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RECENT DEVELOPMENT

NEGOTIATING WITH THE SOVIETS*

AMBASSADOR MAX M. KAMPELMAN**

These are dangerous times. They will require our inner strength, understanding and faith; and most particularly they will require the energy and intelligence of the generation now coming into its own.

Each generation faces its own unique challenges. But through the ages, they appear to have one common characteristic: men and women seem capable of mobilizing their talents to unravel the mysteries of their physical environment. We have learned to fly through space like birds and move in deep waters like fish. But how to live and love on this small planet as brothers and sisters still eludes us. In every age, that has been the essence of the challenge.

In the onward evolution of the species homo sapiens toward the species human being, we are asked in each generation to stretch toward the supremacy of that which religious people call the "God-like" in us. The obstacles that we face are opportunities provided us to fulfill that evolutionary goal. The immense challenge to this generation is to find the basis for lasting peace among the people of the world so that they

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**Head of the United States Delegation to the Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Arms, Geneva. J.D., New York University, Ph.D., University of Minnesota. Ambassador Kampelman has served on the faculties of the University of Minnesota, Bennington College, Claremont College, the University of Wisconsin and Howard University. He has received honorary doctorate degrees from Georgetown University, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and Hebrew Union College. The Ambassador has also served as Head of the United States Delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, 1980-83. In addition to his present position, Ambassador Kampelman serves by Presidential appointment as a member of the Board of Directors of the United States Institute of Peace and as a Trustee of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

might live in dignity. In this nuclear age, the significance of that goal is overwhelming.

Six years ago, I was asked by President Carter to head the United States Delegation to a thirty-five-state meeting in Madrid taking place pursuant to the Helsinki Final Act of 1975. This responsibility, renewed in 1981 when I was reappointed by President Reagan, led to three intensive years of negotiations with the Soviet Union, which ended in 1983. Early last year, President Reagan asked me to head the United States Delegation to the Arms Control Negotiations in Geneva. These duties now fully occupy my energies.

The 1975 agreement was based on the assumption that détente was the governing principle of East-West relations. Yet, there was no détente then, and there is none now. East-West tensions are deep. In spite of the provisions of the Helsinki agreements, Soviet repression of human rights is taking place on a massive scale; political and religious dissidents are imprisoned; incarceration in psychiatric hospitals is a frequent form of political punishment; emigration has declined to its lowest level in many years, and 120,000 Soviet troops are brutalizing Afghanistan and its people. The Soviet Government behaves as if it never signed the Helsinki Final Act.

We quickly learned that to proclaim détente in words, did not automatically produce it. We face the challenge of how to cope with a negotiating partner who cheats persistently on the agreements it enters into. Today, we must face the reality that the Soviet Union is an aggressive society seeking, with its massive military and police power, to expand its influence; and a repressive society determined to defend its totalitarian power, whatever the human cost. I suspect that we, who value freedom, will pay a heavy price and suffer great anguish as we come to grips with this reality. The integrity and strength of our society and of our people will undergo the greatest challenge of our history as we learn how to live with Soviet military power, challenge it and simultaneously strive to maintain the peace with the human liberty that we seek.

We look upon ourselves as a nation committed to the values of freedom. Liberty to us is not abstract and we know it is not abstract to those unable to enjoy it. But let us explore for a moment whether our "rights of man" values, which we look upon as a source of our strength, may not complicate our pursuit of peace. What are the implications of *injecting morality considerations into United States foreign policy*? Is there not a tension created when we engage in moral condemnation of totalitarian and authoritarian societies and then undertake to negotiate toward understanding with those we condemn?

The alternative, of course, is silence. But is silence not a form of

acquiescence? And, if silence is morally unacceptable, is verbal condemnation adequate when we know it is likely to be ineffectual? Is "action" by us then called for? If so, what kind of action?

Do we have the moral right to encourage people who live under repressive regimes to seek change their conditions? Is there a moral duty to intervene? Would this not be in conflict with international law? Or does intervention depend on whether it will work and at what cost?

I am aware of the assertion that the best way to help those who are victims of authoritarian or totalitarian regimes is to set a fine example. I suspect this fudges the question. The example we set, no matter how noble, will do little to alleviate the conditions of those victimized by repression. We should also understand that even setting an example may produce increased tension. The "good example" set by West Germany only led to a wall of concrete and fire around communist East Germany. A good example may well be perceived as a threat. That threat, in turn, could produce fears and lead to increased repression.

The people of the Soviet Union, who comprise hundreds of different nationalities, share the same values of human dignity that we proclaim. They are as dedicated to the elimination of war as any other people. They have no wish to be isolated from their neighbors and from the forward movement of civilization. This creates an insecurity on the part of their authorities, who then go to extraordinary lengths to fence in their own citizens.

There is a related set of questions. Are we consistent, when we all ourselves with nations who do not share our values? Our founding fathers accepted an alliance with a France governed by a tyrannical monarch, at the same time as we forcefully expressed our detestation of absolute monarchies. During World War II, we entered into an alliance with Stalin, whom history will record as perhaps the most brutal human butcher of the twentieth century, certainly a close competitor of Hitler for that title.

Must we be consistent? Some would have us seek to improve our relations with Castro's Cuba, increase our trade with communist Russia and apply sanctions against racist South Africa.

To raise these questions in this academic environment is not to undermine the legitimacy of morality in our foreign policy. Morality must be a major component of our foreign policy. It may, indeed, be an indispensable ingredient for the domestic consensus which is required if any foreign policy in our democracy is to be effective. But strategic self-interest must also be a major consideration of an effective and desirable foreign policy.

There are some who respond to the danger, represented by Soviet military power and theology, by ignoring or denying its existence. That would be fatal for us. There are others who are so overwhelmed by the difficulties as to place all of their trust in military power, and its use, alone. That view carries with it the seeds of tragedy as well.

We dare not and cannot blow the Soviet Union away. We cannot wish it away. It is here and it is militarily powerful. Since we share the same globe, we must try to find a formula under which we can live together in dignity.

All responsible people understand that we must define our objectives to be consistent with Hobbes' first law of nature which is: "To seek peace and to follow it." We must engage in that pursuit of peace without illusion, but with persistence, regardless of provocation. Thus, in Madrid, we talked, debated, negotiated, argued, dined, condemned and talked some more. We do the same in Geneva. We achieved some results in agreed-upon words at Madrid, but we have not yet achieved a change in attitude or in patterns of behavior.

The Soviet Union is not likely soon to undergo what Jonathan Edwards called "a great awakening," or see a blinding light on the road to Damascus. Yet, the imperatives for survival in the nuclear age require us to persist—through the deterrence that comes from military strength, through dialogue, through criticism, through negotiation—to persist in the search for understanding, agreement and peace.

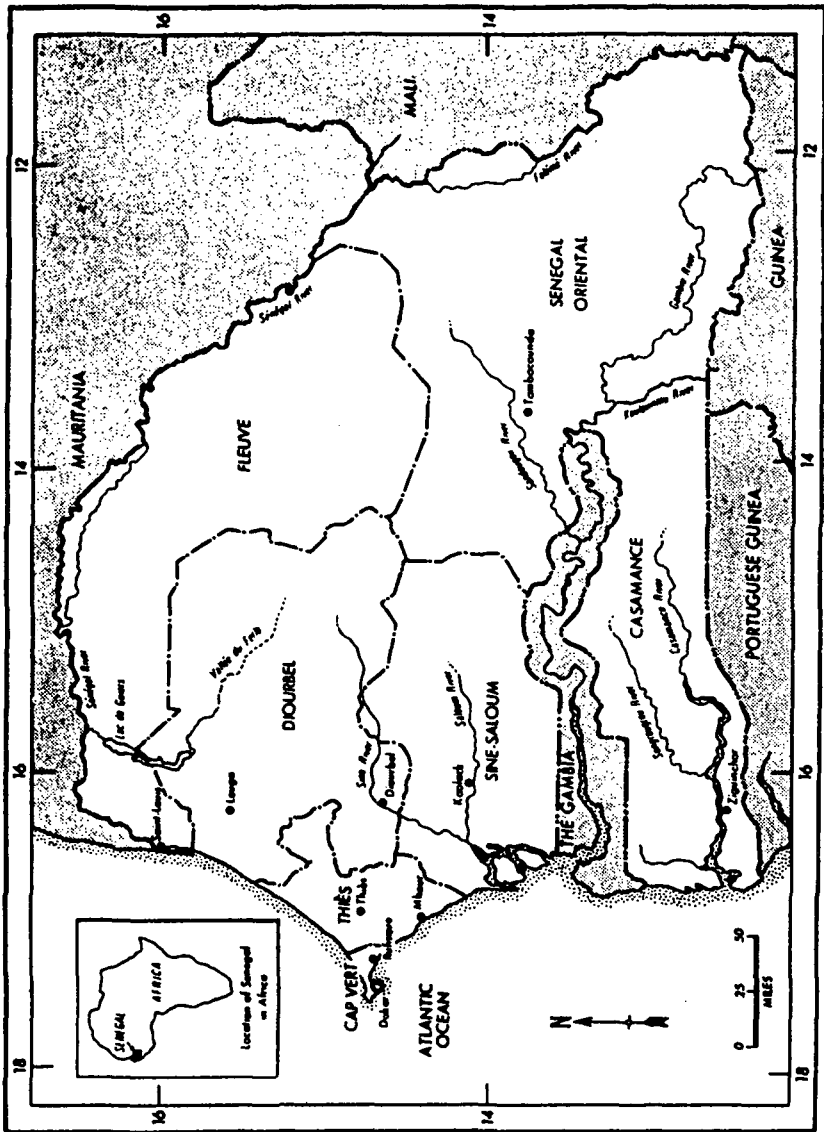
We hope the time will soon come when Soviet authorities comprehend that repressive societies in our day cannot achieve inner stability or true security. We hope they will come to understand the need to show the rest of us that cruelty is not indispensable to their system and is, indeed, thoroughly counter-productive to their ideals.

We hope, but if we are prudent, we cannot trust. We must negotiate, and we must be firm and patient. Both we and the Soviet Union must appreciate that negotiation means more than talking; it means listening as well. It is particularly important for us both to understand that our superpower status does not necessarily confer on us super wisdom. Our objective must be an understanding that no country's national security interests can be fostered through aggression and through a lack of respect for the sovereignty of its neighbors.

Finally, we Americans must understand that policy in a democracy requires public support; and that must encompass the understanding that if the possession of power is to be effective as a deterrent, there can not be a renunciation of its use in the pursuit of our national interests and values. We are entering a period in which this may well be the ultimate determinant in whether we can achieve the peace which we seek with dignity.

We must never tire in our efforts toward lasting peace. The problems that divide us are real and numerous. We trust our negotiating efforts will produce results. By the nature of things, however, we understand that even with agreement we will still be nearer to the beginning than to the end of our pursuit. We must have patience and be clear-headed.

All of us and our societies fall short of our aspirations. We grow by stretching to reach them. As we do so, however, let us be reassured by the conviction that the future lies with freedom because there can be no lasting stability in societies that would deny it. Only freedom can release the constructive energies of men and women to work toward reaching new heights. A human being has the capacity to aspire, to achieve, to dream and to do. We seek these values, within the limits of what the great Protestant theologian, Reinhold Niebuhr, called "moral realism," for all the children of God. Your task—our task—is to stretch ourselves to come closer to that realization.



THE NATIONS OF SENEGAL AND THE GAMBIA IN THE SENEGAMBIAN CONFEDERATION