



Max M. Kampelman Papers

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Final

"THE AMBASSADOR GERI JOSEPH LECTURE"

DELIVERED BY

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

Peace Palace
The Hague, The Netherlands

November 21, 1989

It is a privilege for me to be occupying your platform this evening. This historic city and this place symbolize the commitment to justice and human dignity which is the distinguishing hallmark of your government and your people. The Dutch people helped establish our country at a time when nationhood and independence were barely a gleam in the eyes of our founding fathers. You helped us politically and financially to set a course which led us to create what is now the oldest democracy in the world. Our second President, John Adams, as a young man became our first emissary to The Netherlands in 1782. Three of our Presidents were of Dutch descent, two of whom are represented here today through the Roosevelt Study Center, one of the sponsors of this meeting. You never left our side and we used every opportunity thereafter available to us to be at your side.

We are today friends and allies not only through an accident of history and the mingling of blood lines and culture, but primarily as a result of common values and commitments. These common values have led us both to work with our 14 other fellow Western democracies to forge a North Atlantic Alliance which has made possible the longest period of peace in modern European history, resulting in a victory for our values which is breathtaking in its scope.

The fact that we meet under the auspices of the Ambassador Geri Joseph Lectureship Program gives me special pleasure and pride. Geri and Burton Joseph have been dear friends for nearly 45 years, obviously before they were married and, of course, with Geri then a mere child. Our friendship has been a close one ever since, and I cherish it. You, here, know that it is not an exaggeration for me to say that no American Ambassador has more ably represented our government in this country and none has more firmly secured the bonds of friendship between our two governments and our peoples.

It has been exactly ten months since I left my government's service with its different, exciting, and enriching challenges. These challenges, fortuitously, put me at the center of the dramatic changes in East-West relations that are now gripping our imaginations. This occasion today provides me the opportunity to

evaluate those changes in the light of my personal observations and experiences.

The object of our common Western diplomacy has been to preserve our security and our values in a condition of peace. But this proud word, "peace", requires clarity. There is the "peace" of the grave; the "peace" that reigns in a well-disciplined prison or gulag; the peace that may plant, with its terms, the seeds of a future war. Certainly those are not what our dreamers and philosophers yearned for. It is peace with dignity that we seek. It is peace with liberty that is the indispensable ingredient for the evolution of Man from the species homo sapiens to the species "human being."

This is a goal easy enough to state, but difficult to attain. 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. The immense challenge to our civilization is to find and develop the basis for lasting peace among the peoples of the world so that they might live in dignity. In this rapidly moving nuclear age, the significance of that role cannot be overstated.

The world is changing so fast and so dramatically that we can barely see its details let alone its scope. During my childhood, there were no vitamin tablets; no refrigerators; no transcontinental telephones; no man-made fibers; no airlines; no Xerox; no air-conditioning; no antibiotics; no frozen foods; no television; no transistors. During my lifetime, medical knowledge available to physicians has probably increased more than ten-fold. More than 80% of all scientists who ever lived are said to be alive today. More than 100,000 scientific journals annually publish the flood of new knowledge that pours out of the world's laboratories. The average life span is now nearly twice as great as it was when my grandparents were born. This past weekend, the U.S. Congress voted to appropriate the funds to develop the new X-30, a 6500 kilometer per hour space airplane, technologically at least a generation past the Concorde, capable of taking passengers between the two most distant points of our planet in 3 hours or less. Advanced computers, new materials, new bio-technological processes are altering every phase of our lives, deaths, even reproduction.

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. Our science is indeed a drop, our ignorance an ocean.

Economic, technological, and communication advances have made global interdependence a reality. Economic power and industrial capacity are ever more widely dispersed around the world. Our political and economic institutions are feeling the stress of these pressures as they try to digest their implications. We have yet to come to grips with a world in which the combined gross national product of Europe, for example, exceeds that of the United States; and the gross national product of Japan exceeds that of the Soviet Union; while the economies of South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore have moved, in the space of a generation, to international influence far beyond their relative size. And in this Peace Palace, this home of the International Court of Justice -- and the Permanent Court of Arbitration, it is appropriate to note that we have yet to settle on an international legal and regulatory framework to cope with this new world.

We are brought up to believe that necessity is the mother of invention. I suggest the corollary is also true: invention is the mother of necessity. Technology and communication have made the world 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. The world body politic is not consistently keeping pace with those realities. There is resistance. Some are saying: "Not so fast. Stop the

world. We want to get Off. We don't want to be dragged into this new world. We want to hold on to the familiar, the comfortable, the traditional, the tribal." But the inevitable tomorrow is appearing. Developments in science and technology are fundamentally altering our material lives; and our social and political relationships as well.

There are new dominant sounds and among those most clearly and loudly heard today are the sounds of freedom and democracy. When given the chance -- and sometimes when not -- people across the world are standing for liberty. The striving for human dignity is universal because it is an integral part of our human character. We see it in China, Burma, Korea, the Philippines, South Africa, Chile, Paraguay, the Soviet Union, Hungary, East Germany, Poland -- different cultures, different parts of the globe. A larger part of the world's population is today living in relative freedom than ever before in history.

Hannah Arendt, the distinguished and perceptive social scientist, reflected the significance of this human ingredient when she wrote in a 1958 epilogue to her Origins of Totalitarianism that the new voices from Eastern Europe

"speaking so plainly and simply of freedom and truth, sounded like an ultimate affirmation that human nature is unchangeable, that Communism will be futile, that even in the absence of all teaching and

in the presence of overwhelming indoctrination, a yearning for freedom and truth will rise out of man's heart and mind forever."

Within every age the drive for human dignity has been dominant, but the struggle is a continuing one. Change is inevitable, but we cannot predict its direction. It would be a mistake to believe that the end point of mankind's ideological evolution has been reached. It would be narrow to assert that Western liberal democracy, desirable as it is, is the final form of human government. Our vigilance is required, for, as the saying goes, "the devil, too, evolves." Aristotle taught us that all forms of government, including democracy, are transitional and vulnerable to the corrosion of time, new problems, and missed opportunities. We are at risk if we remain smug and content about our present strengths and the weakness of our adversaries.

The trend toward freedom and democracy is prompted not only by a deep inner drive for human dignity, but by the growing realization that democracy seems to work best. Governments and societies everywhere are discovering that keeping pace with technology and the opportunities opened up by it 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, for example, that knows no national boundaries.

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. National boundaries can keep out vaccines, but those boundaries cannot keep out germs or ideas or broadcasts. This suggests, among many other implications, the need to reappraise our traditional definitions of sovereignty. The Government of Bangladesh, for example, cannot prevent tragic floods without active cooperation from Nepal and India. Canada cannot protect itself from acid rain without collaborating with the United States. The Mediterranean is polluted by at least 18 different countries. The requirements of our evolving technology, furthermore, are increasingly turning national boundaries into patterns of lace through which flow ideas, money, people, crime, terrorism, ballistic missiles -- all of which know no national boundaries.

In response to these realities, nations are by agreement curtailing their sovereign powers over many of their own domestic and security affairs. Under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Final Act, nations undertake to behave humanely toward their own citizens and recognize the rights of other states to evaluate that internal behavior. Observers and on-site inspectors are given the right to inspect military facilities and maneuvers as confidence-building

measures or to verify agreements. The Soviets are struggling and anguishing over how to adjust the doctrine of sovereignty to the Baltic republics and to other national groups crying for independent recognition.

One essential geo-political 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. This is the essential cement that has bound us together so effectively in NATO.

In this world of increasing interdependence, the lessons for East and West, for the United States and the Soviet Union -- the most important security relationship in the present era -- are evident. For nearly half a century, we have looked at international relations through the prism of our relations with one another. We cannot escape from one another. We are bound together in an equation that makes the security of each of us dependent on that of the other.

We are told by Soviet leaders that through the process of internal transformation that is demanded by the new technologies, they comprehend that repressive societies in our day cannot achieve inner stability or true security; that it is

in their best interest to permit a humanizing process to take place; and that their domestic requirements are their highest priority.

Without doubt, Soviet leadership faces the urgent need for drastic internal changes if the Soviet Union is to be a significant part of the 21st Century. The Soviet economy is working poorly, although it does provide adequate sustenance for itself and its fully-functioning military machine. Massive military power has provided the Soviets with a presence that reaches all parts of the world, but this military superpower cannot hide the fact that its economic and social weaknesses are deep. The Soviet's awesome internal police force has provided continuity to its system of governance, but a Russia which during Czarist days exported food cannot today feed its own people.

Productivity is low. "We pretend to work and they pretend to pay us" is what I recently heard in Moscow. It is estimated that a worker in the Soviet Union must work more than seven times as many hours as a Western European to earn enough money to buy a car. With absenteeism, corruption, and alcoholism, internal morale is bad. Their traditional family structure shows signs of crumbling, with divorce and abortion rates among the highest of any modern country, a tragically severe health

care crisis, with rising infant mortality (50th in the world), and, contrary to trends elsewhere in the world, life expectancy is actually decreasing.

The new leaders of the Soviet Union are fully aware of its problems. One Soviet economist recently said: "There have been many books written on the transition from capitalism to socialism, but not one on the transition from socialism to capitalism." That leadership is also aware of our strengths, reflecting the vitality of our Western values and the healthy dynamism of our system.

President Gorbachev recently said:

"We are now, as it were, going through the school of democracy afresh. We are learning that our political culture is still inadequate. Our standard of debate is inadequate; our ability to respect the point of view of even our friends and comrades -- even that is inadequate."

Reports indicate Mr. Gorbachev may now have second thoughts about his words, particularly as they apply to press freedoms. But we hear these and other Soviet words with hope that the deeds and reality will indeed follow the rhetoric. We hope the time is at hand when Soviet authorities, looking at the energy of the West, comprehend the systemic weakness that corrodes their society. We hope Soviet authorities will join us in

making the commitment that our survival as a civilization depends on the mutual realization that we must live under rules of responsible international behavior. We hope -- and there are encouraging signs to bolster that hope. But as yet, we, regrettably, cannot trust, although we would like to.

The problem is not the character and culture of the peoples who make up the Soviet Union. The Soviet peoples are proud and talented, with a rich history and culture. Its citizens desire peace and human dignity as much as any other European or American. But it is the Government which sets policy and their system which has been causing us concern. We, therefore, closely watch alterations in the system with anticipation and encouragement.

But even as we cannot yet trust, or be certain we understand ultimate Soviet intentions behind their search for "breathing space", we have a responsibility to observe developments in the Soviet Union carefully and to do so with open eyes and an open mind. It is not easy for many of us to change the prism of our accustomed spectacles for clearer viewing. It is difficult to believe what we appear to see. Our need may well be to replace our microscope with a wide-angle lens. Change is inevitable and it is underway. We must not fear it. We must influence it.

When I began negotiating in Madrid with the Soviet Union in 1980 at the invitation of President Carter, human rights was beginning to be injected as a major item of the West's international agenda. I shall never forget the extraordinary assistance and encouragement that I, a newcomer to diplomacy, received from your experienced and shrewdly able CSCE Ambassador, Frans Van Dongen, and his most able young deputy at the time, Hans Meesman, who will, I am told, soon be your Ambassador to the United States. Their commitment to human rights and democracy was passionate and pragmatic. Together, we helped forge a united Western front of our NATO allies in Madrid which took seriously the words and promises of the Helsinki Final Act. We served notice that its standards were the criteria toward which to aspire and by which states were to be judged. We patiently and persistently kept at it for three years and we prevailed. Today it is the standard for behavior universally acknowledged in Europe by East and West. The Helsinki CSCE process has and is moving Europe forward and closer together.

The Soviet Union at the time insisted that the discussion of human rights was an improper interference in their internal affairs. As our efforts continued, however, they began to raise questions about our own record, thereby acknowledging the propriety of the agenda item. By the end of the Madrid meeting

in 1983, the Soviets joined the consensus in support of even broader human rights advances. When President Reagan asked me in 1985, at about the time Mr. Gorbachev assumed the direction of his government, to return to government service as head of our nuclear arms reduction negotiating effort, an extraordinary change soon became apparent. Human rights became a necessary and ever-present ingredient in the totality of our relations with the Soviet Union.

The issue of human rights is today a fully-agreed agenda item in our discussions and in the discussions of our allies with the Soviet Union. It is discussed thoroughly, frankly and frequently -- and we see results. The results are not yet entirely to our satisfaction, but are, nevertheless, highly significant. There will be further positive results, going in tandem with other items on our agenda.

I do not denigrate the importance of arms control when I say that for arms control to be real and meaningful, it must be accompanied by resolution of the serious problems that cause nations to take up arms. Arms are but the symptoms of a disease. The remaining items on the East-West agenda are designed to try to treat the disease as well as the symptoms. The source of tensions between our two systems must be addressed.

Our ability to influence Soviet internal developments is likely to be limited, but we should not ignore the things we can do to encourage the evolution of Soviet policy in directions that are constructive and responsible. Our NATO military strength is obviously indispensable. But so is our role as an example of how best to serve the needs of people. We have a responsibility to make it clear to the leadership of the Soviet Union what we expect and require for increased trust. In essence, we urge them to develop stronger legal and structural restraints on their power, both internal and external. We must insist that they abjure the use of force to extend and expand their influence. We must persuade the Soviet Union to join us in a commitment to "rules of the game" for responsible international behavior. Our countries must come to appreciate that just as the two sides of the human brain, the right and the left, adjust their individual roles within the body to make a coordinated and functioning whole, so must hemispheres of the body politic, North and South, East and West, Right and Left, learn to harmonize their contributions to a whole that is healthy and constructive in the search for lasting peace with liberty. Ultimately, the only battlefield that is rational in this nuclear age is the battlefield of ideas. The politics of persuasion and consent must prevail over the politics of coercion and terror.

Let me here pause a moment on the word "terror" and the political movement "terrorism" which supports and perpetuates it. Logic and reason and humaneness and self-interest demonstrate the dire need for a concerted international effort to eradicate terrorism. It is today universally understood that no one can be safe from this dangerous and destabilizing phenomenon. Yet, there is no effective international action in place and, I reluctantly suspect, none in the offing.

A recent illustrative outrage of the political opportunism and fear that stand in the way of coordinated anti-terrorism was the previous Greek government's brazen release of a suspected terrorist to Libya, rather than extraditing him to Italy where he was wanted for killing a two-year old child and wounding 34 people in an attack on a synagogue. The myopic statement of the Greek Minister of Justice that such an attack fell "within the domain of the struggle to regain the independence of . . . [a] homeland" demonstrates the deplorable way some so-called "civilized" states cooperate with and condone terrorism. Furthermore, the world has not even been able in its international institutions to agree upon a definition of "terrorism," rendering efforts to outlaw it spurious.

Yet the danger is a real and potentially increasing one. Nuclear weapons and the skills necessary to build them are no longer the exclusive possession of the superpowers. These, along with ominous chemical and bacteriological weapons, are today capable of being acquired by the irresponsible and the lawless. Our societies contain vulnerable networks -- electricity grids, water systems, pipelines, telecommunication links. Modern society is seriously vulnerable to catastrophic disruption. Here we have an immediate test of the effectiveness of our evolving international community and of the Soviet Union's willingness to drop its support of terrorism and join us in a determined effort to eradicate it.

Soviet leadership may well be coming to understand that it cannot exempt itself from the stubbornly growing insistence of human beings for political systems that provide dignity for themselves and their families. As the Nobel Laureate Andrei Sakharov has so often pointed out the cause of human rights and peace is indivisible. In his 1975 Nobel Prize speech that he was not permitted to present in person, he said:

"I am convinced that international trust, mutual understanding, disarmament, and international security are inconceivable without an open society with freedom of information, freedom of conscience, the right to publish, and the right to travel and choose the country in which one wishes to live."

The West interacts and negotiates with the Soviet Union in that context. We have faith in our principles as we intensify our efforts, through our negotiations, to find a basis for understanding, security, stability, and peace with dignity.

To negotiate is risky. In the words of an outstanding American public servant who was close to Geri and Burton Joseph and to me, Hubert Humphrey, it is something like crossing a river while walking on slippery rocks. The possibility of disaster is on every side, but it is the way -- sometimes the only way -- to get across. The aim of our diplomacy and the supreme achievement of statesmanship is patiently, through negotiation, to pursue the peace with dignity we seek, always recognizing the threat to that peace, and always protecting our vital security interests and values. We should recall the message of Winston Churchill that diplomatic negotiations "are not a grace to be conferred but a convenience to be used."

We have begun a historic process. Even with a treaty in Geneva reducing strategic nuclear weapons by approximately 50% and with a treaty in Vienna significantly reducing conventional arms -- both of which are likely in the next year to 18 months -- we will still be nearer to the beginning than the end of that process. The process, furthermore, is likely to be a difficult and murky one. The fundamental nature of the Soviet system is

the reality that they and we must still face. Their problems are real and overwhelming. Ethnic nationalism at times appears to be tearing at the fiber of the Soviet empire as a tumultuous environment develops, with violence, demonstrations, curfews, and the recurring question: "How tolerant can Moscow afford to be?" Can the Soviet Union, with more than 100 nationalities and widely-disparate cultures living in 15 Republics, contain the demands for local sovereignty emanating from pent-up resentments and a long-desired opportunity to even things out?

General de Gaulle is said to have once exclaimed in exasperation how difficult it was to govern a people who made and ate 300 different kinds of cheeses. We can imagine President Gorbachev exclaiming how difficult it is to govern people who speak 129 languages.

The Marquis de Custine perceptively wrote of the Russians 150 years ago: "Whenever the right of speech shall be restored to this muzzled people, the astonished world will hear so many disputes arise that it will believe the confusion of Babel again returned."

Alexis De Tocqueville warned us that the most dangerous time of an authoritarian regime is when it is undergoing change or reform. We are also told that the most dangerous time in the

life of a religion -- and Communism is a secular religion -- is when it has lost its inner faith but retained its outer power. There are problems ahead. There are opportunities ahead. There is also a history not easily obliterated from memory. It was Czar Nicholas I who remarked: "where the Russian flag has once been hoisted, it must never be lowered." Helmut Schmidt in his memoirs quotes a 19th Century Russian statesman that "Russia can feel completely secure only when Russian soldiers stand on both sides of her borders." It is not only that the problems are great -- the mistrust is deep.

The great challenge to our diplomacy is how to adjust to an evolving Soviet Union in a rapidly-changing world without endangering our security and our values. Our task is to effect a soft landing from the cold war. It is our responsibility to work toward that end. This requires a steady NATO and Western alliance, strong but confident, conscious of the reality of its own interest in a stable peaceful world.

The challenge is all the more real; the tasks ahead all the more complicated; the responsibility all the greater with the realization that it is not just the Soviet Union that is evolving in a rapidly changing world. The changes in East Germany, Hungary, Poland and who knows where next are moving so fast and so unexpectedly that events may be outdistancing our

ability to deal with them in a timely and rational manner. It is as if an earthquake is shaking the pillars of our familiar environment and we don't yet know its dimensions or the new geography we will face.

Will we be able to play our part? Will we be sufficiently sensitive to the judgment of history and take heed lest future generations condemn us for having missed a decisive opportunity for peace with dignity? Will we be wise enough to know how to assist the historic developments now underway in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe? Will we be sufficiently alert and forthcoming to grab the opportunity presented to us? Are we adequately bold and imaginative to adjust our security interests to the new world we are entering? It is on the basis of these criteria that history will judge us.

Our task is to achieve the firm sense of purpose, readiness, steadiness, and strength that is indispensable for effective and timely foreign policy decision-making. Our NATO alliance has proven itself to be the most effective in modern history. Our unity has been astounding. Our success in meeting the challenges that brought us into being has been stunning. Our most optimistic expectations have been exceeded. We must be careful not to abandon or sacrifice that unity of purpose and strength that has served us and our civilization so well. We have a major task ahead of us.

Our General George Marshall once observed: "If Man does find a solution to world peace, it will be the most revolutionary reversal of his record we have ever known." We must reverse the record of history. That must be our commitment.

The future lies with liberty, human dignity, and democracy. The changes stimulated by modern technology may well assist us to move in that direction, if we permit our democratic values to provide the guidelines for the journey. When we are growing up, we are taught not to be afraid of the dark. I suggest to you that as our societies mature, we must not be afraid of the light and where it can take us.

Thank you.

FRIED, FRANK, HARRIS, SHRIVER & JACOBSON

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MAX M. KAMPELMAN
(202) 639-7020

January 20, 1990

Mr. Burton M. Joseph
The Joseph Foundation
Grain Exchange Building
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55415

Dear Mr. Joseph:

I apologize for the delay in getting together the information on Ambassador Kampelman's fees and expenses in connection with his trip to the Hague last fall. It is my understanding that the fee agreed upon was \$8,000. Ambassador Kampelman's expenses are as follows:

Taxi from residence to Dulles	\$ 40.00
Round trip first class airfare Dulles/ Frankfurt/Amsterdam (published fare - enclosed tickets reflect stop in London)	4,548.00
Kurhaus Hotel (\$562 less \$420 USIA grant)	142.00
Taxi from Dulles to residence	<u>40.00</u>
	\$4,770.00

I hope this is helpful. Should you need anything further,
please let me know.

Sincerely,

Sharon H. Dardine
Assistant to Max M. Kampelman

PURCHASE ORDER, RECEIVING REPORT AND VOUCHER

(FOR USE IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES ONLY)

PURCHASE ORDER No.

32NL-32NL November 16, 1989
OD1302

DATE

16, 1989

PURCHASER:

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, DR. - THIS DOCUMENT PREPARED AT

UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE (USIS)
THE HAGUE, THE NETHERLANDS

D. O. VOU. No.

OF-263 LOG-90-118/G/USIS

BU. VOU. No.

VENDOR:

Ambassador Max Kampelman
c/o American Embassy, The Hague, the Netherlands

GRANT: IA-256-468-G

CONTRACT No.

PAID BY

DATE

ACCOUNT

ORDER IS HEREBY PLACED WITH THE ABOVE-NAMED VENDOR FOR THE ARTICLES OR SERVICES DESCRIBED BELOW, TO BE FURNISHED TO -

USIS
American Embassy, Lange Voorhout 102, The Hague, Neth.

ITEM No.	ARTICLES OR SERVICES	QUANTITY	UNIT PRICE		AMOUNT
			COST	PER	
	IT IS MUTUALLY AGREED AS FOLLOWS: ARTICLE I A. USIA hereby makes a grant of \$ 420.- (payable in Dutch guilders), in accordance with the terms of this grant agreement. B. The grantee hereby accepts the subject grant in accordance with the conditions and provisions herein set forth. C. This grant of funds shall be used prudently and only for expenses incurred by the grantee in carrying out the program set forth in ARTICLE II. Any questions concerning the propriety of any particular expenditure of grant funds may be referred to the PAO, hereby designated as the AR/CO.		\$ 420.-		873.18

Guilders

873.18

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TOTAL AMOUNT

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AMOUNT VERIFIED CORRECT FOR . . . Gld 873.18

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PURSUANT TO AUTHORITY VESTED IN ME, I CERTIFY THAT THIS VOUCHER IS CORRECT AND PROPER FOR PAYMENT

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11/16/89
Date

Timothy Roddy, Admin Counselor
(Authorized Certifying Officer) (Title)

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THE JOSEPH FOUNDATION

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April 13, 1990

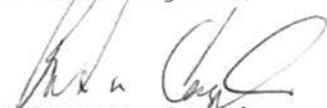
Sharon H. Dardine
Assistant to Max M. Kampelman
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Suite 800
Washington, D.C. 20004-2505

Dear Ms. Dardine:

Mr. Kampelman and I discussed the honorarium and expense coverage for his trip to the Netherlands and his lecture on behalf of the Ambassador Geri Joseph Lectureship. He advised me that his standard fee is \$10,000. I asked him if he would consider \$5,000 and he agreed. My notes bear out this relationship.

We also discussed his expense coverage which is to be handled by the U.S. Embassy in the Hague. If any problem emerges from these understandings, please let me know and I will move to remedy whatever problem exists.

Kindest regards,



Burton M. Joseph

BMJ/hb

Enclosure

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MAX M. KAMPELMAN
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November 30, 1989

PanAm Transatlantic Cash Bonus
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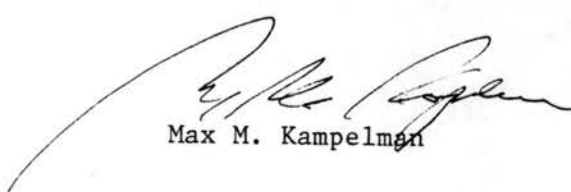
Re: PanAm World Pass No. 02015680T

Gentlemen:

Enclosed please find copy of flight coupon and round trip boarding tickets indicating my transatlantic flight on Pan Am, first class, last week. It is my understanding that you will forward me your check in the amount of \$1,000 in compliance with your transatlantic cash bonus offer. My home address is as it appears in my PanAm Worldpass account, 3154 Highland Place, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20008

Thank you.

Sincerely,


Max M. Kampelman

3 mos

*PA
shortly 2/25/90
Rene
609-695-4211*

**United States
Information
Service**

Lange Voorhout 102
2614 EJ 's-Gravenhage

Telephone: (0) 70-624-911

TO AMBASSADOR MAX KAMPELMAN
FROM BURTON M. JOSEPH
FOR YOUR INFORMATION

**Netherlands Program****Ambassador Max Kampelman****Ambassador Geri Joseph and Mr. Burton Joseph****November 19 - 23, 1989**

Accommodations

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2586 CK The Hague
Tel. (0)70-52.00.52

Embassy Control Officers:

William La Salle
Counselor for Information and Cultural
Affairs
Office tel.: (070)-62.49.11, ext. 226
Home tel. : (070)-63.83.25

Andrew Schlessinger
Cultural Affairs Officer
Office tel.: (070)-62.49.11, ext. 236
Home tel : (070)-89.35.67

Doc. # 0291j
USIS:MW

SCHEDULE OF VISIT OF AMBASSADOR MAX KAMPELMAN, AMBASSADOR GERI JOSEPH AND MR. BURTON JOSEPH TO THE NETHERLANDS, NOVEMBER 19 - 23, 1989

Sunday, November 19

07:30 Arrival of Ambassador Max Kampelman at Schiphol Airport on flight BA-442 from London. Counselor for Information and Cultural Affairs William La Salle and Cultural Affairs Officer Andrew Schlessinger will meet. Party is escorted to the VIP lounge to await arrival of Ambassador and Mr. Joseph.

08:25 Ambassador Geri Joseph and Mr. Burton Joseph arrive on flight NW-42. They will be escorted to the VIP lounge.

When luggage has been collected, party leaves (in two cars) for the Kurhaus Hotel in The Hague.

No activities have been set up for the day, to allow for rest and personal arrangements.

Monday, November 20

15:30 Embassy car will pick up Ambassador Kampelman and Ambassador and Mr. Joseph at Kurhaus Hotel and proceed to the American Embassy for a meeting with Ambassador Howard Wilkins.

16:00 PAO William La Salle will escort party to the Executive Office. Meeting with Ambassador C. Howard Wilkins, Jr.

Separate Program of Ambassador Kampelman

16:30 Embassy car drives Ambassador Max Kampelman to the Palace Huize ten Bosch

17:00 Private meeting of H.M. Queen Beatrix and Ambassador Max Kampelman

Embassy car drives Ambassador Kampelman back to Kurhaus Hotel after the meeting with the Queen.

16:40 After meeting with Ambassador Wilkins, Embassy car will take Ambassador and Mr. Joseph back to the Kurhaus Hotel.

Evening

Unscheduled.

Tuesday, November 21

16:30 Embassy car will pick up Ambassador Kampelman, and Ambassador and Mr. Joseph at the Kurhaus Hotel and proceed to the Academy Building of the Peace Palace.

16:45 onwards Please refer to attached scenario for details.

Wednesday, November 22

Departure of Ambassador Kampelman. Embassy car will take him to Schiphol Airport. VIP lounge has been reserved.

Thursday, November 23

08:15 Embassy car will pick up Ambassador and Mr. Joseph at the Kurhaus Hotel and proceed to Schiphol Airport. VIP lounge has been reserved.

10:10 Ambassador and Mr. Joseph depart on flight BA-447 to London.

NOTE:

A press interview of Ambassador Kampelman may be included on either the Monday or the Tuesday.

**United States
Information
Service**

Lange Voorhout 102
2514 EJ's-Gravenhage

Telephone: (0) 70-624-911



American Embassy, The Hague, The Netherlands

Fax number:

(070) - 65 88 37 - direct dial (within the Netherlands)
(31) 70 65 88 37 - direct dial (outside the Netherlands)

Date: November 16, 1989

No. of Pages including this page: 8

To: Mr. Burton Joseph
789 Grain Exchange, Minneapolis, MN 55415
fax (612) 338-1536

From: American Embassy, Mickey Warners
The Hague, the Netherlands

Subject: tentative program schedule. Final program will be handed to you
upon arrival.

SCENARIO AMBASSADOR GERI JOSEPH LECTURE
Peace Palace, The Hague, November 21, 1989

- 16:30 Counselor for Information and Cultural Affairs William La Salle and Cultural Affairs Officer Andrew Schlessinger arrive at the Academy Building of the Peace Palace, and will be joined by Mr. Max van der Stoel, Chairman Carnegie Foundation.
- 16:40 Ambassador C. Howard Wilkins, Jr. and Deputy Chief of Mission Thomas Gewecke arrive at Peace Palace, Academy Building and will be introduced to Mr. van der Stoel. Party proceeds to VIP Room.
- Queen's Commissioner and Mrs. Cornelis Boertien arrive at Peace Palace and are escorted to VIP Room.
- 16:45 Ambassador Max Kampelman, Ambassador Geri Joseph and Mr. Burton Joseph arrive at Peace Palace, Academy Building and are escorted to VIP Room.
- 16:50 Minister of Foreign Affairs Hans van den Broek, Minister of Defense Kees ter Beek, and State Secretary of Defense Baron Berend-Jan van Voorst tot Voorst arrive at Peace Palace, Academy Building, and are escorted to the VIP Room.
- 16:59 Party is escorted from VIP Room to Lecture Hall and shown to seats.
- 17:00 Mr. Max van der Stoel invites Ambassador Wilkins to the lecture stand.
- 17:01 Ambassador Howard Wilkins welcomes guests.
- 17:05 Queen's Commissioner of Zeeland, Dr. Cornelis Boertien extends special welcome to Ambassador and Mr. Joseph.
- 17:10 Ambassador Geri Joseph introduces Ambassador Max Kampelman.
- 17:15 Ambassador Kampelman delivers the Ambassador Geri Joseph lecture.
- 18:00 Mr. van der Stoel thanks Ambassador Kampelman and invites guests to reception in the Front Hall of the Peace Palace.
- 18:15 Reception
- 19:00 Ambassador Wilkins leaves for Residence.
- 19:10 PAO William La Salle and CAO Andrew Schlessinger leave for Residence
- 19:15 Ambassador Kampelman and Ambassador and Mr. Joseph leave for Residence.
- Reception ends.
- 19:30 Arrival of dinner guests at the Residence.

SEATING PLAN - PEACE PALACE

Mr. C.W. La Salle
Mrs. J.B. Boertien
Mr. C. Boertien
Mr. A.L. ter Doek
Ambassador M.N. Kampel- man
Ambassador C.H. Wilkins
Ambassador G.M. Joseph
Mr. H. v.d. Broek
Mr. B. Joseph
Mr. B.J.M. Baron van Voerst t.V.
Mr. M. v.d. Stoel
Mr. T.E. Gewecke

REVISED GUEST LIST

DINNER

Tuesday, November 21, 1989

seven-thirty o'clock

Informal

Tobias Asserlaan 4
The Hague

HOST : Ambassador C. Howard Wilkins, Jr.

OCCASION: In honor of Ambassador Max Kampelman,
Ambassador Gerl Joseph and Mr. Burton Joseph

GUESTS:

Dutch Guests:

His Excellency
Rinus ter Beek
Minister of Defense

The Queen's Commissioner of Zeeland and Mrs. C. Boertien

Mr. Max van der Stoep
Member of the Council of State, Chairman of the Carnegie
Foundation

Mr. drs. Frits Bolkestein
VVD Member of the Second Chamber

Drs. and Mrs. Norbert Schmelzer
Chairman, CDA Foreign Affairs Committee

Professor and Mrs. Maarten Brands
Chairman, Advisory Council on Peace and Security

Drs. Bert Veenendaal
Roving Ambassador, Ministry for Foreign Affairs

Drs. and Mrs. Bram Ettema
Director, Atlantic Cooperation and Security Affairs
Ministry for Foreign Affairs

Professor and Mrs. Henk Neuman
Director, Institute of International Relations Clingendael

Drs. Rob Soetenhorst
Editor-in-Chief, Haagsche Courant

Page 2

Drs. and Mrs. Andre Spoor
Former Editor-in-Chief, Elseviers Weekblad

Drs. Cees van Minnen
Director, Roosevelt Study Center

Drs. Marian de Waard
Executive Assistant, Roosevelt Study Center

American Embassy:

Mr. and Mrs. Thomas H. Gewecke
Minister-Counselor

Mr. C. William La Salle
Counselor for Information and Cultural Affairs

Mr. Lawrence G. Rossin
Political Counselor

Mr. Andrew Schlessinger and Ms. Kitty Eckhardt
Cultural Attache

Mr. and Mrs. Donald E. Braum
Politico-Military Officer

Mrs. Mickey Warners-van Veen
Cultural Affairs Specialist

FRIED, FRANK, HARRIS, SHRIVER & JACOBSON
SUITE 800
1001 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20004-2505
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(213) 689-5800

3 KING'S ARMS YARD
LONDON, EC2R 7AD, ENGLAND
(01) 600-1541
TELEX: 887606

MAX M. KAMPELMAN
(202) 639-7020

November 13, 1989

Via Fax - (612) 338-1536

Mr. Burton M. Joseph
Chairman
I.S. Joseph Company, Inc.
777 Grain Exchange Building
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55415

Dear Burton:

I owe you information about my arrival in the Netherlands. My plan is to arrive in Amsterdam from London on Sunday, November 19 at 7:30 p.m. on British Air Flight 442. I appreciate your suggestion that you will arrange for somebody to meet me and take me to the Coor Haus Hotel in the Hague. In the event you and Geri are still free for lunch on Monday, it might provide an opportunity for the three of us to have a good, leisurely private chat.

This summer you asked me for the names of people who might be invited to attend the lecture. I provided you with three names. Now that we are closer to the event and I am focusing on it, I would like to add two other names. The first is Ambassador Franz van Dongen, a retired Ambassador from Holland who can probably be reached through the Dutch Foreign Office. We do have an address for him in France:

"la Beliere", Chedigny (le Bourg)
37310 Reignac, France

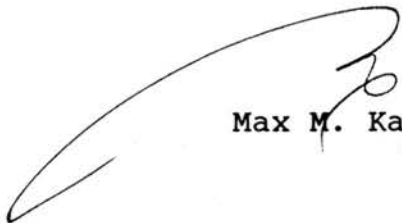
The other is a current Dutch Ambassador, Hans Meesman. He can be reached through the Dutch Foreign Office.

Mr. Burton M. Joseph
November 13, 1989
Page two

I look forward to seeing you.

All my best.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a large, sweeping loop followed by a smaller, more intricate flourish.

Max M. Kampelman

FRIED, FRANK, HARRIS, SHRIVER & JACOBSON

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MAX M. KAMPELMAN
(202) 639-7020

November 6, 1989

Mr. Burton M. Joseph
Chairman
I.S. Joseph Company, Inc.
777 Grain Exchange Building
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55415

Dear Burton:

It now seems quite clear that Maggie will not be accompanying me to Europe. I am sorry about that, as I know you and Geri will be. Her recovery from the knee surgery is proceeding well, but slowly. We visited her surgeon yesterday, who did not withhold permission, but Maggie is still walking with a cane and does so timidly.

Once you know for certain the time of the meeting with the Queen, should it take place, please let me know. My present plan is to arrive in Holland via Amsterdam some time on Monday, November 20, and to leave on Wednesday morning so that I will be home by Thanksgiving.


I would also like some guidance, Burton, as to how long I should talk. I would be pleased to be guided by the length of the Kissinger and Kirkpatrick lectures if you prefer to let them be a guide. I am planning to begin working on my lecture in the next few days.

Let me know what you and Geri are planning to do about your arrival times in Holland. I also need to know the name of the hotel in which we will be staying.

I look forward with eagerness to our being together for a few days. I certainly hope that the three of us can have some private time together as well.

All my best.

Sincerely,



Max M. Kampelman

MMK:gs

80 11/21

THE JOSEPH FOUNDATION

INCORPORATED

GRAIN EXCHANGE BUILDING

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA U.S.A. 55415

PHONE (612) 338-8431

September 20, 1989

Mr. Max M. Kampelman
Fried, Frank, Harris,
Shriver & Jacobson
Suite 800
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004-2505

Dear Max:

Just a short note to advise that we are moving forward very nicely with the arrangements for the lecture in the Hague on November 21. Geri and I hope that Maggie will be fully recovered and will make the trip with you.

11 Let me know what your travel arrangements are so we can follow up with hotel accommodations in the Hague as well as ground transportation. Ask your travel agency to send me the invoice for your air fare. I will keep you posted.

Sincerely,



Burton M. Joseph

BMJ/hb

THE JOSEPH FOUNDATION

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MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA U.S.A. 55415

PHONE (612) 338-8431

August 7, 1989

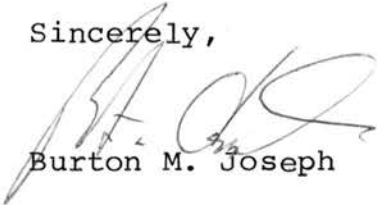
Mr. Max M. Kampelman
Fried, Frank, Harris,
Shriver & Jacobson
Suite 800
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20004-2505

Dear Max:

We have advised the American Embassy in The Hague
to add to the list of November 21st the names of
the people that you sent along.

We are looking forward to the opportunity to be
with you for this wonderful function.

Sincerely,



Burton M. Joseph

BMJ/kaf

FRIED, FRANK, HARRIS, SHRIVER & JACOBSON

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(01) 600-1541

TELEX: 887606

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

(202) 639-7020

August 2, 1989

Mr. Burton M. Joseph
The Joseph Foundation
Grain Exchange Building
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55415

Dear Burton:

Your recent letter very thoughtfully suggested that I think of people in Europe who might be interested in attending the lecture in the Netherlands. I have given it some thought and, for the moment, have not come up with too many names. It does occur to me, however, that I do have a relative, who I discovered as a result of my European experiences, living in the Netherlands. It would be great if he could be invited. He is a professor of veterinarian medicine with an international career serving very actively in the various international health organizations. His name and address are:

Professor Dr. E. H. Kampelmacher
Bosuillaan 185
3722 XK Bilthoven
Holland

We also have some friends living in Amsterdam, Alfred and Inge Nijkerk. Their address is:

Stadionweg 13
1077 RV Amsterdam

The third name that occurs to me is Mr. Terry Schroeder, who was my press assistant in Geneva. He now has a responsible position in Munich at Radio Free Europe. He may welcome an invitation. His address is:

Radio Free Europe - Radio Liberty, Inc.
Oettingenstrasse 67
67 AM Englishchen Garten
8000 Munich 22, West Germany

All our best to you and to Geri.

Sincerely,


Max M. Kampelman

FRIED, FRANK, HARRIS, SHRIVER & JACOBSON
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MAX M. KAMPELMAN
(202) 639-7020

July 26, 1989

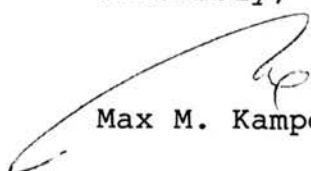
Mr. Burton M. Joseph
The Joseph Foundation
Grain Exchange Building
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55415

Dear Burton:

Maggie and I have just returned from a few days in Martha's Vineyard to find your letter of July 12. Thank you very much for keeping me informed. We look forward to being with you in The Hague on November 21.

Maggie joins me in sending you and Geri our love.

Sincerely,



Max M. Kampelman

THE JOSEPH FOUNDATION

INCORPORATED

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MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA U.S.A. 55415

PHONE (612) 338-8431

July 12, 1989

Mr. Max M. Kampelman
Fried, Frank, Harris,
Shriver & Jacobson
Suite 800
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue Northwest
Washington, D.C. 20004-2505

Dear Max:

We have some further details on the program for the Ambassador Geri Joseph Lecture, November 21st, in The Hague, The Netherlands.

The lecture will be sited at the Peace Palace in The Hague which is quite unusual in that it is very seldom set aside for meetings of this type. We are pleased about this.

The lecture is currently scheduled to begin at 5:00 p.m. in the afternoon. Assuming that your lecture will be 45 minutes to an hour, a reception for a select group of attendees will begin around 6:30 p.m. and should end no later than 8:00 p.m. Ambassador Wilkins will host a small private dinner the same evening, November 21st, for you and Maggie, Geri and me, the Queen's Commissioner and Mrs. Boertien and a few other guests. The dinner should start about 8:30 p.m.

We are now developing the guest list for the lecture and we would be pleased to include among the invitees any special friends or associates in Western Europe that you think might be interested in being with us.

*Don Kampelmacher
Schroeder*

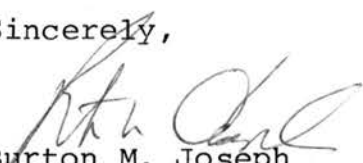
July 12, 1989

Page 2

Everything else seems to be in order and moving rather well. Our only disappointment is that His Royal Highness, Prince Claus of The Netherlands, is still not strong enough to handle additional duties and he has advised us that he cannot reassume his role to serve on the Executive Committee of the Ambassador Geri Joseph Lecture Series.

I will continue to check in with you regarding schedule and travel plans.

Sincerely,



Burton M. Joseph

BMJ/kaf

11/18

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May 3, 1989

Mr. Burton M. Joseph
The Joseph Foundation, Inc.
Grain Exchange Building
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55415


Dear Burton:

It was certainly good to talk to you and to receive your letter of April 27. We have set the date of November 18 aside. Maggie and I look forward to being with you and Geri on that occasion.

You raised the issue of an honorarium for me when we spoke. My response was that I would be content with whatever practice you have established, but you said you would like my advice on the matter. Let me, therefore, respond in that spirit. Even though he is irrelevant to our arrangement, I now have a lecture agent because of the large number of speaking requests that I am receiving. He has established a fee of \$10,000, plus first class transportation and hotel expenses for Maggie and me for any talk which takes me out of Washington, D.C. for up to a day or so. He then takes a twenty percent commission of the fee, leaving me with \$8000. This may be some guide for you.

Maggie joins me in sending you and Geri our love.

Sincerely,


Max M. Kampelman

THE JOSEPH FOUNDATION

INCORPORATED

GRAIN EXCHANGE BUILDING

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA U.S.A. 55415

PHONE (612) 338-8431

April 27, 1989

Mr. Max M. Kampelman
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson
Suite 800
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue Northwest
Washington, D.C. 20004-2505

Dear Max:

What a pleasure to visit with you yesterday. I can't tell you how reassuring it is to have you back on assignment at Fried, Frank; we've missed you.

Geri and I are delighted to confirm that you and Maggie will be our guests, with you the lecturer, at the next Ambassador Geri Joseph Lectureship Program scheduled for The Netherlands on Saturday, November 18, 1989.

Although all the details are not yet in, we do know this much; the Ambassador Geri Joseph Lectureship is a joint sponsorship of the Joseph Foundation, the Roosevelt Study Center (RSC) and the United States Information Service of the Embassy in The Hague. The Roosevelt Study Center is headquartered in the City of Middelburg, the Province of Zeeland in The Netherlands.

The Roosevelt family migrated from Middelburg in the 1640's. The family and Zeeland Province are interested in the Roosevelt Study Center and in joining together with the Joseph Foundation for the continued activity of the Ambassador Geri Joseph Lecture Series. USIS will be coordinating and promoting the program in The Netherlands and in Western Europe.

Mr. Max M. Kampelman
April 27, 1989
Page 2

It is likely that you will speak at a beautifully old, strikingly impressive church called Middelburg Abbey. It is my judgement that the Roosevelt Study Center will host a reception for you and Geri and if they are present, Queen Beatrix and Prince Claus. It is my understanding that the most convenient arrangement will be to stay in accommodations provided by the Roosevelt Study Center in Middelburg Friday night, November 17th, with the lecture program scheduled for early afternoon on Saturday, the 18th.

Geri and I will likely stay over from some other meetings and work on Monday and Tuesday, November 20th and 21st. If you and Maggie are available, we would love to arrange a luncheon for you and Maggie and Dutch friends for one of those days, perhaps Monday. We will arrange accommodations in The Hague or Amsterdam.

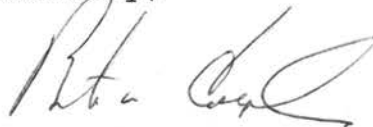
The financial arrangements will likely take the following form: USIS will provide first class airline transportation for you and Maggie and pay you a per diem fee of \$140.00. The Roosevelt Study Center will be the host for our joint party while in Middelburg and the Joseph Foundation will arrange for an appropriate honorarium for you.

Please look this over and let me have any thoughts or additions you would care to make to the concept.

Clearly, your presence in Europe during this year, given the critical discussions now going on between NATO and other countries, especially West Germany on the intermediate missile question, will have importance and critical coverage. We would hope to have attendees not only from The Netherlands but from Germany, Belgium (especially Brussels) and France.

As always, you have our kindest regards.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Burton M. Joseph', written in a cursive style.

Burton M. Joseph

BMJ/kaf

THE JOSEPH FOUNDATION

INCORPORATED

GRAIN EXCHANGE BUILDING

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA U.S.A. 55415

PHONE (612) 338-8431

February 7, 1989

Mr. William La Salle
Counselor for Information and
Cultural Affairs
American Embassy
102 Lange Voorhout
The Hague

Dear Mr. La Salle:

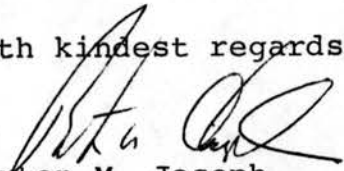
Mrs. Joseph has asked me to respond to your very thoughtful letter of January 24th inquiring about further activity in the Ambassador Geri Joseph Lectureship Series.

This program, as you are aware, is sponsored by the Joseph Foundation and undertook to conduct a series of lectures in the years following Mrs. Joseph's tour of duty in The Hague. Prince Claus and Vice President Walter Mondale very thoughtfully agreed to co-chair the selection committee.

The Joseph Foundation, since the sale of the family business, has not been nearly so active in the past several years and therefore, the Foundation has not participated in any significant international activity. However, it might be timely to discuss this with you at the time of my next scheduled trip to The Netherlands. I will be in Amsterdam on March 8th and 9th. I am planning to stay at the Golden Tulip Barbizon Centre and would be happy to visit with you at the hotel during my rather short stay in Holland.

Please let me know if you will be available and if so, we will arrange to get together.

With kindest regards,



Burton M. Joseph

BMJ/kaf

McGroarty
July 16, 1989
12:00 noon
[LEIDEN]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE PIETERSKERK
LEIDEN, THE NETHERLANDS
JULY 17, 1989
3:00 PM

[Introductory acknowledgements....] Barbara and I thank Her Majesty Queen Beatrix and the people of the Netherlands for the warm welcome you have given us.

The Netherlands is an old friend and honored ally of the United States. The friendship between our nations is older than the American Constitution -- and the United Provinces were one of the models our founders looked to in creating a nation from thirteen sovereign states.

It is a pleasure to visit Leiden -- a city whose very name has symbolized for centuries Dutch determination, and the struggle for freedom against the forces of occupation. And for Americans, too, Leiden is a special city, a place where we trace our origins.

So many of the individuals who shaped the modern world walked the cobbled streets of Leiden. It was here in Leiden that Hugo de Groot [U-go duh GROTE] -- known to the world as Grotius, [GROW-she-us] the father of modern international law -- studied, in the nation that is today home to the International Court of Justice. It was here that Rembrandt lived and worked -- and created a world of beauty that moves us today.

It was here to Leiden that the Pilgrims came to escape persecution -- to live, work and worship in peace. In the shadow of the Pieterskerk [PETERS-KIRK], they found the freedom to witness God -- openly and without fear. Here -- under the ancient stones of the Peiterskerk -- the body of John Robinson, the Pilgrims' spiritual leader, was laid to rest.

And it was from this place the Pilgrims set their course for a new world. In their search for liberty, they took with them lessons learned here of freedom and tolerance. The Pilgrims faced a dangerous passage. But, carried on the winds of hope, they arrived. On the rocky coast of New England -- at the edge of a wild and unsettled continent -- they planted the seeds of a new world -- a world that became America.

Today, as when the Pilgrims left this city, a new world lies within our reach.

Our time is a time of great hope -- and a time of great challenges. The new world we seek is shaped by an idea -- an idea of universal appeal and undeniable force. That idea is democracy.

The power of the democratic idea is evident everywhere -- in the halls of government, in the hearts of people around the world. In the words of Victor Hugo: "No army can withstand the strength of an idea whose time has come." Ladies and gentlemen, freedom's time has come.

We -- the people of the United States, the people of the Netherlands -- are fortunate. The freedoms others are struggling

for are freedoms we enjoy. But freedom never comes without struggle -- and no struggle is without sacrifice. Americans and the Dutch both know the cost of freedom is high.

That's why both of our nations are partners in an alliance of free nations that spans the ocean the Pilgrims crossed. Our alliance, the NATO alliance, connects two continents -- unites a hemisphere. But what connects us isn't merely a fact of geography. Ours is an alliance forged on common values -- rooted in a shared history and heritage, a common kinship and culture.

We are part of the commonwealth of free nations. Almost two months ago, I came to Europe to celebrate the fruits of our alliance: four decades of peace, prosperity and freedom. At the time of NATO's founding -- amid the airlift to besieged Berlin -- few would have predicted a peace so strong and lasting. Here in the Netherlands -- and elsewhere -- people expected war to come again within their lifetimes. Instead, the NATO era has brought the longest period of peace Europe has known in the modern age.

And today, the Atlantic Alliance -- formed to contain the threat of Soviet expansionism -- is creating new opportunities to ease tensions -- to build a new world, to build an enduring peace. Thanks to NATO's strength and unity, we now have the opportunity to move beyond containment -- to integrate the Soviet Union into the community of nations.

Thanks to NATO's steadiness of purpose, and its commitment to maintain strong deterrent forces, the way is now open to real reductions in the level of arms -- nuclear and conventional --

that have long cast a shadow over this continent, the most heavily militarized on earth.

Seizing these opportunities -- reaching that new world -- depends on the unity and strength of the entire alliance -- not on the actions of one nation alone. The revival of the Western European Union -- in which the Netherlands played a vital role -- the growing cooperation on security issues between West Germany and France; British and French resolve to modernize their own nuclear systems: each of these developments is a sign that Europe sees the wisdom of sustaining the collective strength that has kept the peace.

The lesson of our post-war experience is this: Strength has kept us safe, and has created opportunities for change. And from these opportunities, we can create a new era of enduring peace.

Let me say clearly: A stronger Europe -- a more united Europe -- is good for America. It is a development we welcome -- a natural evolution within our Alliance -- the product of true partnership forty years in the making.

This trend towards closer cooperation isn't limited to collective security alone. Around the world, countries are now recognizing that no nation can prosper in economic isolation. That's why we look forward to the single European market and a more integrated European Community. The world's major industrial democracies must work to maintain an open trading system to preserve sustained economic growth.

Our progress at the Economic Summit in Paris brought us closer to a more coordinated and common approach across a wide spectrum of critical global issues. The key is concerted action -- bringing the collective strength of the West to bear on our common concerns.

Concerns like the environment. Global warming, acid rain, and pollution of the world's oceans -- these are problems that know no borders, that no line on a map has the power to stop. Pollution crosses continents and oceans. It's time for nations to join forces in common defense of our environment.

The United States will do its part. A little over a month ago, I announced a series of sweeping changes to our Clean Air Act -- changes meant to ensure that every American, in the space of one generation, will breathe clean air.

Shortly after I return home, we will send our Clean Air legislation to Congress. Last week in Poland and Hungary, I announced initiatives to work with those two countries to combat their pollution problems. The next step is clear: We must work together -- take concerted action to combat this common problem, clean up our environment for ourselves and for our children.

And the Summit underscored the fact that it's time we take the next step in solving the debt problem -- to encourage conditions for global growth that will benefit the industrialized nations and developing world alike. We must make progress on this because it is more than a matter of economic development. Democracy is at stake. Freedom can nourish the barren soil of

poverty -- just as the Pilgrims landed upon a desolate rock, and laid the foundations of the freedom and prosperity we know today.

Economic and democratic development go hand in hand. The steps we've taken towards a common strategy on debt will sustain a favorable climate for growth -- and for the flourishing of democracy in the developing world.

And finally, there's Eastern Europe.

Let me explain the approach I take towards reform in Eastern Europe. We will never compromise our principles. We will always speak out for freedom. But we understand as well how vital a carefully calibrated approach is in this time of change.

The Soviet Union has nothing to fear from the reforms now unfolding in some of the nations of Eastern Europe. We support reform -- in Eastern Europe, and in the USSR. I've said many times I want to see perestroika succeed. I want to see the Soviet Union chart a course that brings it into the community of nations.

My visits these last two months demonstrate how closely the future of Europe concerns us -- how deeply we're engaged in all that is taking place here. We will play a constructive role in Eastern Europe's economic development, in the development of political pluralism -- and in creating an international climate in which reform can succeed. That is why America's relations with the Soviet Union are so important. Improved relations with the USSR reduces pressure on the nations of Eastern Europe -- especially those on the cutting edge of reform.

The new world we seek is a commonwealth of free nations working in concert -- a world where more and more nations enter a widening circle of freedom.

In the pulpit here at the Pieterskerk, one year after peace was restored in Europe, Winston Churchill spoke to the people of Leiden. The allies had triumphed over tyranny. The occupation was over. After six years of war and devastation, Churchill said: "The great wheel has swung full circle." Europe then stood at the threshold of a new era -- an era whose hope Churchill expressed in a single, simple phrase: "Let freedom reign."

We all know what followed. Half of Europe entered that new era -- and half of Europe found its path blocked, walled off by barriers of brick and barbed wire.

The half of Europe that was free dug out from the rubble, recovered from the war -- and laid the foundations of free government and free enterprise that brought unparalleled prosperity, and a life in peace and freedom.

The "other Europe" -- the Europe behind the wall -- endured four decades of privation and hardship, persecution and fear.

Today, that "other Europe" is changing. The great wheel has swung full circle once more. Our time is a time of new hope -- the hope that all of Europe can now know the freedom the Netherlands has known, that America has known, that our allies have known.

Our hope is that the unnatural division of Europe will now come to an end -- that the Europe behind the wall will join its neighbors to the West, prosperous and free.

Poland and Hungary are at the forefront of reform. They've travelled far these past twelve months, farther than any of us once would have thought possible. In Warsaw, I spoke to the new Polish Parliament that includes 100 freely-elected Senators -- elected to office in Eastern Europe's first truly free election in the post-war era. In Hungary, I addressed the students and faculty of Karl Marx University -- a university where the lessons of the free market are replacing the teachings of Das Kapital.

At the shipyards of Gdansk, and at the statue of the great Hungarian hero Kossuth, tens of thousands of people filled the streets -- new voices, full of new hope. Theirs were the faces of Pilgrims on a journey -- fixed on the horizon, on the new world coming into view.

In Poland, in Hungary -- and of course in the Soviet Union -- we're witnessing truly remarkable events. Never in the history of the communist world has a nation moved peacefully from dictatorship to democracy.

But we're realistic. We know that the fact that these governments have begun to reform has more to do with their realization that communism is a dead-end doctrine than with any new-found love of freedom. But what matters at this point is movement, not motive. Democracy -- once set in motion -- takes on a momentum of its own.

And ultimately, whatever the odds, **freedom will succeed.**

That's a lesson the world has learned several times this century -- a lesson the Dutch know well. The Netherlands will never forget the nightmare of occupation. Some of you here today suffered through those long years.

And even then -- freedom endured. Here in the Pieterskerk -- behind these walls, above the rafters -- resistance fighters and university students took refuge from the forces of occupation, found safe haven in this church.

Daily acts of heroism -- the church sexton who brought them food, the neighborhood grocer who collected extra ration stamps - kept them alive -- kept the spirit of dignity and human decency alive through the Netherlands' dark night.

Why? Why would people endanger themselves to save others? They did it for the simplest, most human of reasons. In the words of Jan Campert [YAHN KAHM-PERT], poet of the Dutch resistance, they acted because "the heart . . . could not do otherwise."

Freedom can never be extinguished -- not then, not now. Even in the Europe behind the wall, the dream of freedom for all Europe has never died. It's alive today -- in Warsaw and Gdansk, in Budapest and across the Soviet Union, and in every corner of the closed societies of Eastern Europe.

The challenge we face is clear: we must work together toward the day when all of Europe -- East and West -- is free of

discord, free of division. A day when people in every city and town across this continent know the freedoms we enjoy.

Here in Leiden, where the Pilgrims dreamed their new world, let us pledge our effort to discover the new world of Europe, whole and free, a new world now within our reach.

Once again, thank you. God bless the Netherlands, God bless the United States of America, and the friends of freedom everywhere.

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AMBASSADOR GERI JOSEPH LECTURE BY

AMBASSADOR MAX KAMPELMAN

PEACE PALACE, THE HAGUE, NOVEMBER 21, 1989

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Invitations mailed October 23, 1989

Doc. # 0273j - update 11/9/89

USIS:MW

*) - no reply

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A	Prof. Mr. P.J. Teunissen	Prof. of Int.Relations, Un. of Groningen
*)N	Dr. P.J.M. Thomeer	NACEE Board Member
*)J	Mr. Ed van Thijn	Mayor of Amsterdam
*)P	Mrs. J.L.E.M.W.R.R. Tiesinga-Autsema	Senator Democrats 66
M	Mr. J. Timmers	Chief, Foreign Desk "Het Binnenhof"
Y	Mr. Dennis van Touw	Chairman, SIB Utrecht
P	Mr. M. van Traa	MP Labor Party
*)A	Prof. Dr. H.W. Tromp	Polemological Institute, Groningen

--U--

A	Arjen Uytterlinde	Staffer Non-nuclear Arms Control and Disarmament Section, MFA
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--V--

O	Mr. Eduardo Valencia-Ospina	Registrar International Court of Justice
*)O	Mr. J. Vatekamp	Secretary-General Permanent Court of Arbitration
G	Drs. J.B. Veen	Dept. General Affairs, Ministry of Defense
R	Mr. P. van der Veen	Member RSC
G	Dr. L.W. Veenendaal	Ambassador-at-Large, MFAD
D	Rear-Adm. R.C. Veenendaal	Vice Chief of the Naval Staff, RNLN
O	Drs. M. van der Velden	Chamber of Commerce, Rotterdam
N	Drs. J. Veldhuis	President, University of Utrecht
*)P	Drs. W.G. van Velzen	Chairman Christian Democratic Party
M	Mr. F. Verhagen	Dep. Chief Editor "Intermediair"
*)BB	Mr. J.A.G. Verheijen	Hel Comite van Graanhandelaren
M	Drs. A. Vermeulen	Defense and NATO editor "Panoramiek" NOS TV
O	Mr. K.K. Vervelde	President Royal Dutch Grain and Food Trade Association
*)G	Mr. Guido Vigeveno	Policy Planning Staff, MFA
*)P	Mr. J.J. Vis	Floor leader D'66 First Chamber
BB	Mr. P.M.S. Visser	Cercalia B.V.
*)D	Mr. J. J. van der Vlugt	Advisory Council on Peace and Security
F	Mr. Thijs van Vlijmen	MP Christian Democrats
*)D	Maj. G. Vollema	Aide de Camp to the Minister of Defense
*)C	Baron B.J. van Voorst tot Voorst	State Secretary Ministry of Defense
*)BB	Mr. P. v.d. Voorn	GEM Consultants B.V.
P	Mr. Henk Vos	MP Labor Party
*)D	Mr. Henk Vredeling	Advisory Council on Peace and Security
*)BB	Mr. J. de Vries	C.A.F. Leeuwarden
J	Mr. K. de Vries	Director, VNG, Association of Dutch Municipalities

--W--

P	Mr. Jacques Wallage	State Secretary of Education
*)P	Mr. Peter van Walsum	Political Director/MFA
P	Drs. F.W. Weisglas	MP Liberal Party
*)G	Drs E.H. Wellenstein	Director, European Integration, MEA
A	Prof. H.L. Wesseling	Prof. of History, Un. Leiden
P	Mr. Marius Wessels	Parliamentary Staffer Liberal Party
*)R	Mrs. A.C. Westhoff-Hubee	Member RSC
*)D	Cdre J.C. Weststrate	Dep. Director Procurement, RNLAF
O	Mr. W.A.J. Wevers	Director, Carnegie Foundation
*)A	Dr. D. de Wied	President, Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences

*)P Y P E *)O *)D D N *)G R *)P G M M M	Mr. J.M. Wiersma Mr. Gadi Wildtrom Mr. Jan Willem Wiggers Amb. Howard Wilkins, Jr Mr. Robert J. Williams Lt. Gen. M. J. Wilmink Lt. Col. A. M. T. Wind Ms. J.A.C. Wind Drs. J.H.M. de Winter Dr. H.J. Witteveen Mr. Gerrit Jan Wolffensperger Drs. Pieter-Jan Wolthers Mr. W. Woltz Mr. Gerard van der Wulp Dr. Rob de Wijk	International Secretary Labor Party Chairman Amerika Werkgroep SIB Amsterdam Parliamentary Staffer Christian Democrats American Embassy Director, The Atlantic Exchange Program Commander-in-Chief RNLA Advisory Council on Peace and Security Executive Director NACEE Deputy Director, General Affairs, MOD Member RSC MP Democrats 66 Head, Arms Control Branch, MFA Chief Editor "NRC - Handelsblad" Chief Editor, NOS Journaal Defense analyst, VPRO Radio; Advisor, Ministry of Defense
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*)BB Mr. and Mrs. Martin Wyler Granaria B.V.

--Y--

D	Mr. P. van der Yssel	Advisory Council on Peace and Security
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--Z--

G *)M *)A A M *)D *)R	Drs. Dick Zandee Mr. Sietze van der Zee Dr. D. de Zeeuw Dr. G. Zielonka Dr. Othon L.J. Zimmer- man Mr. R.W.A. zweerts Mr. J.G. van Zwieten	Advisor Gen. Affairs, MOD Chief Editor Het Parool Pres. Wageningen University Professor of Political Science Un.Leiden Journalist "Algemeen Dagblad" Director, Int. Materiel Relations, DOD Member RSC
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NB: two student groups will be attending the lecture:

- SIB Leiden, Student Association for International Relations.
25 graduate students will be visiting the U.S. in February 1990 to study CSCE (with USIA Voluntary Visitor assistance)
- URIOS Utrecht, International Law Students Association.
25 graduate students are planning study trip to Vienna on the subject of the CFE talks. (USIS is arranging briefing at U.S. Embassy in Vienna)

FRIED, FRANK, HARRIS, SHRIVER & JACOBSON

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MAX M. KAMPELMAN
(202) 639-7020

November 29, 1989

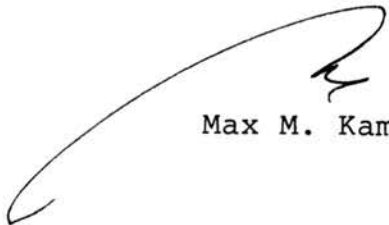
Dear Hans:

Thank you for your lovely note of November 13, which I did receive when I visited The Hague for my lecture. You were thoughtful to write. You will notice from a copy of the text which I am enclosing that I took the liberty of mentioning your name in the presence of your Foreign Minister who seemed pleased that I had done so.

It will be good to welcome you to Washington.

All my best.

Sincerely,



Max M. Kampelman

The Honorable
J. H. Meesman
Head, Netherlands
CFE/CSBM Delegation
Vienna



J.H. Meesman

Vienna, 13 November 1989

Dear Max,

The sponsors of the Ambassador Geri Joseph Lectureship were kind enough to invite me to a lecture to be given by you at the Peace Palace on Tuesday, 21 November.

Much to my regret my duties as head of the Netherlands Delegation to the Conventional Arms talks in Vienna prevent me from coming to The Hague for that occasion.

Not only would I have looked forward to meeting you again but I am sure that an arms control negotiator can only profit from listening to what you have to say on the subject of your lecture.

I am glad to let you know, however, that my government has had as for me the excellent idea of appointing me Ambassador to the United States. I hope that you will not mind my contacting you in Washington early next year so that we may renew our acquaintance and exchange views on East-West relations, a subject that brought us together in the first place and which has lost none of its importance since the early days of the Madrid meeting.

Yours very truly,

Hans

H.E. Ambassador Max M. Kampelman
c/o U.S. Information Service
Embassy of the U.S.A.
THE HAGUE

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MAX M. KAMPELMAN

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November 29, 1989

Mr. J. Paul Boersma
President
Executive Committee,
Roosevelt Study Center for Europe
Foundation
P.O. Box 6001
4330 LA Middelburg
The Netherlands

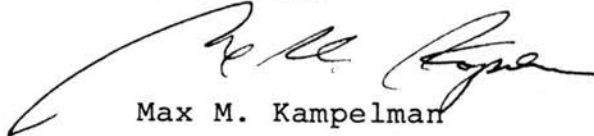
Dear Dr. Boersma:

I am writing to express my appreciation to you and to your associates for that lovely and impressive meeting that we held at the Peace Palace.

I will cherish the plate you presented me. It is beautiful. I also want to thank you for the lovely flowers that were in my room when I registered.

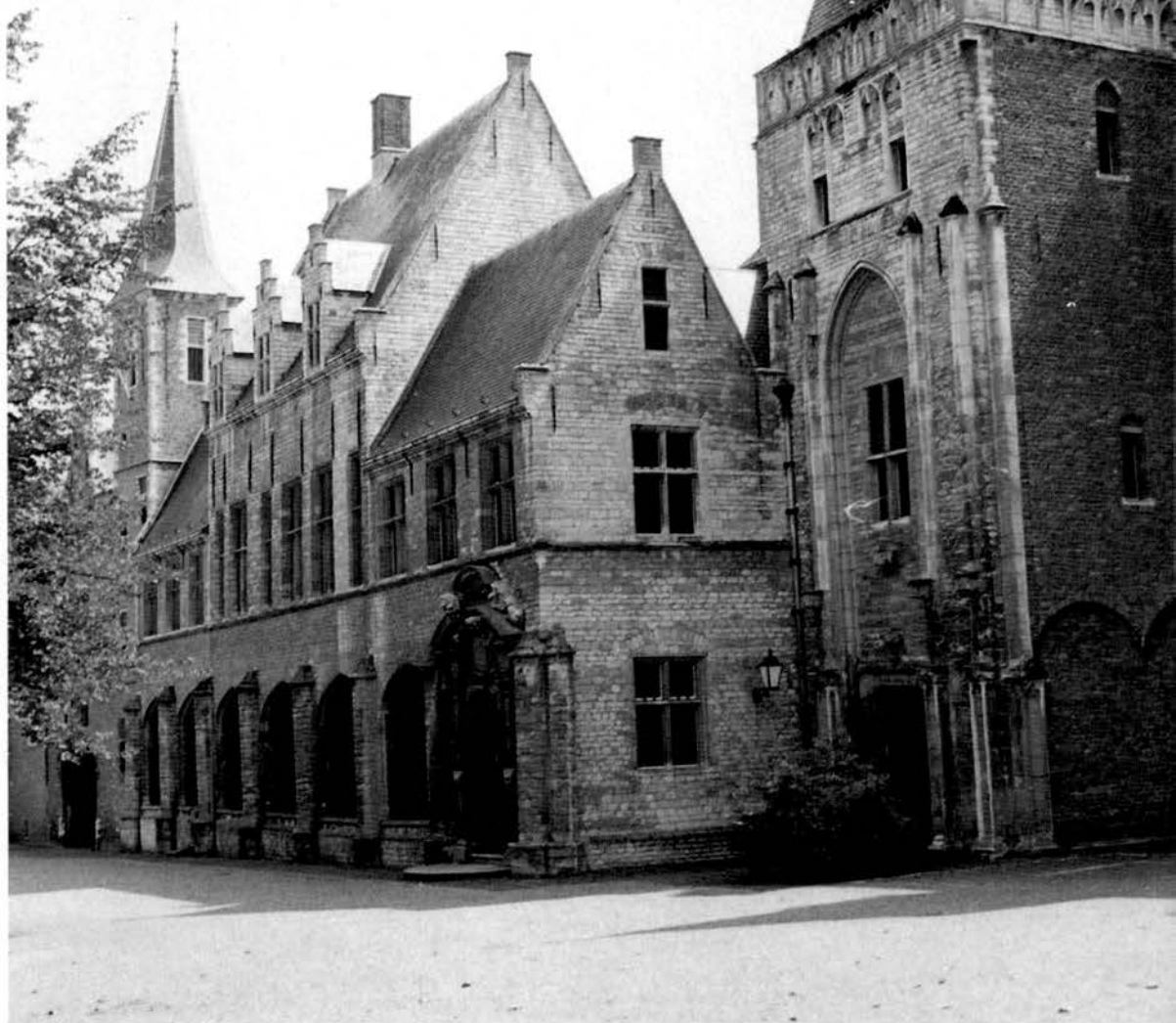
All my best to you, Mrs. Boersma and Mr. van Minnen.

Sincerely,



Max M. Kampelman

the Roosevelt *review*



Welcome to the Roosevelt Study Center

*Newsletter of
the Roosevelt
Study Center*


Summer 1989



European interest in the study of American history is continually growing. But until recently, there was a scarcity of libraries in Europe specialized in the subject, and the discipline was difficult to sustain without a "lifeline" to the United States. Now that has changed. With the establishment of the Roosevelt Study Center in Middelburg, capital of the Province of Zeeland in the Netherlands, European scholars and students of American history have excellent research facilities closer to home.

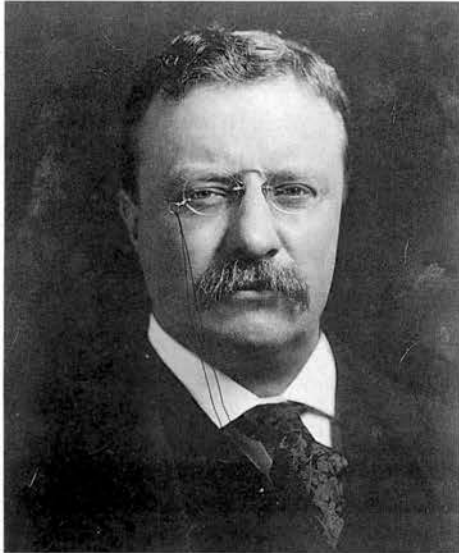
With more than 3,000 books and documents about the lives and times of the Roosevelts, the

Roosevelt Study Center has become one of the largest study centers for 20th century American history in Europe. This year the RSC has been officially recognized by the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Besides its research facilities for scholars, the permanent exhibit on the Roosevelts in the Center's museum is open to the public, and a great number of stimulating conferences and seminars are organized throughout the year. The staff of the Center welcomes all who share their interest in 20th century American studies. 

When Claes Maertenszoon van Rosevelt left his farm in the Province of Zeeland around 1640 to begin a new life in Nieuw Nederland, little could he know that three of his descendants would play such significant roles in shaping the destiny of the 20th century.

The Three Roosevelts



"Far better it is to dare mighty things, to win glorious triumphs, even though checkered by failure, than to take rank with those poor spirits who neither enjoy much nor suffer much, because they live in the gray twilight that knows not victory nor defeat."

TR, Speech in Chicago, 1899

Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919)

Theodore Roosevelt was a legend in his own time. As one contemporaneous journalist wrote, "I was bitten by Roosevelt and went wild." Energetic and controversial, at once a conservationist and a "Rough Rider", Teddy as he was affectionately known was the youngest person ever to be sworn in as President of the United States.

Born in New York, graduated from Harvard, he spent two years in the West as a rancher before returning East to serve first on the U.S. Civil Service Commission and then as President of the New York City Board of Police Commissioners. His active role in campaigning for McKinley was rewarded with an appointment as Assistant Secretary of the Navy. But when the war with Spain broke out, Roosevelt enthusiastically volunteered to serve, and dramatically charged San Juan Hill with his now-famous "Rough Riders". This ensured his status as a national hero and led to his election as Governor of New York State, and later to his nomination as McKinley's Vice President.

Upon McKinley's assassination in 1901 TR took office as President and assumed an unprecedented role as an active mediator between big business and labor. He aimed to give everyone, as he called it, a "Square Deal". In his Autobiography he wrote:

"We demand that big businesss give the people a square deal; in return we must insist that when anyone engaged in big business honestly en-

deavors to do right he shall himself be given a square deal."

But the area he himself was proudest of and from which we today still reap benefits is his work in conservation. Under his guidance more than a quarter of a billion acres was added to the U.S. national forests and thus preserved for generations to come. In 1907, in his message to Congress, he stated:

"To waste, to destroy, our natural resources, to skin and exhaust the land instead of using it so as to increase its usefulness, will result in undermining in the days of our children the very prosperity which we ought by right to hand down to them amplified and developed."



"She was a great human being; she had a warm sympathy for people,... and she had extraordinary understanding of human nature. It was these qualities that made her great..."

John Humphrey,
first Director,
UN Division
of Human Rights

Anna Eleanor Roosevelt (1884-1962)

At first perhaps best known as the wife and then widow of Franklin Delano Roosevelt – she was also a niece of TR – over the years Eleanor Roosevelt quietly grew in stature and established a place in history in her own right.

Though she never wore the label of emancipationist, she certainly influenced the emancipation both of women and of other minorities significantly. Her quiet power reached its most vocal expression in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a document that has grown increasingly important in status. Though she was not by nature political, her achievements have made an enormous impact on

the socio-political life of millions. She wrote in one of her several books, "You must do the thing you think you cannot do." And so indeed she did. From 1945 to her death Eleanor Roosevelt was actively and consistently involved with the United Nations.

Perhaps it was wishful thinking on Mrs. Roosevelt's part, or perhaps she had more foresight than the rest, when she addressed the United Nations General Assembly on December 10, 1948 and straightforwardly said, "This Universal Declaration of Human Rights may well become the international Magna Carta of all men everywhere." She compared it to the Declaration of the Rights of Man in 1789 by the French people, and the adoption of the Bill of Rights by the citizens of the United States. And she was right. For this declaration has become the foundation for suppressed and persecuted peoples throughout the world to appeal to the international community for justice.



"In Franklin Roosevelt there died the greatest American friend we have ever known – and the greatest champion of freedom who has ever brought help and comfort from the New World to the Old."

*Sir Winston Churchill, Speech,
April 17, 1945*

Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882-1945)

No one can study the history of the twentieth century without encountering the name of the 32nd President of the United States, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Known to family, friends and his constituents as FDR, his administration spanned 12 years and left an indelible mark on his own nation and on the world.

He took office at a time when the United States, and the world, had reached an economic and social nadir. His "fresh" approach to conquering

continued on page 4

A Look Ahead

Upcoming events at the RSC in 1989

Photo Festival Zeeland, September

In honor of the 150th anniversary of photography STICOR and the RSC will organize a number of photographic exhibits in Zeeland, including:

"Hard Times in America. Social Photography in the Roosevelt Eras" September 6-29

An exhibit based on photographs by Jacob A. Riis on loan from the Museum of the City of New York, and by Walker Evans on loan from the U.S. Library of Congress.

Other exhibits will focus on France, the birthplace of photography, featuring:

Historical objects from the Musée Nationale des Techniques, Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, Paris

From the Musée Carnavalet, vintage prints of Paris in the 1850s, made by Charles Marville

Twentieth century photographers such as Brassai, Boubat, Monier, Rousse, Tatsopoulos and Desmarquest



"Five cents a spot" lodgers in a crowded Bayard Street tenement (Riis)

Summer School America, September 10-15

After the success of the first summer school in 1988, RSC and the Dutch Open University decided to organize two such seminars in 1989. The first took place from June 18 to 23. The second will take place in September. This six-day seminar for Dutch Open University students will teach them how to use literature, film archives and historical documents on microfilm. The focus will be on: "The Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt" and "European Perceptions of the United States in the 19th and 20th Centuries."

Annual Meeting of the Theodore Roosevelt Association; Lawrence J. Saunders Awards, October 26-27

The Theodore Roosevelt Association Annual Meeting will be held for the first time outside of the U.S. at the RSC. Several descendants of TR will be present.

A highlight of the meeting will be the presentation of the Saunders Awards for students of American history in the Netherlands.

Max M. Kampelman, Ambassador and Head of the United States Delegation to the Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Arms, Geneva, 1985-1989, November 21

The RSC, in cooperation with the U.S. Embassy in The Hague and the Geri Joseph Foundation, is honored to announce that Ambassador Max M. Kampelman will lecture on his role in the arms reduction talks between the United States and the Soviet Union. The lecture will take place at the Peace Palace, The Hague.



Max M. Kampelman

Looking ahead to 1990:

The Franklin D. Roosevelt Four Freedoms Awards ceremony will take place in May. The presentations will be preceded by a three-day conference on FDR and his European and Asian contemporaries.

A Word About the Roosevelt Study Center

Roosevelt Foundation

Cornelis Boertien
President

William J. vanden Heuvel
Vice President

Pieter van der Veen
Treasurer

Arend C. de Ru
Executive Secretary

Hans Bergmans
Robert D. Dalziel
William R. Emerson
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Sybold van Ravesteyn
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Hugo Scheltema
Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.
Jan Willem Schulte Nordholt
André S. Spoor
Brian Urquhart
H. Johannes Witteveen

Executive Committee, Roosevelt Study Center for Europe Foundation

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Giebe van der Scheer
Greet de Vries-Hommes
Aad Westhoff-Hubbe
J. Gert van Zwieten

Cornelis A. van Minnen
Executive Director


The objectives of the Roosevelt Study Center are:

1. To provide European scholars and students of American history with research facilities, including direct access to source materials relating to the Roosevelt era in the Center's collection, and accessibility through finding aids, microform and computers to the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, the Theodore Roosevelt Collection at Harvard University, as well as important collections in the Library of Congress and the National Archives in Washington, DC;
2. To provide audio-visual facilities for students and the general public on the United States in the twentieth century;
3. To cooperate with European schools and universities in the utilization of the Center's resources;
4. To offer a program of exhibits, lectures, conferences and publications related to the

Roosevelt era and the contemporary meaning of the Four Freedoms.

The Roosevelt Study Center has been established by the Provincial Government of Zeeland, the American Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute and the Theodore Roosevelt Association. The Roosevelt Study Center is administered by the Roosevelt Study Center for Europe Foundation. In developing its activities, the Center is supported by the Roosevelt Foundation, an advisory group of prominent American and European scholars, top government officials and representatives from the private sector. The scholarly activities of the RSC have led to its recognition by the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences as an affiliate.

Companies and individuals wishing to make a contribution or receive more information are invited to contact the Roosevelt Study Center, P.O. Box 6001, 4330 LA Middelburg, The Netherlands, telephone 01180-31590.

The names of the contributors will be inscribed on the Center's Honor Roll. 



The permanent exhibition on the three Roosevelts at the RSC


FDR continued from page 3

The Three Roosevelts

the Great Depression and putting the American economy back on its feet included the formation of large public works projects, the Social Security Administration, and tax reforms. As he himself said, "There is nothing to fear but fear itself," and if anything can be said of FDR he was not afraid – not afraid to experiment, not afraid of ridicule. While on the campaign trail he put forth this philosophy:

"The country needs,... the country demands bold, persistent experimentation. It is common sense to take a method and try it. If it fails, admit it frankly and try another. But above all, try something."

During Roosevelt's first administration domestic problems demanded most of his attention. But an unquiet world was hurtling forward into another crisis – a second World War. Under his leadership the U.S. not only joined the nations of the world in fighting tyranny, but it left behind forever its policy of isolationism. In his Fourth, and last, Inaugural Address, he pointedly formulated this:

"We have learned that we cannot live alone, at peace; that our own well-being is dependent on the well-being of other nations far away.... We have learned to be citizens of the world, members of the human community." 

"In future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms. The first is freedom of speech and expression.... The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way.... The third is freedom from want... The fourth is freedom from fear.... This nation has placed its destiny in the hands and heads and hearts of its millions of free men and women; and its faith in freedom under the guidance of God."

FDR, Message to Congress, January 6, 1941

The Four Freedoms Awards

As the ceremonies of the 1988 Four Freedoms Awards commenced, the voice of President Franklin Roosevelt resounded through the imposing 16th century Nieuwe Kerk in Middelburg. His solemn words carried many people back almost 50 years to a time when a troubled world needed confirmation of its ideals.

His words are as appropriate today as they were then. And it is for that reason that the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute in Hyde Park, New York created the Franklin D. Roosevelt Four Freedoms Awards.

Each year these honors are bestowed upon persons whose lifetime achievements demonstrate a commitment to these principles. Since 1982 – the centennial of President Roosevelt's birth and the bicentennial of diplomatic relations between the United States and the Netherlands – the Awards are presented in odd-numbered years to Americans in Hyde Park, New York, the former residence of Eleanor and Franklin, and in even-numbered years to international figures in Zeeland, the Netherlands, the ancestral home of the Roosevelt family.

The 1988 Award Winners

The momentousness of the ceremonies was underlined by the significant speeches of the award winners, all of whom took the opportunity to remind the 800 distinguished guests of the continuing need for commitment to political and economic freedom for all the nations of the world.

"There is no military security. There is no economic welfare and there is even no personal integrity to be achieved by nation states in isolation from each other nowadays," declared Helmut Schmidt, former Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany and recipient of the Four Freedoms Medal. "It is just one world and one natural habitat."

The award was presented by Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. and Winston Churchill, MP to Mr. Schmidt. As Chancellor of West Germany he became the personification of the profound strength of his country's commitment to democracy. His magnificent achievements have brought President Roosevelt's vision closer to reality.



Mr. Helmut Schmidt (center), recipient of the Four Freedoms Award being congratulated by (from l. to r.) Mr. Winston Churchill, Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. and Mr. William J. vanden Heuvel

The second award winner was Ms. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf who received the Freedom of Speech Medal from Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. Born in Monrovia, Liberia Ms. Sirleaf has been in and out of exile and in and out of prison innumerable times in the last 15 years.

Ms. Sirleaf accepted the award "on behalf of the silent majority and in salute to all who have taken a stand for liberty and honesty and justice; on behalf of Steve Biko and Diallo Telli and Thomas Sankara...; on behalf of Nelson Mandela and Gabriel Kpolleh....; and on behalf of Debbie Harding and all the human rights institutions to whom I owe my life..."

The next dignitary to be honored was Mr. Teddy Kollek, Mayor of Jerusalem, who received the Freedom of Worship Award from the Mayor of Amsterdam, Mr. Ed van Thijn. Mr. Kollek, who has been reelected as Jerusalem's Mayor for more than 20 years, has championed the rights of all inhabitants of his city, Christian, Muslim and Jew. In accepting the award Mr. Kollek remarked, "It is a complicated city: 103 different kinds of Jews.... Forty different Christian denominations. Add to this almost a quarter Muslims.... But this love of God that expresses itself in these various religious observances does not always go together with the love of man. And this is what we have to strive for...."




Attentively listening were H.R.H. Prince Bernhard, H.R.H. Princess Juliana, and Mr. John Shad, the former United States Ambassador to the Netherlands

The Freedom from Want Medal was presented to Dr. Halfdan T. Mahler by the President of the Fortieth World Health Assembly, Dr. Johan van Londen, and Ambassador Hugo Scheltema. Dr. Mahler has served the World Health Organization for nearly forty years, and has been its Director-General since 1973. He accepted his medal as an honor due to the World Health Organization, "for... deciding to attain a level of health for all people that would permit them to lead socially and economically productive lives." Dr. Mahler pointed out the heart-breaking discrepancies that still exist between the privileged and underprivileged, between the developed and developing countries.

The last award, the Freedom from Fear Medal, was presented to Dr. Armand Hammer, industrialist, citizen-diplomat and philanthropist, by Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. and Mr. David B. Roosevelt. Freedom from Fear, as President Roosevelt defined it, meant a worldwide reduction of armaments and so it is appropriate that Dr. Hammer, who has known every Soviet leader from Lenin to Gorbachev (with the exception of Stalin whom he refused to meet) and who has worked his whole life toward peaceful coexistence between the two superpowers, should receive this distinction. Dr. Hammer, who had just returned from the Moscow summit meeting, commented, "I think we can all look forward to the time when, thanks to the beginning of President Reagan and Mr. Gorbachev this threat of nuclear weapons which could destroy all of us will be reduced, and... that we will be able to give our children and our grandchildren a nuclear-free world and a chance to live in peace."

Reflecting on the grandeur of the day, William J. vanden Heuvel, President of the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, observed, "With Winston Churchill, the grandson of the great British Prime Minister at his side, in the presence of the Dutch Royal Family, and many Europeans whose countries were once conquered by Hitler's armies, with the Mayor of Jerusalem participating in the occasion, reminding us of the most terrible genocide in history, Franklin Roosevelt, Jr. bestowed the Four Freedoms Medal in memory of his father on a former Chancellor of Germany. It was a moment of overwhelming emotion, a moment of great hope as former enemies embraced, as the triumph of democracy was hailed, as the cause of freedom moved each of us to remember that its preservation is our constant duty."

The 1989 awards ceremony will be held in Hyde Park, New York on October 13. The recipients will include CBS News Special Correspondent Walter L. Cronkite and former Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee J. William Fulbright. 



Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. thanking the distinguished audience on behalf of his family. This was Mr. Roosevelt's last public appearance. He died on August 17, 1988.





The award winners and dignitaries, from left to right: Mr. Teddy Kollek, Mr. William J. van den Heuvel, H.R.H. Prince Bernhard, H.R.H. Princess Juliana (wearing her 1982 Four Freedoms Medal), Dr. Armand Hammer, Dr. Halfdan T. Mahler, Ms. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Mr. Helmut Schmidt, and Dr. Cornelis Boertien, Queen's Commissioner in the Province of Zeeland.




Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Co-Chairman of the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute

Dutch-American Friendship Day at the RSC

The history of the Netherlands and the United States is undeniably intertwined. Since the first Dutch colonists sailed to New Netherland in the 17th century until the present day, the Dutch and Americans have had an unbroken friendship. In 1982 the U.S. Congress officially designated April 19 as Dutch-American Friendship Day, to commemorate the fact that exactly 200 years earlier John Adams had been recognized as the first United States Ambassador to the Netherlands.

In 1989 the Roosevelt Study Center was the

venue to celebrate this occasion. As part of the day's events three lectures were given: one by Mr. Emile van Lennep, former Secretary-General of the OECD on "Economic and Financial Aspects of a Long-Lasting Friendship"; the second "American-West European Relations, 1945 to the Present," by Mr. William J. vanden Heuvel, President of the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute in Hyde Park, NY; and "Dutch-American Relations after World War II," by Professor Maarten C. Brands from the University of Amsterdam. These were followed by plenary debates. 

The plenary discussions were conducted by (l. to r.) Mr. William J. vanden Heuvel, Professor Rob Kroes (Chair), Mr. Emile van Lennep and Professor Maarten C. Brands.



A three-day conference co-organized with the Netherlands American Studies Association and the Association for Canadian Studies in the Netherlands took place from June 7-9, 1989 at the RSC.


The Dutch in North America: Their Immigration and Cultural Continuity

Four centuries of Dutch settlements in Canada and the United States were explored at a three-day conference at the RSC. The studies presented revealed the immigrant's search for a balance between cultural continuity and cultural adaptation.

The Dutch perception and expectations of the New World were dealt with in papers that focused on the role of Dutch literature, letters, travel reports, information in the press, government emigration policy and propaganda films in the 1950s and early '60s. Other papers dealt with community studies in the U.S. and Canada and general aspects of cultural continuity, in language

and literature and the role of the church and school, of festivals, and attempts at transplanting the Dutch phenomenon of "verzuiling".

In all 23 papers were presented both in panel sessions as well as plenary lectures. Speakers included such distinguished scholars as Professor J.W. Schulte Nordholt (the "dean" of American Studies in the Netherlands), Professor Robert P. Swierenga (Kent State University, Ohio) and Professor Howard Palmer (University of Calgary, Alberta). The conference was attended by about 80 scholars.

The publication of the papers will be available next year at the RSC. 

Since 1987 the Lawrence J. Saunders Awards have been presented by the Roosevelt Study Center for the most outstanding essays on 20th century American history written by Dutch university students.

Lawrence J. Saunders Awards

Three eminent Dutch historians – Professor Rob Kroes, University of Amsterdam; Professor Alfons Lammers, University of Leiden; and Dr. Doeko Bosscher, University of Groningen – were asked to evaluate the 1988 entries for the Lawrence J. Saunders awards. The winners were as follows:

1st prize, Maarten Goudsmit, "The American Nuclear Alert, October 1973";
2nd prize, Odette Bovenberg, "The Venezuelan Controversy of 1908 in its Dutch and American Perspective";
3rd prize, Arie Lantinga, "The United States Information Agency. American Public Diplomacy, 1917-1988."

In presenting the awards Professor Lammers encouraged all the competitors to "continue to devote their energies, not only to the study of history, but to the study of American history." He added, "Those who devote themselves to studying American history in the Netherlands, will feel the pleasurable obligation of being drawn back to the Roosevelt Study Center in Zeeland."

The Saunders Awards were established by Mr. Steven R. Saunders, a member of the Executive Committee of the Theodore Roosevelt Association, in order to promote the study of American history in the Netherlands in general, and to encourage the use of the RSC's unique research resources in particular.
The awards are named in honor of his father, Mr. Lawrence J. Saunders (1917-1981), an engineer




The first winner of the Saunders Award in 1987, Hans Grünfeld (left), J. Paul Boersma, President of the RSC (center) and Steven R. Saunders. Mr. Grünfeld won first prize for his essay, "The United States, Israel, and the Suez Crisis 1956".

who was a frequent visitor to the Netherlands and had a deep affection and admiration for the Dutch people.

Mr. Steven R. Saunders is President of Saunders & Company of Alexandria, Virginia, and is counsellor in domestic and international public affairs. He is a former Assistant U.S. Trade Representative, and former Staff Director of the Republican Conference of the U.S. Senate.

The Theodore Roosevelt Association

This year's awards will be presented during the 70th Annual Meeting of the Theodore Roosevelt Association on October 26-27. This is the first time in the history of the Association that such a meeting will be held outside of the United States. The Roosevelt Study Center in Zeeland is honored to host this event and to welcome relatives of TR back to their family home. 

Among those present at the 1988 Saunders Award winners, (l. to r.) were Maarten Goudsmit (first prize); Professor Rob Kroes (jury); J. Paul Boersma (President, RSC); Arie Lantinga (third prize); Professor Alfons Lammers (jury); Odette Bovenberg (second prize); and Dr. Cornelis Boertien (Queen's Commissioner in the Province of Zeeland).



In September the RSC and STICOR will be presenting several unique photo exhibits including works of photography's early pioneers, the poignant photographic visions of Jacob Riis and Walker Evans, and other 20th century photographers.

Photo Festival Zeeland



Room in a tenement (Riis)

In addition to its permanent exhibit on the three Roosevelts, each year the Roosevelt Study Center organizes an outstanding temporary exhibit. This September in connection with the 150th anniversary of photography, the RSC, cooperating with STICOR, will present several exhibits dealing with the beginnings of photography and going through to the present.

From the Musée Nationale des Techniques, Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers in Paris a number of works will be shown which have never before been seen outside of Paris – including a Daguerreotype made by Daguerre himself and pictures from early photographic pioneers such as Niépce de St. Victor.

Also from France, the Musée Carnavalet will give on loan to Middelburg original prints of Charles Marville. This is only the second time that Marville's photos of 19th century Paris have been displayed outside of France. It will probably be the last time, because of the possible damage that light and air can cause to old photographs. Marville documented Paris in the 1850s, the Paris of Balzac and Hugo, before its dark and narrow streets were transformed into the now-so-familiar elegant boulevards.

150th Anniversary of Photography




Keynote speaker
Anne Cartier-
Bresson

1989 marks the 150th anniversary of Arago's purchase of the Daguerreotype patent for the Academy of Sciences in Paris and thus bringing photography into the public domain.

As a source of documentation, information and communication photography is irreplaceable. But what do we do as old photos fade until all the images are gone? Surprisingly there is far too little known about the art of conserving and restoring photographs.

The STICOR Foundation (Stichting Restauratie en Conservatie) and the RSC have sought to remedy this by organizing the symposium, "Conservation and Restoration of Photographs: An Introduction."

Recognizing the importance of this subject, representatives of every major Dutch museum

and archive, including conservators, archivists, restorers, photo-historians and collectors, attended the symposium on May 23. The keynote speaker was Anne Cartier-Bresson, daughter of the world-famous photographer Henri Cartier-Bresson and director of the Atelier for the Restoration and Conservation of Photography in Paris. Anne Cartier-Bresson explained that the City of Paris has a collection of photographs numbering in the millions which they hope to preserve for future generations. Unfortunately, for many of these photos it is already too late. The necessity of restoring and conserving photos has only recently been realized. Until the 1970s exhibits were often held at which the public was actually allowed to touch the photographs and "fingerprints are one of the worst things that can happen to a photo," according to Ms. Cartier-Bresson. 

“ Rue des Trois Canettes (de la rue de la Liorne)
(Marville)

Twentieth century photographers will also be represented, featuring such internationally known people as Brassai, Edouard Boubat, Albert Monier, Georges Rousse, Catharine Tatsopoulos and Patricia Desmarquest. A highlight of these exhibits will be “Hard Times in America: Social Photography in the Roosevelt Eras,” presenting the works of Jacob Riis (1849-1914) and Walker Evans (1903-1975) on display at the RSC.

Jacob Riis, one of Theodore Roosevelt’s closest friends, was a leading crusader for social reform in the 1890s and early 1900s. A former police reporter, Riis is best known as a social reformer who fought for the elimination of slum conditions on New York City’s Lower East Side. His book, “How the Other Half Lives,” inspired many New Yorkers – including TR who was NYC Police Commissioner – to seek long-needed reforms.

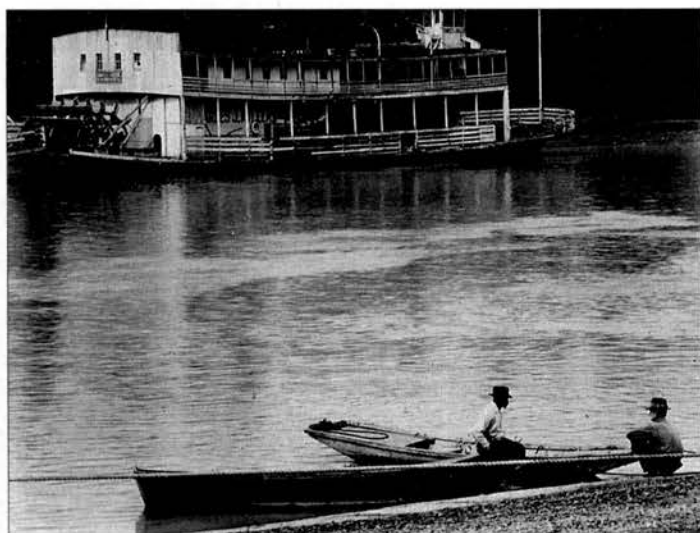
Walker Evans on the other hand was not a social reformer but endeavored to create a durable record of American life. One of his most highly acclaimed works is “Let Us Now Praise Famous Men,” his Depression-Era collaboration with James Agee about a Southern sharecropper family.

From 1935-1937 Evans worked for the Farm Security Administration, documenting rural poverty. His masterpiece, “American Photographs,” contains many of the photos he shot for the FSA. In their portrayal of the United States they show the ever-present conflict between the American dream and the American reality.

The exhibit will be opened on September 6 with a symposium in which Dutch, Belgian and French specialists will discuss the works of Riis and Evans. The exhibit is open to the public free of charge (Monday to Friday, 9.30 am to 12.30 pm, 1.30 pm to 4.30 pm). 



Roadside stand near
Birmingham,
Alabama, 1936
(Evans)



The ferry and the
river men, Vicksburg,
Mississippi, February
1936 (Evans)

Roosevelt Study Center Publications

Just Published

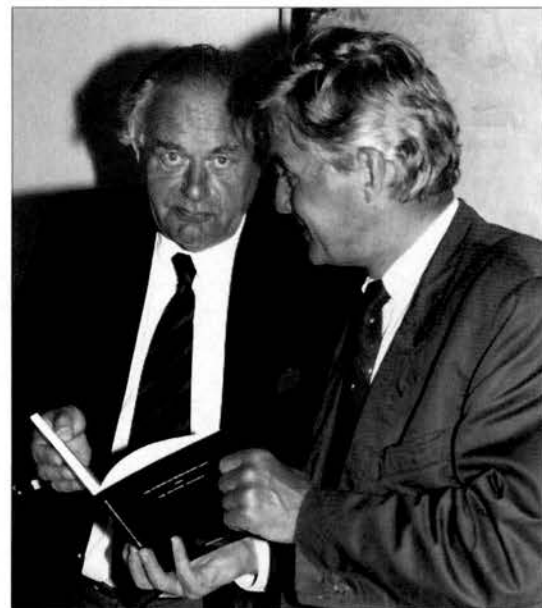
The European Democratic Left and the Atlantic Alliance

In light of NATO's 40th anniversary as well as the European Parliamentary elections in June this year, the RSC published a new book entitled, "The European Democratic Left and the Atlantic Alliance." This is the ninth volume in the RSC publications series.

At a special press conference in the Hague on June 6, publication of the book was announced and RSC President J. Paul Boersma presented Mr. Pieter Dankert, Vice Chairman of the European Parliament, with the first copy.

The book is based upon lectures and discussions which took place at a two-day conference in June 1988, organized by the RSC and the Netherlands Atlantic Commission. Some 35 spokespersons for progressive political parties in Western Europe and Canada, as well as researchers in international relations and security policy from both sides of the Atlantic participated. The conference was also attended by 55 observers

from the U.S. and several European countries, including representatives from the Embassies of Poland and the Soviet Union in the Netherlands.



Pieter Dankert, Vice Chairman of the European Parliament, receiving the newest RSC publication from J. Paul Boersma, RSC President

The Roosevelt Study Center has published in its series "Roosevelt Study Center Publications", edited by Cornelis A. van Minnen, the following volumes:

No. 1 *The Franklin D. Roosevelt Four Freedoms Awards 1984*

Speeches delivered on the occasion of the presentation of the Four Freedoms Awards in Middelburg on June 23, 1984 (Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., William J. vanden Heuvel, et al.). Middelburg, 1985. fl. 14.75/ \$7.50

No. 2 *FDR's Place in Past and Present: An Evaluation Forty Years After His Death*

Lectures delivered in Middelburg on April 12, 1985, by J.W. Schulte Nordholt and Leon Gordenker. Middelburg, 1986. fl. 11.75/ \$6.00

No. 3 *The Many-sided Theodore Roosevelt: American Renaissance Man*

Lecture delivered in Middelburg on December 3, 1985, by John A. Gable. Middelburg, 1986. fl. 9.75/ \$5.00

No. 4 *The Roosevelts: Nationalism, Democracy and Internationalism*

Lectures delivered by David K. Adams, Carl-Ludwig Holtfrerich, Edmund Morris, and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. on the occasion of the inauguration of the Roosevelt Study Center on September 19, 1986. Middelburg, 1987. fl. 32.50/ \$16.50

No. 5 *The Franklin D. Roosevelt Four Freedoms Awards 1986*

Speeches delivered on the occasion of the presentation of the Four Freedoms Awards in Middelburg on September 20, 1986 (Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., William J. vanden Heuvel, et al.). Middelburg, 1987. fl. 21.50/ \$11.00

No. 6 *A Bouquet from the Netherlands*

Liber amicorum presented to Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. on the occasion of his seventieth birthday (contributions by Rob Kroes, Alfons Lammers, Cornelis A. van Minnen, J.W. Schulte Nordholt). Middelburg, 1987. fl. 32.50/ \$16.50

No. 7 *The Decolonization of Indonesia. International Perspectives*

Lectures delivered at the Roosevelt Study Center on September 2, 1987, by Pieter J. Drooglever, Leon Gordenker, Joop J.P. de Jong, and Soedjatmoko. Middelburg, 1988. fl. 29.50/ \$15.00

No. 8 *The Franklin D. Roosevelt Four Freedoms Awards 1988*

Speeches delivered on the occasion of the presentation of the Four Freedoms Awards in Middelburg on June 4, 1988 (Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., William J. vanden Heuvel, et al.). Middelburg, 1989. fl. 14.75/ \$7.50

No. 9 *The European Democratic Left and the Atlantic Alliance*

(Co-edited with Rio D. Praaning). Proceedings of an international conference held in Middelburg on June 24 and 25, 1988, attended by politicians and researchers from Western Europe and North America. Middelburg, 1989. fl. 19.50/ \$10.00

Please order books by number and title, and make checks payable to the Roosevelt Study Center. Orders should be mailed to: Roosevelt Study Center
P.O. Box 6001
4330 LA Middelburg
The Netherlands
All prices include postage and handling.

The Roosevelt Review has been sponsored by a grant from Dow Benelux N.V.



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Marian de Waard

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Jaap Wolterbeek
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Musée Carnavalet
Museum of the City of New York



STEIGENBERGER
KURHAUS HOTEL
SCHEVENINGEN

11/19/89
Gevers Deynootplein 30
2586 CK Den Haag, Holland
Tel. 070-52 00 52
Telex: 33295
Telecopier: 070-50 09 11

Dear Max -

Welcome to The Netherlands!

We beat you in by several hours.
Call this evening if you're up to
it - but we want you as seeing you
until tomorrow.

Hope you had a good trip. We're
looking forward to seeing you -
call -

Joel

Ambassador Kampelman's Meeting with Queen Beatrix
November 20 at 1700

- o Meeting requested by Royal Household
- o Considerable sensitivity in NL about any direct political role for the Sovereign
- o Imperative to keep your discussion in strictest confidence
- o Queen Beatrix is very well-informed and insightful in her questions
- o President Bush's July visit to NL first ever by US President in office

Talking Points

- President Bush's July visit to the Netherlands was extremely successful
- President's speech at Leiden's Pieterskerk (St. Peter's Church where Pilgrims departed on Mayflower for new world) very well received
- Reminded Americans of longstanding ties and friendship with Netherlands, our oldest ally
- Appreciate Netherlands' leading role in NATO and defending need continued close trans-Atlantic ties
- More important than ever in historic but unstable times
- Dutch and American views on free trade and open markets coincide
- Important catalysts for economic well being allowing for increasing political freedom and democracy

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DEX 6200 (202) 639-7004

DEX 6500 (202) 639-7005

DEX 6500 (202) 639-7008

Message _____

Operator _____

Date: 11-16-89

Total number of pages 1 (including the cover sheet)

To: William LaSalle & Andrew Schlesinger

Company Name: USIA - Counsel for Information and Cultural Affairs

Direct Line to Confirm: 011 31 70 62 49 11 ext 226

From: Amb. Max M. Kampelman

Re: Netherlands Program Schedule

Comments: PLEASE NOTE THAT AMBASSADOR KAMPELMAN WILL ARRIVE
AT SCHIPHOL AIRPORT AT 19:30 ON SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 19. PLEASE CORRECT
YOUR ITINERARY. BA-442 IS THE CORRECT FLIGHT NUMBER.

IF FOR ANY REASON YOU NEED TO CONTACT US, PLEASE CALL:

THE TELECOPY OPERATOR AT (202) 639-7126, 7125

TELECOPY OPERATOR INFORMATION ONLY:

Time Started: 2:14

Operator's initials: MAB

PLEASE WRITE CLIENT NUMBER ON BACK

Client Number: 9999-788

Direct Line to Fax Machine: 01173170865 88 37

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DEX 6200 (202) 639-7004

DEX 6500 (202) 639-7005

DEX 6500 (202) 639-7008

Message

Operator

Date: 11-16-89

Total number of pages 1 (including the cover sheet)

To: MR. BURTON JOSEPH

Company Name:

Direct Line to Confirm: 612-338-8431

From: Max M. Kampelman

Re:

Comments: Please correct your itinerary to show that Ambassador Kampelman will arrive on BA-442 at Schiphol Airport at 19:30 on Sunday, November 19. Arrival time of 07:30 is incorrect.

IF FOR ANY REASON YOU NEED TO CONTACT US, PLEASE CALL:

THE TELECOPY OPERATOR AT (202) 639-7126, 7125

TELECOPY OPERATOR INFORMATION ONLY:

Time Started:

2:15

Operator's initials:

MAB

PLEASE WRITE CLIENT NUMBER ON BACK

Client Number: 9999-788

Direct Line to Fax Machine: 612-338-1536

Sharon:

We sent a FAX to USIS and to the Josephs correcting MMK's arrival time in Amsterdam from 0730 to 1930 on Sunday.

Nancy

**United States
Information
Service**

Lange Voorhout 102
2614 EJ 's-Gravenhage

Telephone: (0) 70-624-911

TO AMBASSADOR MAX KAMPELMAN
FROM BURTON M. JOSEPH
FOR YOUR INFORMATION

**Netherlands Program****Ambassador Max Kampelman****Ambassador Geri Joseph and Mr. Burton Joseph****November 19 - 23, 1989**Accommodations

Kurhaus Hotel
Gevers Deynootplein 30
2586 CK The Hague
Tel. (0)70-52.00.52

Embassy Control Officers:

William La Salle
Counselor for Information and Cultural
Affairs
Office tel.: (070)-62.49.11, ext. 226
Home tel. : (070)-63.83.25

Andrew Schlessinger
Cultural Affairs Officer
Office tel.: (070)-62.49.11, ext. 2
Home tel : (070)-89.35.67

Doc. # 02915
USIS:MW

**SCHEDULE OF VISIT OF AMBASSADOR MAX KAMPELMAN, AMBASSADOR GERI JOSEPH
AND MR. BURTON JOSEPH TO THE NETHERLANDS, NOVEMBER 19 - 23, 1989**

Sunday, November 19

07:30

Arrival of Ambassador Max Kampelman at Schiphol Airport on flight BA-442 from London. Counselor for Information and Cultural Affairs William La Salle and Cultural Affairs Officer Andrew Schlessinger will meet. Party is escorted to the VIP lounge to await arrival of Ambassador and Mr. Joseph.

08:25

Ambassador Geri Joseph and Mr. Burton Joseph arrive on flight NW-42. They will be escorted to the VIP lounge.

When luggage has been collected, party leaves (in two cars) for the Kurhaus Hotel in The Hague.

No activities have been set up for the day, to allow for rest and personal arrangements.

Monday, November 20

15:30

Embassy car will pick up Ambassador Kampelman and Ambassador and Mr. Joseph at Kurhaus Hotel and proceed to the American Embassy for a meeting with Ambassador Howard Wilkins.

16:00

PAO William La Salle will escort party to the Executive Office.
Meeting with Ambassador C. Howard Wilkins, Jr.

Separate Program of Ambassador Kampelman

16:30

Embassy car drives Ambassador Max Kampelman to the Palace Huize ten Bosch

17:00

Private meeting of H.M. Queen Beatrix and Ambassador Max Kampelman

Embassy car drives Ambassador Kampelman back to Kurhaus Hotel after the meeting with the Queen.

16:40

After meeting with Ambassador Wilkins, Embassy car will take Ambassador and Mr. Joseph back to the Kurhaus Hotel.

Evening

Unscheduled.

Tuesday, November 21

16:30 Embassy car will pick up Ambassador Kampelman, and Ambassador and Mr. Joseph at the Kurhaus Hotel and proceed to the Academy Building of the Peace Palace.

16:45 onwards Please refer to attached scenario for details.

Wednesday, November 22

Departure of Ambassador Kampelman. Embassy car will take him to Schiphol Airport. VIP lounge has been reserved.

Thursday, November 23

08:15 Embassy car will pick up Ambassador and Mr. Joseph at the Kurhaus Hotel and proceed to Schiphol Airport. VIP lounge has been reserved.

10:10 Ambassador and Mr. Joseph depart on flight BA-447 to London.

NOTE:

A press interview of Ambassador Kampelman may be included on either the Monday or the Tuesday.

**United States
Information
Service**

Lange Voorhout 102
2514 EJ's-Gravenhage

Telephone: (0) 70-624-911



American Embassy, The Hague, The Netherlands

Fax number:

(070) - 65 88 37 - direct dial (within the Netherlands)

(31) 70 65 88 37 - direct dial (outside the Netherlands)

Date: November 16, 1989

No. of Pages including this page: 8

To: Mr. Burton Joseph
789 Grain Exchange, Minneapolis, MN 55415
fax (612) 338-1536

From: American Embassy, Mickey Warners
The Hague, the Netherlands

Subject: tentative program schedule. Final program will be handed to you
upon arrival.

**SCENARIO AMBASSADOR GERI JOSEPH LECTURE
Peace Palace, The Hague, November 21, 1989**

16:30 Counselor for Information and Cultural Affairs William La Salle and Cultural Affairs Officer Andrew Schlessinger arrive at the Academy Building of the Peace Palace, and will be joined by Mr. Max van der Stoel, Chairman Carnegie Foundation.

16:40 Ambassador C. Howard Wilkins, Jr. and Deputy Chief of Mission Thomas Gewecke arrive at Peace Palace, Academy Building and will be introduced to Mr. van der Stoel. Party proceeds to VIP Room.

Queen's Commissioner and Mrs. Cornelis Boertien arrive at Peace Palace and are escorted to VIP Room.

16:45 Ambassador Max Kampelman, Ambassador Geri Joseph and Mr. Burton Joseph arrive at Peace Palace, Academy Building and are escorted to VIP Room.

16:50 Minister of Foreign Affairs Hans van den Broek, Minister of Defense Kees ter Beek, and State Secretary of Defense Baron Berend-Jan van Voorst tot Voorst arrive at Peace Palace, Academy Building, and are escorted to the VIP Room.

16:59 Party is escorted from VIP Room to Lecture Hall and shown to seats.

17:00 Mr. Max van der Stoel invites Ambassador Wilkins to the lecture stand.

17:01 Ambassador Howard Wilkins welcomes guests.

17:05 Queen's Commissioner of Zeeland, Dr. Cornelis Boertien extends special welcome to Ambassador and Mr. Joseph.

17:10 Ambassador Geri Joseph introduces Ambassador Max Kampelman.

17:15 Ambassador Kampelman delivers the Ambassador Geri Joseph lecture.

18:00 Mr. van der Stoel thanks Ambassador Kampelman and invites guests to reception in the Front Hall of the Peace Palace.

18:15 Reception

19:00 Ambassador Wilkins leaves for Residence.

19:10 PAO William La Salle and CAO Andrew Schlessinger leave for Residence

19:15 Ambassador Kampelman and Ambassador and Mr. Joseph leave for Residence.

Reception ends.

19:30 Arrival of dinner guests at the Residence.

SEATING PLAN - PEACE PALACE

Mr. C.W. La Salle
Mrs. J.B. Boertien
Mr. C. Boertien
Mr. A.L. tor Book
Ambassador M.N. Kampel- man
Ambassador C.H. Wilkins
Ambassador G.M. Joseph
Mr. H. v.d. Broek
Mr. B. Joseph
Mr. B.J.M. Baron van Voorst t.V.
Mr. M. v.d. Stoel
Mr. T.E. Gewecke

REVISED GUEST LIST

DINNER

Tuesday, November 21, 1989

seven-thirty o'clock

Informal

Tobias Asserlaan 4
The Hague

HOST : Ambassador C. Howard Wilkins, Jr.

OCCASION: In honor of Ambassador Max Kampelman,
Ambassador Gerl Joseph and Mr. Burton Joseph

GUESTS:

Dutch Guests:

His Excellency

Relus ter Beek
Minister of Defense

The Queen's Commissioner of Zeeland and Mrs. C. Boertien

Mr. Max van der Stoep

Member of the Council of State, Chairman of the Carnegie
Foundation

Mr. drs. Frits Bolkestein

VVD Member of the Second Chamber

Drs. and Mrs. Norbert Schmelzer

Chairman, CDA Foreign Affairs Committee

Professor and Mrs. Maarten Brands

Chairman, Advisory Council on Peace and Security

Drs. Bert Veenendaal

Roving Ambassador, Ministry for Foreign Affairs

Drs. and Mrs. Bram Ettema

Director, Atlantic Cooperation and Security Affairs
Ministry for Foreign Affairs

Professor and Mrs. Henk Neuman

Director, Institute of International Relations Clingendael

Drs. Rob Soetenhorst

Editor-in-Chief, Haagache Courant

Page 2

Drs. and Mrs. Andre Spoor
Former Editor-in-Chief, Elseviers Weekblad

Drs. Cees van Minnen
Director, Roosevelt Study Center

Drs. Marian de Waard
Executive Assistant, Roosevelt Study Center

American Embassy:

Mr. and Mrs. Thomas H. Gewecke
Minister-Counselor

Mr. C. William La Salle
Counselor for Information and Cultural Affairs

Mr. Lawrence G. Rossin
Political Counselor

Mr. Andrew Schlessinger and Ms. Kitty Eckhardt
Cultural Attache

Mr. and Mrs. Donald E. Braum
Politico-Military Officer

Mrs. Mickey Warners-van Veen
Cultural Affairs Specialist

TOTAL P.08

11-16 11:28AM P08

**United States
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Lange Voorhout 102
2514 EJ's-Gravenhage

Telephone (0) 70 624 911



American Embassy, The Hague, The Netherlands

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Date: November 17, 1989

No. of Pages including this page: 1

To: Ambassador Max Kampelman

Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson

Washington D.C. 20004 fax # 202- 639-7003

From: American Embassy, The Hague, The Netherlands

William La Salle

Subject: Apologize for error in Ambassador Kampelman's arrival
time at Schiphol Airport as shown on program schedule.
Correction has been made.

REVISED GUEST LIST

DINNER

Tuesday, November 21, 1989

seven-thirty o'clock

Informal

Tobias Asserlaan 4
The Hague

HOST : Ambassador C. Howard Wilkins, Jr.

OCCASION: In honor of Ambassador Max Kampelman,
Ambassador Geri Joseph and Mr. Burton Joseph

GUESTS:

Dutch Guests:

The Queen's Commissioner of Zeeland and Mrs. C. Boertien

Mr. Max van der Stoep
Member of the Council of State, Chairman of the Carnegie
Foundation

Mr. Drs. Frits Bolkestein
VVD Member of the Second Chamber

Drs. and Mrs. Norbert Schmelzer
Chairman, CDA Foreign Affairs Committee

Professor and Mrs. Maarten Brands
Chairman, Advisory Council on Peace and Security

Drs. Bert Veenendaal
Roving Ambassador, Ministry for Foreign Affairs

Drs. and Mrs. Bram Ettema
Director, Atlantic Cooperation and Security Affairs
Ministry for Foreign Affairs

Professor and Mrs. Henk Neuman
Director, Institute of International Relations Clingendael

Mr. and Mrs. Rio Praaning
Director, Atlantic Commission

Drs. Rob Soetenhorst
Editor-in-Chief, Haagsche Courant

Drs. and Mrs. Andre Spoor
Former Editor-in-Chief, Elseviers Weekblad

Drs. Cees van Minnen
Director, Roosevelt Study Center

Drs. Marian de Waard
Executive Assistant, Roosevelt Study Center

American Embassy:

Mr. and Mrs. Thomas H. Gewecke
Minister-Counselor

Mr. C. William La Salle
Counselor for Information and Cultural Affairs

Mr. Lawrence G. Rossin
Political Counselor

Mr. Andrew Schlessinger and Ms. Kitty Eckhardt
Cultural Attache

Mr. and Mrs. Donald E. Braum
Politico-Military Officer

Mrs. Mickey Warners-van Veen
Cultural Affairs Specialist

Sharon:

MMK said that he would be happy to do any press, tv etc. It occurs to me, however, that the time indicated on this memo conflicts with the dinner at the Embassy. Can you please call first thing in the am and get this straightened out.

Nancy

**United States
Information
Service**

Lange Voorhout 102
2514 EJ's-Gravenhage

Telephone: (0) 70-624-911



American Embassy, The Hague, The Netherlands

Fax Number

(070) - 65 88 37 (within The Netherlands)

(31) 70 65 88 37 (outside The Netherlands)

Date: November 16, 1989

No. of Pages Including This Page: 8

To: Ambassador Max Kampelman
FAX (202) - 639.7004
7003
7008

From: USIS - American Embassy, The Hague, the Netherlands
IO, Leonardo Williams Ext. 232/237

Subject: Amb. Kampelman's program for the Netherlands
Nov. 19 - 23, 1989

Date: November 16, 1989

From: USIS, Information Officer
Leonardo Williams
American Embassy
Lange Voorhout 102
2514 EJ The Hague

To : Ambassador Max Kampelman

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

I am writing to inquire if you would be willing to participate in one or two press events while you are in The Hague. The Dutch evening daily newspaper Haagsche Courant, and the daily evening current events television program NOS LAAT, have both expressed an interest in interviewing you.

Haagsche Courant, which is centrist in orientation, has a circulation of 180,000, centered on The Hague and surrounding cities. It is the flagship of a chain of smaller newspapers which often pick up items of interest from it. The interview(s) would be done at your convenience, of course.

NOS LAAT is a daily current events television program which focuses on international and local issues. The program was inaugurated in Oct. of this year and is anchored by Maartje van Weegen, the leading lady of Dutch journalism. NOS LAAT has suggested that the interview be done in their fully automated remote studio in The Hague on Mon. between 8:20pm and 9:00pm. The interview would be taped and subtitled for use in the program which begins at 10:00 pm. If the proposed time is not acceptable, NOS LAAT would be willing to try to arrange another time. The studio is about a twenty minute drive from your hotel.

As you might expect, we anticipate that the questioning will center on recent developments in Eastern Europe, the Bush Administration's response to events there, and their implications for the arms control process. If you would so desire, we would be happy to arrange for an Embassy briefing on local perspectives of disarmament issues, before you do the interviews.

- 2 -

So that we can give the two news organizations mentioned sufficient notice, please inform me or The Hague Public Affairs Counselor William La Salle as soon as possible whether or not you are willing to take part in either of the proposed interviews; your preferred time; and in the case of the newspaper interview, the preferred location.

Mr. La Salle and I can be reached at tel. 31 70 624911 or fax no. 31 70 658837.

Sincerely yours,



Leonardo Williams
Press Attache

**United States
Information
Service**

Lange Voorhout 102
2514 EJ 's-Gravenhage

Telephone (0) 70 624-911



Netherlands Program

Ambassador Max Kampelman

Ambassador Geri Joseph and Mr. Burton Joseph

November 19 - 23, 1989

Accommodations

Kurhaus Hotel
Gevers Deynootplein 30
2586 CK The Hague
Tel. (0)70-52.00.52

Embassy Control Officers:

William La Salle
Counselor for Information and Cultural
Affairs
Office tel.: (070)-62.49.11, ext. 226
Home tel. : (070)-63.83.25

Andrew Schlessinger
Cultural Affairs Officer
Office tel.: (070)-62.49.11, ext. 236
Home tel : (070)-89.35.67

**SCHEDULE OF VISIT OF AMBASSADOR MAX KAMPELMAN, AMBASSADOR GERI JOSEPH
AND MR. BURTON JOSEPH TO THE NETHERLANDS, NOVEMBER 19 - 23, 1989**

Sunday, November 19

- 07:30 Arrival of **Ambassador Max Kampelman** at Schiphol Airport on flight **BA-442** from London. Counselor for Information and Cultural Affairs **William La Salle** and Cultural Affairs Officer **Andrew Schlessinger** will meet. Party is escorted to the VIP lounge to await arrival of Ambassador and Mr. Joseph.
- 08:25 **Ambassador Geri Joseph** and **Mr. Burton Joseph** arrive on flight **NW-42**. They will be escorted to the VIP lounge.
- When luggage has been collected, party leaves (in two cars) for the Kurhaus Hotel in The Hague.
- No activities have been set up for the day, to allow for rest and personal arrangements.

Monday, November 20

- 15:30 Embassy car will pick up **Ambassador Kampelman** and **Ambassador and Mr. Joseph** at Kurhaus Hotel and proceed to the American Embassy for a meeting with Ambassador **Howard Wilkins**.
- 16:00 PAO **William La Salle** will escort party to the Executive Office.
Meeting with **Ambassador C. Howard Wilkins, Jr.**

Separate Program of Ambassador Kampelman

- 16:30 Embassy car drives **Ambassador Max Kampelman** to the Palace Huis ten Bosch
- 17:00 Private meeting of **H.M. Queen Beatrix** and **Ambassador Max Kampelman**
- Embassy car drives **Ambassador Kampelman** back to Kurhaus Hotel after the meeting with the Queen.
- 16:40 After meeting with Ambassador **Wilkins**, Embassy car will take **Ambassador and Mr. Joseph** back to the Kurhaus Hotel.

Evening

Unscheduled.

**United States
Information
Service**

Lange Voorhout 102
2514 EJ 's-Gravenhage

Telephone: (0) 70-624-911

E. H. KAMPELMACHER
BOSVILLAAN 185
3722 XK BILTHOVEN
HOLLAND



HAAGSCHE COURANT
TV-NOS LAAT

Netherlands Program

Ambassador Max Kampelman

Ambassador Geri Joseph and Mr. Burton Joseph

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Sunday, November 19

08:25 Arrival of **Ambassador Geri Joseph and Mr. Burton Joseph** at Schiphol Airport on flight **NW-42**. They will be escorted to the VIP lounge, where Counselor of Information and Cultural Affairs **William La Salle** will meet.

When luggage has been collected, party leaves for the Kurhaus Hotel in The Hague.

No activities have been set up for the day, to allow for rest and personal arrangements.

19:30 Arrival of **Ambassador Max Kampelman** at Schiphol Airport on flight **BA-442** from London, and is escorted to the VIP lounge where Cultural Affairs Officer **Andrew Schlessinger** will meet.

When luggage has been collected, proceed to the Kurhaus Hotel in The Hague.

Monday, November 20

NOTE: Pending approval by Ambassador Kampelman, two interviews will be scheduled today: one for Hague newspaper "de Haagsche Courant", and one for the current affairs show "NOS LAAT".
Preceding these interviews a briefing by Mission Politico-Military Officer Donald Braum will be scheduled at the Ambassador's convenience.

15:30 Embassy car will pick up **Ambassador Kampelman and Ambassador and Mr. Joseph** at Kurhaus Hotel and proceed to the American Embassy for a meeting with Ambassador Howard Wilkins.

16:00 PAO William La Salle will escort party to the Executive Office.
Meeting with **Ambassador C. Howard Wilkins, Jr.**

Separate Program of Ambassador Kampelman

16:30 Embassy car drives Ambassador Max Kampelman to the Palace Huis ten Bosch

17:00 Private meeting of H.M. Queen Beatrix and Ambassador Max Kampelman

Embassy car drives Ambassador Kampelman back to Kurhaus Hotel after the meeting with the Queen.

16:40 After meeting with Ambassador Wilkins, Embassy car will take **Ambassador and Mr. Joseph** back to the Kurhaus Hotel.

Tuesday, November 21

16:30 Embassy car will pick up **Ambassador Kampelman, and Ambassador and Mr. Joseph** at the Kurhaus Hotel and proceed to the Academy Building of the Peace Palace.

16:45 onwards Please refer to attached scenario for details.

19:30 Dinner hosted by **Ambassador C. Howard Wilkins, Jr.** at the Residence, Tobias Asserlaan 4, The Hague.

Wednesday, November 22

Departure of Ambassador Kampelman. Embassy car will take him to Schiphol Airport. VIP lounge has been reserved.

Thursday, November 23

08:15 Embassy car will pick up **Ambassador and Mr. Joseph** at the Kurhaus Hotel and proceed to Schiphol Airport. VIP lounge has been reserved.

10:10 Ambassador and Mr. Joseph depart on flight BA-447 to London.

**SCENARIO AMBASSADOR GERI JOSEPH LECTURE
Peace Palace, The Hague, November 21, 1989**

16:30 **Counselor for Information and Cultural Affairs William La Salle and Cultural Affairs Officer Andrew Schlessinger arrive at the Academy Building of the Peace Palace, and will be joined by Mr. Max van der Stoel, Chairman Carnegie Foundation.**

16:40 **Ambassador C. Howard Wilkins, Jr. and Deputy Chief of Mission Thomas Gewecke arrive at Peace Palace, Academy Building and will be introduced to Mr. van der Stoel. Party proceeds to VIP Room.**

Queen's Commissioner and Mrs. Cornelis Boertien arrive at Peace Palace and are escorted to VIP Room.

16:45 **Ambassador Max Kampelman, Ambassador Geri Joseph and Mr. Burton Joseph arrive at Peace Palace, Academy Building and are escorted to VIP Room.**

16:50 **Minister of Foreign Affairs Hans van den Broek, and State Secretary of Defense Baron Berend-Jan van Voorst tot Voorst arrive at Peace Palace, Academy Building, and are escorted to the VIP Room.**

16:59 **Party is escorted from VIP Room to Lecture Hall and shown to seats.**

17:00 **Mr. Max van der Stoel invites Ambassador Wilkins to the lecture stand.**

17:01 **Ambassador Howard Wilkins welcomes guests.**

17:05 **Queen's Commissioner of Zeeland, Dr. Cornelis Boertien extends special welcome to Ambassador and Mr. Joseph.**

17:10 **Ambassador Geri Joseph introduces Ambassador Max Kampelman.**

17:15 **Ambassador Kampelman delivers the Ambassador Geri Joseph lecture.**

18:00 **Mr. van der Stoel thanks Ambassador Kampelman and invites guests to reception in the Front Hall of the Peace Palace.**

18:15 **Reception**

19:00 **Ambassador Wilkins leaves for Residence.**

19:10 **PAO William La Salle and CAO Andrew Schlessinger leave for Residence**

19:15 **Ambassador Kampelman and Ambassador and Mr. Joseph leave for Residence.**

Reception ends.

Ambassador Kampelman
Washington/London/Amsterdam/Washington
November 16-23, 1989
Airline Schedule
Wednesday, Nov. 16

PanAm 106 - Depart Dulles 6:15 p.

Thursday, Nov. 17

Arrive Heathrow 6:15 a.

Sunday, Nov. 19

BA 442 Depart London 5:25 p.
Arr. Amsterdam 7:30 p.

Wednesday, Nov. 22

Lufthansa 1699

Dep. Amsterdam 10:50a
Arr. Frankfurt 11:55a

PanAm 61

Dep. Frankfurt 1:20 p.
Arr. Dulles 4:45 p.

Miscellaneous Schedule

Friday, Nov. 17

Lunch w/Sir John

4:00 p.m. - Ditchley Conference
(011.44.60.872.346
Heather Weeks)

Sunday, November 19

Met at airport - Kur Haus
31.70.520052

Monday, November 20

Lunch with Josephs (?)
3:30 Depart hotel
4:00 Meet with Amb. Howard Wilkins
5:00 Meet with Queen Beatrix

Tuesday, Nov. 21

5:00 Joseph lecture
6:30 reception
8:30 dinner at embassy hosted by
Amb. Wilkins



Please present invitation

*The Ambassador of the United States of America
requests the pleasure of the company of
Ambassador Kampelman*

*at dinner
on Tuesday, November 21, 1989
at 19:30 o'clock*

*R.S.V.P. P.M.
624911 Ext.
informal*

*Tobias Asserlaan 4
The Hague*

HIERMEDE MOGE IK U BEVESTIGEN DAT U OP

Maandag/Monday, 20 november 1989

OM 17.00 hours/ UUR VERWACHT WORDT IN PALEIS

Huis ten Bosch

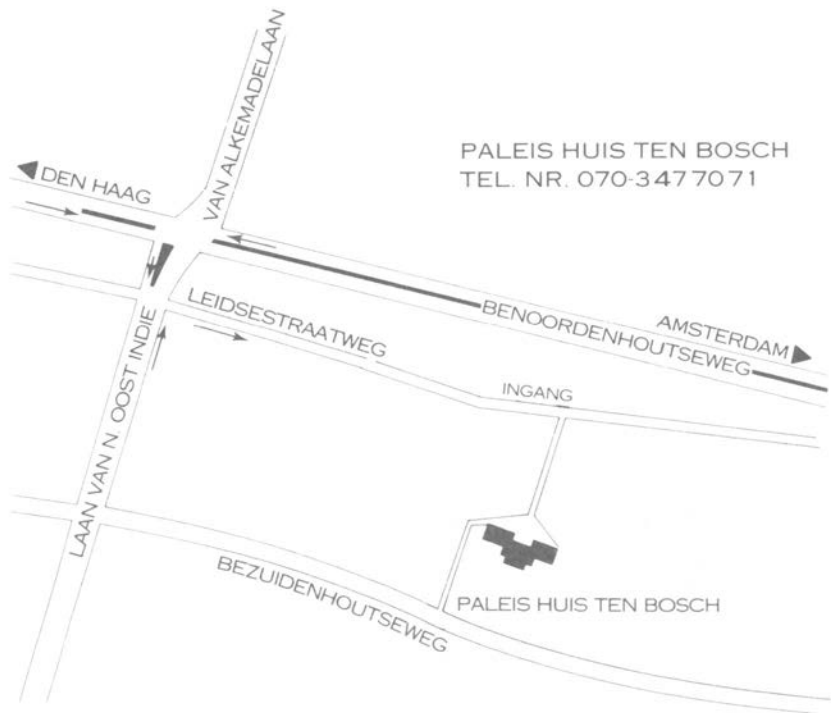
VIA INGANG Leidsestraatweg

PARTICULIER SECRETARIAAT VAN HARE MAJESTEIT DE KONINGIN

S.J. van Riel - Hooykaas
S.J. van Riel-Hooykaas

Particulier Secretaresse/Private Secretary

PALEIS HUIS TEN BOSCH
TEL. NR. 070-347 7071





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