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COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.

THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE | 58 EAST 68TH STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 | TEL. (212) 535-3300 | CABLE: COUNFOREL, NEW YORK

November 6, 1975

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

As Director of the 1980s Project of the Council on Foreign Relations, I write to invite you to become a member of the Project's Working Group on Human Rights.

The 1980s Project, as the enclosed Summary Description makes clear, is an attempt to put forward notions of desired characteristics of the international environment of a decade or so from now, and then -- with considerable specificity -- to suggest how those conditions might be achieved. The several Working Groups constitute perhaps the most important element in the Project's task of identifying and analyzing important objectives for international action in the 1980s. The groups are expected to be the principal mechanisms through which assumptions are scrutinized, analyses are questioned, prescriptions are generated and criticized, and competition among goals is illuminated. Working Groups will rely upon individual studies which we have commissioned from leading analysts here and abroad for the purpose of orienting discussions, just as the Project will rely upon Working Groups to review, improve, and refine the studies themselves before their publication.

The Working Group on Human Rights will concentrate on international means for alleviating severe deprivations of human rights. I am delighted to be able to tell you that Father Theodore Hesburgh, President of the University of Notre Dame, has agreed to serve as the Group's chairman. I have also enclosed the Project staff's conception of how work in this area should proceed, in the form of a "mandate" for the authors of individual studies and for the Working Group as a whole. The studies themselves, and to an even greater extent the Working Group discussions, will go far beyond and into much greater depth than these mandates. But the mandates do provide a sense of the Project's conceptual reference plane.

We expect that the Working Group on Human Rights will meet as follows:

- On December 10, 1975, to discuss indices for cross-cultural evaluation of human rights conditions.
- On March 1, 1976, to discuss communal conflicts (in a joint meeting with the Project's Armed Conflict Working Group).
- On March 16, 1976, to discuss "regimes of discrimination" and "regimes of terror."
- On April 22, 1976, to discuss human rights institutional reform, and the alleviation of natural disasters.

Meetings will normally run from 12:30 p.m. through dinner. Members will receive discussion papers sufficiently in advance of the meetings to permit unhurried reading. We expect this Working Group to have 20-25 members and hope that attendance at each meeting will run very close to this number. We would not, however, want you to disqualify yourself for membership out of concern that you will not be able to attend all meetings. But we do hope that if you accept membership you will apprise us of any general and/or specific attendance problems you anticipate.

Father Hesburgh, and my colleagues and I on the Project staff, are convinced that you would make an important contribution to the deliberations of this Working Group, and to the work of the 1980s Project as a whole. I hope that you will find the experience of participation equally rewarding, and I very much look forward to your reply.

Yours sincerely,



Richard H. Ullman
Director, 1980s Project, and
Professor of International
Affairs, Princeton University

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.

THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE | 58 EAST 68TH STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 | TEL. (212) 734-0400 | CABLE: COUNFOREI, NEW YORK

The 1980s Project
Richard H. Ullman, Director

April 12, 1976

To: 1980s Project Working Group on Human Rights

From: Project Staff

Subject: April 22 Meeting

The last regularly planned meeting of the Group is scheduled for April 22, from 12:30-8:15 PM. Please inform Susan Sorrell (212/734-0400) of your attendance plans.

Enclosed are two papers for the meeting. Nigel Rodley of Amnesty International has prepared a draft which develops the idea of human rights monitoring, surveys and evaluates existing institutional capabilities in this area, and offers a blueprint for a monitoring institution for the 1980s.

Bill Drayton has written a paper which analyzes the implications for human rights of possible technological developments of the 1980s, concentrating on three illustrative, but particularly worrisome developments -- an extensive plutonium economy, "Electronic Funds Transfer," and the application of genetic research.

In addition to discussing the issues raised in these two papers we will ask the Group to spend the last part of the meeting on U.S. policy in the human rights area in the 1980s. An agenda for the meeting will be distributed shortly.

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THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE | 58 EAST 68TH STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 | TEL. (212) 734-0400 | CABLE: COUNFOREL, NEW YORK

The 1980s Project
Richard H. Ullman, Director

March 31, 1976

TO: Members of the 1980s Project Working Groups

FROM: Richard H. Ullman

SUBJECT: Project Meetings and Project Papers

As you know, Project working group meetings have tended to concentrate on sets of substantive issues organized into agenda by the staff, rather than on the papers distributed in advance as background material. In some instances where a paper addresses systematically the central issues on the agenda of a given meeting, we have concentrated closely on the paper. But at most meetings, papers have been used very much as background upon which participants could draw if they wished. In such cases the arguments of the papers have often not been central to the discussions.

This divergence underlines the fact that working group meetings are intended to serve two sometimes incompatible purposes. First is to provide group members, and the Project staff, with a forum for discussing important long range international problems in order to help us all clarify the character of goals for the next decade, relationships among such goals, and how, if at all, they might be reached. Given this aim, the meetings are designed as much to generate ideas as to test well formulated propositions. The second purpose of our meetings is to provide a writer with reactions to a given Project paper, in the hope that the paper can thereby be substantially improved before its publication. Often, those drafts most in need of review and revision are least suitable for driving an effective discussion.

Precisely because most working group meetings do not focus directly upon the papers, it is essential that group members should supply comments on a paper either directly to its author, or to the Project staff for transmission to the author. I urge all members of working groups not to regard their relationship to a paper as finished once a meeting has taken place, but instead to reflect upon how the paper should be improved for publication. These might consist of anything from comments scrawled in the margin all the way to lengthy rebuttals or alternative proposals intended for publication. Whatever form you choose, please take time to communicate your views regarding the papers that you have received and will be receiving. We regard that as a very important contribution to the work of the 1980s Project.





THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations - 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 - 212/751-4000 - Cable Wishcom, N.Y.

November 12, 1975

Prof. Richard H. Ullman
Director, 1980s Project
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
58 East 68th Street
New York, New York 10021

Dear Prof. Ullman,

Thank you very much for your thoughtful letter of November 6th.

The areas of concern relating to human rights and the growing threat of various forms of violence have been a matter of substantial concern to me and therefore I very much welcome the opportunity to take part in the Working Group on Human Rights of the 1980s Project of the Council on Foreign Relations.

It will give me particular pleasure to serve under the leadership of Father Theodore Hesburgh who has been a long-time cherished friend and colleague.

On December 10th I will be participating in the closing session of a national consultation and therefore would probably be late for the luncheon meeting. More than likely, I should be free to attend by two o'clock or so.

April 22nd may be a problem in that that is the closing day of our Passover observance and I will be attending religious services in the morning. If at all possible, I may try to find a way to be present for the afternoon session. That will be determined by family obligations.

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Prof. Richard H. Ullman

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November 12, 1975

In any case, I will make a serious effort to spend as much time with the group as my schedule will allow. Frankly, I have been waiting and looking for some appropriate body to take precisely the kind of initiative that you have and I am grateful that you have done so.

With warmest personal good wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Director
Interreligious Affairs

MHT:RPR

cc: Fr. Theodore Hesburgh

Enclsosure

PS. I take the liberty of enclosing a draft version of a paper that I have written on the theme of "Religion In An Age Of Violence." I am planning to do some substantial revision of this document which is to be delivered as a lecture at Marquette University next March and is subsequently to be published as a book in their lecture series.

April 15, 1974

McGILL INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM ON JUDAISM AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Montreal, April 21-23, 1974

LIST OF DELEGATES

<u>Name and title</u>	<u>Address</u>
Morris B. Abram, Chairman, Administrative Council, The Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights; Honorary President, The American Jewish Committee.	345 Park Avenue, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022
Charles J. Adams, Institute of Islamic Studies. Stephen Leacock Building	McGill University, 805 Sherbrooke St. West, MONTREAL, Quebec.
Reverend Father Richard Arès, S.J. Editor, Relations.	Maison Bellarmin, 25 rue Jarry Ouest, MONTREAL 351, Quebec.
Sr. Marie Noëlle de Baillehache Director, Centre Mi-Ca-El.	4661 Queen Mary Road, MONTREAL 247, Quebec.
Salo W. Baron and Mrs. Baron, Professor Emeritus, Jewish History, Literature and Institutions and Director Emeritus. The Center for Israel and Jewish Studies. Columbia University.	29 Claremont Drive, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10027.
Justice Harry Batshaw and Mrs. Batshaw, Superior Court; Co-Chairman, Consultative Council of Jewish Organizations.	1 Notre Dame St. East, MONTREAL, Quebec. H2Y 1B6.
Philip Baum, Associate Executive Director, American Jewish Congress.	15 East-84th Street, NEW YORK, New York. 10028.
Lavy Becker, Consultant.	4840 Cote St. Luc Road, MONTREAL, Quebec.
Henriette Beilis and Mr. Morris Beilis, Member, Executive Committee, American Friends of the Alliance.	25 Sutton Place South, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022.

<u>Name and title</u>	<u>Address</u>
Bruno V. Bitker, Attorney; Chairman, Governors Committee on the United Nations.	700 North Water Street, MILWAUKEE, Wisconsin. 53202.
Jules Braunschvig, Acting President, Alliance Israelite Universelle.	61 bis Bld. Beauséjour, 75016 PARIS, France.
Herbert Chanan Brichto, Professor of Bible, Hebrew Union College.	Clifton Avenue, CINCINNATI, Ohio 45220.
Thomas Buerghenthal and Mrs. Buerghenthal, Professor of International Law, State University of New York at Buffalo.	John Lord O'Brian Hall, SUNY/AB North Campus, BUFFALO, New York. 14260.
Sen. Thérèse Casgrain, Human Rights Foundation.	250 Clarke Avenue, MONTREAL 215, Quebec.
René Cassin, President, International Institute of Human Rights; President, Alliance Israelite Universelle.	36 Quai Bethune, 75004 PARIS, France.
André Chouraqui, Writer, Permanent Representative of the Alliance Israelite Universelle.	8 Rue Ain Roguel, JERUSALEM, Israel.
Justice Haim H. Cohn and Mrs. Cohn, The Supreme Court of Israel.	Supreme Court, JERUSALEM, Israel.
Maxwell Cohen, Q.C., McDonald Professor of Law, McGill University.	Law Faculty 3644 Peel Street Montreal, Quebec H3A 1W9
Roberta Cohen, Executive Director, International League for the Rights of Man.	777 United Nations Plaza, NEW YORK, New York. 10017.
Reverend Roland de Corneille, National Director, League for Human Rights of B'nai B'rith.	825 Eglinton Ave. West, TORONTO, Ontario. M5N 1E7.
David Daube, Professor of Law, University of California at Berkeley.	BERKELEY, California. 94720.
Charles Davis and Mrs. Davis, Dept. of Religion, Sir George Williams University.	1455 Maisonneuve Blvd. West, MONTREAL, Quebec.
Yoram Dinstein, Professor of International Law, Tel Aviv University.	12 Oppenheimer Street, TEL AVIV, Israel.

<u>Name and title</u>	<u>Address</u>
André Dufour, Ministry of Justice, Quebec City.	225 Grand Allee East, QUEBEC CITY, Quebec.
Morris Fine, Acting Director, Foreign Affairs Department, American Jewish Committee.	165 East - 56th Street, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022.
Natalie Flatow, Public Relations Specialist, American Jewish Committee.	165 East - 56th Street, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022.
Margaret G. Forsyth, U.N. Representative, World Y.W.C.A.	1575 Summerhill Avenue, MONTREAL H3H 1C5, Quebec.
Marcel Franco, Vice-Chairman, Consultative Council of Jewish Organizations.	Avenida 5 de Mayo 29, MEXICO CITY 1, D.F.
Julian Friedman, Professor, Political Science Department, Maxwell School.	Syracuse University, SYRACUSE, N.Y. 13210.
Stanley Frost, Vice-Principal, Administration and Professional Faculties, McGill University.	F. Cyril James Building, MONTREAL, Quebec H3A 2B1.
Sylva M. Gelber, Director, Women's Bureau,	Canadian Department of Labour, 340 Laurier Avenue West, OTTAWA K1A 0J2, Ontario
Maynard Gertler, Human Rights Foundation.	Harvest House Ltd., Publishers, 4795 St. Catherine St. West, MONTREAL, Quebec H3Z 2B9.
S.D. Goitein and Mrs. Goitein, Professor, Member Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton.	284 Hamilton Avenue, PRINCETON, N.J. 08540
Bertram Gold, Executive Vice-President, American Jewish Committee.	165 East - 56th Street, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022.
Alan B. Gold, Chief Judge of the Provincial Court, Montreal.	3071 Cedar Avenue, MONTREAL, Quebec. H3Y 1Y8.
Robert Goldenberg, Professor of Religion, Sir George Williams University.	1445 Maisonneuve Blvd., West, MONTREAL, Quebec.

<u>Name and title</u>	<u>Address</u>
Michel Goldet, Chief Clerk, Court of Accounts.	6 rue Francois I., 75008 PARIS, France.
Martin Golding, Professor of Philosophy, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, The City University of New York.	25 Claremont Avenue, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10027.
Ms. Sheine Goldstein, Citizenship Branch Department of Secretary of State.	55 St. Clair Avenue East, Room 313, TORONTO, Ontario M4T 1M2.
Mark A. Golub, Rabbi, Beth Shalom Synagogue.	6666 Terrebonne Avenue, MONTREAL, Quebec.
Leslie C. Green and Mrs. Green, University Professor, The University of Alberta.	Department of Political Science, University of Alberta, EDMONTON, Alberta.
Rabbi Simon Greenberg, Professor of Homiletics and Education, and Vice-Chancellor, Jewish Theological Seminary of America.	3080 Broadway, NEW YORK, N.Y.
Joan Gross, Manager, Conferences and Special Events, McGill University.	3587 University Street, MONTREAL, Quebec H3A 2B1.
Malvina Guggenheim, Professor of Law.	Loyola School of Law, LOS ANGELES, California.
Ben Halpern, Richard Koret Professor in Judaic Studies, Brandeis University.	Brandeis University, WALTHAM, Mass. 02146.
Rita Hauser, Attorney, Former U.S. Representative to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights.	61 Broadway, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10006.
Saul Hayes, O.C., Q.C., Executive Vice-President, Canadian Jewish Congress	1590 McGregor Avenue, MONTREAL H3G 1C5, Quebec.
Warren Harvey, Associate Professor, Department of Philosophy, McGill University.	Bronfman Building, McGill University, MONTREAL, Quebec.
Haim Hazan, High School Teacher.	1152 St. Aubin, MONTREAL 382, Quebec.

<u>Name and title</u>	<u>Address</u>
Louis Henkin, Hamilton Fish Professor of International Law and Diplomacy, Columbia University.	Columbia University, Broadway at 116th Street, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10027.
Mme. Marie-Pierre Herzog, Director, Human Rights Coordinating Unit, UNESCO.	7 Place de Fontenoy, PARIS 7, France.
Milton Himmelfarb, Editor, American Jewish Year Book.	165 East 56th Street, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022.
Philip E. Hoffman and Mrs. Hoffman, U.S. Representative to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights; Honorary President, American Jewish Committee.	972 Broad Street, NEWARK, N.J. 07102.
Reverend T. Floyd Honey, Canadian Council of Churches.	Canadian Council of Churches, TORONTO, Ontario.
John Humphrey, Professor of Law, McGill University, Former Director, United Nations Division of Human Rights.	McGill University, Faculty of Law, 805 Sherbrooke St. West, MONTREAL, Quebec.
Gérard Israel, Deputy Secretary-General, Alliance Israelite Universelle.	45 rue La Bruyere, 75009 PARIS, France.
Richard Jones, Executive Vice-President, Canadian Council of Christians & Jews.	229 Young Street, Rooms 506 & 508, TORONTO, M5B 1N9, Ontario.
Sol Kanee, President, Canadian Jewish Congress.	7 Higgins Avenue, WINNIPEG, R3B 051.
Kalman Kaplansky, Indian & Northern Affairs Department.	771 Eastbourne Avenue, OTTAWA, Ontario.
Jacob Katz and Mrs. Katz, Professor, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations.	Harvard University, 6 Divinity Avenue, CAMBRIDGE, Mass. 02138.
Milton R. Konvitz and Mrs. Konvitz, Professor of Industrial and Labor Relations and Professor of Law, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell University.	Cornell University, ITHACA, New York. 14850.
William Korey, B'nai B'rith, United Nations Representative.	315 Lexington Avenue, NEW YORK, N.Y. 14850.

<u>Name and title</u>	<u>Address</u>
Gerry LaForest, Director, Planning and Research, Department of Justice, Ottawa.	Justice Building, OTTAWA K1A 0H8.
Harold Lande, Justice.	Court House, 1 Notre Dame East, MONTREAL, Quebec.
Rabbi Allan Langner, Beth El Congregation.	1000 Lucerne Road, MONTREAL, Quebec.
James Leavy, Dept. of Economics, Sir George Williams University.	1455 Maisonneuve Blvd., West, MONTREAL, Quebec.
Jacques Lebar, Editor-In-Chief, "Nouveaux Cahiers".	45 rue La Bruyere, 75009 PARIS, France.
Philippe LeBlanc, Chairman, Citizens' Rights and Freedoms Programme, Dept. of the Secretary of State.	Dept. of the Secretary of State, OTTAWA K1A 0M5, Ontario.
Professor Arthur Lermer, Economics Dept., Sir George Williams University.	1455 Maisonneuve Blvd., West, MONTREAL, Quebec.
Raymond Leven, Vice-President, Alliance Israelite Universelle.	208 Rue de Rivoli, 750001 PARIS, France.
Mayer Levy, Canadian Jewish Congress	1590 McGregor Avenue, MONTREAL, Quebec. H3G 1C5.
Rabbi Isaac Lewin, Professor of History, Yeshiva University.	258 Riverside Drive, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10025.
Sidney Liskofsky, Director, Division of International Organizations, American Jewish Committee.	165 East 56th Street, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022.
Richard Maass, Chairman, Board of Directors, American Jewish Committee; National Chairman, National Conference on Soviet Jewry.	P.O. Box 270, WHITE PLAINS, New York. 10602.
Reverend Anthony Mancini, Associate Director, Diocesan Ecumenical Centre.	1444 Drummond Street, MONTREAL, Quebec. H3G 1V9.
Herbert Marx, Professor of Law, University of Montreal.	University of Montreal, P.O. Box 6128, MONTREAL 101, Quebec.

<u>Name and title</u>	<u>Address</u>
Norman May, Associate Professor of Law, York University.	York University, 4700 Keele Street, DOWNSVIEW, Ontario. M3J 2R5.
Moses Moskowitz, Secretary General, Consultative Council of Jewish Organizations.	61 Broadway, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10006.
Max Melamet and Mrs. Melamet, Executive Director, North American Executive of World Jewish Congress.	15 East 84th Street, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028.
Leo Nevas, Attorney; Chairman, Non-Governmental Organization Committee on Human Rights.	246 East State Street, WESTPORT, Conn. 06880.
John W. O'Brian and Mrs. O'Brian, Rector and Vice-Chancellor, Sir George Williams University.	1455 Maisonneuve Blvd. West, MONTREAL, Quebec. H3G 1M8.
Eugene Ornstein, Chairman, Jewish Studies Program, McGill University.	McGill University, 805 Sherbrooke Street, West, MONTREAL, Quebec.
Jean Ouellette, Professor, Department of Religion, Sir George Williams University.	1445 Maisonneuve Blvd. West, MONTREAL, Quebec.
Khayyam Z. Paltiel, Professor, Department of Economics, Carleton University.	Carleton University, OTTAWA, Ontario.
Rabbi Jordam Pearlson, Temple Sinai.	210 Wilson Avenue, TORONTO, Ontario.
Stephen Poppel, Assistant Professor, Department of Religion, Sir George Williams University.	1455 Maisonneuve Blvd. West, MONTREAL, Quebec.
Marie Pouliot	23 Church Hill, MONTREAL 217, Quebec.
John H. Price, President, Canadian Human Rights Foundation.	1980 Sherbrooke Street, MONTREAL H3H 1E8.
Mrs. Cyril Reitman, Vice-President, National Council of Jewish Women of Canada.	5775 Victoria Avenue, MONTREAL, Quebec.
Victoria Rip, American Jewish Committee.	165 East 56th Street, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022.

<u>Name and title</u>	<u>Address</u>
V. Rodriguez, Canadian Jewish Congress.	1590 McGregor Avenue, MONTREAL H3G, 1C5, Quebec.
S.J. Roth, Director, Institute of Jewish Affairs (WJC).	13 - 16 Jacob's Well Mews, LONDON W1H 5PD, England.
Leslie Rothenberg, Professor of Law.	Loyola School of Law, LOS ANGELES, California.
Maurice Cardinal Roy, Archbishop of Quebec.	Archdiocese of Quebec, MONTREAL, Quebec.
Donna Runnalls, Professor, Faculty of Religious Studies, McGill University.	McGill University, 805 Sherbrooke St., West, MONTREAL, Quebec.
David Ruzie, Professor of International Law, University of Paris.	58 rue d'Auteil, 75016 PARIS, France.
Alexander Salzman, Deputy Vice-Chairman, Consultative Council of Jewish Organizations.	17 East 89th Street, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028.
Ismar Schorsch, Associate Professor of Modern Jewish History, The Jewish Theological Seminary of America.	3080 Broadway, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10027.
Egon Schwelb and Mrs. Schwelb, Formerly, Deputy Director, Division of Human Rights, United Nations; Senior Fellow and Lecturer in Law Emeritus, Yale Law School.	441 East 20th Street, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010.
Frank Michael Sheldon, Assistant to the Rector, Sir George Williams University.	1445 Maisonneuve Blvd. West, MONTREAL, Quebec.
Dinah Shelton, Attorney.	458 Hudson, OAKLAND, California. 94618.
Very Rev. R.F. Shepherd, Dear, Christ Church Cathedral.	414 Roslyn Avenue, Westmount, MONTREAL, Quebec.
Jerome J. Shestack, Chairman, International League for the Rights of Man; Chairman, Committee on International Organizations, American Jewish Committee.	1719 Packard Building, PHILADELPHIA, Penna. 19102.

<u>Name and title</u>	<u>Address</u>
David Sidorsky, Professor of Philosophy, Columbia University.	448 Riverside Drive, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10027.
Manfred Simon and Mrs. Simon, Honorary President, Appellate Court of Paris.	2 Chemin des Bluets, CH 1012 Lausanne, SWITZERLAND.
Langis Sirois, Program Officer, Citizens' Rights and Freedoms Program, Dept., of Secretary of State, Ottawa.	Secretary of State, 130 Rue Slater, OTTAWA, Ontario.
Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, National Director, Interreligious Affairs, American Jewish Committee.	165 East 56th Street, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022.
Rev. Father Stephane Valiquette, S.J., Diocesan Ecumenical Centre.	1444 Rue Drummond, MONTREAL, Quebec. H3G 1V9.
Karel Vasak, Secretary General, International Institute of Human Rights.	6 Place de Bordeaux, 6700 STRASBOURG, France.
Harold M. Waller, Associate Professor and Chairman, Dept. of Political Science, McGill University.	McGill University, 6885 Emerson Road, MONTREAL H3W 1G6, Quebec.
Eugene Weill, Secretary General, Alliance Israelite Universelle.	45 rue La Bruyere, 75009 PARIS, France.
L. Yaffe, Professor, Dean of the Department of Chemistry, McGill University.	McGill University, MONTREAL, Quebec.
Rabbi Max B. Wall, Lecturer, St. Michael's College, Dept. of Religion, WINOOSKI, Vermont.	188 No. Prospect, BURLINGTON, Vermont. 05401
Jean-Bernard Marie Research Officer, International Institute of Human Rights and French National Center for Scientific Research.	6 Place de Bordeaux, STRASBOURG, France.
Thomas E. McCarthy, Director of Studies, International Institute of Human Rights, Lecturer, University of Maryland.	6 Place de Bordeaux, STRASBOURG, France.
Helene Kadane, C.C.J.O. - Representative to UNICEF.	61 Broadway, NEW YORK, N.Y.C. 10006.

Names and titles

Address

Florence Kandell,
International League for the
Rights of Man.

777 United Nations Plaza,
NEW YORK, 10017, N.Y.C.

Marc Schreiber, Director,
U.N. Division of Human Rights.

U.N. Building,
NEW YORK, N.Y.C.

Nathan Pelcovitz,
Institute of Jewish Policy Planning and
Research formerly, Policy Planning,
State Department.

3620 Cumberland, N.W.,
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20008.



COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.

THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE | 58 EAST 68TH STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 TEL. (212) 535-3300 CABLE: COUNTFOREL, NEW YORK

December 2, 1975

TO: Members of the Working Group on Human Rights

FROM: 1980s Project Staff

SUBJECT: How to read this paper

The attached paper, by Professor Jorge Dominguez of the Department of Government at Harvard, is designed to initiate a discussion of the problem of establishing realistic international norms for the measurement of state performance in the area of human rights. In its present form it is very much a rough draft put forward in order to table items for discussion.

Professor Dominguez sets out to establish a listing of human rights much wider than merely civil and political liberties and then goes on to discuss how performance by a given society regarding a given right might be evaluated. He applies his criteria to two societies -- Cuba and Mexico -- in order to illustrate how comparisons both within a single society (performance over time) and across societies might be made.

Members of the Working Group should keep in mind that the purpose of our meeting on December 10 is not to review Dominguez' paper as such, but to discuss the problems involved in developing cross-cultural indices of performance with respect to human rights. In order to help structure the December 10 discussion in a way that enables the group to move through the issues that form the context of the Dominguez conceptualization, the Project staff has prepared the enclosed agenda for the meeting. We ask that, in addition to reading the Dominguez draft, group members also devote some advance thought to the questions raised in the staff paper. As well, we would hope that participants will bring to the meeting whatever thoughts they have about the setting and evaluating of international human rights standards which may have been neglected in both the Dominguez draft and the staff agenda paper.

In reading the Dominguez paper, therefore, members of the group should not get bogged down in its details. In particular, the mass of detail surrounding the case studies of Cuba and Mexico will not be the subject of discussion on the 10th except in so far as the indicators treated there are relevant to the measurement of performance behavior regarding human rights in general. We suggest, however, that you read quickly through either of the case studies so that you can formulate some ideas on the applicability of the index.

While the purpose of the meeting will not be to provide close commentary on the paper, the Project staff and Professor Dominguez will be grateful for any advice which members of the Working Group and other readers care to convey regarding how the paper might be modified in order to attack both more directly and more completely the issue of developing indicators upon which there might be cross-societal agreement for the measurement of adherence to acceptable standards of behavior regarding human rights. It is our hope that a version of this paper -- perhaps much modified -- will eventually be published as a product of the Project.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

165 East 56 Street, New York, N. Y. 10022 - Plaza 1-4000, Ext. 268

DATE: October 20, 1975

TO: Marc Tanenbaum

I thought this might be helpful to you. If you already have it, would you please return it to me.

Thanks.

DAVID GELLER

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.

THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE | 58 EAST 68TH STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 TEL. (212) 535-3300 CABLE: COUNTFOREL, NEW YORK

December 2, 1975

TO: Members of the Working Group on Human Rights

FROM: 1980s Project Staff

SUBJECT: Working Group Meeting of December 10

ENCLOSURES: (A) Draft paper by Jorge Dominguez with staff cover memorandum
(B) Meeting Agenda
(C) Background paper on ratification of UN human rights instruments by the U.S. (furnished by the World Peace Through Law Center)

The enclosures constitute the written preparations for the Group's first meeting.

As explained in the staff memo which covers it, the Dominguez draft serves as the principal background reading for the meeting. Please focus carefully on the cover memo; it explains how the staff believes the meeting should and should not make use of the Dominguez paper.

The second enclosure represents the staff's thoughts on the structure and substantive direction of the meeting. We ask that you devote as much preparatory time as possible to the questions we have raised -- and of course the pertinent questions we have failed to raise -- in the agenda memo.

Finally, we are providing members of the Group with a general reference report recently prepared by the World Peace Through Law Center. You need not read this document before the first meeting; however, we believe you will find it useful as a background piece relating to a number of issues the Group will address in this and subsequent meetings. The report is neither a part of the Project's work nor indicative of the ten-to-fifteen year perspective the Project is attempting to employ. Moreover, while the report concentrates on U.S. performance, the Project is designed to deal with the full range of international actors. Still, we think this is an effective cataloguing which we hope will interest you.

We look forward to a stimulating meeting on December 10.

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.

THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE | 58 EAST 68TH STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 TEL. (212) 535-3300 CABLE: COUNFOREL, NEW YORK

December 2, 1975

TO: Members of the Working Group on Human Rights
FROM: 1980s Project Staff
SUBJECT: Agenda for the Group's First Meeting, December 10, 1975

From the outset of the Project staff's effort to develop a conceptual basis for the work of this Working Group, we have believed that a paper and an intensive discussion of the setting and evaluation of cross-cultural human rights norms would be of central importance. In keeping with the objectives and operating methods of the Project, we have no intention of trying to move this first discussion toward consensus. Thus, while we feel that the December 10 discussion will encourage the participants to organize better their own thoughts concerning "human rights indices", we neither expect nor want the Group to formulate a common framework to be rigidly employed throughout the course of the Group's discussions this winter and spring.

The following agenda is neither comprehensive nor inflexible. For efficiency's sake, we propose that it should serve to orient our discussions on December 10. But we expect that the divergence of perspectives within the Group and the need to emphasize what the Group believes deserves emphasis will take us into questions not explicitly anticipated in the following agenda.

* * * * *

I. THE FUNCTION OF EVALUATIVE HUMAN RIGHTS INDICES

Before we can judge the adequacy and validity of a particular set of indices, we should ask ourselves "why?" What functions might usefully be served by attempts to articulate cross-cultural human rights indices? Would such an attempt serve in any of the following ways:

1. As a necessary first step in an international effort to establish, monitor and, where appropriate, act to contribute to conditions promotive of human rights in any and all "cultures"?
2. As an explicit setting of performance goals which governments would at least be mindful of, whatever the capacity or incapacity of the international community to "do anything about it?"
3. As a useful mechanism for stimulating interest in and discussion of human rights conditions by groups such as this and by a broader public audience?

4. As a useful methodological device for scholars and other observers?

Which of these purposes are most effectively served by Professor Dominguez' approach? Broadly speaking, what alternative approaches would better contribute to these various purposes?

II. PITFALLS OF INDEXING

The Dominguez paper suggests that the criteria on which human rights performance should be judged ought to be broader than that of civil and political liberties. What, if any, priority or ranking among sets of human rights ought to be acknowledged? And what, if any, flexibilities ought to be incorporated into the setting of cross-cultural human rights norms? These issues might be thought of in terms of the following set of questions:

1. Is there a danger that attempts to develop indices, as a possible basis for practical efforts to improve human rights conditions, will produce a framework of standards that is skewed (i.e., too broad and diffuse, or too narrow)? For example:
 - a) By stressing "objective" evaluation, will there be a bias toward norms which are susceptible to quantifiable monitoring (e.g., the participation of women, racial minorities, etc., in political parties as opposed to the less quantifiable sense of whether or not political parties have any meaningful representative function)?
 - b) By considering a broad range of human conditions (e.g., standards of living), is too much attention placed on factors which may be well beyond the practical control of national governments, not to mention even a highly "activist" international community? Should international attention instead be devoted to conditions and situations which are directly caused by governmental repression, apathy or mismanagement? Or, should such national factors as macroeconomic deficiency, inveterate socio-cultural "ways of life," and long-term techno-managerial retardation be included as appropriate considerations in evaluating human rights conditions? (The alternative being essentially to "discount for" these factors in attempting to judge governmental performance). In short, in examining "human rights conditions", are Lasswell, Kaplan, Dominguez, et al, placing too much emphasis on "conditions" at the ultimate expense of "rights"?
 - c) Are the Lasswell-Kaplan "eight basic values of social life" as listed on page 5 of Dominguez' paper useful? Are other systems of categorization more easily "operationalized"?
2. Would cross-cultural "standardization" of human rights contribute to the depletion of positive intra-cultural (regional, national) human rights emphases? For example, by assigning freedom of the press to one or two matrix boxes in a cross-cultural approach, does that highly valued principle become less important in "Western democracies" in theory and in practice?

3. Might the establishment of a "catch-all" system for evaluating human rights conditions camouflage egregiously bad performance in certain categories? (Indira Ghandi might be improving her overall score these days, but what of the qualitative deterioration of pluralistic democracy in India?) Are poor performances in any category to be deemed justifiable under any circumstances? If so, what are they?

III. ARE CROSS-CULTURAL STANDARDS DESIRABLE?

1. Is the "society of man" developing (through interdependence, mass communications, etc.) -- however vaguely and unevenly -- some common global notions of justice, decency and dignity? Or, as the international influence of Western ethics subsides, is the world becoming more heterogenous and less apt to find human rights consensus?
2. Is global consensus on human rights necessary? If so, why?
3. Is it more desirable to emphasize cultural pluralism than to emphasize cross-cultural standards? If the "society of man" is becoming more interdependent in certain sectors, which of two tendencies ought to be stressed in order to achieve a moderate world order: the acceptability of certain minimal standards of human rights, or the autonomous development by groups of their own standards?
4. If it is important to accommodate group autonomy, but also to develop minimal cross-cultural standards so that the actions of some groups minimally impinge upon individual rights in other groups, what sorts of minimal standards should be developed? Do the indices suggested in the Dominguez paper represent an international lowest common denominator of human rights concepts, or do we have to look "lower" still before finding norms which could achieve consensus in the next decade or so?
5. What are the political preconditions for cross-cultural acceptance of and commitment to global human rights standards in the 1980s? What current trends should be accentuated? What current trends should be reversed? What steps and policies might be taken (where, when and by whom) to contribute to cross-cultural sensitivity to basic notions of justice, decency, etc.?
6. Should emphasis instead be placed upon the development of intra-cultural norms and indices? For example, would it not be both more practical and at least as conducive to the improvement of human rights conditions if standards were set and observed by loose but recognizable "cultural" groupings -- e.g., "Western"; Soviet-style; Maoist; developing-nation; etc.? Should these be further subdivided into "European," Latin, Asian, African, etc.? Where does one stop?

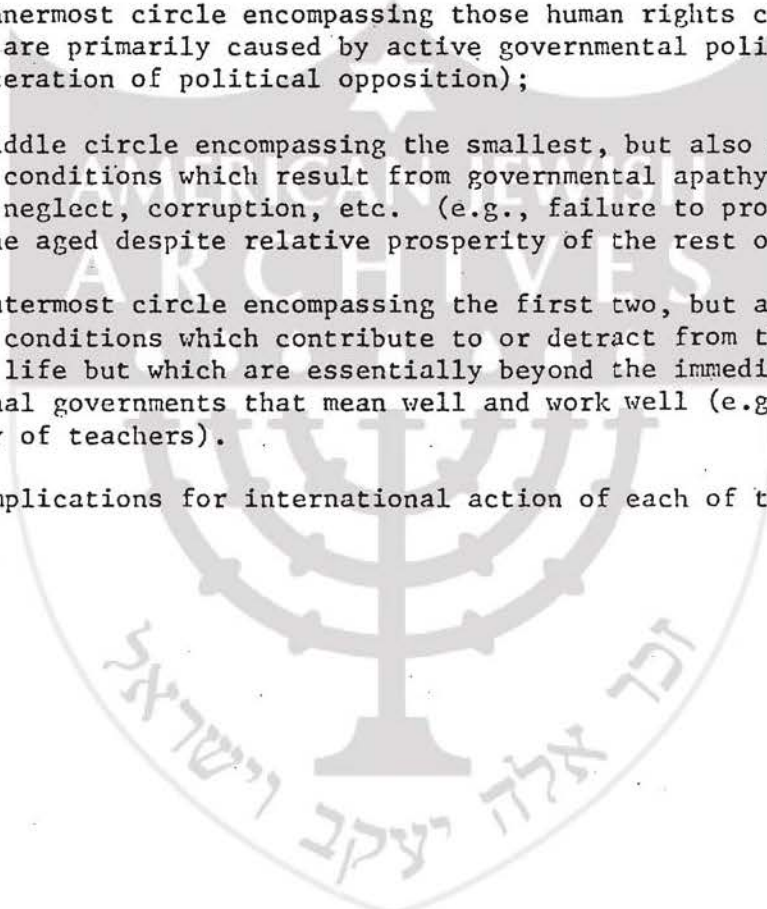
7. For cultural "blocs" actually to contribute to the improvement of human rights conditions, is it necessary for citizens to participate in the formulation of standards of human treatment? (That is, is democracy the primordial human right?)

IV. INTERNATIONAL ACTION

It might be said -- somewhat arbitrarily, perhaps -- that human rights indexing might focus on any of these concentric circles:

1. The innermost circle encompassing those human rights conditions which are primarily caused by active governmental policy (e.g., incarceration of political opposition);
2. The middle circle encompassing the smallest, but also including those conditions which result from governmental apathy, mismanagement, neglect, corruption, etc. (e.g., failure to provide adequately for the aged despite relative prosperity of the rest of the society);
3. The outermost circle encompassing the first two, but also including those conditions which contribute to or detract from the quality of human life but which are essentially beyond the immediate control of national governments that mean well and work well (e.g., the availability of teachers).

What are the implications for international action of each of these circles?



Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.

1980s PROJECT

Summary Description

The Council on Foreign Relations has undertaken a comprehensive study of the major problems that will confront the international system over the coming decade. The purpose of this endeavor, called the 1980s Project, is to identify and analyze systematically the challenges and opportunities that will arise in international affairs over the next 10-15 years and to suggest means by which the challenges can be overcome and the opportunities seized to fashion a more workable, peaceful, just, and durable international order. The Project is not intended to explore all problems of relationships among nations or all problems of U.S. foreign policy; its focus will be on those components of international relations that are generally acknowledged to be emerging as parts of a changed world system -- components such as new international arrangements to restrain further nuclear proliferation or new principles to govern international trade and investment.

The Project is intended to foster a better understanding of how it might be possible to harness and orient forces of change in the international system in order to achieve conditions in the next decade likely to help retain important existing values, promote important values that have either never been achieved or have been lost, and accommodate some of the conflicts among competing values. The Project will therefore devote major attention to goals and to avenues toward their achievement. The Project will not, however, attempt to derive a single or exclusive set of goals for the 1980s. It will rather try to encourage the articulation of competing norms, any or all of

which could be accommodated within a spectrum of a "moderate order" -- that is, an international order that can be reasonably thought of as capable of emerging from the present situation without having to assume violent dislocations (such as nuclear war) or millennial changes in the nature of man.

The Project's primary initial focus is on several broad areas of policy: limitation of violence, management of political and economic relations among the industrialized states and between richer and poorer states, enhancement of the human environment, promotion of human rights, and promotion of non-destructive growth. For purposes of analysis and study, these broad policy areas have been further divided into more specific issue areas. For example, limitation of violence has been separated into three topics of study: nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, non-nuclear armed conflict, and transnational terrorism and subversion. Such compartmentalization helps the analytical work of the Project. At the same time, a substantial effort must be made to reintegrate the results of the separate analyses of these components in order to consider the implications which the pursuit of desired objectives in one area will have upon the realization of desired objectives in other areas. This effort at integration will be the main task of the Project's second stage: to focus attention on the totality of the world's emerging political, economic, and security system. In the course of this work, an effort will be made to develop one or more designs of institutional frameworks that would be compatible with and likely to promote the objectives identified as most important for the world of the 1980s.

The Project is not Utopian. It will have continuing regard not only for the preferable but for the feasible. If there is only slight chance of achieving the most highly preferred conditions, the costs of pursuing those conditions may entail loss of that which would have been feasible, though

second best. In assessing the relative feasibility of achieving desired international conditions in the 1980s, the Project will aim to formulate policies and strategies that promise to be able to stand the test of the real political world. The Project will, however, question the inevitability of existing intellectual and behavioral patterns that operate as restraints on amelioration, and try to suggest ways in which those patterns might in time be altered or mitigated.

The Project's work will be done through several different organizational means. The governance of the Project lies with the Committee on Studies of the Council on Foreign Relations. The Project's central staff, a group of a half-dozen professionals with extensive academic and operational experience in international affairs, is responsible for organizing, directing and consolidating the work of the Project. This full-time staff meets periodically with the Project's Coordinating Group -- a body of some 15 distinguished scholars and practitioners of diverse backgrounds and perspectives. The Coordinating Group contributes critical guidance regarding the conduct of the Project, serves as a sounding board to test ideas, provides advice as to the feasibility of policy alternatives and methods for their implementation, and will be of special help in the ultimate integrating work of the Project. Members of the Coordinating Group have been chosen for their capacities as policy "conceptualizers" but also for their sense of politics and processes of policy-making and their ability to think about the wide range of problems that will be explored by the Project.

Additionally, Working Groups are being formed to address each of the major policy areas under study by the Project. Each Working Group will be made up of about 20 persons with backgrounds in the university world, in the private sector, or in government; the nature of the Project also calls for represen-

tation in the Working Groups of a wide range of political and analytical perspectives. Working Groups will meet periodically to discuss in depth the issues and goals at work within their sectors. In order to avoid the natural tendency to over-compartmentalize the material being considered -- and therefore the Project itself -- members of the Working Groups will be expected to be persons of versatility and interdisciplinary aptitude, and each Group will be kept informed of the relevant work of other groups. At the outset, Working Groups will consider -- though not restrict their discussions to -- study papers prepared by the staff, by members of the Working Groups, and by a number of outside experts. It is from these papers, from these discussions, and from subsequent written and conference work that the Project will undertake its later task of integration. Experts and generalists drawn from a Project Advisory Panel made up of men and women of broad practical experience in international affairs will be asked to consider, critique and react to the Project's work product as it emerges.

The Project's work product is conceived as a stream of published materials rather than a single final report of the kind that is customary in group study endeavors. Since the major objective of this enterprise is to produce and publicize new ideas and to encourage new ways of thinking about international problems, the Project does not seek to generate a series of group-designed blueprints for tomorrow nor to negotiate a series of consensus papers. A flow of articles, studies, monographs, commissioned papers, books and other kinds of material will emerge during the course of the Project. Most of these products will have single authors; some may be joined in by a few individuals; on occasion substantial consensus on a set of issues may spontaneously emerge and lead to a "report" of the more usual sort.

The Project has been funded through generous grants from The Ford Foundation, The German Marshall Fund of the United States, the Lilly Endowment, The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation and The Rockefeller Foundation. It is budgeted for a three-year period at \$1.3 million.

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 Richard N. Cooper
 Carlos Diaz-Alejandro
 Richard A. Falk
 Edward K. Hamilton
 Stanley H. Hoffmann
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 Gordon J. MacDonald
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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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Abraham Karlikow, European Director

FO-Eur
September 25, 1975

MEMORANDUM

To: Marc Tanenbaum
From: Nives Fox
Subj: Document "Justice and Peace"

Abe Karlikow tells me that at the January session with the Vatican representatives mention was made of a forthcoming volume on human rights. This has now been published and we have ordered a few copies. Of course, one will be mailed to you as soon as we receive it.

Meanwhile, the publication has been reviewed in the Catholic press here, and below is a summary of one such review.

* * *

Document I, "The Church and the Rights of Man," (74 pages) is divided into four chapters and a large section of references to past Council decrees and a number of encyclicals. For all the abundance of references, the text goes far beyond quoting what has been said before. Its aim is to aid the National Commissions in their work, and it is not to be considered as a directive or an official guide. In presenting the text, Cardinal Roy, President of Justice and Peace, spoke of "a dynamics of faith" that calls for careful examination of certain "signs of the times." The promotion of the rights of man is one of these signs, he feels, and asks for Christian commitment to this end.

The existence of widespread violations of the rights of man and those of groups and minorities, racial and ethnic discrimination, persecution of dissidents, mental and physical torture, brutality and terrorism against populations without defense, poverty and hunger, are stated as part of the present condition. ~~xxxxxx~~ The Church has contributed through the ages to the defense of the rights of man, and has gradually accepted the need for change in social, political and economic structures. The document proposes, therefore, that the Church answer its mission of presence for all men and all peoples through a pastoral on the rights of man. For the Church has a collective responsibility

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in political life, and must be answerable to them in realistic, concrete terms, applicable to present society. This does not mean that the Church should identify itself with politics: rather, that it can and should exert its influence on the political community for greater consciousness and sensitivity by affirming and promoting the principles of human dignity, brotherhood, freedom, solidarity between citizens and among peoples.

Every movement that leads to the creation of greater justice, greater social equality and humanity, can find motivating forces and perfection in the salvation of Christ. This participation of the Church in the process of liberation of man is an obligation in light of the Gospels.

The rights of man are not only "natural humanitarian rights" or, as some call it, apolitical rights: "they also have political content and implications." It is thanks to laymen that respect for these rights is achieved in society; but members of the Church are not dispensed from their duties as citizens. Therefore, to denounce violations of human rights is implicit for the hierarchy as well as for laymen. Nor should this be limited to bishops and clergymen: every person that is baptized has a personal responsibility for constant action in favor of the poor and the oppressed. Moreover, "thoughtful action in this direction must go beyond violations of individual rights and include regimes which in more or less hidden ways carry out organized structural violence." No form of government is perfect, but one of the gravest forms of oppression is that of regimes that consider man merely as a means of production or as indispensable in an economy of consumption; or that reduce man's role to that of a cog in a system which, ignoring individual rights, depends on the benefits of the collectivity as an ideology.

"Perhaps the form of education received by many Christians has not been open enough to brotherhood, real peace and unity; and has nurtured a narrow individualism, slow to recognize the rights of others."

The pastoral should have a double dimension: to denounce violations and to announce the word of God; and its purpose should be an integral education of man in an ecumenical perspective.

#

cc: Fine
Liskofsky

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Congress of the United States
Committee on International Relations

House of Representatives

Washington, D.C. 20515

May 24, 1978

JOHN J. BRADY, JR.
CHIEF OF STAFF

Rabbi Mica H. Tannenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

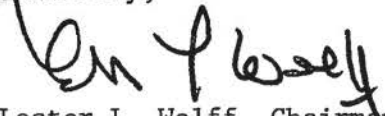
Dear Rabbi Tannenbaum:

As you know, on June 8 the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs will hold a public hearing on the refugee situation in Indochina. The hearing will take place at 2:00 p.m. in Room 2200 Rayburn House Office Building.

I know that the Subcommittee staff has already discussed with the IRC Washington office our interest in securing your attendance at the hearing. I am writing to invite you to submit a written statement for the record and to participate in the question and answer session following the presentation of statements by Messrs. Cherne, Casey and Rustin.

On behalf of the Subcommittee, I want to thank you for agreeing to help us address this issue. Enclosed is an information sheet on witness travel reimbursement.

Sincerely,


Lester L. Wolff, Chairman
Subcommittee on Asian and
Pacific Affairs

LLW/jpa

Enclosure

Committee on International Relations

INFORMATION ON REIMBURSEMENT OF TRAVEL EXPENSES FOR WITNESSES

The Committee can reimburse witnesses who travel from outside the Washington area (except from foreign countries). You can be reimbursed for the actual cost of your travel (economy class only). You will also be reimbursed for your taxi fares. It is important that you keep a detailed listing of your taxi fares. If any one-way fare exceeds \$10 you must furnish a receipt. You need not do so on fares under \$10. Witnesses who drive will receive a flat rate of \$.17 per mile (mileage determined by the Rand McNally Atlas).

The Committee cannot reimburse witnesses for costs such as hotels, meals or the cost of reproduction of statements. However, a \$50 per diem is provided to help defray these costs.

If you have any questions on these procedures, please call Ms. Arlene Atwater, Staff Assistant, Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, 202-225-3044.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 17, 1978

Dear Leo:

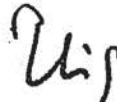
The President has asked me to respond to your letter of May 8, concerning Cambodian refugees. I appreciate the compelling reasons which led the International Rescue Committee to request a parole for the 15,000 Cambodian refugees presently existing in camps in Thailand, and assure you that your request is receiving full and urgent consideration.

I have also received your most recent statement on the situation in Cambodia. It captures the personal outrage which we all feel concerning the systematic violation of the most fundamental human rights of the people in that country. As you mention, the President has taken a firm stand on this issue, and we are now considering follow-on measures which might be implemented.

I would also like to take this opportunity to raise an additional related subject with you. As a result of his just completed trip to Asia, the Vice President has expressed his concern over the resettlement of Indochinese refugees. Delays associated with the processing and movement of refugees identified for acceptance by the United States are presenting problems for countries of first asylum and other resettlement countries, and are creating an unfavorable U.S. image. I would appreciate your personal attention to this problem from your perspective and that of the other voluntary agencies and any suggestions you might have for its prompt solution.

With warmest regards.

Sincerely,



Zbigniew Brzezinski

The Honorable Leo Cherne
Chairman
International Rescue Committee, Inc.
1028 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

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May 19, 1978

The Hon. Zbigniew Brzezinski
Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Zbig:

Your extremely thoughtful answer to my letter was read to me by the head of the IRC office in Washington. I requested that that be done since I am about to leave on a holiday through the Memorial Day weekend. A copy of your letter will go to each member of the Commission, and I know that they will be as pleased with the response as I am. That's especially true since we are of course aware of the difficulty involved in an additional parole requested on the heels of the one which has already been urged by the President.

The question you have put to us is an extremely complex one, and we will address ourselves to it quickly and seriously. Let me hastily say that for a period of time refugee cases were backing up in Thailand because of the inability of the various voluntary agencies to attract sponsors for the individuals involved as rapidly as was desirable. The head of the Refugee Immigration Section in the Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs assures me that this is not presently the case. He plans to leave for Thailand to personally investigate that and other problems as soon as the Attorney General has proceeded with the new 25,000 parole program.

When that program is actually underway, I have no doubt that when the refugee flow increases there will be an urgent need which each of the voluntary agencies must satisfy to stimulate sponsorship and speed the resettlement process. There are concrete problems in this direction to which I will not now address myself, but I do

OVERSEAS OFFICES

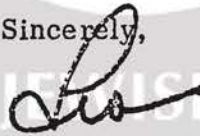
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want to assure you that we will provide as thoughtful and useful a response to your important request as we are capable of. Having played some role in stimulating or speeding this new parole and conscious that we are urging an additional one for Cambodian refugees, I do want to add the assurance that the IRC will feel a special obligation to play a significant part in the actual process of resettlement.

With my deep personal regard,

Sincerely,



Leo Cherne
Chairman

LC:is



7 minutes o.k.?

2 minutes, o.k.?

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.

Meeting in honor of

MONSIGNOR JOHN B. AHERN

Director, Department of Social Development, Catholic Charities, Archdiocese of New York

LEO CHERNE

Chairman, International Rescue Committee

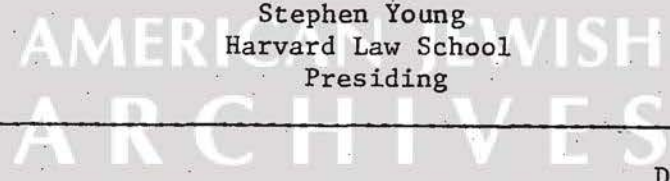
RABBI MARC TANENBAUM

Director, National Interreligious Affairs, American Jewish Committee

THE BOAT PEOPLE OF SOUTHEAST ASIA: A CHALLENGE TO AMERICA
(Second of two meetings in a series on immigration)

Wednesday, May 31, 1978
5:15-6:30 pm

Stephen Young
Harvard Law School
Presiding



- Frank Sieverts Department of State
- Hoa Young Avon Corporation

Members and Staff of the Council

- James B. Alley Zygmunt Nagorski
- Charles A. Cooper Maynard Parker - NO
- Dick Blystone
- Russell H. Fifield Sheila Rosenzweig
- Nevil Ford Helena Stalson
- William R. Frye Sandra Vogelgesang
- Patsy Gesell Richard Wheeler
- John R. Menke Richard Winslow
- John Millington

Full freedom of expression is encouraged at Council meetings. Participants are assured that they may speak openly, as others will not later attribute their statements to them in public media or forums or knowingly transmit them to persons who will. All participants are expected to honor that commitment.

1 minute - o.k.

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Leo Cherne



*Executive Director
The Research Institute of America, Inc.
589 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017*

May 18, 1978

Mr. Leslie A. Goodyear
Regional Representative for Western South Asia
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
P.O. Box 2-121, Rajdamnern
Bangkok 2, Thailand

Dear Mr. Goodyear:

Your letter was so generous I wanted to tell you that I took the liberty of passing copies along to each of the members of the Commission which undertook the mission in February. The recent visit of Vice President Mondale to Thailand indicates how far we've come since the gloomy outlook for U.S. policy at the beginning of this year and at the time of our visit to Bangkok.

We continue to be involved in efforts to expand the U.S. role and indeed just within the last week have sent a request to the President to provide an additional parole so that the camps where the Cambodian refugees have stagnated may be emptied within a two-year period. I wish I could say that I am hopeful that this parole will be granted in the near future, but there are resistances within the Administration and the Congress which I must candidly say lead me to be rather pessimistic.

May I take this opportunity to salute you and your colleagues on the important work you're doing.

Sincerely,

UNITED NATIONS
HIGH COMMISSIONER
FOR REFUGEES

*Regional Office
for Western South Asia*

Telegrams: HICOMREF Bangkok
Telephone: 282 9161 - 282 9181
Exts.: 1851 - 1857



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HAUT COMMISSARIAT
POUR LES RÉFUGIÉS

*Bureau régional
pour l'Asie du Sud occidentale*

P.O. Box 2-121, Rajdamnern
BANGKOK 2, Thailand

HCR/BKK/753

25 April 1978

Dear Mr. Cherne,

Thank you for your kind letter of 14 April 1978.

We have followed with interest, the outcome of the visit of your Commission, which we admired as being truly professional and dedicated.

There is no doubt of the major role it has played in arousing interest and concern both in the U.S.A. and elsewhere.

We look forward to seeing you here again, hopefully to take note of progress made towards solving the problems.

Yours sincerely,


Leslie A. Goddyear

Regional Representative for Western South Asia

Mr. Leo Cherne,
Chairman,
International Rescue Committee, Inc.,
386 Park Avenue South,
New York, New York 10016,
U.S.A.

cc: UNHCR Headquarters, Geneva