



## Max M. Kampelman Papers

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March 25, 1991

The Honorable Max Kampelman  
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1001 Pennsylvania Ave. Suite 800  
Washington, DC 20004-2505

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

Enclosed please find the transcript of your remarks at our March 6 conference, "CSCE and the New Blueprint for Europe." I would welcome your looking over the text and correcting it as necessary. Please feel free to condense or elaborate specific passages. We shall probably include it under the title of "Remarks," unless you have another title to recommend.

We hope to issue the publication no later than early May. Accordingly, I would greatly appreciate receiving the corrected text within a week or two.

Thank you again for taking part in our conference. Please call me at 687-6279 if you have any questions about the transcript.

Yours sincerely,

Marilyn Wyatt

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April 26, 1991

Ms. Marilyn Wyatt  
School of Foreign Service  
Institute for the Study of Diplomacy  
Georgetown University  
Washington, D.C. 20057

Dear Ms. Wyatt:

I am sorry for the delay in responding to your letter of March 25, but I am pleased now to enclose a corrected copy of the text you forwarded to me for examination. I hope this is helpful to you.

You may also find the enclosed testimony that I presented to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the same subject to be helpful to you.

All my best.

Sincerely,

  
Max M. Kampelman

MMK:gs

The Honorable Max M. Kampelman

Thank you very much. We have an interesting day ahead of us. As I look through the program <sup>I see that</sup> we <sup>have present</sup> got some people who have had intimate experience <sup>and</sup> with the CSCE in process who can share their experiences, ~~and their~~ perspectives and perceptions with us. My task this morning will primarily be to put the subject matter in some kind of perspective as we begin, ~~and also stall a few moments~~ until ~~Steny Hoyer~~, our main speaker this morning, arrives. He'll be here shortly.

~~It is interesting and the world is noting really and I say the world and I'll tell you why I say the world in just a moment.~~ It's

interesting ~~and the world is noting the success of the Helsinki Final Act and the process which has evolved as a result of the negotiation which led to that act's going into affect in 1975 which~~ <sup>how the</sup> <sup>that</sup> <sup>since</sup>

people call the Helsinki process. In the short period of 15 years <sup>Helsinki that process</sup> from 1975 on it seems to have worked. It has provided a standard toward which nations can aspire and should aspire, the 34 countries that belong to it, <sup>to aspire to</sup> as part of becoming responsible members of a community. But it's more than a standard toward which

to aspire, <sup>it's</sup> also a standard by which to judge. Since it <sup>provides</sup> is an agreed upon standard, the process has <sup>now</sup> evolved to the point where judging is an <sup>eg. integral</sup> ~~integral~~ part of the process. It took awhile before the nations accepted that concept, <sup>but</sup> there it is. The unique quality, it seems to me, of the success that I'm describing to you,

~~the unique quality~~ is that the agreement itself has no enforcement provisions ~~to it~~. Furthermore, the agreement itself requires

unanimity for any decisions <sup>that are</sup> ~~to be~~ made to carry the process forward. <sup>this</sup> P All of ~~which~~ could be noted <sup>was</sup> and ~~were~~ noted at the time of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act <sup>as</sup> ~~as~~ weaknesses in the agreement. Yet I think the experience <sup>as it</sup> ~~that~~ has evolved has <sup>shown</sup> ~~indicated~~ that these weaknesses <sup>can</sup> turn out to be strengths, and in a short period of time we have found, the nations of Europe, indeed aspiring to meet the <sup>re</sup> standards. Certainly one way that ~~the~~ success has evolved is because the nations have been able to judge themselves and ~~judge~~ <sup>g</sup> one another on the basis of those standards. ~~so that in move an enforcement mechanism~~ a kind of moral condemnation has evolved as a substitute for an enforcement mechanism. I think that <sup>that</sup> ~~has~~ proved to be useful as an incentive for compliance. In a sense it's a license <sup>of</sup> ~~for~~ respectability.

P I say the world has noted the success of <sup>Helsinki,</sup> ~~this~~ and not just Europe ~~itself~~ and the 34 countries <sup>today</sup> ~~that~~ are a part of it, ~~the 35 states that are a part of it, because it's interesting to me in the~~ in the last few years <sup>of</sup> ~~to note~~ the different areas of the world that have expressed interest in what's been happening in Europe. I have on my desk, for example, ~~in the last few weeks received~~ a communication from a group of African countries who are meeting in Cologne ~~I think~~ <sup>the</sup> a week after next sponsored by one of the German <sup>Stiftung</sup> ~~(Schiftdom 100)~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~and~~ the subject matter according to the letter I have in front of me on my desk is <sup>and</sup> "Can Africa Learn from the CSCE Process, <sup>From</sup> ~~From~~ the Helsinki Final Act?" ~~And~~ <sup>And</sup> they will be meeting ~~there with people in order~~ <sup>this</sup> to discuss ~~it~~ and I'm now considering whether I ought to join them, ~~because~~ <sup>because</sup> they've invited me to do so

however

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~~and~~ I have to work out some calendar problems, but there's an interesting example. <sup>also</sup> I've had two separate communications raising questions as to whether the Middle East could not gain from that experience and maybe put into effect, <sup>a process</sup> something similar to the Helsinki Final Act for the Middle East. I see <sup>many</sup> loads of problems in connection with <sup>this</sup> ~~it~~ and will not now <sup>attempt</sup> try to discuss the applicability <sup>of CSCE</sup> to Africa or the applicability ~~to~~ the Middle East. <sup>right now.</sup>

What interests me is the fact that ~~indeed~~ people are thinking about possibly applying this <sup>process</sup> thing ~~[that seems to work]~~ to parts <sup>areas in</sup> of the world that need something to begin working <sup>There are</sup> and there ~~we have~~ as <sup>various</sup> ~~I say two~~ separate proposals <sup>to explore this issue;</sup> one of which ~~is in the form of a~~ proposal for funds from a group of distinguished Americans who have incorporated some European partners, ~~and trying to explore this~~ issue.

<sup>the</sup> I had the experience a couple of years ago of travelling <sup>to Central America</sup> ~~wearing~~ <sup>under in</sup> a ~~different hat~~ when I was <sup>my role as</sup> ~~Counselor of the State Department of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~travelling to Central America and visiting with the presidents.~~ <sup>where I ed and meeting with those</sup> ~~there and finding it is a Central American~~ <sup>democracy</sup> ~~democracy's interest in~~ <sup>indemnity</sup> ~~possibly applying some of the principals of the Helsinki Final Act to that region of the world.~~ <sup>I</sup> I don't mean to belabor <sup>this</sup> ~~that~~ point, and I'm not so certain that any of this can just be applied. I've <sup>have</sup> ~~got~~ my own skepticism about how institutions are to evolve, <sup>but</sup> the fact of the matter is these are demonstrations of a perception that the Helsinki Final Act is working.

Europe itself is ~~then~~ <sup>a way</sup> looking around, seeking ~~how~~ to use this mechanism <sup>for</sup> ~~to apply to~~ the new Europe that is evolving. The process

itself I believe is stretching itself, ~~in order to~~ <sup>ing</sup> twist its utility, ~~in being able~~ <sup>so as</sup> to meet the ~~new~~ <sup>old</sup> requirements of a ~~new~~ <sup>old</sup> Europe. <sup>ing</sup> Again,

I want to drop a footnote and say that I have personal reservations -- not shared obviously by our government here or by other governments.

~~frankly, in the process~~ but I have personal reservations about a permanent secretariat and some other aspects of institutionalization. I have no problem with the concept of institutionalization, meetings of foreign ministers, for example, or meetings of heads of state <sup>and</sup> meetings of political directors <sup>are not a problem</sup>. <sup>I do</sup> But I have serious questions in my own head about a permanent secretariat ~~bureaucracy~~ <sup>with permanent places</sup>. I think it is going to present some very serious problems, and I operate on the assumption "if it ain't broke don't fix it," but we are fixing it ~~and we are moving in that~~

~~direction it appears~~, and I hope that my reservations are not going to be realized and my hesitations are not going to be justified.

But I must say that I do have those reservations.

<sup>None the less</sup> But the process itself is stretching itself. Interestingly enough, for example, in the last couple of years <sup>beginning</sup> with the economic meeting in Bonn moving on to the Meeting on the Human Dimension in Copenhagen, <sup>What</sup> we're finding <sup>is</sup> that the nations comprising the 34 states ~~now~~ of the Helsinki process are indeed pushing the substantive programs further. We're pushing the economic direction of the Helsinki process increasingly toward economic freedoms and not just political freedoms. It's interesting that with the diminution of tensions between East and West we ~~do~~ find the East ~~participating fully in this~~ and the



Soviets participating fully in this stretching. <sup>P</sup> Again, we've seen some retrogression of the Soviet Union and I don't know how that will reflect itself in the next meeting under the Helsinki process. We'll have to wait and see. Certainly in the last ~~year or so,~~

~~year,~~ year and a half, ~~there's been~~ <sup>has</sup> a cooperative aspect of this that's evolved. In the Copenhagen ~~meeting~~ <sup>document</sup> we have, and I would urge ~~those of you who are not familiar with it~~ and I notice John Evans will be speaking later today <sup>so</sup> and perhaps he can emphasize this ~~this~~ <sup>we have</sup> afternoon, but ~~you must look at the Copenhagen document as~~ this fantastic expression that the humanitarian provisions of the Helsinki Final Act require political democracy. That's what <sup>the Copenhagen</sup> ~~document~~ says ~~require~~ political democracy.

<sup>having mentioned</sup> ~~Since I talked about~~ the Soviet Union a moment ago, let me ~~say to~~ <sup>express</sup> you the satisfying <sup>action</sup> ~~but~~ shocking <sup>I felt at Copenhagen after</sup> experience ~~for me~~ <sup>received</sup> having ~~gotten~~ my initiation <sup>in the process at</sup> in Madrid when there was total confrontation between East and West <sup>of change was,</sup> ~~the~~ shocking manifestation <sup>in Copenhagen</sup> for me, ~~was~~ when in Copenhagen practically every single morning the Soviet representative was in my office ~~and~~ saying, "Max, what can I do to help?" And to help what? To help say that the rule of law <sup>is paramount;</sup> and political pluralism; <sup>to recognize the vital need for</sup> and political parties and separation of party from government; <sup>to affirm the need for</sup> and separation of the prosecutorial <sup>and</sup> from the judicial function; <sup>to validate</sup> the rights of minority parties to <sup>participate;</sup> ~~exercise~~ and ~~this whole thing~~ to help us carry <sup>all this</sup> that out and to reflect ~~in a~~ that ~~document and they joined in the consensus on behalf of that~~ <sup>in a</sup> document. <sup>P</sup> With this success, you <sup>can</sup> ~~do~~ hear now and you ~~do~~ read now of people saying "well, maybe (Madro - 264) can be modified. I don't

that                      Helsinki                      extended and



~~believe that, but you do hear it~~ Maybe CSCE ought to strengthen ~~the~~ security ingredient in order to reflect <sup>the</sup> new realities <sup>of</sup> security ~~realities~~ in Europe." Well, I think what's happening in the Soviet

Union is cooling the ardor of those who are looking to move beyond NATO, ~~and that's maybe to that extent there is some satisfaction in~~

that. <sup>we are</sup> But ~~you're~~ going to find the stretching <sup>I mentioned before.</sup> ~~now~~ and an illustration of ~~the stretching~~ <sup>stretching came in</sup> that ~~I will give you is~~ a meeting

I had with the ~~head~~ of one of the emerging democracies ~~the~~ president of one of those countries. Just before Copenhagen ~~when~~

I visited ~~in~~ his office and ~~was~~ <sup>we</sup> discussing <sup>ed</sup> with him some ideas he had about how CSCE should move in the security area, ~~they~~ were ideas

that we were a little cool about. I was trying to explain to him why we were cool about it. He listened attentively. I made some

suggestions; he accepted those suggestions, <sup>or</sup> at least seemed to <sup>?</sup> but then he said that he didn't want me to forget that as he looks out

from his country ~~and~~ <sup>sees</sup> ~~looks~~ to one side of him ~~and he sees~~ a Soviet military that is still there <sup>and</sup> still active ~~and~~ <sup>?</sup> though he was

identified at that time as an admirer of Gorbachev, he said he ~~doesn't~~ <sup>stut</sup> ~~doesn't~~ know what tomorrow is going to bring, ~~and that~~ tomorrow may

indeed bring a threat to his country <sup>?</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>he says</sup> you fellows have NATO <sup>so</sup> an attack on one is an attack against ally ~~what~~ do I have?

Is the United States going to come and help me if the Soviets think about coming back into my country? What assurances do I have?

<sup>he continued,</sup> Then <sup>?</sup> I look to the other side of me and I see <sup>a</sup> United Germany. ~~He~~

~~says~~ I like Genscher, I like Kohle, but how do I know whose <sup>is</sup> going to come in after Genscher and ~~after~~ Kohle <sup>?</sup> or after those who come

in after Genscher and Kohle? <sup>and</sup> are you going to help me? Is your country going to come to my help? We need to reevaluate the security mechanisms of Europe. <sup>P</sup> Of course, we do.

~~This is part of the subject matter today. Has Congressman Hoyer arrived yet? I guess I don't see him. Well, I'll make another~~

~~speech.~~ <sup>vital</sup> The point <sup>really</sup> that ~~I think~~ we are addressing here that <sup>is vital</sup> is that the United States cannot ignore these security needs. The emerging democracies of Eastern Europe have nothing in common, <sup>They also</sup> really, ~~and will~~ have less in common with the Soviet Union than they have with us. They're democracies <sup>and</sup> they want to be part of Western Europe. They want to be part of the United States. How are we to do this? What mechanisms do we put into effect? This must be addressed.

Ambassador David Newsom

Max, would you want to take any questions from the ...?

The Honorable Max M. Kampelman

Please.

Ambassador David Newsom

We can start a dialogue here while we're waiting for the Congressman.

The Honorable Max M. Kampelman

Yes, we'll end the dialogue as soon as the Congressman gets here.

Dr. Madeleine Albright

I'd like to ask why you do have personal doubts about institutionalization in the CSCE and (inaudible - 258). }

The Honorable Max M. Kampelman

Well, I don't want to say that I have doubts about institutionalization. I have doubts about the form of institutionalization that <sup>at all</sup> leads to a permanent civil service, for example. <sup>I have no problem with</sup> The institutionalization of having foreign ministers meet <sup>meet regularly.</sup> and political directors meet and heads of state ~~I have no problems~~ ~~with at all.~~ The regularity of meetings I have no problems with ~~at all.~~ I guess I'm afraid of another UNESCO. All in all, yes, ~~here,~~ there's this wonderful institution <sup>here</sup> ~~really~~ which is not threatening to anybody, requires consensus <sup>and</sup> everybody now feels comfortable with it, ~~and~~ <sup>LEADERS</sup> the political ~~people~~ are the decision makers really in connection with it. There is no bureaucracy that gets in the way. <sup>So</sup> I'm concerned that it can turn out to be an employment agency; if you're going to hire a Greek, maybe you better hire a Turk and all the rest that's associated with it. <sup>THE CONGRESSMAN HAS ARRIVED</sup> ~~I could go on, Madeleine, but his~~ <sup>Congressman Hoyer</sup> ~~lips~~ <sup>has</sup> arrived. ~~I do want to say that~~ it's really a great personal privilege for me to introduce Congressman Hoyer to you, <sup>HE IS, OF COURSE,</sup> ~~as~~ the Chairman of the <sup>CSCE</sup> Commission ~~for a number of reasons,~~ and I want to use this occasion to say a word about the Commission if I may. ~~because I really think that~~ <sup>P</sup> part of the strength of the CSCE process which has grabbed hold <sup>is due to the Commission</sup> ~~on~~ our country. If you remember, ~~that~~ in 1975 we had a lot of skepticism in the United States about the Helsinki Final Act. ~~The president signed it, and was under~~ President Ford <sup>2</sup> was under a great deal of attack at the time that he signed it. I think one of the fortunate developments that evolved, and which led to growing acceptance, in this country of this   
and understanding

process, ~~greater understanding of it~~ was the Commission itself.

While it ~~which~~ was established by a statute ~~which represented really the~~,  
 and is ~~it's~~ not a legislative commission, ~~but~~ it represented the strength,  
 the clout <sup>and power</sup> of the House of Representatives and the Senate ~~the power~~  
 there. It was bipartisan <sup>and</sup> ~~it was~~ equal<sup>led</sup> in its division. It  
 consisted of people who were committed particularly to the  
 humanitarian provisions of the Helsinki Final Act ~~but~~ <sup>and</sup> to the  
 strengthening of democracy. It developed a staff. This <sup>staffers</sup>  
 became experts in the field. One of the problems of our foreign  
 service is we switch around a lot, so you may be an expert in three  
 years <sup>but</sup> and then you move to another assignment and you're not in a  
 position to, therefore, follow all the cables and see exactly what's  
 happening <sup>however,</sup> whereas the staff of the Commission is a continuum.  
 They provide a memory. When I moved in in 1980, for example, to  
 head up the Madrid <sup>delegation</sup>, one of the things I learned very early on was  
~~that the absence of memory and it was indispensable for me, to depend on~~  
~~the Commission for the memory. Otherwise~~ I don't know how you can  
 function without that memory. ~~But I want to say it has one of the~~  
~~important roles to fulfill.~~ I'm convinced after quite a few years  
~~now~~ of working in the field of international policy, I'm convinced  
 that we have moved in our democracy to a point where <sup>De Tocqueville's</sup> ~~(Detuk Foo's)~~  
<sup>De Tocqueville</sup> ~~(Detuk Foo)~~ 320) warnings are increasingly real, ~~when~~ <sup>321)</sup> warned  
 us that in order for a democracy to understand its strengths and  
 its weaknesses vis-à-vis authoritarian governments, it must  
 appreciate that its weaknesses in international policy and in  
 foreign policy ~~because of~~ the weaknesses of democracy. We could  
 spring from

spell it out based on experiences, of course, <sup>or</sup> which criticizes<sup>6</sup> an opposing political party, <sup>or</sup> which criticizes the difficulty of maintaining secrets in a democracy. We could go on and on with that, and <sup>De Tocqueville</sup> ~~(Detuk Foo - 329)~~ felt this <sup>public rancor</sup> was a weakness on the part of democracy in any kind of a serious struggle with an authoritarian government. ~~So~~ I'm convinced that this is becoming increasingly clear in our country. <sup>if we</sup> and requires, therefore, not an enmity but a consensus. That consensus must be a consensus of the executive and the legislative body if its going to work. Furthermore, its got to be a consensus which is tied in with considerations involving morality. I think it was <sup>G.K. Chesterton</sup> ~~(Chesterton - 338)~~ who said the United States is <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ nation with <sup>the</sup> ~~a~~ soul of a church. It's got to have a moral ingredient to the foreign policy. The way we've evolved with the Helsinki Final Act and the way we've developed this consensus -- and there is a consensus is because of the close relationship between the executive and the legislative branch and the Commission -- has played an indispensable role in helping to forge that! <sup>moral ingredient</sup> It's ~~is~~ my privilege to introduce to you the chairman of the Commission, one of the leaders of the House of Representatives, Congressman Steny Hoyer of Maryland.

The Honorable Steny H. Hoyer

Thank you very much, Mr. Ambassador, and let me apologize for my lateness but I'm sure that none of you were the lesser for it because you got educated by somebody who knows far more about the CSCE process than I do, Ambassador Kampelman. In fact, I know and I'm very aware that there are literally I wouldn't be surprised if

SCHOOL OF FOREIGN SERVICE  
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**CSCE AND THE NEW BLUEPRINT FOR EUROPE**

March 6, 1991

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Master of Science  
in Foreign Service Program

Mr. Michael Snyder  
Institute for the Study of Diplomacy

Mrs. Wendy von Staden

His Excellency Berndt von Staden  
International Counselor  
Institute for the Study of Diplomacy

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Brookings Institution

Dr. Angela Stent  
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Georgetown University

Mr. Glen Sweitzer  
National Research Council/  
National Academy of Sciences

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Assembly of Turkish-American  
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for International Peace

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Economics Department  
Georgetown University

Mr. Thomas Weil

Mr. Samuel Wells  
Woodrow Wilson Center

Ms. Sonia Winter  
Radio Free Europe

Mr. Sam Wise  
Commission on Security  
and Cooperation in Europe

Professor Alexander Woroniak  
Economics Department  
Catholic University

Mr. Georg Woutsas  
Embassy of Austria



## **CSCE AND THE NEW BLUEPRINT FOR EUROPE**

*Leavey Conference Center, Georgetown University  
3800 Reservoir Road, N.W.  
March 6, 1991*

8:15-8:45 **Registration**

8:45-9:15 **Opening Remarks**

The Honorable Max M. Kampelman  
Head of U.S. Delegation, Madrid, 1980-1983  
and Copenhagen, 1990

9:15-9:45 **Address**

The Honorable Steny H. Hoyer  
Congressman and Chairman,  
Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe

9:45-11:15 **Panel One** **CSCE: A New Security Order for Europe?**

Moderator: Dr. Angela Stent  
Professor of Government, Georgetown University

Papers: Mr. Ilkka Heiskanen  
Counselor, Embassy of Finland  
Dr. Gregory Flynn  
Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Respondents: Ms. Enikő Bollobás  
Minister-Counselor, Embassy of Hungary  
His Excellency Jacques Andreani  
Ambassador of France

11:30-1:00 **Panel Two** **Changing Forms and Fora of Cooperation**

Moderator: Dr. Madeleine Albright  
Professor of International Relations, Georgetown University

Papers: Her Excellency Rita Klimova  
Ambassador of Czechoslovakia  
Ms. Jenonne Walker  
Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Respondents: Mr. Spencer Oliver  
General Counsel, House Foreign Affairs Committee  
Mr. Carrado Pirzio-Biroli  
Minister, Delegation of the EC Commission



1:15-2:30 **Luncheon**      Guest Speaker – His Excellency Berndt von Staden  
Former Foreign Policy Adviser to Helmut Schmidt

2:45-4:15 **Panel Three Democratization and Minority Issues**

Moderator:      Dr. Andrzej Kaminski  
Professor of History, Georgetown University

Papers:      Dr. Thomas Buergenthal  
Professor of Law, George Washington University

Dr. Andrus Park  
Professor of History and Philosophy, Estonian Academy of Sciences  
and Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center

Respondents:      Mr. Fritjof von Nordenskjöld  
Minister, Embassy of Germany  
Mr. John Evans  
CSCE Coordinator, Department of State

4:15-4:45 **Concluding Remarks** – Ambassador Kampelman

NO SILVER BULL  
NEU  
COUNCIL OF EUROPE  
E CONOM MARKET  
NATO

+ CSCE

(WORKED ITSELF BY UNDERMINING ITS  
INHERENT STRENGTH)

J. COORDINATION - TOM B. + OTHERS

POLITICAL DIMENSION TO HUMANITARIAN  
OBJECTIVES

AGREE MORE WORKS LESS IMPACT THAN COMING

ECONOMIC  
SECURITY

② BALKAN WARS

NOT YET PREPARED - SELF-DETERMINED  
(NOT BALTIC!)

3/6 F  
PENDING

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## SCHOOL OF FOREIGN SERVICE

301 INTERCULTURAL CENTER  
WASHINGTON, DC 20057(202)687-5696  
FAX: (202)687-1431TO: The Honorable MAX KAMPELMAN202 639-7008

Location/Phone Number

FROM: MARILYN WYATTNumber of pages 4 including cover sheet

- For your introductions at the CSCE conference. Note that Hoyer attended G'town Law.
- Let me know if you need more on von Staden. This is all we have in our files, but I can request he fax more from Germany.

PERSONAL DATA

Berndt von STADEN

born: June 24, 1919 in Rostock/Germany

married, 2 children

1938 - 1939	Law studies, University of Bonn
1940 - 1945	Service in the Armed Forces
1946 - 1948	Continuation of law studies, University of Hamburg
1948 - 1951	Practical juridical training
1951	Entrance examination for the German Foreign Service and assignment to the German Foreign Service
1953 - 1955	Secretary of Legation, German Embassy Brussels
1955 - 1958	German Foreign Office, Director of the Office of Soviet Affairs
1958 - 1963	Staff member of the Commission of the European Economic Community. Chief Executive Assistant to the President of the Commission.
1963 - 1968	Counselor, German Embassy Washington, D.C.
1968 - 1970	Deputy Assistant Secretary in the German Foreign Office
1970 - 1973	Director General of the Political Division, German Foreign Office
April 1973 - November 1979	Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to the U.S.A.
1979 - 1981	Chief Foreign Policy and National Security Advisor to the Federal Chancellor
1981 - 1983	State Secretary of the German Foreign Office
Fall 1985	J. William Fulbright Distinguished Research Professor of Diplomacy, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University

CONGRESSMAN STENY H. HOYER  
5th District, Maryland

Personal

Married to Judith P. Hoyer. They have three daughters: Susan, Stefany and Anne, and reside in Forestville, Maryland.

Hoyer graduated from Suitland High School. In 1963, he graduated from the University of Maryland with high honors, and received the "Outstanding Graduating Male" award. He earned his J.D. degree from Georgetown University Law Center in 1966.

Political Office

Elected to the House of Representatives, May 1981  
Reelected - 1982, 1984, 1986, ~~1988~~ 1988 with 79% of the vote. **+ 1990 w/ 80%**

Elected to the Maryland State Senate in 1966, served 12 years, including four as the youngest Senate President in Maryland history (1975-78).

Appointed to the State Board of Higher Education, 1978-81.

Committee Assignments

Hoyer is a Member of the House Appropriations Committee and three of its subcommittees: Labor, Health and Human Services, Education; Treasury, Postal Service, General Government; and District of Columbia.

Hoyer serves as ~~Chairman~~ Chairman of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (Helsinki Commission). He was first appointed in March 1985 to be Co-Chair of the Commission.

Democratic Party

Hoyer has been elected by his colleagues to serve as ~~Chair~~ Chair of the House Democratic Caucus, which is one of five elected positions in the House Democratic leadership.

Hoyer is a member of the following party organizations: Democratic Steering and Policy Committee, Democratic Caucus Committee on Organization, Study and Review, and the Caucus Committee on Party Effectiveness, Democratic Study Group (Vice Chair).

Caucuses

Co-Chair, Federal Government Service Task Force; Associate Member, Congressional Black Caucus; Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues; Congressional Arts Caucus (Executive Committee), Congressional Competitiveness Caucus.

## Legislation

In his more than seven years in office, Hoyer has authored numerous bills adopted by Congress including those to: create a southern division of the U.S. District Court for Maryland; reform the federal merit pay system; and to reform federal sexual assault laws.

Hoyer has also been the leader in the fight for continued federal funding for construction of the Metro subway system and to upgrade the Baltimore-Washington Parkway and the Suitland Parkway. His legislation to consolidate the National Archives at the University of Maryland was adopted in 1988.

As a member of the Appropriations Committee, Hoyer has been the leading supporter of such programs as the Job Corps and Head Start. He has spearheaded the drive for federal funding for new research initiatives on Diabetes and Retts Syndrome.

Hoyer also has been a leader in the fight for increased funding for AIDS research, and has served as Chairman of the House Leadership Task Force on AIDS.

## Awards

Congressman Hoyer has recently been the recipient of the following awards:

- \*Honorary Doctor of Public Service,  
University of Maryland, College Park, Dec. 1988
- \*Washingtonian of the Year, 1988  
Washingtonian Magazine
- \*Policy Maker of the Year, National Association of  
Homebuilders, 1988
- \*Medal of Merit, Lions Club International, 1987
- \*Outstanding Contributions Award, International  
Rett Syndrome Association, November 1987
- \*Certificate of Appreciation, Congressional Black  
Caucus, November 1987
- \*Baltic Freedom Award, Joint Baltic-American  
National Committee, 1987
- \*President's Club, University of Maryland, 1987
- \*Congressional Advocate of the Year - 1986  
Child Welfare League
- \*Citizen of the Year - 1986  
-District Heights-Forestville VFW Post 482
- \*Man of the Year, Boys & Girls Clubs of  
Greater Washington, 1986
- \*Political Service Award, National Association of  
Blacks Within Government, 1985
- \*Special Service Award, United Black Fund, 1985
- \*Appreciation Award, Federal Professional Managers  
Association, 1985
- \*Congressional Award, Epilepsy Foundation, 1985





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November 26, 1990

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Margery R. Boichel  
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The Honorable Max Kampelman  
Fried, Frank, Harris Shriver  
and Jacobson  
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20004-2505

Dear Max:

On behalf of the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy and the Center for German and European Studies, I would like to invite you to participate in a seminar we are planning on the future of the CSCE.

The topic is a timely, indeed urgent, one, demanding thoughtful reassessment in light of the profound changes in Europe during the past year. We look forward to bringing together members of Washington's policy-making, diplomatic, and academic communities for wide-ranging discussion of CSCE's role in a new Europe, particularly in the aftermath of this month's summit of the Helsinki Final Act signatory countries. We hope to host the day-long seminar in late January or early February, 1991.

As Washington's foremost authority on the CSCE, you can provide a valuable perspective unparalleled for its breadth and acuity. We would be most honored if you could serve as the seminar's moderator, delivering opening remarks, introducing the luncheon speaker, and providing a wrap-up at the seminar's conclusion. Following your opening remarks, the day will be organized into consecutive panel discussions based on each of the CSCE baskets.

I spoke last week with your assistant, Sharon, who indicated that the last week of January or the first week in February might be a convenient time for you to attend. We will tentatively hold open January 29, 30, and 31 and February 5, 6, and 7 for scheduling the seminar, pending your confirmation.

The Honorable Max Kampelman  
November 16, 1990  
Page Two

I do hope you will be able to take part in our seminar--it should be an exciting event.

Warm regards,



David D. Newsom  
Marshall B. Coyne  
Professor of Diplomacy

DDN:ms

cc: Marilyn Wyatt  
Putnam Ebinger  
Harold Horan



GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

*Marlyn Wynn*  
11:30  
2/8

Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service  
Office of the Dean

*Peter Crowe*

February 6, 1991

Dear Colleague:

On behalf of the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy and the Center for German and European Studies, we cordially invite you to participate in a March 6 conference at Georgetown University, "CSCE and the New Blueprint for Europe."

This day-long conference will explore timely issues of security, cooperation, and human rights in the radically new European context. The central question, to be addressed through presentations by experts and open discussion, is the role CSCE can and should play in promoting prosperity, stability, and peace in the region. Congressman Steny H. Hoyer, chairman of the Commission for Security and Cooperation in Europe, will start the day with remarks on the future of CSCE from an American perspective. Afterwards distinguished members of Washington's government, academic, and diplomatic communities will present their views in a series of three panel discussions, as outlined in the enclosed program. Conference attendance is by invitation only.

You are also invited to attend the conference luncheon from 1:00 to 2:30 p.m. The guest speaker will be His Excellency Berndt von Staden, former foreign affairs adviser to Helmut Schmidt. Both the conference and the luncheon will be held at the Leavey Conference Center, Georgetown University, 3800 Reservoir Road, N.W. Paid parking is available at the Center.

Conference participation is free of charge. The fee for the luncheon is \$25.00 per person. To register for the conference or the luncheon, or both, please return the registration form along with a check payable to the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy. Since registration is on a first-come first-served basis only, you may also wish to notify the Institute of your intention to attend by phoning (202) 965-5735 before February 28.

We look forward to seeing you on March 6.

Sincerely,

Putnam M. Ebinger  
Associate Dean

Max M. Kampelman  
Conference Chairman

Washington DC 20057  
202-487-5696  
FAX 202-487-1431



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March 18, 1991

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Berndt von Staden

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Marshall B. Coyne Research Professor  
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Director of Programs  
Margery R. Boichel  
Editor

The Honorable Max Kampelman  
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver, & Kampelman  
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, DC 20004

Dear Ambassador Kampelman:

On behalf of the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy and the Center for German and European Studies, I would like to thank you for your contribution to our March 6 conference, "CSCE and the New Blueprint for Europe." The turnout for the conference was excellent, and the panel discussions were lively and thought-provoking. All around, the conference was welcomed as a timely and stimulating event. Your participation certainly contributed to the overall success of the conference, and we are most appreciative that you were able to attend.

The Institute for the Study of Diplomacy plans to publish the papers presented at the conference. We will shortly be sending you the transcript of your remarks so that you may make any necessary corrections and return it to us.

Again, thank you for sharing your time and insights into the CSCE with the Georgetown community. With best regards,

Sincerely,

David D. Newsom  
for the Institute for the  
Study of Diplomacy