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Center for Foreign Policy Development, 1986.

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New File
Center for
Foreign Policy
Development

Brown U.

BROWN UNIVERSITY

PROVIDENCE, R. I. 02912

THE PRESIDENT

July 31, 1986

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

I am delighted that you have agreed to join our National Council for the Brown/Public Agenda joint project on "The Public and the Nation's Nuclear Arms Policy."

We are looking forward to sharing with you some of the preliminary results and interesting draft products being generated by this project.

Thank you for your willingness to participate. I hope that we can be in touch soon to discuss some of the key issues in this important project.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Howard Swearer", written in a cursive style.

Howard R. Swearer

left word for Jan Kaliicki to call tomorrow - he wasn't in today
but also explained to his colleague matt hirsh that first letter
never received -- we both would have reacted to Jan's name!! he
was pleased you will join effort and will mail some other background
data to you and have Jan call me --i'll bring him up-to-date on
you....

Good
/ thanks .

Center for
Foreign Policy
Development

July 25, 1986

Brown
University
Box 1948
Providence,
Rhode Island
02912

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Dear Alex:

Last May the President of Brown University, Howard Swearer, wrote to invite you to join a select national council which will advise our Center's joint project with the Public Agenda Foundation on public choices for U.S. policies toward the Soviet Union and nuclear arms. I am enclosing another copy of his letter along with a list of those who have already agreed to join.

Although we have not yet heard from you, we very much hope that it will be possible for you to participate. This is quite a special effort, as you can see, and we hope that it will contribute to informed public debate and hopefully increased consensus on these important issues between now and 1988. If you can join, we would not burden your schedule with meetings, but rather share the progress and results of our work for your comment and suggestions as your time permits.

President Swearer and I look forward very much to your reply to his invitation. You can reach me or my assistant Matt Hirsch at the Center, 401/863-3465.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Jan

Jan H. Kalicki
Executive Director and
Assistant to the President

Enc.

*I hope you can do this -
and would love to catch
up soon!*

Telephone
401 863-3465

*Accept -
I'll write
we
Sow Cohen
letter*

BROWN UNIVERSITY

PROVIDENCE, R. I. 02912

THE PRESIDENT

May 6, 1986

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Last year, the Public Agenda Foundation and the Center for Foreign Policy Development at Brown University began the second phase of a long-term project on public choices for future U.S. policy on arms control and the Soviet Union. This is an ambitious, non-partisan study which sets out to analyze the policy options that are available in this field, and to draw from them the range of "choices" implicit in them that can be understood and discussed by the American public.

Like the earlier Brown/Public Agenda study, "Voter Options on Nuclear Arms Policy," this phase of the project is rooted in the conviction that public participation is essential if the nation is to pursue effectively a policy that will be viable over the long term. The next study will therefore suggest a full spectrum of policy options and will hopefully make possible a further step toward national consensus following its completion in 1987. In view of its goals and clearly non-partisan nature, we have been privileged to receive support for this study in the form of grants from the Bohen, Carnegie, Ford, MacArthur and Weyerhauser Foundations as well as the Veatch Program and several individual donors.

We intend, and have so promised our funders, to draw together several dozen distinguished Americans, representing a broad range of interests and experience, into a "national council" that will advise us on this important new initiative. I would like to invite you to become a member of the advisory panel. Should you accept this invitation, we will not impose on more of your time than you are able or willing to commit to this effort. We would like merely to share with you draft products of our research as they become available, and to welcome any comments that you might offer. And we will send you periodic reports to keep you abreast of the progress of the project.

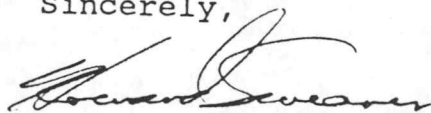
I have agreed to chair a small steering group for this project, consisting of William Hyland, Editor of Foreign Affairs; David Mathews, President of the Kettering Foundation; Senator Charles McC. Mathias of Maryland; former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance; former IBM Chairman Thomas J. Watson, Jr.; and Daniel Yankelovich, President of The Public Agenda Foundation. All of us advising this project do so, of course, on the understanding that we do not necessarily agree with any specific ideas that may be generated by it; we are simply interested in ensuring that it portrays, with the highest quality possible, the best possible range of viewpoints for public debate and public choice in an area which has suffered too much from lack of understanding and consensus in the past.

I think you will find helpful a brief Executive Summary of this project, which is enclosed along with a copy of the Voter Options handbook prepared in 1984 at the conclusion of the project's first phase. Please let us know if you have any questions after considering this letter and the enclosed materials.

I do hope that you can join us in this important new initiative. I have asked Jan Kalicki, Executive Director of the Center for Foreign Policy Development, to coordinate the development of our national council, working together with co-directors Mark Garrison and Richard Smoke and staff assistant Matthew Hirsch. Their address is Box 1948, Brown University, Providence, RI 02912 (401/863-3465). You can, of course, always reach me at the University.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,



Howard R. Swearer

Enc.

THE PUBLIC
AND
THE NATION'S NUCLEAR ARMS POLICY

Executive Summary

the Public Agenda Foundation
and
the Center for Foreign Policy Development
at Brown University

November, 1985

Since 1983, the Public Agenda Foundation of New York and the Center for Foreign Policy Development at Brown University have been engaged in a joint, long-term program on nuclear arms policy. It is a distinctive program that enlists an understanding of public attitudes on nuclear weapons and U.S. - Soviet relations as an instrument in developing policy choices that can lead to a renewed national consensus. The first phase of this program was completed in the autumn of 1984 with publication of the study, "Voter Options on Nuclear Arms Policy." That study, which analyzed the American public's perceptions and expert views regarding the Soviet Union and the risk of nuclear war, has been described by Cyrus Vance as "the most thorough, the most profound analysis to date of the American people's attitudes towards the threat of nuclear war." Public Agenda and the Brown Center are now undertaking the second phase of their program -- a three-year project intended to develop, and to submit to public debate, meaningful policy options not only on nuclear arms but also on the central issues of U.S. - Soviet relations.

The project comprises several closely related tasks: (1) research and the formulation of "public choices"; (2) refining these choices through structured discussions among experts, community leaders and groups drawn from the public, and through consultations with our allies and with Soviet groups; (3) conducting "public choice" campaigns in selected communities, using specially prepared video and print materials; and (4) communicating the results to American leaders.

A premise of the program is that avoidable obstacles presently hinder the public's understanding and judgment. Technical complexities seem forbidding. Policy choices are couched in terms of weapons systems whose merits the public cannot judge, while the purposes and consequences of policy choices are left unstated. People are unsure about how to balance their fears about the nuclear danger with their fears of Soviet expansionism. The loss of U.S. strategic superiority and vulnerability to attack by increasingly accurate and powerful nuclear weapons have aroused a new apprehensiveness in the public about our national security.

These obstacles can be overcome. Based on findings from the first phase of their work, the Brown Center and Public Agenda will now be able to develop broad, basic policy alternatives -- "choices" of the kind the public can grasp and choose

among, as distinct from "expert" choices, which are usually technical and outside the public's competence. The aim is to help the country move again towards an agreed policy that is both founded in technical and political realities and commands widespread public support.

The Research

The initial task of the project will be to evolve, test, and refine potential public choices, options that rest on sound technical considerations but are designed for public rather than expert debate. With an initial understanding of the public's concerns and uncertainties from Public Agenda's attitudinal research, a series of substantive workshops with academic experts and practitioners at the Brown Center will examine both familiar and new approaches in order to develop a framework of choices. The choices will necessarily deal with the fundamental dilemma facing the United States in the nuclear age: namely, how to safeguard basic U.S. values and interests without increasing the risk of nuclear war with the Soviet Union. They must be presented with clarity and fairness, but at the same time accommodate a breadth of detail and diversity of interpretation. This requires developing a framework that embraces not only nuclear weapons policy but also policies for dealing with the U.S. - Soviet competition worldwide. And because Americans cannot make judgments in isolation about the reactions of other countries to American policies -- particularly the reactions of U.S. allies and the Soviet Union -- a series of dialogues will also be held in the United States and abroad with officials and private individuals from NATO, Japan and the Soviet Union.

The potential policy "choices" will be reviewed, continuously, in three ways:

- . First, reactions will be sought from a "national council" of some one hundred nationally distinguished individuals, with diverse viewpoints, drawn from academia, the military, political life, the foundations, national organizations and the foreign policy, church and media establishments.
- . Second, the public's reaction to the products of these workshops will be examined in a series of "focus groups," engaging the participation of cross-sections of people around the country in small, intense group discussions under the guidance of a skilled moderator.

- . And third, in a series of workshops with community leaders from some twenty to twenty-five cities across the country — individuals perhaps not well known nationally but knowledgeable and influential in the day-to-day life of representative American communities.

The work of these four recognizable groups of the American people — the professionals who identify and analyze the options, the distinguished public leaders who review them with a profound understanding of their political and strategic implications, the community leaders who bring their own understanding of negotiation and conflict, and the "uninformed" public that bring their immediate concerns and interests to bear upon them — will lead, under the guidance of an executive committee from the national council, to the progressive refinement of the choices that will not only contribute to academic and political expertise but also meet public concerns.

A Public Choice Campaign

Once the choices are identified, Public Agenda will organize presentations and evoke public responses in a series of public information campaigns in some twelve-to-fifteen, mid-sized cities across the United States, undertaken with the participation of the Brown Center and the cooperation of a network of local newspapers and radio and television stations that is already assembling under funding from the John and Mary R. Markle Foundation.

In a number of cities, in cooperation with local media outlets and community organizations, Public Agenda has already demonstrated the effectiveness of its sustained "campaign" strategy. Providing a context in which people can "work through" a complex issue is the main purpose of these "public choice campaigns." They use both the news media and meetings of membership organizations and civic groups. They provide video and print materials that set forth the choices, with the pros and cons of each spelled out impartially. And they take place over time, to allow "first opinion" to give way, in dialogue, to "second thoughts."

Previous Public Agenda campaigns have ended with a balloting process: by taking the trouble to cast a long and exacting ballot — the responses to which are quite different from the simple "yes and no" decisions of the typical referendum — the public expresses its judgment; and it is from such judgments that leadership

determines the "political permissions" -- the limits of public consent -- upon which viable policy can be built.

The public choice campaign on the nuclear arms issue will follow this tested strategy. Existing organizations and local media will do much of the work of carrying it forward under the guidance of Public Agenda. The film and print materials prepared at Public Agenda will be available generally to the media and to interested organizations; and by the use of these same materials everywhere, the campaign will rapidly cumulate on a national scale. The outcome will yield an indication, much as the "primaries" do in another context, of the American public's judgment on this issue.

Reporting Back

When the public choice information campaign is completed, Public Agenda and the Brown Center will prepare and publish an options book, which will differ significantly from the 1984 Voter Options book. Being a product of a more substantial project, it will be a longer work, with detailed explanation and analysis of all the public choices that have survived the scrutiny of experts and the public. (Some of the sections of the book, devoted to the substance of the choices, will have been used as working materials in the preparation for the campaign and the dialogue with community leaders.) The book will also report on perceptions of the choices held by groups within the American public and on perceptions of allies and the USSR; and it will include an analysis of the developing public response to the agenda of choices.

The formal prospectus of this project sets out its rationale, explaining why the Brown Center and Public Agenda believe that a certain kind of public debate is indispensable to the development of a viable national policy on nuclear arms. The prospectus describes the research methodologies that will be used to develop the choices; how the participation of the Soviets, the allies, and community leaders in this country will be secured; the tested principles under which the "public choice" campaign will be mounted to help people move from uncertain opinion to more informed judgments; and finally it lists the principal participants, the time frame within which the work is to be undertaken, and its budget.

National Council Acceptances
As of 7/23/86

His Eminence Joseph Cardinal Bernardin
Archbishop of Chicago

Professor Seweryn Bialer, Director
Research Institute of International Change
Columbia University

Mr. Willard C. Butcher, Chairman
The Chase Manhattan Bank, N.A.

Mr. Louis W. Cabot, Chairman
Cabot Corporation

Dr. W. Glenn Campbell, Director
Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace
Stanford University

Ms. Antonia Handler Chayes, Chairman
Endispute Incorporated

The Honorable Henry Cisneros
Mayor of San Antonio

The Honorable Harlan Cleveland, Dean
Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs
University of Minnesota

The Honorable Clark Clifford
Former Secretary of Defence
Clifford and Warnke

The Honorable William Colby
Former Director of Central Intelligence
Colby, Bailey, and Associates

The Honorable Martha Layne Collins
Governor of Kentucky

Dr. Lynn E. Davis, Director of Studies
International Institute for Strategic Studies

Father Robert Drinan, Professor of Law
Georgetown University Law Center

The Honorable Dianne Feinstein
Mayor of San Francisco

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Former Director of Central Intelligence
President, Safeer Company

The Reverend Theodore Hesburgh, President
University of Notre Dame

Dr. Matina Horner, President
Radcliffe College

The Honorable William Hudnut III
Mayor of Indianapolis

Admiral Bobbie Inman
Former Director, National Security Agency
President, Microelectronic and Copmputer
Technology Corporation (MCC)

Professor Barbara Jordan
Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs
The University of Texas at Austin

Admiral Gene R. La Rocque, Director
Center for Defense Information

Ms. Flora Lewis
Foreign News Column
The New York Times

The Honorable Patsy T. Mink
Honolulu City Council

Dr. Alice Rivlin, Director
Economic Studies Program
The Brookings Institution

Mr. Albert Shanker, President
American Federation of Teachers

The Honorable Gerard C. Smith
Former Director, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency
President, The Consultant International Group, Inc.

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Chairman and Chief Executive Officer
Honeywell

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National Security and Foreign Affairs
Veterans of Foreign Wars

Dr. Frank Vandiver, President
Texas A&M University

Ms. Jane Wales, Executive Director
Physicians for Social Responsibility

The Honorable Paul C. Warnke
Former Director, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency
Clifford and Warnke

Mr. Fred Wertheimer, President
Common Cause

The Honorable Coleman Young
Mayor of Detroit