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HAVEMAN, Bastiaan Wouter

Dutch Government Commissioner for Emigration and fourth Director of the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM) 1962-1969

By **Marijke van Faassen** · Version 18 February 2017

Was born 25 November 1908 in Wijnjeterp and died 3 December 1979 in Leiden, The Netherlands. He was the son of Meindert Haveman, pastor, and Elisabeth Amelia Mary Philippine van Veen, nurse. On 20 July 1951 he married Louise Hendrika (known as Ies) van Loon. They had an adopted daughter.

Biography

Haveman came from a preacher's family with five sons and one daughter in the Eastern part of the Netherlands. His father was an Orthodox member of the Dutch Reformed Church, which accommodated many schools of thought, ranging from extremely Orthodox to Freethinking. In 1913 the Evangelist Association, an internationally minded group in search of Christianity rather than denominational division, sent his father to the small city of Tiel, where he worked as pastor. Haveman attended grammar school and, in 1928, moved to Delft to study at the Technical College, where he graduated as chemical engineer in 1934. He combined temporary jobs with studying law, receiving his law degree in 1938. He had joined the Alliance of Young Liberals, the youth organization of the Freedom Alliance (Vrijheidsbond), a political party which combined moderate social welfare with Liberal principles, among them equality of the sexes. He held various functions on the Board, but found the Alliance insufficiently progressive. Looking for ways to better disseminate his deeply felt Liberal ideas, he mobilized the party's chairman for his purpose, but these evasive tactics, behind the backs of the other members and following earlier conflicts, resulted in loss of confidence and removal from his functions by the end of 1936. He decided to remain outside established party politics. Like others of his generation, he saw the fragmentation of Dutch party politics as the result

of a malfunctioning parliamentary democracy, where indecisive successive governments were unable to solve ongoing unemployment in unstable international political circumstances. He joined various fora in favour of reviving Dutch political and social institutions and in search for greater national unity. From 1938 onwards he combined his first salaried position at the recently established Ministry of Social Affairs with secretarial and editorial functions in the folk high school movement, the Dutch People's Power Foundation (1938-1940), the Committee for the Study of Economic Regulation (1939) and the first editorial board of the journal *Het Gemeenebest* (*The Commonwealth*, 1939-1940), which advocated unity of the Dutch people. Based on the principles acquired through his upbringing as an Evangelical Christian, rather than as a sectarian, he dealt with social issues related to youth, structural unemployment and labour mediation in these posts, which provided him with an extensive and socially diverse network of like-minded people throughout the country.

At first the occupation of the Netherlands by Nazi Germany in May 1940, with the Dutch government going into exile in London, did not change much for Haveman. However, in 1941 he resigned from public service in order to stay away from the intensifying process of Nazification of the government. Between 1941 and 1944 he worked as Secretary of the General Employers Association. He joined the resistance group and its underground journal *Je Maintiendrai*, which excluded a return to pre-war political relations. In addition, he connected with the widely supported Netherlands Union, which recognized the change of political circumstances in the hope of collaborating with the German occupying authorities, but the Germans eventually prohibited it in 1941 because it was considered to be insufficiently pro-Germany. By 1944 Haveman joined the underground group that had emerged from the Netherlands Union and became friends with Social-Democrat politician and trade unionist Ko Suurhoff, who also contributed to *Je Maintiendrai*. The plans of these resistance circles for changing the political system once the Netherlands was liberated acquired greater momentum when the well-known Delft professor and former member of the Freedom Alliance, Willem Schermerhorn, joined. Immediately after the liberation of the Netherlands in May 1945 the Dutch People's Movement (Nederlandse Volks Beweging) was founded with Haveman as Acting Secretary. In this broadly constituted political party, which was averse to pre-war traditions, Haveman hoped to provide a political home for people who like himself did not belong to a party. He represented the Movement in the political study commission that combined Liberals and Social Democrats and presented the foundation of the Labour Party (Partij van de Arbeid) in 1946 as the embodiment of this breakthrough effort. Haveman was elected to the first Party's Executive Committee. However, while working in official and management functions, he generally stayed behind the political scenes.

From November 1945 to August 1946 Haveman was Secretary to the government Council for Economic Affairs and acquired his first international experience as a socio-economic expert in the Dutch delegation to the United Nations (UN). He became a member of the Special Committee on Refugees and Displaced Persons, established by the Economic and Social Council, which had the task of setting up the International Refugee Organization (IRO). In April 1946 this organization took over refugee matters from the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, which had been set up by the Allied states in 1943. In this role Haveman worked closely with United States (US) delegate George L. Warren, who was the State Department's advisor on refugees. From 1946 to 1950 Haveman worked as advisor to the Dutch Ministry of Transport. He also served as vice-chairman of the committee that dealt with the trials of suspected Nazi-sympathizer journalists and, in 1949, as chairman of the Central Agricultural Arbitration Committee. In November 1950 the Dutch government appointed Haveman to the newly created office of Commissioner for Emigration. Given his experience, his religious and progressive Liberal background, his drive and network of contacts at every social level, he was considered the best person to implement the new emigration system. Already during the Second World War the Dutch government was aware that emigration could be a means of realizing the cherished Keynesian ideal of full employment. Haveman had witnessed the further development of this idea as one of the confidants of Schermerhorn as the first postwar Prime Minister. With unemployment figures rising since 1948, the population pressure increased and the necessity of reorganizing agriculture, partly due to lack of land in the small country, added to this

pressure. The government decided to base its socio-economic policy on two cornerstones. In order to prevent structural unemployment in the future, large-scale emigration was to be encouraged in addition to industrialization. Haveman had contributed to this strategy during cabinet meetings as advisor to the Minister of Transport. He had also worked hard to bridge the differences in viewpoints among the members of the Labour Party about the degree to which emigration policy should be state-managed. Various interest groups from civil society vociferously demanded a say in the making of policies, such as women's organizations, employers from agriculture and industry and trade unions in the emerging Dutch consensus economy. Haveman skilfully and informally managed to quiet internal party conflicts over this matter. To the party leaders his appointment as Commissioner for Emigration seemed the best way to get everybody in agreement, since he had won the respect of the various interest groups. They also felt that some of his less pleasant characteristics, particularly his slyness and occasionally confrontational style, could be useful in this difficult position, which also involved international lobbying and contestation.

Haveman met the high expectations, as in 1952 both houses of Parliament adopted the new emigration law which he helped to design. Strengthening international contacts was another element of his job, as the Netherlands took an active part in the international emigration debate in which every country had its own agenda, while humanitarian and economic arguments became inseparably linked to arguments on collective security due to quickly deteriorating East-West relations. He travelled to many destination countries on a bilateral basis, while general policies were set at the multilateral level, since in the early 1950s it was unclear which international institutions would regulate refugees and migrants and have sufficient funding. By the end of the 1940s the refugee problem had not been resolved, so the UN decided to establish the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and adopted the Refugee Convention in December 1950. The US was averse of setting up a new organization, as unintentionally the IRO had become a huge financial burden on the US. The Communist states opposed any continuation, but many Western European states were in favour and IRO operations would cease in 1952. At various conferences Haveman headed the Dutch delegation and proved to be an active and tenacious leader with a talent for creating mutual advantages. His first significant action at this junction of national and international discussions in 1951 was convincing the Dutch government that the International Labour Organization (ILO), which tried to enhance its position by arguing that migration was an ILO issue, should not emerge as winner of the battle over the IRO's material legacy (the fleet, personnel and an administrative budget augmented by a US bonus of ten million dollars), even though the Dutch government initially favoured the ILO option. Before the decision was made, he travelled to Canada and Australia, where he experienced resistance to ILO interference due to the non-Western input that was difficult to combine with the *de facto* white migration policy of both countries. Haveman also got in touch with Warren and learned that the US Congress would not finance any operational migration work by the ILO due to strong anti-ILO forces in US domestic politics. As a result the Netherlands supported the solution, which was instigated by US Congressman Francis E. Walter and presented at a conference in Brussels, Belgium in November 1951, of allocating the IRO legacy for one year to the Provisional Intergovernmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe, which was replaced by the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM) in 1953. ICEM presented itself as a refugee organization, but Haveman convinced his government that member states had agreed that their main function was encouraging and facilitating economic migration of the labour surplus from disrupted Europe. He also ensured that the Netherlands, as an important emigration country, would have a permanent seat on ICEM's Executive Committee until 1961. ICEM remained outside the UN System and was led by US Directors.

Although migration projects, in which European workers were resettled to other continents, were ICEM's core business, ICEM Director Harold Tittman decided to engage in the Hungarian refugee crisis that resulted from the Soviet repression of the Hungarian uprising in late 1956. ICEM made a special appeal to its member states to provide havens for the escapees and to furnish funds for their transport. The US did not appreciate this autonomous action, which also overloaded ICEM's staff. In July 1957 Haveman was approached from various sides to succeed Deputy Director Pierre Jacobsen,

who was killed in a traffic accident. Jacobsen led the work in ICEM's Geneva headquarters, which now turned into a situation described by the Americans as 'chaotic and paralysed' (Nationaal Archief, The Hague [NA], SZW/Emigratie, 2.15.68, inv.nr. 393). Both Congressman Walter, who was acquainted with Haveman's qualities, and Haveman's good friend Tasman Heyes, the Australian Secretary of Immigration, appealed to him to sort things out as Acting Deputy Director. Although tempted, Haveman did not feel adventurous enough for a temporary position in an organization whose existence depended on US funding being renewed each year. Moreover, Dutch Minister of Social Affairs Suurhoff let it be known that the government preferred to retain Haveman as Dutch Commissioner for Emigration. The fact that Haveman cautiously negotiated with Walter and Warren to find another solution aroused the ire of J.H. van Roijen, the Dutch ambassador in Washington DC, who saw his work hindered by this 'new instance of independent and arbitrary action by Haveman' (NA, SZW/Emigratie, 2.15.68, inv.nr. 393). Finding a successor for Jacobsen would intensively demand ICEM's attention. Against the advice of Australia (Heyes) and the Netherlands (Haveman), who wanted to wait until a new US Director had been appointed, the French lobby managed to get a Council majority for French candidate B.G. Epinat. Haveman feared that ICEM would remain vulnerable and for three years continued to advocate change in a constructively critical manner. He also worked diligently on the perpetuation of Dutch emigration policy, including strengthening ties with Australia by mutual publicity campaigns financed by ICEM and the establishment of a Dutch fund for emigration in 1958.

When the US government formally requested in 1961 that the Dutch government release Haveman in order to take up the function of ICEM Director, he was ready for the position. As with Epinat in 1957, his appointment was the result of a struggle behind the scenes. ICEM had faced severe financial problems since 1958 and the US government doubted whether ICEM was still necessary, since Europe had recovered economically. Warren, who wanted to continue with ICEM, approached Haveman and Heyes to provide him with arguments to prove the opposite. Haveman wrote a memorandum that fit in seamlessly with the new vision of President John F. Kennedy's administration on development cooperation in Latin America. He highlighted the expertise of ICEM member states in the field of skilled migration and emphasized the pioneering role that European agriculturists from ICEM countries could play in less-developed Latin American regions. He also took the initiative to enter into discussions with all six of the European emigration countries, which agreed that these confidential discussions would be held twice a year before ICEM's regular Council meetings, in order to adjust and coordinate strategy. This would help to ensure ICEM's continuance, including the US financial contribution and, in Haveman's view, also prevent emigration countries from damaging each other's interests through a lack of insight into their policies. The process, however, was threatened by the unexpected resignation request of ICEM Director Marcus Daly, who in June 1961 made it known that he would leave in the spring of 1962. Haveman and Heyes mobilized the new informal group of emigration countries and made it clear to Warren that it was unacceptable to have an outgoing director in times of change. Shortly afterwards Haveman received a message from Washington saying that Warren 'had emphatically requested not to pass on that agreement had been reached' about Daly's resignation from 23 September 1961 (NA, SZW/Emigratie, 2.15.68, inv.nr. 392). Thus, Haveman and Heyes's lobby was successful. Congressman Walter meanwhile managed to secure Warren's position at the State Department, which was under pressure due to changed circumstances, by threatening President Kennedy to withdraw his support for the Foreign Assistance Act. Walter also bargained with Kennedy to request that the Dutch government release Haveman to be Daly's successor. Eventually Haveman was installed on 1 January 1962 as the first non-US ICEM Director. His appointment occurred at a time when support for both Dutch emigration policy and ICEM was declining. The Dutch arranged an unpaid special leave for Haveman.

Although the ICEM Council had agreed to Haveman's appointment, not all member states applauded him. Sweden, with whose representative Haveman had regularly crossed swords, withdrew from ICEM in 1962, as did Canada. The Canadian government formally argued that costs were not commensurate with the services it received from ICEM, so it would therefore prefer bilateral

agreements. However, internally the Immigration Department expressed its fear that Haveman's Directorship would be accompanied by 'aggressive empire-building tendencies in ICEM' (Library and Archives Canada, RG 26, Series A-1-c, Vol. 109, file 3-24-6, part 11, 1961). France, whose Deputy Director Epinat had been replaced, withdrew in 1967 due to dissatisfaction with ICEM's chosen course, which had too great an emphasis on migration to Latin America and not enough on refugees. Although emigration remained an important element of Haveman's programme, during his Directorship ICEM mediated with several countries for an increasing percentage of refugees, which even exceeded that of national emigrants after 1964. New member states joining were Malta (1962), Uruguay (1965), Peru (1966) and Honduras (1967), which meant that during Haveman's tenure the number of member states remained stable at around 30. His most important task was to make the organization financially sound. During his trips to the Netherlands and Brazil he successfully launched his plan for international guarantee funds to create more room for manoeuvre. While a drastic reduction of ICEM employees gave breathing space in the administrative budget, he could not avoid the constant necessity of further cuts, but in 1965 he argued successfully that the limits had been reached. In addition to his programmes for refugee aid and family reunion he stimulated selective European migration to Latin America, which had moderate success but brought support from the regional member states. The agricultural sector in the Netherlands claimed financial support for skilled emigration of Dutch farmers from the Minister of Development Cooperation and the Council of Europe appreciated Haveman's achievements, stating in 1965 that 'ICEM has become instrumental in improving the economic structures of these [Latin-American] countries' (NA, SZW/Emigratie, 2.15.68, inv.nr. 364).

The growing political unrest in the Middle East and Vietnam made the US believe that ICEM should transfer its aid more to non-Europeans than Haveman was doing. In 1965 and 1966 Senator Edward Kennedy caused division in the ICEM Council with his pressing arguments for a new direction, which were fuelled by James Wine, the US delegation's new head. Haveman, who had lost two important US supporters when Walter died in 1963 and Warren retired in 1966, initially reacted forcefully but then moved with the times. This proved the turning point of his international career. Remarkably, he made a similar strategic mistake as his predecessor, when he announced his departure but left the exact date in the hands of the Council. Member states thus had the impression that he wished to be convinced to stay. Wine then put pressure on Haveman to force him to leave. Haveman, however, parried this attack by pointing out Wine's unjust record of events, also referring to his alcohol abuse. After stringent demarches by the Dutch government, and US apologies to Haveman, Wine was recalled in 1967. However, Haveman had lost his momentum within ICEM. Even friendly member states did not want to continue with a 'lame duck' as Director. Out of respect for what he had achieved his departure was delayed until 8 February 1969, long after Wine was recalled.

Haveman returned to the Netherlands. Despite his prominent role in Dutch emigration policy and ICEM, Haveman left no personal archive, which may explain why he has escaped the attention of biographers. Only an old colleague, sociologist Peter Hofstede (1980), has written about him. He pointed out that Haveman's political ambitions to be a minister were frustrated by his own Labour Party because he was considered 'too dynamic and headstrong to toe the party line'. Hofstede called his move to Geneva a 'sideways promotion'. Haveman was not put into active government service again when he returned in 1968, but was given a honourable discharge. In 1973 he once again appeared in a small newspaper article, when the Italian government honoured him for his services to the Italian republic. Haveman died in 1979, in the words of Hofstede (1980), 'a forgotten citizen'.

Archives

Personnel files on Haveman in The National Archives, The Hague, see <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/emigratie/gids/persoon/1761211332>

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