

Max M. Kampelman Papers

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IN COOPERATION WITH THE NORWEGIAN NOBEL INSTITUTE

AUGSBURG COLLEGE MINNEAPOLIS MINNESOTA

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LUTHER COLLEGE, DECORAH, IOWA
ST. OLAF COLLEGE, NORTHFIELD, MINNESOTA

STRIVING FOR PEACE



HUMAN RIGHTS
GLOBAL VILLAGE

1990 PEACE PRIZE FORUM FEBRUARY 16 AND 17

IN COOPERATION WITH THE NOTITUTE

AUGSBURG COLLEGE MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA



STRIVING PEACE

triving for Peace: Human Rights in the Global Village," is the second in a series of Peace Prize Forums organized in cooperation with the Norwegian Nobel Institute. The Peace Prize Forums are presented by a consortium of five colleges founded by Norwegian Lutheran immigrants. In addition to Augsburg College the co-sponsors are: Augustana College in Sioux Falls, South Dakota; Concordia College in Moorhead, Minnesota; Luther College in Decorah, Iowa; and St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minnesota.

The five objectives of the Peace Prize Forums are:

- 1. To engage Norwegian-American colleges, churches, and cultural communities in an annual forum on peace issues, with the support of the Norwegian Nobel Institute;
- 2. To have Nobel Peace Prize laureates, American diplomats, professional analysts, other academic institutions, peace organizations and the general public participate;
- 3. To stimulate dialogue from balanced intellectual and cultural perspectives on the underlying causes and contemporary manifestations of conflict and war in the world;
- 4. To create international programs and curricula that will provide opportunities for further study of peace issues raised by the forums; and
- 5. To promote and publicize the outcomes of each of the forums in the United States and abroad as an educational contribution to world peace.

The Peace Prize Forums are the result of several years of dreaming and planning by a committee of political, educational and church leaders in the Upper Midwest. This distinguished group of individuals was drawn together by a common commitment to provide a continuing public forum to discuss the issue of peace and to explore models for peacemaking. Because the Norwegian heritage is so strong in this part of the United States, the Forums are held in cooperation with the Norwegian Nobel Institute to recognize their contribution to world peace and to honor the work of the Nobel Peace Prize Laureates.

The Norwegian connection is significant. The Nobel Peace Prize, announced and presented annually in Oslo, is the only one of the Nobel Prizes presented by the Norwegian Nobel Committee. Nobel prizes for medicine, literature, economics, physics and chemistry are presented in Stockholm, Sweden, and are celebrated in a Nobel Conference at Gustavus Adolphus College in St. Peter, Minnesota, each fall.



The 1990 Peace Prize Forum is the second forum presented by a consortium of five colleges founded by Norwegian Lutheran immigrants. The honor of hosting the Peace Prize Forum rotates among the participating colleges each February. The first forum in 1989 was held at St. Olaf College. Future forums will be held at:

1991 LUTHER COLLEGE, DECORAH, IOWA

1992 AUGUSTANA COLLEGE, SIOUX FALLS, SOUTH DAKOTA

1993 CONCORDIA COLLEGE, MOORHEAD, MINNESOTA

1994 St. OLAF COLLEGE, NORTHFIELD, MINNESOTA

1995 AUGSBURG COLLEGE, MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA



Dr. Andrei Sakharov 1921—1989

The 1990 Peace Prize Forum is dedicated to Nobel Laureate Dr. Andrei Sakharov. Dr. Sakharov had accepted our invitation in February, 1989, to participate as a keynote speaker and he reconfirmed his intentions to join us shortly before his death on December 14, 1989.

In life, Dr. Sakharov touched millions with his courageous dedication to the cause of peace. Through his outspoken opinions, his thoughtful writings and his tireless spirit, he has been and will continue to be an inspiration for all who champion the cause of peace.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE

THE STUDENT PROGRAM

This program is subject to change due to the responsibilities of the invited speakers. As of publication time, the speakers and participants listed above were confirmed unless otherwise noted.



11:00 REGISTRATION—CHRISTENSEN CENTER

11:00 -1:00 BUFFET LUNCH — CAFETERIA, CHRISTENSEN CENTER

1:00 Welcome to Peace Issues Workshop — SI Melby Hall Students from the five sponsoring colleges will meet each other and be welcomed to Augsburg College by President Charles S. Anderson.

1:30-4:00 GROUP SESSIONS: PEACE ISSUES WORKSHOP

Mr. Peter Duffy, Chair of the Executive Committee of Amnesty International, 1977 Recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize; Flora Lewis, foreign correspondent for the New York Times; Dr. Yelena Bonner, Human Rights Activist; and Geir Lundestad, Executive Director of the Norwegian Nobel Institute, will join students in small working groups for discussion on the issue "Human Rights in the Global Village."

3:00 BREAK

4:30-5:30 COLLEGE LED DISCUSSION GROUPS

- Human Rights and Amnesty International, St. Olaf College, Si Melby Hall
- Human Rights and the Environment, Luther College, Sateren Auditorium, Music Hall
- Human Rights and Campus Ministry, Concordia College, Theater, Foss Center
- Human Rights and Habitat, Augustana College, Chapel, Foss Center

5:30 AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL RECEPTION— CHRISTENSEN CENTER

A reception in honor of Peter Duffy will be hosted by Amnesty International chapters from the five sponsoring colleges.

6:00 STUDENT BUFFET DINNER AND DANCE

Holiday Inn Metrodome Sponsored by the Augsburg Student Activities Council Music by Recessive Traits at 8:00 p.m. Music by Ipso Facto at 9:20 p.m. Open to the students of the sponsoring colleges.

6:00 FACULTY DINNER — EAST COMMONS, CHRISTENSEN CENTER Open to faculty of sponsoring colleges

6:30 UNIVERSITY RADISSON RECEPTION AND DINNER

A fundraising dinner at University Radisson Hotel in honor of the Nobel laureates. Open to the public. Cost: \$100 per person

WELCOME

David Preus

American Lutheran Church Bishop Emeritus and Chair Peace Prize Forum Committee

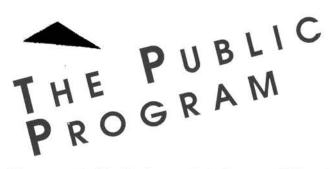
REMARKS

Mr. Bjarne Grinden Royal Norwegian Council General

DINNER ADDRESS

Geir Lundestad

Executive Director Norwegian Nobel Institute "The Relationship Between Justice and Stability in Eastern Europe"



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8:00 CHAPEL SERVICE—FOSS CENTER

A litany of remembrance, of thankgiving and dedication with hymns and readings.

Charles S. Anderson, President, Augsburg College

The Rev. David T. Wold, College Pastor

Stephen Gabrielsen, College Organist

Mary Lou Williams, Assistant Professor & Chair of the Social Work Department,

Joel Mugge, Director of the Center for Global Education.

8:00 REGISTRATION (COFFEE AND ROLLS)—CHRISTENSEN CENTER

8:45 WELCOME TO THE PEACE PRIZE FORUM—SI MELBY HALL David Preus

American Lutheran Church Bishop Emeritus Chair, Peace Prize Forum Committee

Charles S. Anderson

President

Augsburg College

Geir Lundestad

Executive Director

The Norwegian Nobel Institute

Bjarne Grindem

Royal Norwegian Consul General

The Honorable Loret Ruppe

United States Ambassador to Norway

9:15 INTRODUCTION

Jody Anderson

Student Body President, Augsburg College

ADDRESS

The Honorable Jimmy Carter

Former President, United States of America

QUESTIONS FROM THE AUDIENCE

10:45 BREAK

11:00 INTRODUCTION

The Honorable LaJune Thomas Lange Judge, District Court, State of Minnesota Augsburg College Class of 1968 and Member of the Board of Regents

ADDRESS

Peter Duffy

Chair of the Executive Committee Amnesty International 1977 Nobel Peace Prize Recipient

12:00 - 1:30 LUNCH

1:30 RESPONSES BY DISTINGUISHED ANALYSTS OF THE ISSUE

Moderator:

The Honorable Walter F. Mondale

Flora Lewis

Foreign Affairs Columnist for the New York Times Paris, France

The Honorable Max Kampelman

Ambassador at Large Chair, Freedom House Washington, D. C.

2:30 PANEL DISCUSSION AND QUESTIONS FROM THE AUDIENCE Peter Duffy, Flora Lewis and Max Kampelman will be joined on a panel by five students representing the five sponsoring colleges. Each student will ask one opening question to be followed by questions from the

audience.

3:15 BREAK

3:30 INTRODUCTION

Charles S. Anderson

President, Augsburg College

Music

"Peace" by Stephen Paulus Augsburg Choir Thomas D. Rossin, Conductor

ADDRESS

Dr. Yelena Bonner Representing Dr. Andrei Sakharov, 1975 Nobel Peace Prize Laureate

4:15 ADDRESS

His Holiness The Dalai Lama (Invited) 1989 Nobel Peace Prize Laureate

5:00 CLOSING SUMMARY AND CALL TO ACTION The Honorable Walter F. Mondale

Forum Moderator Former Vice President, United States of America

5:30 ADJOURN

Vour registration fee entitles you to a box lunch. Because of the large number of people on our small campus for this major event, distribution points for box lunches are set up at four locations. Please check the ticket provided in your registration materials to determine the building you have been assigned. After you pick up your lunch, feel free to dine in any of the open rooms in your assigned building. One request – please help us keep the campus clean and clutter-free during this forum by returning your empty box to the pickup point before you return to the afternoon sessions.

SPEAKERS



JIMMY CARTER



Former President of the United States who has been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize. Became University Distinguished Professor at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1982. Founded the Carter Center of Emory University — a policy center for addressing vital world issues through nonpartisan study and consultation. Continues to address environmental and human rights issues throughout

the world through Global 2000, Inc., and the Carter-Menil Human Rights Foundation. Has served on the board of directors and is a regular volunteer for Habitat for Humanity, a non-profit organization which helps build homes for the needy in the United States and underdeveloped countries.

Received a Bachelor of Science degree from the United States Naval Academy. Did graduate work in nuclear physics at Union College.

DR. YELENA BONNER



Human rights activist and wife of the late Dr. Andrei Sakharov, 1975 Nobel Peace Prize winner.

Bonner was just 14 when, in 1937, her mother and father were arrested in the great purge instigated by Joseph Stalin. Her father was later executed. Her mother was imprisoned until 1954.

In 1953, Bonner graduated as a physician from the First Leningrad Medical Institute. In the late 1960s she

began working in the front lines of dissent, helping to publish underground newsletters. She met Andrei Sakharov, a prominent leader of the Soviet human rights movement, at the trial of a fellow dissident in 1970. They married in 1971. During the first years of Sakharov's internal exile in Gorky, Bonner was his contact with the outside world. Bonner herself was sentenced to exile in Gorky in 1984. At the end of 1986, the Sakharovs were allowed to return to Moscow to live and work.

WALTER F. MONDALE



Vice-President of the United States under Jimmy Carter. Candidate for President in 1984. Earned his law degree from the University of Minnesota. Admitted to the bar in 1956. Appointed Minnesota Attorney General in 1960.

Was appointed in 1964 to fill the U.S. Senate vacancy created by Hubert Humphrey's election to the vicepresidency. Was reelected twice, in

1966 and 1972. Now practicing law, teaching, studying, traveling in the United States and internationally, and serving as a corporate director.

PETER DUFFY



Chair of the Executive Committee of Amnesty International, the 1977 recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize.

Amnesty International is a worldwide movement independent of any government, political persuasion or religious creed. It plays a specific role in the international protection of human rights by seeking the release of prisoners of conscience, working for fair and prompt trials for all political

prisoners, and opposing the death penalty and torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment of all prisoners without reservation.

Amnesty International has more than 700,000 members, subscribers and supporters in more than 150 countries and territories.

GEIR LUNDESTAD



Executive Director of the Norwegian Nobel Institute. Member of the Advisory Council for Arms Control and Disarmament, Norwegian Foreign Office. Chairman of the Council,

Norwegian Institute of International Affairs. Professor of History, University of Tromsö.

M.A., University of Oslo; Ph.D., University of Tromsö.

HIS HOLINESS, TENZIN GYATSO, THE 14TH DALAI LAMA



Religious and political leader of Tibet. Winner of the 1989 Nobel Peace Prize. Born in 1935 to a Tibetan peasant family living in China. Enthroned as the 14th Dalai Lama in 1940. Fled to India in 1959 following an abortive uprising against Chinese rule in which thousands of people were killed. Has been waging a nonviolent struggle for nearly 40 years to end Chinese domination of his homeland.

The author of many books, including My Land and My People (1962) and Key to the Middle Way (1971).

FLORA LEWIS



Paris-based foreign affairs columnist for the New York Times. Paris bureau chief, 1972-1980. European diplomatic correspondent, 1976-1980. Earned B.A. degree at UCLA, M.S. at Columbia, and law degree at Princeton University. Arthur D. Morse fellow in communications and society at the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, 1977. Author of Case History of Hope (1958), Red Pawn (1964), and

One of Our H-Bombs is Missing (1967).

Lewis has had the opportunity to observe the sweeping changes in Eastern Europe in recent months.

MAX M. KAMPELMAN



Ambassador-at-Large and Chair of the Freedom House in Washington, D.C. Awarded the Presidential Citizens Medal in 1989. This medal recognizes "citizens of the United States who have performed exemplary deeds of service for their country or their fellow citizens."

Earned his J.D. from New York University and his Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of

Minnesota, where he taught from 1946 to 1948.

Appointed by President Carter and reappointed by President Reagan to serve as Ambassador and Head of the U.S. Delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe from 1980 - 1983. Was a Senior Advisor to the U.S. Delegation to the United Nations and served as Legislative Counsel to U.S. Senator Hubert Humphrey. Was Counselor of the Department of State and, since March, 1985, Ambassador and Head of the U.S. Delegation to the Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Arms in Geneva. He is currently a partner in the Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver, and Jacobson Law firm.



CHARLES S. ANDERSON

President, Augsburg College

JODY ANDERSON

Student Body President, Augsburg College

THE HONORABLE LAJUNE THOMAS LANGE

Judge, District Court, State of Minnesota Augsburg College Class of 1968 and member of the Augsburg Board of Regents

THE REV. DAVID PREUS

Bishop Emeritus, The American Lutheran Church Executive Director, Global Missions Institute Luther Northwestern Seminary Chair of the Peace Prize Forum Committee

THE HONORABLE LORET RUPPE U.S. Ambassador to Norway



The Peace Prize Forum gratefully acknowledges these contributors to the Forum

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OLIN STORVICK Associate Dean, Concordia College

LLOYD SVENDSBYE
President, Augustana College

Peggy Davies (Host College Coordinator)
Director of College Relations, Augsburg College

PEACE





Commissioned for performance on February 17, 1990, for the Augsburg Choir at the Second Annual Peace Prize Forum.

When will you ever, Peace, wild wooddove, shy wings shut, Your 'round me roaming end, and under be my boughs?
When, when, Peace, will you, Peace?
I'll not play hypocrite

To own my heart: I yield you do come sometimes; but
That piecemeal peace is poor peace.
What pure peace allows
Alarms of wars, the daunting wars,
the death of it?

O surely, reaving Peace, my Lord should leave in lieu Some good! And so he does leave Patience exquisite, That plumes to Peace thereafter. And when Peace here does house He comes with work to do, he does not come to coo, He comes to brood and sit.

- GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS

COMMISSIONED BY
CLAIR AND GLADYS STROMMEN
LUTHERAN BROTHERHOOD

ABOUT THE COMPOSER ...

Stephen Paulus is currently composer in residence with the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra. Prior to this appointment, he was composer in residence with the Minnesota Orchestra, the Santa Fe Music Festival and the Tanglewood Festival.

Stephen Paulus' orchestral works and operas have been performed in major cities throughout the United States. His opera, "The Postman Always Rings Twice," was the first American opera production to be presented at the Edinburgh Festival. His works have also received performances at the Aldeburgh Festival as well as throughout Europe and the Soviet Union.

This spring, New World Records will release a new recording of three Paulus works performed by the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra, including Violin Concerto which won third prize at the 1988 Kennedy Center Friedheim Awards.

SPONSORS

AUGSBURG COLLEGE



Augsburg College is an urban liberal arts college that draws on the corporate and cultural resources of Minneapolis as extensions of campus and classroom. A college of diversity, it serves people of all colors and nationalities, and of many

religions. Augsburg not only accepts these differences, it embraces them as vital elements of a realistic and responsible education that prepares students for an increasingly global world. Augsburg is a college of intellectual challenge, academic excellence and career preparation that offers Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Music and Bachelor of Science degrees in 45 majors, pre-professional programs of study, an expanding program of graduate degrees, and opportunities for study and travel abroad.

CONCORDIA COLLEGE

Concordia College,
Moorhead, Minn., was founded
in 1891 by Norwegian
immigrants who valued
education and prized freedom.
Its purpose, "to influence the
affairs of the world by sending
into society thoughtful and
informed men and women
dedicated to the Christian life,"
underscores its historic sense of
place in a larger world. Its
World Discovery and



innovative Language Villages programs are based on the premise that understanding the language, heritage and culture of our global neighbors is important in preparing students to be leaders and servants in the pursuit of justice and peace.

AUGUSTANA COLLEGE

Augustana College in Sioux Falls, S.D., has grown to an enrollment of over 2,000 students – yet it has retained a student/faculty ratio of 14 to 1, which provides students with the benefit of personal attention on a day-to-day basis. This fully accredited liberal arts college of the ELCA was established



in 1860 in Illinois and moved across the Midwest,

relocating four times before reaching its final destination in 1918. Its nearly 50 major areas of study are available to all students, including those enrolled in specific programs for part-time students and adult learners. More than 100 extracurricular opportunities in music, drama and other organizations are also offered. The Augustana Vikings compete in the North Central Conference of NCAA Division II.

LUTHER COLLEGE

The students and faculty at Luther College are committed to liberal arts education. Founded 128 years ago by Norwegian immigrants, Luther is a college of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America. Forty states and 30 foreign nations are represented in the student body. Luther College grants



the B.A. degree and has an active Phi Beta Kappa chapter. The college is located in the scenic bluff country of northeast lowa. There are 148 full-time and 40 part-time faculty members at Luther; 68 percent

hold a Ph.D. or other terminal degree. The ratio of students to faculty is 14:1.

ST. OLAF COLLEGE



\$t. Olaf College, located in Northfield, Minn., is a four-year college of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, providing an education committed to the liberal arts, rooted in the Christian Gospel, and incorporating a global

perspective. A place where values are honored, individuals appreciated, and growth and development enhanced, St. Olaf confers the bachelor of arts degree in about 50 areas of study, including nursing, and the bachelor of music. Its academic program has been recognized by the Phi Beta Kappa since 1949, and the college has gained world-wide renown through its music organizations.

DIRECTIONS TO CAMPUS

From Minneapolis on 1-94 East-

Take the Riverside/25th Avenue exit and turn left on 25th Avenue, turn left at Riverside Avenue, turn left at 21st Avenue South.

From St. Paul on 1-94 West -

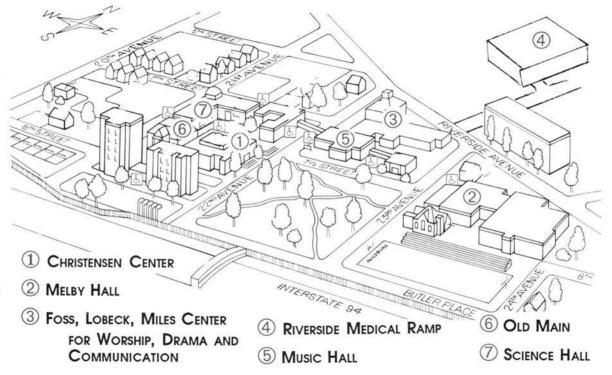
Take the Riverside Avenue exit, turn right at Riverside, turn left at 21st Avenue South.

From the South on 35W -

Follow I-94 St. Paul signs, take the Riverside/ 25th Avenue exit, turn left on 25th Avenue, turn left at Riverside, turn left at 21st Avenue South.

From the North on 35W -

Take the Washington Avenue exit, turn left on Washington (turns to the right onto Cedar Avenue), turn left at Riverside Avenue, turn right at 21st Avenue South.



Parking is available in the West Employee Ramp of Riverside Medical Center on 23rd Avenue South. The all day fee is \$2.00

Notes

Notes

FINAL

"HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE GOLBAL VILLAGE" NOBEL PEACE PRIZE FORUM REMARKS DELIVERED BY

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

Augsburg College Minneapolis, Minnesota

February 17, 1990

Thank you for inviting me to participate in your forum.

Minnesota and its commitment to learning have been an important part of my life. The colleges represented here today,

(Augsburg, Concordia, Augustana, Luther and St. Olaf) with their deep roots in both the American and Norwegian cultures and values, have been at the center of that commitment to learning. They have helped provide the leadership for our nation's ever expanding democracy. I remember the deep and profound thrill I experienced when I first came to Minnesota more than forty-five years ago and immersed myself in Ole Rolvaag's monumental Giants of the Earth.

What the American and Norwegian traditions have in common is a dedication to the religious principles of human dignity. The Norwegian tradition has had a special and unique role to play in the development in our country of that beautiful mosaic called democracy. Always forward looking, but always restrained, that tradition has helped our society reach ever more meaningful heights for the human spirit without endangering the stability and riches of our past.

I have been blessed with the opportunity to work closely with two sons of Norway who have enriched us all, Hubert Humphrey and Walter Mondale, both of whom contributed greatly to our nation. Each had much more to give us as President of the United States. We have every reason to be proud of them. Walter Mondale is appropriately with us this weekend. Hubert Humphrey, I believe, is with us as well, looking back at his tireless and successful work for peace with liberty, for a society based on the ethic that Man was created in the image of God, delighted that we are in his state commemorating the Nobel Peace Prize. He joins us in the pride that with us is Yelena Bonner, the wife of our generation's great soul, Dr. Andrei Sakharov, and a fighter for freedom and a moral tuning fork in her own right.

Mankind's highest aspiration is to achieve a condition of peace. But this proud word, "peace", has historically run the risk of being misunderstood. 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 have 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 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 goal cannot be overstated.

We are all impressed with recent international political developments, but to understand them requires the awareness that science and technology have been changing the world so fast and so dramatically that we can barely see its details let alone its scope. They are beyond calculation, with newer, greater developments on the horizon that will probably make the awesome discoveries of our time dwarf by comparison.

In my early days, there were no vitamin tablets; no refrigerators; no transcontinental telephones; no plastics; no man-made fibers; no fluorescent lights; 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 reportedly increased more than ten-fold. More than 80% of all scientists who ever lived are probably 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. 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.

Global economic, technological, and communication advances have made global interdependence a reality. Economic power and industrial capacity are ever more widely dispersed around the globe. Our political and economic institutions are feeling the stress of these pressures as they try to digest their implications. And we have yet to settle on an international legal and regulatory framework to cope with a world where

economic interdependence blurs the origin of products, and where international financial flows in a single day (about \$1 trillion) equal our government's annual budget.

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.

And yet, the world body politic has not been consistently keeping pace with the new realities. What we have also been observing is an intense fractionalization, as large numbers of peoples have had their emotions inflamed by nationality and religious appeals. It is as if a part of us is saying: "Not so fast. Stop the world. We want to get off. We are not ready. We are not prepared for this new world we are being dragged into. We will resist by holding on with a determined frenzy to the familiar, the tribal, the traditional!" This phenomenon cannot be ignored as religion, nationalism, race, and ethnicity make themselves increasingly felt in the world body-politic.

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 human rights and democracy. When given the chance - and sometimes when not - people across the world are standing for freedom.

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, Panama, Paraguay, the Soviet Union, East Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Poland -- different cultures, different parts of the world. A larger part of the world's population is today living in relative freedom than ever before in the history of the world.

The latest authoritative Freedom House annual survey shows that 1989 was the freest year since that organization, which I have the honor to Chair, began its monitoring effort in 1955. Sixty-one countries and fifty territories are "free", governing more than two billion people. In addition, there are forty-four countries and three territories in which 1.2 billion live with a relatively high but lesser degree of freedom. These figures do not include the Soviet Union which, as of the end of 1989, we still called "not free".

Hannah Arendt, the distinguished and perceptive social scientist, reflected the significance of this human ingredient when she wrote in her 1958 epilogue to her <u>Origins of</u>

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 do not always know 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, which makes it real, but by the growing realization that democracy seems to work best. Governments and societies everywhere are discovering that keeping up with change requires openness to information, new ideas, and the freedom which enables ingenuity to germinate and flourish. A closed tightly-controlled society cannot compete in a world experiencing an information explosion that knows no national boundaries.

As national boundaries are buffeted by change, the nations of the world become ever more interdependent. We are clearly in a time when no society can isolate itself or its people from new ideas and new information anymore than one can escape the winds whose currents affect us all. 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 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 right 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. Unilateral security will not come from either withdrawing from the world or attempting national impregnability. Instead, we must learn to accept in each of our countries a mutual responsibility for the peoples in other countries. The politics of persuasion and consent must prevail over the politics of coercion and terror.

In this world of increasing interdependence, the lessons 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 democratizing 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. 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. With absenteeism, corruption, and alcoholism, internal morale is bad.

Looking at health care, by way of further illustration, a total of 1,200,000 beds are in hospitals with no hot water; every sixth bed is in a hospital with no running water; 30% of Soviet hospitals do not have indoor toilets. One-half of Soviet elementary schools have no central heating, running water, or sewage systems. All of these are figures officially released by Soviet authorities. The new leaders of the Soviet Union are fully aware of its problems. They are also aware of our strengths, reflecting the vitality of our values and the healthy dynamism of our system.

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 American. But it is the Government which sets policy and their system which has caused us concern.

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. Our need, indeed, may well be to supplement 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 with the Soviet Union in 1980, under President Carter, whom we had the privilege of hearing this morning, human rights was beginning to be injected as a major item of our country's international agenda. At the Madrid CSCE meeting under the Helsinki Final Act, a united NATO helped forge a Western front which insisted that the words and promises of the Helsinki Final Act be taken seriously by the 35 countries that signed it. 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.

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, and with our prodding, 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 team, it became clear that the Helsinki and Madrid lessons were taking hold. Under the leadership of President Reagan and Secretary of State George Shultz, the United States built upon what President Carter and Vice-President Mondale initiated, and incorporated the concept of human rights as 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 with the Soviet Union. It is discussed thoroughly, frankly and frequently -- and we see results. The results are not yet entirely to our satisfaction, and indeed serious problems remain and new problems appear, but the changes are 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. We must treat the disease as well.

Our arms negotiations take place in the context of normalizing and stabilizing our overall relations with the Soviet Union. In late 1988, we signed and began to implement the historic INF Treaty, the first agreement totally to eliminate two entire categories of nuclear weapons, all those with a range of 300 to 3,000 kilometers. A total of 2096 warheads -- 1667 Soviet and 429 U.S. -- is now about to disappear. The treaty provides a stringent regime for verification, including on-site inspection. The INF agreement also stands for the principle of asymmetrical reductions to attain equality; it calls for the Soviets to destroy missiles capable of carrying four times as many warheads as those destroyed by the United States. These features of the INF Treaty provide important precedents in our conventional arms reduction talks, which are seriously and constructively underway in Vienna, as well as in our START negotiations, where our goal, already incorporated in a joint draft 400 page treaty text, is to make deep approximately 50% reductions in strategic long-range weapons, those capable of a sudden, transoceanic

surprise attack. Our hope and expectation is that both of these treaties will be ready for signature before the end of the year.

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 military strength has obviously been indispensable. But so is our role as a world leader and as an example.

The United States has been the Soviet Union's principal adversary. We are also its standard for comparison. We thus 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 persuade the Soviet Union to join us in a commitment to "rules of the game" for responsible international behavior. Ultimately, the only battlefield that is rational in this nuclear age is the battlefield of ideas and performance. The American experience is undoubtedly the aspiration of peoples all over the world. The Soviet Union cannot exempt itself from the slow but stubbornly growing insistence of human beings for political systems that provide dignity for themselves and their families.

Our government is, together with our NATO allies, now preparing for a special meeting on human rights to take place this June in Copenhagen, again under the Helsinki Final Act. This will lead to another human rights meeting in Moscow a year later. We intend to advance ideas and proposals under which a universally accepted detailed "rule of law" concept will be incorporated as a norm for the responsible domestic behavior of nations. We are also looking at ways of assuring open political competition through political parties and free elections within states as a way of assuring stability, security and peace among nations.

A process has begun whose dynamic is gaining immense support. Indeed, at this very moment, American lawyers and political scientists are working with their counterparts in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe on how to achieve checks and balances in their systems through separation of power, direct elections of the President, an independent judiciary, judicial review, jury trials.

In his 1975 Nobel Prize speech that he was not permitted to present in person, but was presented by Yelena Bonner, Dr. Andrei Sakharov, 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 United States must interact and negotiate in the world in that context. We must have faith in our principles as we intensify our efforts to find a basis for understanding, security, stability, and peace with dignity. Even with the package of arms reduction agreements now in negotiation, we are still nearer the beginning than the end of that process. The process, furthermore, is likely to be a difficult and murky one.

We must also appreciate the dimensions of the task that is still ahead. In this Nobel Peace Forum it is appropriate that I take note of one area that we dare not and must not ignore. We ought not to appear to be currying favor with Deng Xiaoping, responsible for mass repression and brutality in his country, while Eastern Europe is erupting with freedom, idealism and hope. It is particularly ironic that this should take place at a time when the Dalai Lama was receiving the Nobel Peace Prize for his struggle against Chinese oppression. The thirty year military occupation and annexation of Tibet by China is one of the cruelest and most neglected stories of the 20th century.

Massive killings and savage torture have been commonplace.

Looked upon by the Chinese communist as a "disease" to be eliminated, some 6,000 Buddhist monasteries have been destroyed,

their art and religious treasures dynamited or removed and sold, their populations ruthlessly transferred. And yet the Chinese government has managed to escape accountability.

Our agenda for human rights in the '90s must also include within it the 17 million systematically persecuted Kurdish people, a 1,000 year old ethnic group with a large and a rich culture of their own who today live brutalized without a home land.

We will also have to face the growing problem of persecution and decimation facing the Armenians.

Will we in the U.S. 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? 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 political community must resist the temptation of partisan politics and institutional rivalry as we develop the consensus adequate to meet the challenge. G.K. Chesteron summarized his studies of our country by declaring that the United States is a "nation with the soul of a church." This must be understood as we seek the basis for national consensus in foreign policy. We require moral justification for our actions.

Our country is today the oldest continuing democracy in the world. Abraham Lincoln said that "America is the last great hope of mankind." It still is! Our political values and our character traits have helped us build the most dynamic and open society in recorded history, a source of inspiration to most of the world. It should be a source of inspiration for us as well. We cannot take it for granted. We must realize what the American dream means to the world and the burden that puts on us.

It is not arrogant for us to proclaim the virtues of our own system because it casts no credit on us. We are not the ones who created American democracy. We are merely its beneficiaries with an opportunity to strengthen it for succeeding generations and for our brothers and sisters and their children in other

parts of the world who have not enjoyed that blessing. The future lies with liberty, human dignity, and democracy. The changes stimulated by modern technology may well assist us in that direction, if we permit our democratic values to provide the guidelines for that journey.

When we are growing up, we are taught not to be afraid of the dark. I say to you that as our world evolves we must not be afraid of the light and where it can take us.

General and former Secretary of State 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 the commitment of the United States.

Thank you.

Augsburg College



731 21ST AVENUE SOUTH MINNEAPOLIS, MN 55454

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT DR. CHARLES S. ANDERSON

612/330-1212

A COLLEGE OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH

February 19, 1990

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

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

On behalf of Augsburg College and the other participating colleges, I would like to thank you for your participation in the Peace Prize Forum. While the time seemed to go by quickly, the insightful presentations will give our students and the general public many thoughts to reflect on in the months to come.

We are beginning to see the extent of our efforts in news clips from throughout the United States. When these have been completely compiled, we will send copies to you for your files.

Once again, it was an honor to meet you and to host you at Augsburg College.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Charles S. Anderson

President

MAX M. KAMPELMAN SCHEDULE February 16-17,1990

Friday,	February 16
12:00	Depart DC NW #317 (3D)
1:42	Arrive Minneapolis
	Met by trom Augsberg
	P.O.C Peggy Davis RITAKAPU
	612-330-1180
	Res. at Univ. Raddison
	612-379-8888
3:00	Picked up at hotel by
	Steve Sandell, Director
	of Humphrey Exhibit
	612-625-0669
?	Return to Hotel
6:00	University dinner at
	Radisson (see schedule
	for other events)
Saturda	y, February 17
8:45	Forum begins
9:15	Carter into & address
1:30	MMK address (30/45 min?)
2:30	Panel discussion
4:15	Yelena Bonner address
5:00	Mondale address
6:10	Depart Minn. NW#376
9:25	Arrive Natl.

Peter Duffy International Executive Committee



INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT
1 Easton Street London WC1X 8DJ
United Kingdom
Telegrams: Amnesty London WC1
Telephone: 01-833 1771 Telex: 28502

WALTER F. MONDALE

2200 FIRST BANK PLACE EAST MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55402 (612) 340 - 5690

August 30, 1989

The Honorable Max M. Kampelman Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson 1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20004

Dear Max:

I am writing to invite you to participate in a Nobel Peace Prize Forum at Augsburg College, Minneapolis, Minnesota, on Friday and Saturday, February 16-17, 1990. This is a unique event started last year by five Norwegian-American colleges in the Upper Midwest in cooperation with the Norwegian Nobel Institute of Oslo, Norway.

The five colleges are Augsburg College, Minneapolis, Minnesota; Concordia College, Moorhead, Minnesota; Augustana College, Sioux Falls, South Dakota; Luther College, Decorah, Iowa; and St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota. All were founded by Norwegian immigrants. The first Forum, held at St. Olaf College last year, was attended by 1,000 faculty, students, and the general public from all over the Upper Midwest.

The format is to invite past Nobel Peace Prize laureates, the present Nobel Peace Prize winner, members of the Norwegian Nobel Committee, and distinguished analysts to present

The Honorable Max H. Kampelman August 30, 1989
Page 2

a workshop for faculty and students on Friday afternoon, attend a dinner and public policy address on Friday evening, and speak at a public Forum on Saturday. The theme for next year is "Human Rights in the Global Village." The laureates will be Amnesty International, the 1977 winner, and either Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Adolfo Perez Esquivel, or Coretta Scott King representing her husband. We will invite the 1989 Nobel Peace Prize winner as soon as the Norwegian Nobel Committee makes the announcement in Oslo this fall.

Your distinguished work for human rights in government and at Freedom House and the fact we consider you an honorary Minnesotan make you an ideal candidate to invite as one of our two distinguished analysts. The other analyst we are inviting is Flora Lewis from the New York Times.

I am writing on behalf of the Nobel Peace Prize Forum Committee, of which I am a member, to see if you can join us. We are asking you to participate in the Friday afternoon workshop, attend the Friday evening dinner, and speak at the public Forum on Saturday morning. Enclosed is a brochure from the St. Olaf College Nobel Peace Prize Forum held last February. It will give you an idea of the format we will be using at Augsburg College.

If you can attend, officials planning the Forum will follow this invitation with a letter giving more of the details and what is expected. We can pay all your expenses and an honorarium of \$1,000.

The Forum at St. Olaf College was the inaugural event of an annual series that will rotate among the five college campuses. The Honorable Max M. Kampelman August 30, 1989
Page 3

It was a rewarding experience for everyone involved. For faculty, students, and general public, it was a chance for firsthand contact with distinguished Nobel laureates and analysts of peace issues. For the speakers, it was a chance to hear new insights on old problems. I am sure the Augsburg College Forum will be just as big a success. It will be a honor if you can find time in your busy schedule to join us.

With best wishes,

Walter F. Mondale

WFM/llp

Enc.

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WALTER F. MONDALE

2200 FIRST BANK PLACE EAST
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55402
(612) 340 - 5690

September 18, 1989

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

Dear Max:

Thanks so much for your letter of September 11 informing me that you can attend the Nobel Peace Prize Forum at Augsburg in February. The whole committee is delighted by your acceptance. I am asking Peggy Davies at Augsburg College to contact you with the details. Also, please have the lecture bureau contact her at (612) 330-1180. I would be glad to talk with you as we organize this to be sure that your role is one that you wish to play.

Again, let me tell you how appreciative I am. I know you are going to like this event. President Carter just accepted and I am taking an invitation to Lech Walesa.

With best wishes,

Walter F. Mondale

WALTER F. MONDAIE

WFM/llp

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(213) 689-5800 (01) 600-1541

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February 23, 1990

Ms. Jody Anderson Student Body President Augsburg College 731 - 21st Avenue, South Minneapolis, Minnesota 55454

Dear Jody:

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

(202) 639-7020

At the outset, let me express my appreciation, through you, to the student body for their courtesy during our Peace Forum sessions. I was quite impressed with the students I met and with the nature of their participation in the various programs.

Let me also congratulate you on that very fine introduction of President Carter. It was extremely well done.

You will find enclosed two articles that may be of interest to you. They relate to the question you asked of the panel on Saturday afternoon. I hope you will find these articles, which I have just come across, of value to you.

All my best.

Sincerely,

Max M. Kampelman

My len Kyllin

MMK:qs Enclosures

WALTER F. MONDALE

2200 FIRST BANK PLACE EAST
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55402
(612) 340-5690

March 6, 1990

The Honorable Max M. Kampelman Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson 1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20004

Dear Max:

Thank you so very much for your most impressive performance and help at the Nobel Peace Prize Conference in Minneapolis. You added greatly to what, I think, was a very successful conference. Your speech was solid, thoughtful and creative.

Thanks for your help.

With best wishes,

Walter F. Mondale

WFM/llp



Memo

FAX NO. 6123301649

To: Sharon Dardin

Ambassador Max Kampelman's Office

Fax: 202 639-7004

From: Peggy Davies

Director of College Relations

Re: Peace Prize Forum

Sharon here is the draft of the program for both Friday, February 16 and 17. Ambassador Kampelman's name has been dropped from the Friday program and Dr Bonner's name has been inserted

If you have any questions please feel free to call me if you have any questions.

From the Desk of SHARON DARDINE

Suite 800 1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20004 (202) 639-7366

February 25, 1990

Jim:

The people in Minneapolis gave MMK while there the check in the amount of \$3,000 payable to him and not to ICM. I've deposited that check and enclose his check to ICM for \$600.

Writer's Direct Dial No. [212] 556-

CABLE: ICMARTISTS TELEX: 645054 FAX: [212] 556-5677

ADDITIONAL TELEX: 125422

returned 12/02/89

November 28, 1989

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

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

I hope you are doing well.

I am enclosing four copies of the contract for your upcoming lecture engagement with Augsburg College on February 17, 1990. The yellow copy is for your files. Please sign and return the other three as soon as possible.

With thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely,

Jim Jermanok

ICM Artists Lecture Division

Enclosure

612-330-1649

FRIED, FRANK, HARRIS, SHRIVER & JACOBSON

SUITE BOO

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MAX M. KAMPELMAN (202) 639-7020

January 30, 1990

Ms. Peggy Davies Director of College Relations Augsburg College 731 21st Avenue South Minneapolis, Minnesota 55454

Dear Ms. Davies:

Thank you very much for forwarding to me a copy of the February 16-17 program. I have been curious as to how it has been shaping up and just what was expected of me. Your program is an interesting one and I am pleased to be participating in it.

My plan is to arrive in Minneapolis so that I can be present at the Friday night dinner at the University Raddison Hotel. I noticed that Eleana Bonner will be replacing me earlier that afternoon at the group workshop. Ms. Bonner is a dear friend, and she will be an asset to the meeting.

I look forward to hearing President Carter speak on Saturday morning. It is fully appropriate that he be with us.

The program calls for me to participate with Flora Lewis at 1:30 on Saturday afternoon. My assignment is to provide "responses". I don't know that I particularly wish to respond to anything that has been said. That word somehow reflects the likelihood of significant differences or confrontation and I don't believe you will want that. My thought is that my contribution might be to provide my own perspective on the subject of peace and human rights in this dramatically evolving period.

This does, however, lead me to comment on the fact that you are planning to have the Dali Llama present at 3:30. My view, based on independent recent communication with his

Ms. Peggy Davies January 30, 1990 Page Two

representatives, is that he will not be in the United States before September. You are, therefore, not likely to have him with you. In that event, I would like to suggest that, assuming the difficulty of obtaining a last minute substitute and if it met your needs, I would be prepared to provide a slightly longer presentation in the form of an "address" that afternoon. You could then fashion the afternoon so that there would be room for questions and the panel discussion following my talk. The present program, as I see it, seems sufficiently flexible. In any event, I would be pleased to accommodate myself to either option -- the shorter "response" or the longer "address."

I plan to leave Minneapolis at the conclusion of the Vice President's talk and return to Washington.

All my best.

Sincerely,

Max M. Kampelman /

MMK:gs

SUITE 800

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MAX M. KAMPELMAN (202) 639-7020

September 11, 1989

The Honorable Walter F. Mondale 2200 First Bank Place East Minneapolis, Minnesota 55402

Dear Fritz:

It was good to hear from you. Thank you for your letter of August 30 and for your most gracious invitation.

I don't consider February to be the best time of the year to visit Minnesota and, therefore, regret very much that the Nobel Peace Prize Forum at Augsburg College will not take place during the summer. It is, however, always good to get to Minnesota and you can be certain that I will plan on being there on February 16 and 17. Maggie had asked me to set aside the period of February 16 to March 3 in order to go to the Carribean, but I have persuaded her to put that off until I return from Minnesota.

The event you describe is, indeed, a unique one and quite typical of Minnesota's imaginative and creative approach to all kinds of problems and opportunities. It is certainly good of you to lend yourself to that effort.

The format you suggest is perfectly fine with me, but if you wish to change it as we get closer to the event, do not hesitate to let me know and to do so.

With respect to honoraria it was necessary for me, as a form of self-protection, to make arrangements with a lecture bureau to represent me. I would appreciate it if those responsible for the organization of the Forum would communicate with me so that I might have the agent talk to them.

All my best to you and to Joan.

Sincerely,

Max M. Kampelman

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(213) 689-5800

(01) 600-1541

TELEX: 887606

February 12, 1990

The Honorable Walter F. Mondale Dorsey & Whitney 2200 First Bank Place East Minneapolis, Minnesota 55402

Dear Mr. Mondale:

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

(202) 639-7020

In connection with Mr. Kampelman's visit to Augsburg College this weekend, I occurred to me that his most recent bio might be helpful to you. At Mr. Kampelman's suggestion, I did ask Norman Sherman to be in touch with you, but I am not sure if that has in fact happened as yet. Mr. Kampelman will be back in the office tomorrow.

Sincerely,

Sharon H. Dardine

Assistant to Max M. Kampelman

Sharm Dardine

SUITE 800

1001 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N. W. WASHINGTON, D. C. 20004-2505 (202) 639-7000

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TELEX 887606

February 25, 1990

Ms. Peggy Davis Director of College Relations Augsburg College 731 21st Avenue South Minneapolis, Minnesota 55454

Dear Peggy:

MAX M. KAMPELMAN

(202) 639-7020

Ambassador Kampelman tells me he very much enjoyed being on your campus and participating in the Peace Prize Forum. As promised, enclosed is a final copy of his address. I understand that a number of people asked Ambassador Kampelman for a copy of the talk and that he indicated that they could be in touch with you to receive a copy!

In connection with the honorarium and expenses, thank you for the check for \$3,000. In addition, Ambassador Kampelman incurred ground travel expenses for sedan service round trip to National Airport in the amount of \$40 and an additional \$6.69 at the Radisson University Hotel for room service breakfast on February 17.

It was pleasant working with you.

All my best.

Sincerely,

Sharon H. Dardine

Assistant to Max M. Kampelman

2593 89/90

THE JOSEPHSON TALENT AGENCY GROUP

40 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y. 10019 (212) 556-5600

Lecture Division

Agreement made this ⁰⁷ day of November 1989 for services of Max Kampelman

by and between Max Kampelman

ICM ARTISTS, LTD., herein called "Speaker's Manager" and Augsburg College

herein called "Speaker" contracting through

herein called "Sponsor" whose address is

731 21st. Avenue South

Minneapolis MN 55454

It is mutually agreed between the parties as follows:

The Sponsor hereby engages the Speaker and the Speaker agrees hereby to perform the engagement hereinafter provided, upon all of the terms and conditions herein set forth, including those on the reverse side hereof entitled "Additional Terms and Conditions."

1. Engagement Information:

February 17, 1990

Date

Time

01:30 PM

Hall/Location

Melby Hall, Minneapolis, MN

2. Topic:

Date

Time

Hall/Location

- 3. Compensation: The Compensation to be paid by the Sponsor shall be \$3,000.00 THREE THOUSAND DOLLARS plus First-Class Roundtrip Airfare (Washington, D.C./Minneapolis, MN/Washington, D.C.), Hotel Suite, and Ground Travel Expenses. THIS FEE IS STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.
- 4. Payment Schedule: All payments shall be paid by certified check, money order, bank draft or cash as follows to ICM ARTISTS, LTD.:

 The check is payable to ICM Artists on lecture date.
- 5. Additional Conditions:

SPEAKER will also take part in a panel presentation.

ICM ARTISTS LTD. ECTURE DIVISION

Lamont,

President

Augsburg College

Vice President

This information must be completed on all copies of this Contract:

Contact: Peggy Davies

Tel. No.: (612) 330-1176

Best Hotel:

Hall Capacity:

THE ABOVE SIGNATURES CONFIRM THAT THE PARTIES HAVE READ AND APPROVE EACH AND ALL OF THE "ADDITIONAL TERMS AND CONDITIONS" SET FORTH ON THE REVERSE SIDE HEREOF.

ADDITIONAL TERMS AND CONDITIONS

The parties hereto acknowledge that the following terms and conditions are incorporated and made part of the Agreement between the parties hereto:

1. REQUIREMENTS:

- (a) SPONSOR agrees to furnish at its own expense all that is necessary for the proper presentation of the SPEAKER, including:
 - (i) a suitable theatre, hall or auditorium, well-heated, lighted, clean and in good order;
 - (ii) stage curtains;
 - (iii) a microphone on the stage of the theatre, hall or auditorium and a sound system in good order, if required;
 - (iv) comfortable, lighted, dressing rooms and space for equipment;
 - (v) all necessary stage personnel, as required;
 - (vi) all lights, tickets, and house programs;
 - (vii) all licenses;
 - (viii) special police, ushers, necessary assistants, ticket sellers for advance or single sales (wherever sales take place), and ticket takers; and
 - (ix) appropriate and sufficient advertising in the principal newspapers.
- (b) SPONSOR shall pay all other necessary expenses in connection therewith, including all amusement taxes.
- (c) SPONSOR agrees to comply with all regulations and requirements of any national or local union(s) that may have jurisdiction over any of the materials, facilities, services and personnel to be furnished by SPONSOR or by SPEAKER.
- (d) No seats will be positioned on the stage without the consent of the SPEAKER.
- (e) SPONSOR will supply SPEAKER'S MANAGER with a copy of the lease for the theatre, hall or auditorium at which engagement is to be played, upon request.

2. ADVERTISING, PUBLICITY AND PROGRAM:

- (a) SPEAKER may elect to furnish copy of the program which is to be printed and distributed by the SPONSOR.
- (b) SPONSOR agrees to use only photographs and likenesses furnished by SPEAKER.
- (c) SPEAKER shall supply the usual quantity of printing and advertising material as available.
- (d) All advertisements and house programs must carry the line "ICM ARTISTS, LTD. Lecture Division PRESENTS" or "ICM ARTISTS, LTD. Lecture Division MANAGERS," as SPEAKER'S MANAGER may elect. Such credit shall be in such size, place and prominence as SPEAKER'S MANAGER shall specify. Such additional credits as SPEAKER'S MANAGER may reasonably request shall also be included.

3. CONDITIONS OF SPEAKER'S OBLIGATIONS:

(a) SPEAKER'S obligations hereunder are subject to delay or prevention by sickness, inability to perform, accident, failure of means of transportation, Acts of God, riots, strikes, labor difficulties, epidemics, any act or order of any public authority or any other cause, similar or dissimilar, beyond SPEAKER'S control.

4. RESTRICTIONS:

- (a) SPONSOR shall not have the right to broadcast, televise, photograph, record or otherwise reproduce the performance hereunder, or any part thereof or to permit others to do the same.
- (b) SPONSOR shall not have the right to assign this agreement, any provision hereof or any of its rights or obligations hereunder.
- (c) Nothing herein contained shall be construed so as to constitute the parties hereto a partnership or joint venture.
- (d) Neither SPEAKER nor SPEAKER'S MANAGER shall be liable in whole or in part for any liability incurred by SPONSOR carrying out the provisions hereof, or otherwise.
- (e) The person executing this agreement on SPONSOR'S behalf warrants his authority to do so, and such person hereby personally assumes liability for the payment of said price in full.
- (f) No other speaker(s) shall be presented at the performances (whether prior to, simultaneous with or following SPEAKER'S performance) unless SPEAKER shall have first consented in writing to the appearance by, and identity of, such speaker(s).

5. FAILURE BY SPONSOR:

If before the date of any schedule performance,

- (a) SPEAKER or SPEAKER'S MANAGER finds that SPONSOR has not performed fully its obligations under any other agreement with any party for another engagement or
- (b) SPEAKER or SPEAKER'S MANAGER determines that the financial credit of the SPONSOR has been imparied or
- (c) SPONSOR breaches, or fails to perform fully in accordance with, the terms and conditions of this Agreement (including, without limitation, all representations, warranties and other undertakings of SPONSOR herein contained).

SPEAKER shall have the option to terminate this Agreement. If SPEAKER shall so terminate this Agreement, SPEAKER shall be excused from the performance of any and all of SPEAKER'S obligations hereunder. In the event of such a termination, in addition to all other rights and remedies SPEAKER may have against SPONSOR with respect to the subject matter thereof, SPEAKER shall have the right to retain all amounts previously paid to SPEAKER hereunder and SPONSOR shall immediately pay to SPEAKER all other amounts that would have been payable to SPEAKER hereunder had this Agreement remained in full force and effect.

6. MISCELLANEOUS:

This constitutes the sole, complete and binding agreement between the parties hereto. ICM ARTISTS, LTD. acts only as agent and manager for SPEAKER and assumes no liability hereunder. This Agreement may not be changed, modified or altered except by an instrument in writing signed by the parties. This agreement shall be construed in accordance with the laws of the State of New York. Nothing in this Agreement shall require the commission of any act contrary to law or to any rule or regulation of any union, guild or similar body having jurisdiction over the performances hereunder or any element thereof and wherever or whenever there is any conflict between any provision of this Agreement and any such law, rule or regulation, such law, rule or regulation shall prevail and this Agreement shall be curtailed, modified, or limited only to the extent necessary to eliminate such conflict.

7. REPRESENTATIONS, WARRANTIES AND INDEMNITIES:

SPONSOR hereby represents and warrants the following:

- (a) that it has the right to enter into this Agreement and undertake the performance of all obligations on its part to be performed; and
- (b) that it currently has or will obtain a lease for the theatre, hall or auditorium which will remain in full force and effect for the full period of rehearsal(s) and performance(s)

SPONSOR agrees to indemnify SPEAKER and/or SPEAKER'S MANAGER from and against any breach or alleged breach of any of SPONSOR'S representations, warranties, and agreements contained in this Agreement and from any and all claims of third parties in connection with the performance and other activities contemplated hereby unless said claim is proven to be due solely to the intentional malfeasance of SPEAKER in which event SPEAKER similiary agrees to indemnify SPONSOR.

8. ARBITRATION:

Any claim or dispute arising out of or relating to this Agreement or the breach or alleged breach thereof shall be settled by arbitration in New York, New York in accordance with the rules and regulations then obtaining of the American Arbitration Association governing three-member panels. The parties hereto agree to be bound by the award of such arbitration and judgment upon the award rendered by the arbitrators may be entered in any court having jurisdiction thereof.

9 NOTICES

All notices and communications to be addressed to SPEAKER in connection with this Agreement and engagement should be in writing addressed to SPEAKER'S MANAGER, ICM ARTISTS, LTD. Lecture Division, 40 West 57th Street, New York, New York 10019. All notices to be given and/or signed by SPEAKER in connection with this Agreement and engagement may be given and/or signed by either SPEAKER or SPEAKER'S MANAGER.