current issue of the Cosmos Club *Bulletin* that my friend Joseph Duffey is listed as the main speaker at the "Leadership in Public Service" segment of your program. I assume that you and Murray Gart communicated with me after learning that Mr. Duffey was no longer able to fulfill that responsibility. It is my recollection that you were eager to get my approval before the bulletin went to press, but apparently we missed that deadline. You are aware from my earlier letter that I am now having some difficulty myself with the March 15 date and hesitated to alter it in the belief that you were able to have my name published in the *Bulletin* in timely fashion and I didn't, in that event, want to upset the apple cart. It now appears to me that my withdrawal would not adversely affect your publicity, but merely present you with a need to find somebody else to take my place. I would be delighted to be helpful to you in trying to locate another speaker for that role. I await your guidance.

My warmest best wishes to you.

Sincerely,

Max M. Kampelman

Friday, January 24 Art Dinner and Panel Discussion A new beginning for art in the new millennium? (See page 2)

Saturday, January 25 Book Discussion A Study in Scarlet, by Arthur Conan Doyle

Sunday, January 26 Wine Dinner Famed California winemaker Robert Mondavi is the speaker. (See page 8)

Tuesday, January 28 International Affairs Forum

China's Emerging Role: Challenge to American Policy is the topic for Harry Harding ('84), other experts and the audience. (See page 6)

Wednesday, January 29 Great Issues Roundtable Managed Care is the topic. (See page 6)

Thursday, January 30 Dinner-Lecture

Seymour Martin Lipset speaks on American Politics and Values in a

European Perspective. (See page 4)

#### Symposium's All-Star Cast Is Completed

The roster of participants is now complete for the fifth Cosmos Club Symposium, Saturday, March 15. The luminaries will discuss Leadership at the Millennium: Do global digital networks, for example, demand a revolution in thinking and working together? What new directions will be needed in public service, science and the arts?

The all-star lineup assembled by the Symposium committee, chaired by George Udvarhelyi ('89), is led by Leon Lederman, winner of a Nobel Prize in physics and a gifted and humorous scientific explainer. He will address the Symposium dinner.

The three panels will be:

Leadership in Arts — Main speaker, Alan Fern ('72), director, National Portrait Gallery; discussants, R. Sumter Brawley ('88), retired performing artist and arts administrator,

and Frederick Hart ('83), sculptor.

Leadership in Science — Main speaker, Frederick Seitz ('54), former president of both Rockefeller University and the National Academy of Sciences; discussants, Rita Colwell ('88), University of Maryland microbiologist, and Lee Talbot ('66), ecologist formerly with the World Wildlife Fund International.

Leadership in Public Service — Main speaker, Joseph Duffey ('82), director, U.S. Information Agency; discussants, J. Edwin Dietel ('91), former counsel for information policy at the Central Intelligence Agency, and Constance Berry Newman ('93), under secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

Past events have been sellouts, so reserve early.

DAVID BURNS (81) Chairman, Program Committee

Y	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
HAPPY JEW YEAR CLUB GROUP ON MONTH	9 Members'Bridge 1 p.m.  9 Members'Bridge BOOK & AUTHOR SUPPER Elliot Richardson Reflections of a Radical Moderate	10 LOBSTER NIGHT	4 Members'Chess 10 a.m.  AFTERNOON TEA 3 to 5 p.m.  Cocktails in First Floor Bar  11 Members'Chess  AFTERNOON TEA 3 to 5 p.m.  Cocktails in the Warne Lounge after 5:30 p.m.
	16 Members'Bridge COMPUTER GROUP DINNER-LECTURE Douglas Ubelaker Skeletons in the Courtroom	17	DINNER DANCE Garden Dining Rm. Cocktails in the Warne Lounge after 5:30 p.m.
BRIDGE	23 Members'Bridge  MEMBER MIXER 5:30 to 7:30 p.m.	ART DINNER AND PANEL DISCUSSION Art - Looking Ahead to the 21st Century	Members'Chess BOOK DISCUSSION Cocktails in the Warne Lounge after 5:30 p.m.
SSUES ABLE Care	30 Members'Bridge DINNER-LECTURE Seymour Lipset American Poditics and Values	31	

## PHONE-O-GRAM for: The K.

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☐ Telephone	ed /	☐ Returned your call ☐ Please return the call	☐ Came in
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#### 2121 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20008 TEL. (202) 387-7783 FAX (202) 234-6817

December 12, 1996

The Honorable Max M. Kampelman 3154 Highland Place, NW Washington, DC 20008

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

We are delighted that you have kindly accepted our invitation to participate at the Fifth Cosmos Symposium, entitled "Leadership at the Millennium," which will take place on Saturday, March 15, 1997.

The previous symposia were dedicated to "Creativity" (1993); "Excellence" (1994); "The Arts and Technology" (1995); and "Our Changing Culture" (1996), bringing together a maximum capacity of membership, enjoying some provocative and fruitful discussions.

I'm enclosing the following for your information:

- 1. List of Participants
- 2. Schedule of the program
- 3. A copy of the letter I've sent out previously to the participants.
- 4. Speaker's agreement form

We would appreciate if you could send to the Secretary of the Symposium Committee, Mr. Joanne Pierre a recent biographical sketch and photo, to be included in the announcement in the February Cosmos Bulletin, we have a deadline of December 18, 1996.

I'd be delighted if we could have lunch together at the Club in the not very far future.

Sincerely yours,

George B. Udvarhelyi, M.D. Chairman, Symposium Committee Prof. Emeritus of Neurosurgery Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions

### Participants of the 1997 Symposium "Leadership at the Millennium"

Leadership in Arts

main speaker: Alan Fern -- Director, The National Portrait Gallery

discussant #1: R. Sumter Brawley -- Retired performing artist and arts administrator

discussant #2: Frederick Hart -- Sculptor

Leadership in Science

main speaker: Frederick Seitz -- Former President of Rockefeller
University, former president of the National
Academy of Sciences

discussant #1: Rita Colwell -- Microbiologist, Univ. of Maryland

discussant #2: Lee Talbot -- Ecologist, Former Director of Conservation and Special Scientific Advisor, The World Wildlife Fund International

Leadership in Public Service

main speaker: Max Kampelman -- Former U.S. Ambassador, Lawyer,
Political Scientist, and President, American Academy
of Diplomacy

discussant #1: J. Edwin Dietel -- Retired Counsel for Information
Policy at the Central Intelligence Agency

discussant #2: Constance Berry Newman -- Under Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution

After Dinner Speaker: Leon Lederman -- Nobel Laureate in Physics

# Scheduled programs of the symposium "Leadership at the Millennium" Saturday, March 15, 1997

	Saturday, March 15, 1997
1:00 - 1:05 p.m	. Welcome - President Daniel Krinsley
1:05 - 1:25	Introduction - George Udvarhelyi
1:25 - 1:45	Panel #1 - Leaderhip in Arts - Main Speaker Alan Fern
1:45 - 1:55	Discussant - R. Sumter Brawley
	Discussant - Frederick Hart
2:05 - 2:35	Discussion between Panel #1 and Audience
2:35 - 3:05	
	Panel #2 - Leadership in Science - Main Speaker Frederick Seitz
3:25 - 3:35	Discussant - Rita Colwell
3:35 - 3:45	Discussant - Lee Talbot
3:45 - 4:15	Discussion between Panel #2 and Audience
4:15 - 4:30	Break
4:30 - 4:50	Panel #3 - Leadership in Public Service - Main Speaker Max M. Kampelman
4:50 - 5:00	Discussant - J. Edwin Dietel
5:00 - 5:10	Discussant - Constance Berry Newman
5:10 - 5:40	Discussion between Panel #3 and Audience
5:40 - 5:45	Closing Remarks: George Udvarhelyi
6:00 - 7:00	Cocktails & Entertainment
7:00 - 8:30	Dinner
8:45	After-Dinner Speaker - Leon Lederman

Mr. R. Sumter Brawley Dr. Rita R. Colwell 4000 Massachusetts Ave., NW 5010 River Hill Road Wash. DC 20016 Bethesda, MD 20816 Home (202) 364-0457

Mr. J. Edwin Dietel Mr. Alan M. Fern 5109 Duvall Drive Home (301) 229-3010

Mr. Frederick E. Hart Hume, VA 22639 Home (540) 365-1688 Home (202) 363-8930 Office (540) 635-9694

Dr. Leon M. Lederman Fermi National Accelerator Lab. 114 Duddington Place, SE PO Box 500 Attn: Ms. Diane Sellinger

Dr. Frederick Seitz The Rockefeller University New York, NY 10021 McLean, VA 22101 Home (212) 888-0008 Office (212) 327-8000

Dr. George B. Udvarhelyi Harper House #1414 111 Hamlet Hill Road Baltimore, MD 21210 Home (410) 435-6000

Home (301) 229-5129 Office (301) 403-0501

3605 Raymond Street Bethesda, MD 20816 Chevy Chase, MD 20815 Home (301) 652-0640 Office (202) 357-1915

Amb. Max M. Kampelman 14120 Hume Road 3154 Highland Place, NW Washington, DC 20008 Office (202) 639-7020

Ms. Constance Berry Newman Wash. DC 20003 Home (202) 546-7013 Batavia, IL 60510 Office (202) 357-3258

> Mr. Lee M. Talbot 6656 Chilton Court Home (703) 734-8576



#### 2121 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20008 TEL. (202) 387-7783 FAX (202) 234-6817

#### "COPY OF MY PREVIOUS LETTER TO THE PARTICIPANTS"

October 29, 1996

Dr. Rita R. Colwell 5010 River Hill Road Bethesda, MD 20816

Dear Dr. Colwell:

I am happy to report that the preparations for the upcoming symposium on "Leadership at the Millennium" that will take place on Saturday, March 15, 1997, are progressing satisfactorily and nearing completion.

I am enclosing the schedule of the day, for your information. I would appreciate if the principal speakers would let me have by <u>January 15th a short (no longer than one-page double space) summary of your remarks</u>, which should be sent to the Secretary of the Program Committee. This would facilitate the job of the moderator and provide more satisfactory communication with the Discussants.

Our committee has learned from past experience that the most interesting and cohesive symposia occur when there is some commonality among the discussions; that is, when a few questions are addressed by the diverse panels. Therefore, we offer the following suggested questions that at least one member of each panel might address in the course of your discussions, at whatever length seems appropriate to your subject. We realize, of course, that some questions may be more pertinent to one panel than to another.

- 1. Is the character of leadership changing? How?
- 2. In business, there's a trend toward decentralization of leadership, i.e. giving more authority and responsibility to the "led". Is this happening in your field?
- 3. What's the impact, if any, of enhanced availability and speed of communication?
- 4. There's increasing skepticism toward political leadership. Does this carry over into your field?
- 5. Does increasingly intense media scrutiny help or hinder the exercise of leadership in your field?

- 6. Has the growing antipathy toward elitism affected the practice of leadership in your field?
- 7. Are there national differences in the character and exercise of leadership today?
- 8. How is globalization changing the character of leadership and the capacity to lead in your field?

The Program Committee generally tape record programs for the specific use of Club Members. We would like to have permission to tape record your presentation. If you agree, please sign and return the attached speaker's agreement to the Committee Secretary. If you have already responded to my earlier request for permission to tape record your presentation please disregard.

The Committee also would like to invite you for an informal dinner on Friday, March 14, 1997, as guests of the Club, at 6:30 p.m. This occasion would provide a platform where the panelists can meet each other and the moderator. Please let me know at your earliest convenience if you are able to accept our invitation by calling the Secretary of the Program Committee, Joanne Pierre (202) 797-6445.

Again, I want to thank you for your participation.

Sincerely yours,

15/

George B. Udvarhelyi, ('89) Chairman, Program Subcommittee

GBU/jp

#### MAX M. KAMPELMAN

SUITE BOO

IOOI PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20004-2505

December 20, 1996

Dr. George G. Udvarhelyi Apartment 614 1055 Joppa Road Towson, MD 21204

Dear Dr. Udvarhelyi:

Thank you for the material with your letter of December 12. I am returning the form that you asked me to sign.

I must confess that I was not aware that our meeting was going to take place on a Saturday and last through the evening. Indeed, as of this moment, my wife and I have a previous engagement for that evening. I will, of course, follow through on my commitment and be present at least for my session.

There is one question that I would like to address to you. It is the extent to which the schedule is so firm that I could not exchange places with that part of the program dealing with the Arts. That would be somewhat more convenient for me if it does not cause difficulty.

My warmest best wishes to you.

Sincerely,

Max M. Kampelman

cc: Mr. Murray Gart

#### GEORGE B. UDVARHELYI, M.D., F.A.C.S.

Professor Emeritus of Neurosurgery The Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions

Harper House #1414 111 Hamlet Hill Road Baltimore, Md 21210

Tel: 410-435-6000 Fax: 410-435-6002

March 17'97

Dear Imhanador Kampelman:

many thouses for being with us

can't for the excellent prosecutation at the Grapman.

We have greatly appreciated you participation, secribeing a splender Laboratory aptersor in the Spring!

Judging for the very positive

fearlies, we were able to staye a quist succentral

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mesent members left with gent participation!

It would be size to have your

clapent talk published is the Corner formula.

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### 2121 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20008 TEL. (202) 387-7783

FAX (202) 234-6817

#### **MEMORANDUM**

TO:

All Participants of the Fifth Cosmos Symposium

(R. Sumter Brawley, Rita Colwell, J. Edwin Dietel, Alan Fern, Frederick Hart, Max M. Kampelman, Constance Berry

Newman, Frederick Sietz, and Lee Talbot)

FROM:

George B. Udvarhelyi, Chairman

Symposium Committee

DATE:

February 12, 1997

SUBJECT: Fifth Cosmos Symposium

I am very pleased to announce that preparations for the Symposium have been completed. To secure a smooth running of the program, I am taking the liberty of reemphasizing some aspects of the arrangements.

- As you have noted, we have given equal time to the official presentations and to the open discussions from the audience. This was done at the request of several of the members who attended the previous symposia. This means that the main speakers on each panel will have 20 minutes, each discussant must limit his/her comments to 10 minutes. However, after the half-hour formal presentations, there will be a half-hour open discussion in which the main speakers and the discussants participate. I envision the discussants as a triggering mechanism to provoke interesting questions from the audience.
- We have invited all of you for an informal dinner at 6:30 p.m. the night prior to the symposium, Friday, March 14, 1997, as guests of the Club. This will provide an opportunity for a friendly exchange of ideas between the main speakers and the panelists and to meet each other. Please phone Joanne Pierre [(202) 797-6645] at your earliest convenience, if you will be able to attend this occasion.
- As in the past we would like to distribute the one-page synopsis of each speaker's and discussant's presentations to the other members of the panel. We have received four synopsis. I would greatly appreciate receiving the same from the other five members. Kindly forward it to Ms. Joanne Pierre, Secretary of the Committee at the Club.

I am happy to report that although the March Bulletin with our brochure will go out about the end of February, we have already 86 Members signed up for our event.

If you have any problems or questions, please contact Ms. Joanne Pierre or myself at (410) 435-6000.

I want to thank you all for accepting our invitation. We are very much looking forward to meet you on March 14th or at the Symposium.

enclosures

#### PARTICIPANTS

R. SUMTER BRAWLEY 88, RETIRED DIRECTOR OF THE HARTFORD CONSERVATORY, FOUNDED AND CONDUCTED BOTH THE HARTFORD FESTIVAL OF MUSIC AND THE HARTFORD CIVIC ORCHESTRA, AND WAS DIRECTOR OF THE CO-ORDINATING COUNCIL ON THE ARTS OF GREATER HARTFORD. FORMERLY AT THE JUILLIARD SCHOOL OF THE LINCOLN CENTER IN NEW YORK, HE SERVED AS ADMINISTRATOR OF THE AMERICAN OPERA CENTER, DIRECTOR OF THE PRE-COLLEGE DIVISION AND CONDUCTOR OF ITS ORCHESTRA.

RITA R. COLWELL 188, PROFESSOR OF MICROBIOLOGY AND PRESIDENT, BIO-TECHNOLOGY INSTITUTE, UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND, HAS SERVED ON NATIONAL SCIENCE BOARD, AS PRESIDENT OF SIGMA XI, AAAS, AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR MICROBIOLOGY, INTERNATIONAL UNION OF MICROBIOLOGICAL SOCIETIES AND WASHINGTON ACADEMY OF SCIENCES. SHE CHAIRS THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF MICROBIOLOGY. SHE HAS PUBLISHED IG BOOKS AND OVER 450 ARTICLES. SHE EARNED HER PHD FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON, AND HAS FOUR HONORARY DEGREES.

J. EDWIN DIETEL 91, FORMER DEPUTY GENERAL COUNSEL, CIA, IS A CONSULTANT FOR NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS ON LEGAL MANAGEMENT, LEADERSHIP, AND RECORDS AND INFORMATION CONTROL. AUTHOR OF THREE BOOKS ON LEGAL PRACTICE AND MANAGEMENT, OF LEADERS' DIGEST: A GUIDE TO THE BEST BOOKS ON LEADERSHIP AND OF MORE THAN I OO ARTICLES, HE SERVES ON ABA COMMITTEES AND WAS ELECTED TO THE COLLEGE OF LAW PRACTICE MANAGEMENT. HE HOLDS ENGINEERING, TWO LAW AND MBA DEGREES FROM SMU, GEORGE WASHINGTON, GEORGETOWN AND WHARTON.

ALAN M. FERN '72, DIRECTOR, NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, FORMER DIRECTOR, SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, HAS DEGREES FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO. THE ALUMUL ASSOCIATION RECENTLY HONORED HIM WITH A PROFESSIONAL ACHIEVEMENT CITATION, RECOGNIZING HIM AS "ONE OF AMERICA'S LEADING MUSEUM EXECUTIVES, WHOSE WORK ENSURES A HIGH LEVEL OF CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENT IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL, CREDITED BY HIS COLLEAGUES WITH EXTRAORDINARY CONTRIBUTIONS TO MUSEUM SCIENCE, A MODEL FOR CURATORS ACROSS THE COUNTRY."

FREDERICK E. HART '83 CREATED THE SCULPTURES OF ADAM, STS. PETER AND PAUL AND THREE "CREATION" PANELS IN HIGH RELIEF: "NIGHT," "DAY," AND "EX NIHILO," ON THE WEST FAÇADE OF WASHINGTON NATIONAL CATHEDRAL. AMONG HIS OTHER WORKS ARE THREE BRONZE SOLDIERS FOR THE VIETNAM VETERANS MEMORIAL, A BRONZE OF PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER IN ATLANTA, A MARBLE BUST OF SENATOR RICHARD RUSSELL IN THE CAPITOL ROTUNDA AND AN ACRYLIC SCULPTURE, "CROSS OF THE MILLENNIUM." A BOOK ON HIS WORK AND PHILOSPHY WAS PUBLISHED IN 1994.

MAX M. KAMPELMAN 158, FORMER US ARMS REDUCTION NEGOTIATOR AND DIPLOMAT, HAS ADDITIONALLY SERVED THE US GOVERNMENT IN MANY OTHER PUBLIC POLICY ROLES. RECENTLY NAMED CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF DIPLOMACY, HE IS ALSO A LAW PARTNER IN FRIED, FRANK, HARRIS, SHRIVER & JACOBSON AND IS AUTHOR OF SOME 70 BOOKS AND ARTICLES. HE EARNED DEGREES IN LAW AND POLITICAL SCIENCE FROM NEW YORK UNIVERSITY AND THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA AND HAS NINE HONORARY DEGREES.

LEON M. LEDERMAN, PRITZKER PROFESSOR AT THE ILLINOIS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, WAS AWARDED THE NOBEL PRIZE IN 1988 AND THE ENRICO FERMI PRIZE IN 1992 FOR HIS WORK IN HIGH ENERGY PHYSICS. HE PREVIOUSLY TAUGHT AT COLUMBIA, WHERE HE DIRECTED THE NEVIS LABORATORY, AND AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO. HE SERVED AS DIRECTOR OF THE FERMI LABORATORY IN CHICAGO AND WAS PRESIDENT OF AAAS IN 1992. HE EARNED DEGREES FROM THE CITY COLLEGE OF NEW YORK AND COLUMBIA.

CONSTANCE BERRY NEWMAN '93, UNDER SECRETARY, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION AND MEMBER OF THE DC FINANCIAL CONTROL BOARD, PREVIOUSLY SERVED AS DIRECTOR OF OPM, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF HUD, DIRECTOR OF VISTA, COMMISSIONER AND VICE-CHAIRMAN OF THE CONSUMER PRODUCT SAFETY COMMISSION, WOODROW WILSON VISITING FELLOW AND ADJUNCT PROFESSOR AT THE KENNEDY SCHOOL OF HARVARD. SHE HAS A LAW DEGREE FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA AND THREE HONORARY DEGREES.

FREDERICK SEITZ <sup>1</sup>54, PRESIDENT EMERITUS OF ROCKEFELLER UNIVERSITY AND FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, HAS RECEIVED MANY MEDALS AND AWARDS INCLUDING THE NATIONAL MEDAL OF SCIENCE, AND HONORARY DEGREES FROM 32 UNIVERSITIES FOR WORK IN SOLID STATE PHYSICS. HIS PREVIOUS POSTS WERE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, CARNEGIE INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, GE, US DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE, OAK RIDGE NATIONAL LABORATORY AND THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

LEE M. TALBOT '66, PROFESSOR OF ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCES, INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC POLICY AT GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY, AND FORMER DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF THE WORLD CONSERVATION UNION, CHIEF SCIENTIST AND DIRECTOR OF INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES AT CEQ AND HEAD OF ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCES AT THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, HAS CONDUCTED ECOLOGICAL RESEARCH FOR OVER 40 YEARS IN 127 COUNTRIES, MAINLY IN AFRICA AND ASIA. HE DRIVES RACE CARS PROFESSIONALLY IN NATIONAL, INTERNATIONAL AND GRAND PRIX CIRCUITS AND RALLYS.

GEORGE B. UDVARHELYI '89, PROFESSOR EMERITUS OF NEURO-SURGERY AT THE JOHNS HOPKINS MEDICAL INSTITUTIONS, WAS BORN AND EDUCATED IN HUNGARY. HE PURSUED FURTHER STUDIES AND HELD FACULTY POSTS AT THE UNIVERSITIES IN VIENNA, BERN, BUENOS AIRES, COLOGNE AND EDINBURGH. AT HOPKINS, HE FOUNDED THE OFFICE OF CULTURAL AFFAIRS, A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM IN HUMANITIES AND PERFORMING ARTS FOR MEDICAL STUDENTS, FACULTY AND THE PUBLIC. HE FOUNDED THE COSMOS CLUB SYMPOSIA.



#### INTRODUCTION

ON BEHALF OF THE SYMPOSIUM COMMITTEE. I AM PLEASED TO WELCOME COSMOS CLUB MEMBERS AND GUESTS TO THE FIFTH COSMOS CLUB SYMPOSIUM. "LEADERSHIP AT THE MILLENNIUM." THE TOPIC CHOSEN BY OUR COMMITTEE, WILL BE DISCUSSED BY NINE CLUB MEMBERS WHO ARE PACE-SETTERS IN THE ARTS, THE SCIENCES, AND PUBLIC SERVICE. PREVIOUS SYMPOSIA ON "CREATIVITY" (1993), "EXCELLENCE" (1994), "ARTS AND TECHNOLOGY" (1995) AND "OUR CHANGING CULTURE" (1996) RAISED MANY QUESTIONS. THOSE LIVELY AND PROVOCATIVE DISCUSSIONS SUGGESTED THAT WE MAY NEED A RE-DEFINITION AND CLARIFICATION OF LEADERSHIP, GIVEN THE PACE AND SCALE OF PRESENT AND FUTURE CHANGE

IS THE CHARACTER OF LEADERSHIP CHANGING? IS THERE A TREND TOWARD DECENTRALIZATION, I.E. MORE AUTHORITY ASSUMED BY THOSE WHO ARE LED? WHAT IS THE IMPACT, IF ANY, OF ENHANCED AVAILABILITY AND SPEED OF COMMUNICATION? DOES INCREASINGLY INTENSE MEDIA SCRUTINY HELP OR HINDER LEADERSHIP? HAS THE GROWING ANTIPATHY TOWARD "ELITISM" AFFECTED THE PRACTICE OF LEADERSHIP? ARE THERE NATIONAL DIFFERENCES IN LEADERSHIP? WHAT IS THE EFFECT OF GLOBALI-ZATION ON LEADERSHIP?

WE HOPE TO FIND ANSWERS TO THESE QUESTIONS FROM THE THREE PANELS AND THE DISCUSSIONS. AMPLE TIME IS ALSO PROVIDED FOR QUESTIONS FROM THE AUDIENCE AND RESPONSES FROM OUR PANELISTS.

NOBEL-LAUREATE LEON LEDERMAN WILL PROVIDE US WITH A FINAL VIEW OF LEADERSHIP IN HIS AFTER-DINNER ADDRESS.

CHEF BERNARD MEEHAN WILL SURPRISE US WITH UNUSUALLY FINE COCKTAIL HORS D'OEUVRES AND AN ATTRACTIVE DINNER MENU. WE WILL ENJOY MELLOW "CHAMBER JAZZ" AND AN ANTHO-LOGY OF FILM SEGMENTS ON LEADERSHIP DURING THE COCKTAIL HOUR

I THANK MY COMMITTEE SHERRY R. ARNSTEIN 89. EDMUND A. BOWLES '73, DAVID M. BURNS '81, ROGER L. CONNER '92. CLARENCE E. LARSON '59, PATRICIA GATES LYNCH '94. HOWARD RAUSCH '92, JOSEPH D. ROBINSON '89, GEORGE E. WATSON 69 AND JOHN FRANKLIN WRIGHT. JR. 89-FOR THEIR SUGGESTIONS AND HELP. I ALSO EXTEND OUR SPECIAL THANKS TO JOANNE PIERRE FOR HER EXTRAORDINARY SUPPORT.

GEORGE B. UDVARHELYI 89 CHAIRMAN

#### PROGRAM

Po	WELL AUDITORIUM
1:00-1:05	DANIEL B. KRINSLEY '80 PRESIDENT, COSMOS CLUB WELCOME
1:05-1:25	GEORGE B. UDVARHELYI 89 MODERATOR INTRODUCTION
PANE	LI LEADERSHIP IN THE ARTS
1:25-1:45	MAX M. KAMPELMAN '58 MAIN SPEAKER

1:45-1:55 J. EDWIN DIETEL 91 DISCUSSANT

CONSTANCE BERRY NEWMAN '93 1.55-2.05 DISCUSSANT

2:05-2:35 OPEN DISCUSSION PANEL | AND AUDIENCE

2:35-3:05 COFFEE BREAK

#### PANEL 2 LEADERSHIP IN SCIENCE

3:05-3:25 FREDERICK SEITZ 54 MAIN SPEAKER

3:25-3:35 RITA R. COLWELL '88 DISCUSSANT

3:35-3:45 LEE M. TALBOT '66 DISCUSSANT

3:45-4:15 OPEN DISCUSSION PANEL 2 AND AUDIENCE

#### GARDEN DINING ROOM

4:15-4:30 BREAK

#### POWELL AUDITORIUM

PANEL 3 LEADERSHIP IN PUBLIC SERVICE

4:30-4:50 ALAN M. FERN 72 MAIN SPEAKER

4:50-5:00 R. SUMTER BRAWLEY 88 DISCUSSANT

5:00-5:10 FREDERICK E. HART 83 DISCUSSANT

5:10-5:40 OPEN DISCUSSION PANEL 3 AND AUDIENCE

5:40-5:45 GEORGE B. UDVARHELYI '89 CLOSING REMARKS

#### WARNE LOUNGE

6:00-7:00 COCKTAILS AND CHAMBER JAZZ RON HOCKETT AND STEVE ABSHIRE CLARINET AND GUITAR

#### NEW MEMBERS DINING ROOM

7:00-8:30 DINNER

#### POWELL AUDITORIUM

8.45 LEON M. LEDERMAN AFTER-DINNER SPEAKER

> DISCUSSION SPEAKER AND AUDIENCE

#### REMARKS BY

#### MAX M. KAMPELMAN

## "LEADERSHIP IN PUBIC SERVICE AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS" THE COSMOS CLUB

Washington, DC

March 15, 1997

When I was approached by the organizers of this meeting to participate in the examination of "leadership" within the context of public service and public affairs, I unhesitatingly accepted. I was eager for the intellectual challenge to understand the subject. For a number of years, I have been critical of our Presidents for not providing the leadership necessary to prepare our people for their role in international affairs. I felt our country was, as a result, failing to provide the leadership we owed the world.

It seemed that wherever I turned, an absence of leadership was being bemoaned — and the bemoaning continues with a consistency that bears a disturbing similarity to a modern day mantra. In recent days, The Washington Post editorialized that without US leadership nothing will happen on the vital issue of war crimes. The New York Times criticized President Clinton for "too little leadership" in dealing with campaign finance excesses. The press reports that former conservative British Premier Edward Heath severely criticized British Prime Minister John Major for a lack of leadership on Europe. In Israel, the Labor Party continues to criticize Mr. Netanyahu for not providing the leadership necessary for the peace process to evolve. The litany goes on. The cry for leadership has reached a crescendo.

But the louder the crescendo, the more skeptical of both the leadership and the criticism have I grown. I have found myself critical at the absence of leadership in public affairs and critical as well of the critics. I reasoned that if I face the task of preparing to speak on the subject, perhaps clarity will follow.

I addressed the subject seriously. What is the role of leadership in a democratic society? I have heard it said that it is characterized by the courage to challenge public opinion. Can it be that it is nothing more than a necessary modification of democracy designed to camouflage a fundamental weakness in the democratic process? Certainly those who would define leadership as taking a courageous public policy position which is contrary to popular opinion are reflecting a lack of confidence in the judgment of public opinion.

In that connection, I found it valuable to recall some commentary within Germany following a proposal by then President George Bush suggesting a joint US-German leadership role in Europe. The concern within German intellectual circles was explained by noting that leadership is translated into "fuehrerschaft," which for many Germans provoked unpleasant recollections of aggression, war, dictatorship and suffering.

For Americans, of course, leadership, with our cold war experience, meant leading and protecting a group of willing allies threatened by a heavily armed Soviet Union. It was in our interest to be leaders, particularly since it implied service for a noble cause. This is significant. G. K. Chesterton once described the U.S. as a country with the soul of a church. We were, therefore, comfortable with a leadership role in behalf of a noble cause. And our allies were comfortable. Our country did not have to seek a leadership role. We merely had to exercise it.

These were the random conflicting thoughts that motivated me to accept the invitation to participate in this forum. I acknowledge, however, that thinking about "leadership" did not answer my questions or significantly clarify my thinking. I stand before you still uncertain and unclear. It is necessary, therefore, to expand for a moment on the role of leadership in a democratic society.

Alexis deTocqueville, in his monumental 19th century report on "Democracy in America," extolled the extraordinary virtues and strengths of our democracy. He did, however, note a fundamental weakness in democracy's ability to conduct an effective foreign policy, in contrast to the efficiencies apparent in an authoritarian society. In extrapolating his analysis to our own modern experience, we see that a secret, for example, is hard to protect in a democracy; and yet national security matters requires some secrecy. Decisionmaking in government is participated in by many forces: the various agencies within the national government; our legislative and executive branches; the complicating partisan temptations of our political process; the increasing roles of non-governmental citizen groups; the antagonistic attitudes of the press; and, above all, public opinion. The complexity of those factors do complicate foreign policy decision-making. They also characterize domestic decision-making, but in foreign affairs, these complications may well provide delays which are damaging to the national interest. The democratically required debate process is likely to undermine the confidentiality frequently so necessary in dealing with international matters, particularly with authoritarian governments not so handicapped or burdened.

Franklin Roosevelt instinctively met the problem by inviting Republicans into his cabinet and he was commended for his leadership. Harry Truman invited Senator Vandenberg and his Republican colleagues into his decision-making process — and he too was commended. President Carter created a bi-partisan commission on Latin American issues, but for that he was criticized for passing the buck. Ronald Reagan did not hesitate to work with Democrats and he was clearly a leader and not only because he acted like one. President Clinton has

now added a Republican to his cabinet and has also belatedly assumed leadership on NATO expansion, but I still criticize him on his lack of leadership in the Balkans.

Clearly, effective foreign policy formulation in a democracy requires a consensus — and a consensus, of course, requires Presidential leadership. Interestingly enough, consensus also produces a restraint on that leadership. The co-opted group understandably asserts that if we want them in on the crash landing they wish to be in on the takeoff.

It is not a digression if we here remind ourselves that democracy is not synonymous with anarchy. It implies government and government implies decision, which in turn implies the use of force to carry out the decisions made. After all, a democratic government implies majority and not unanimous consent. The rules of the process provide restraint by recognizing that the majority is always an ever-changing flowing one. The rules provide the opportunity to chase the rascals out and replace them with others who help form an evolving new majority. All of this means that for the system to work, not only does democracy allow for leadership, it requires that leadership, if democracy is to work well.

But if democratic decision-making is associated with majority consent, why not simply take a daily public opinion computer poll? The pollster as our leader? There must be something wrong with this line of thinking — and there is. Isn't the concept of democratic leadership distorted when decisions are made by a President or Congressman based on public opinion polling or on a perception of public opinion? That, upon examination, is not leadership. It is the avoidance of leadership. It is, of course, useful and important to know what public opinion may be at any point of time and why it is what it is But if that opinion is not consistent with the President's perception of public interest, the President's

responsibility must be to influence and try to alter that opinion by using his pulpit to explain his reasoning and decision. That is leadership. Not to understand that is to be, in Shakespeare's words, "A feather for each wind that blows."

Recent polling, for example, indicates that most Americans believe that we spend 18% of our federal dollar on foreign aid and that a reduction to 10% would be a desirable level. They, therefore, favor a reduction in foreign aid. As a matter of fact, we spend 1% of the federal budget on our foreign affairs. But our decision-makers responded to what they perceived to be public opinion by reducing that budget further by 14% in real terms in the last two years alone. At the same time, furthermore, a recent poll reported that two-thirds of the American public want the U. S. to remain a world leader. That cannot be done on a starvation diet. The American people understand that diplomacy, providing an early warning system to resolve conflicts before military intervention becomes necessary, is a wise investment. But the pollster may try to prove me wrong and the politician may retreat to the data as a way of avoiding the exercise of leadership.

I would like to place this important issue in perspective. This requires a brief comment on what I believe we face as we enter the 21st century. One reality is clear. Our country, massive and immense and as powerful as we are, is not master of its own destiny, capable of isolating ourselves from the forces of the world's politics, economics, science, or technology.

Czech President Vaclav Havel recently illustrated the evolving characteristics of life with a personal story. He reminisced about a recent evening he spent drinking traditional Czech cocktails in an entirely familiar setting. He had been driven there in a Mercedes. He was sitting on familiar Danish furniture and listening to Western rock music. He and a friend were

speaking English and his friend was wearing an Italian-made suit. They were sitting at a bar in Singapore!

The key challenge as we prepare to enter the 21<sup>st</sup> century is the mindset, the habit of thinking which entraps many of us into the yesterday and today of our lives as we hesitatingly contemplate the tomorrow. We understandably worry about the unknown quality of a new century. A new world for many presents a potential threat to that which they understand and cherish.

During my early childhood, one lifetime, 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 fluorescent lights; no birth control pills; no ball-point pens; no transistors. We could go on and on with that list of now commonplace, and even already somewhat obsolete, elements of our daily lives that did not exist during the early years of many of us in this auditorium.

During the lifetime of most in this room, 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 steadily increases. 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, e-mail, the super computer, high definition television, the laser printer, the cellular telephone, the optical disk, imaging, the satellite dish, video conferencing. 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, I am told 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 minutest glimpse of what our universe really is We barely understand the human brain and its awesome energy; and the horizons of never-ending space as well as the mysteries found in the great depths of our seas are still virtually unknown to us. Our knowledge is indeed a drop, while our ignorance remains an ocean.

These changes and the others to come have consequences in all areas of our lives, including the political and the governmental. Keeping up with economic, 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 will soon come to recognize that they are thereby dooming themselves, their children and 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 inter-related world community.

Walls, iron gates and troops can sometimes protect a geographic boundary line. Border guards can keep out a vaccine; but fences and borders and declarations of national sovereignty cannot keep out germs, or ideas, or

broadcasts. We also see that they are often unable to keep out terrorists or drugs, or refugees.

The nations of the world have become ever more interdependent. 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. One essential geo-political consequence of this new reality is that there can be no true security for any one country in isolation. Insecurity and instability are contagious diseases. Neighbors are bound to suffer the consequences of that disease. We must learn to accept in each of our countries a mutual responsibility for the peoples in other countries.

Peoples deprived of dignity for centuries are increasingly coming to appreciate that the advantages of better health, improved sanitation, adequate food and water, economic opportunity, leisure for self-enrichment — that all these and more can belong to them and their children wherever they may live. The communication age has opened up the world for all to see. The less fortunate are learning from radio, television and the motion pictures that these changes produced by science, technology and learning are only an hour, or two, or three away. They are now increasingly aware that they can live in societies, including their own, which respect their dignity as human beings. They want that dignity and better living for themselves and their children — and they don't wish to wait.

This brings us back to leadership and the realization that it must be based on understanding. Our nation has the strengths and the knowledge to provide that leadership. It is not yet clear to me that we have the wisdom and the understanding. Shakespeare again said it well: "Oh, it is excellent to have a giant's strength, but it is tyrannous to use it like a giant." It is here also

appropriate to note that for our nation to lead the world into the 21st century, it must have the leadership that can lead us to lead.

And I am, of course, back to where I started! I, therefore, lookforward to the privilege of meeting and listening and learning from two outstanding scholars and public servants who will end our puzzlement about leadership in public service.

Thank you.