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### THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 22, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED F. FIELDING

FROM:

JOHN G. ROBERTS

SUBJECT:

Presidential Introductory Statement for book containing major speeches delivered by Ambassador Max Kampelman at the Madrid

CSCE Follow-up Meeting

Freedom House is publishing a book of Ambassador Max Kampelman's speeches delivered during the Madrid Conference on the Helsinki accords. Kampelman is also Chairman of the Board of Freedom House. Leonard Sussman, Executive Director of Freedom House, has asked the President to write an introduction to the book. The State Department supports the idea and has drafted a brief introduction. NSC agrees that publication of the speeches with a Presidential introduction is in the national interest.

I met Kampelman and talked with Sussman on Friday. Sussman advised that the book would be priced solely to cover its cost, and that all proceeds would go to Freedom House, a 501(c)(3) organization. He estimated that 5,000 copies would be printed, and stated that the book would not be commercially marketed but rather made available to usual Freedom House supporters. He also indicated that former President Carter was writing an introduction, and that USIA had expressed interest in the book. Due to publication schedules, Sussman needs our answer (and the text of the introduction) by close of business.

We normally avoid Presidential introductions to privately published books, although exceptions have been made in the case of 501(c)(3) organizations (e.g., Joey Adams). In light of the limited commercial nature of this proposal, and the determination of State and NSC that the book and a Presidential introduction are in the national interest, I recommend approval.

WASHINGTON

August 22, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR PAUL B. THOMPSON

LEGAL COUNSEL

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

FROM:

FRED F. FIELDING

COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT:

Presidential Introductory Statement for book

containing major speeches delivered by Ambassador Max Kampelman at the Madrid

CSCE Follow-up Meeting

Counsel's Office has reviewed the proposal that the President write an introduction to the collection of speeches by Ambassador Kampelman to be published by Freedom House. In the past, the President has generally adhered to a policy of declining such requests to write introductions. Any departure from this policy will make it more difficult to deny similar requests from other groups in the future.

Leonard Sussman, Executive Director of Freedom House, has advised us that the book will be priced only to cover costs, that all proceeds will go to Freedom House (a 501(c)(3) organization), and that the book will not be commercially marketed but rather made available to Freedom House supporters. Both the State Department and the National Security Council recommend approval of a Presidential introduction as in the national interest. In light of all the foregoing, we will defer to the judgment of the State Department and NSC should they determine that foreign policy considerations warrant a departure from our general policy.

Sussman has advised us that his organization needs the text of our introduction by close of business today.

FFF:JGR:aea 8/22/83

cc: FFFielding

JGRoberts Subject

Chron

ID # 159477 CU

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

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## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

159477CW

August 12, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR DODIE LIVINGSTON

FROM:

ROBERT M. KIMMITT Boh

SUBJECT:

Presidential Introductory Statement for Book

We have reviewed and with minor editorial changes concur with the proposed introductory Presidential statement for a forthcoming book containing major speeches delivered by Ambassador Max-Kampelman at the Madrid CSCE Follow-up Meeting. We agree with the Department of State that it would be appropriate for the President to provide this statement and that publication and wide circulation of the book will be in the interest of the United States Government.

Fred Fielding also should clear, since this book likely will be for public sale.

Bob Attachments

cc Fred Fielding



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

August 10, 1983

## UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILLIAM P. CLARK THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Letter to the President from the Executive Director of Freedom House

Leonard R. Sussman, the Executive Director of Freedom House, wrote to the President on July 22 requesting an introductory statement for a forthcoming book containing the major speeches delivered by Ambassador Max Kampelman at the Madrid CSCE Follow-Up Meeting. The Department of State believes that publication and wide circulation of the book is very much in the interest of the U.S. Government, and that it would be appropriate for the President to provide the requested introductory statement. A draft Presidential introductory statement is attached.

for Charles Hill Executive Secretary

Attachments:

TAB 1 - Draft Statement.

TAB 2 - Incoming Correspondence.

## DRAFT INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

In 1975 the United States and Canada joined with the nations of Europe in proclaiming a new charter of freedom. They signed the Helsinki Final Act -- a bill of rights for Europe -- and they pledged their best efforts to its implementation.

Recently, the United States and the other 34 states participating in the process of increasing security and cooperation in Europe concluded the Madrid conference. The three-year effort in Madrid was aimed at measuring compliance with the Helsinki Final Act and at extension of its provisions. Under the masterful leadership of Max Kampelman, our Ambassador to the Madrid Conference and Chairman of the Board of Freedom House, we and our Western allies conducted a thorough stock-taking of international respect for the Final Act. The results were anything but encouraging. Despite glimmers of hope here and there, the overall picture which emerged was one of frequent disregard by the Soviet Union and the East European states for many of the most elemental human rights.

We were confronted at Madrid with a difficult decision -whether in the face of these human rights violations to give in
to frustration and to dispense with the Helsinki process or to
bend our best efforts toward making that process more

effective. The decision was difficult. In the end, however, we chose the path of hope, and not the one of despair.

Ambassador Kampelman and his Western colleagues were able, in the face of constant Soviet resistance, to negotiate a new document which gives additional meaning to the concepts of the Final Act.

In the months and years to come, we intend to follow the path which Max Kampelman has blazed. We intend to preserve the Helsinki process and never to shrink from calling attention to actions and policies which violate the Helsinki and Madrid accords. Freedom House and organizations like it have an important continuing role to play in this effort.

# Freedom House

20 West 40th Street New York, New York 10018 212/730-7744

Telex: 429439 - FREEDOM

Freedom's Advocate the World Over

July 22, 1983

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Leonard R. Sussman, Executive Director

The Honorable Ronald Reagan The President The White House Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

Since August 1975, Freedom House has critically observed what has come to be known as the Helsinki Process. The second review meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), about to conclude in Madrid, has provided another laborious period of explicit debate between America and its friends, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union and its satellites, on the other.

We congratulate you and Secretary Schultz for persistently and effectively upholding traditional American positions in that difficult forum. We are, therefore, proud of the role played in Madrid by your Ambassador Max M. Kampelman, for he is also chairman of the Board of Freedom House.

As a further indication of our continuing interest in the Helsinki Process, Freedom House will publish this September a paperback volume containing the major Kampelman speeches delivered at the CSCE, with other relevant material. It would be especially appropriate to include an introductory statement from you, Mr. President, and we hereby invite you to contribute such a statement.

You may want to express your view of the value of the Helsinki Process: 1) as a means of evaluating the deeds of the signers against the moral and political standards set in the unanimously approved documents; 2) as a meeting place in which the East and West can unequivocally exchange views on the most fundamental ideas DOMESTIC ADVISORY COUNCIL that divide them; and 3) as a forum in which these differences can be publicly aired for all the world to see and judge.

> We would be honored to receive your statement for publication in our Perspective devoted to the CSCE/Madrid.

> > Respectfull

Leonard R. Sussman Executive Director

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August 12, 1983

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cc Fred Fielding



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Washington, D.C. 20520

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Barmson McKinley
for Charles Hill
Executive Secretary

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Leonard R. Sussman. Executive Director

South Africa

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> We would be honored to receive your statement for publication in our Perspective devoted to the CSCE/Madrid.

> > Respectfully

Keonard R. Sussman Executive Director

jm

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August 22, 1983

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I met Kampelman and talked with Sussman on Friday. advised that the book would be priced solely to cover its cost, and that all proceeds would go to Freedom House, a 501(c)(3) organization. He estimated that 5,000 copies would be printed, and stated that the book would not be commercially marketed but rather made available to usual Freedom House supporters. He also indicated that former President Carter was writing an introduction, and that USIA had expressed interest in the book. Due to publication schedules, Sussman needs our answer (and the text of the introduction) by close of business.

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August 22, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT KIMMITT

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

FROM: FRED F. FIELDING

COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Introductory Statement for book

containing major speeches delivered by Ambassador Max Kampelman at the Madrid

CSCE Follow-up Meeting

Counsel's Office has reviewed the proposal that the President write an introduction to the collection of speeches by Ambassador Kampelman to be published by Freedom House. Our normal policy is not to approve such Presidential introductions. Leonard Sussman, Executive Director of Freedom House, has advised us that the book will be priced only to cover costs, that all proceeds will go to Freedom House (a 501(c)(3) organization), and that the book will not be commercially marketed but rather made available to Freedom House supporters. Both the State Department and the National Security Council recommend approval of a Presidential introduction as in the national interest. In light of all the foregoing, we will not object to the proposed introduction.

Sussman has advised us that his organization needs the text of our introduction by close of business today. We have no objection to the State Department draft, as edited by NSC.

FFF: JGR: aea 8/22/83

cc: FFFielding JGRoberts Subj.

Chron

WASHINGTON

August 22, 1983

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