



THE JACOB RADER MARCUS CENTER OF THE  
**AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES**  
A DIVISION OF HEBREW UNION COLLEGE – JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION

**MS-630: Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler Digital Collection, 1953-1996.**  
Series B: Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, 1962-1996.

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Box  
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Folder  
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Carter, Jimmy [White House], 1976-1977.

For more information on this collection, please see the finding aid on the  
American Jewish Archives website.

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## Who Calls The Shots?

The cat is now out of the bag.

We can assume, developments being what they have been, that the news report in The Jerusalem Post to the effect that Menachem Begin had dictated the retention (P-O, April 14) of Rabbi Alexander Schindler as chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations (32 of them) even though his term of office was ending and there was no tradition of extending it, was accurate.

What this tells us is a number of things.

For one that the 32 national organizations, assuming once again that none protested, accept dictation from Israel.

For another that there is a feeling that certain people are indispensable, and that goes against the grain of democratic procedure and comes close to another form of government.

For another it means that from here on, unless there is a rebellion of some kind, we no longer will be exempt from determination of what we do by dictation from Israel.

Before we go on, it should be stated that it may well be that this is the best procedure — that when Israel's well-being is at stake, she should call the shots. The point here is that there has been no discussion of this crucial question, although there is some history to it, and most certainly the issue should not be allowed to be determined by default.

The history goes back to the time when the late Jacob Blaustein, then president of the American Jewish Committee, prevailed upon the late Ben Gurion, then Prime Minister of Israel, to issue a set of rules governing Israeli interference in American Jewish affairs. As it turns out the Committee is not one of the 32 national organizations in the Presidents Conference, only an observer, and it may in this instance want to call for a discussion of the issue.

Years ago we editorialized that time would elapse before it would be possible for a determination of the relationship between Israel and the diaspora. That meant a series of dealings between the two entities and finally there would evolve a procedure which would provide for the needs of both.

What has happened though is that one entity — Israel — seems to have overwhelmed the other — the American Jewish Community — and that can have deleterious results for both.

## Poll Results Ominous

We don't know how the poll showing opposition by the plurality of Americans to the selling of

## The EDI

MICHAEL BLAINE, who performs in the Bond office in Indianapolis, has provided me clipping from the editor's chair, dated July which you can read below.

The interest now—I had completely forgot I had written this and at least Rabbi Denn had never read it for when we were intro had never heard of The Post and Opinion the Rabbis Sasso are now holding down the and doing a good job of it, in Indianapolis former congregation, Beth El Zedeck.

Here is what we wrote almost eight years We hate to be the one to say it, for love conquer all, but Sandy Lynn Eisenberg, the old rabbinical student at the new sem Philadelphia has merely compounded her in letting cupid lead her under the chuppa July 3).

Had her husband been other than a fellow there would be problems enough as she fulfill the duties here training is preparing But the fact is that she and her husband Sasso, are both planning to enter the rabbis both serve the same congregation, or as the to larger pulpits, will they actually congregations in different cities? Also Reconstructionist Rabbinical College rabbis for all three wings of Judaism, it is possible that the husband may be serving a vative congregation and his spouse a congregation.

In any event, the wedding has been sold and we can assure the young couple that one thing that will stand them in good stead go about their careers—they can cry on each other's shoulders in a way that no other Jewish the world can.

WE LIKE THE PRESENTATION of Martin A. Cohen professor of Jewish History at the New York school of the Hebrew Union College Jewish Institute of Religion made before a day convention of the Union of American Congregation's New York Federation of Synagogues. We weren't there although release states that 600 delegates were, but the news release and one observation of Although the Orthodox and especially the groups may not be the most expert when it comes to pedagogics, what Rabbi Cohen is recommending something that seemed to come naturally to Hassidic groups. Here is the news release

Dr. Cohen called for the development of a theology embracing "the entire realm of life," keeping new houses of worship down to 250-300 families to "assure a sense of belonging" and that larger congregations create sub-congregations organized by age and interest groups.





JEWISH ADVOCATE  
BOSTON, MASS.  
W. 22,652

MAR 16 1973

## Voices Carter Should Hear

Mark Siegel, his resigned aide, and Rabbi Alexander Schindler, spokesman of major Jewish organizations, are voices President Carter should hear. This simple truth has been buried in a cacophony of intra-administration rivalries, charges against various American Jewish leaders, including Rabbi Schindler, and a confusing welter of media reports and opinions.

Siegel, a courageous young man, left the administration because he was asked to "interpret" to the Jewish community the wisdom of President Carter's plane deal for Israel, Egypt and Saudi Arabia. The "package" came to him as a surprise, and he perceived it as "unwisdom" the moment he began trying to defend it. So he opted out of his promising position. Such glorious Americans have been missing for some time from all administrations. Imagine the grief that this country might have been spared if a Nixon aide had had similar courage and forthrightness at the outset of the Watergate Affair.

For his part, Rabbi Schindler, because of his position, has been in the White House many times for meetings concerning the Middle East and other matters. During this period he often praised the President and his retinue, including adviser Brezezinski and Secretary of State Vance, when he saw a spirit of fairness and reason operating. He did so without consulting with or receiving any instructions from the State of Israel, but as a free American who wished the positions of his country to

be well motivated, well conceived and well carried out for its own benefit.

When he saw that something had gone wrong, that suddenly an arms arrangement was mixed into what had started out as an historic peace negotiation, he, too, spoke out. It seemed that President Carter was responding to pressures outside of the "fair broker's" pursuit of peace. And no American can stand the thought that this great country can be "pressured," particularly by a further Arab energy squeeze, the force of which had already sent us reeling into a near ruinous domestic inflation and foreign unbalance of trade.

President Carter must himself think through old false charges of dual allegiance and such, periodically revived against the Jewish People, like the discredited and acknowledged false Elders of Zion, being so avidly distributed in Saudi Arabia. He may find that some of those around him have psychological and business allegiances which indeed do clash with holding the interests of their country first. But Americans such as Mark Siegel and Rabbi Alexander Schindler and their followers have never had such "dual allegiances." American-Israel ideology, standing for democracy, can only build bridges with common concerns for humanity, but those tied up in trading in and hungering for the rewards of the Arab oil resources have created human misery, both for the gauged receiver and for the libertyless worker-producer, alike.

~~Ben Hanft~~

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Ben Hanft

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Hanft

W. 14

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For his part, Rabbi Shimon  
Vladimir's Alliance

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## Voices Carter Should Hear

at 3:30 PM  
BOSTON, MASS.  
JEWISH ADVOCATE

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When he saw that something  
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he will not be satisfied, well con-

January 25, 1978

The President  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

As you know, my duties as Chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations bring me to many lands in Europe and in the Middle East. Most recently, as you may have heard, I travelled to Cairo as well as to Jerusalem.

In all of the countries I visit I meet and am added by the professionals of our State Department and I must tell you how highly I have come to regard their work. Invariably, they are men of ability and integrity, serving not only the interests of our nation but also the ideals for which America stands.

Our Jewish tradition enjoins us "never to specify lest we exclude," so I will refrain from mentioning the long list of Ambassadors and Deputies in Warsaw, Bucharest, Cairo and Jerusalem, whose work I have come particularly to appreciate.

I can mention our Secretary of State, Mr. Vance, who because of his position, no less than because of those qualities which he himself embodies, fittingly serves as the symbol of our foreign service in all its excellence

You, Mr. President, and all Americans, not the least of them that community for which I speak, have a right to be pleased and grateful.

Cordially,

Alexander M. Schindler

cc: Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance



# CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022  
PLaza 2-1616  
Cable Address: COJOGRA

## AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS:

American Israel Public  
Affairs Committee  
American Jewish Congress  
American Mizrahi Women  
American Zionist Federation  
Anti-Defamation League  
B'nai B'rith  
B'nai B'rith Women  
Bnai Zion  
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Pioneer Women  
The Rabbinical Assembly  
Rabbinical Council of America  
Union of American Hebrew  
Congregations  
Union of Orthodox Jewish  
Congregations of America  
United Synagogue of America  
Women's American ORT  
Women's League for  
Conservative Judaism  
World Zionist Organization  
American Section, Inc.  
Zionist Organization of America

September 15, 1977

The President  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

The Jewish community has followed with admiration your championship of human rights as a vital aspect of U.S. foreign policy. We have no doubt that this renewed commitment to human dignity and freedom has helped to restore the image of America in the world and -- as important -- in the eyes of the American people.

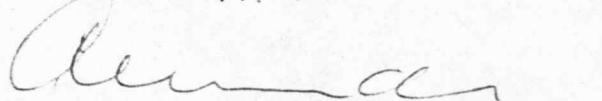
We beg leave to suggest that you use the occasion of your forthcoming appearance before the United Nations to call upon that body to expunge the infamous Zionism-racism resolution which has done so much to contaminate the moral authority of the U.N.

Vigorous leadership by the United States in an effort to eliminate that noxious resolution would be a significant advance for the cause of human rights, would free the nations within the United Nations for a united attack on racism and apartheid, would reassure the Jewish community and Israel itself, and would help to rescue the U.N. from its own prejudice and folly.

I also take the liberty of attaching an editorial from REFORM JUDAISM, the official publication of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, setting forth this view in more detail.

May God strengthen you in your pursuit of the precious values of peace and human dignity.

Cordially,

  
Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman

# CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PLaza 2-1616

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31 August 1977

TO: Members Associated in the Presidents Conference

FROM: Yehuda Hellman, Executive Director

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Following please find a handwritten letter from President Carter in response to Rabbi Schindler's letter on the PLO.

Please note that the President's reply bears the same date as Rabbi Schindler's letter -- August 26, 1977.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

8/26/77

To Rabbi Schneider

I appreciate your letter of  
this date.

I can assure you that  
our position regarding the  
PLO is consistent with  
commitments previously made  
voluntarily to the Israeli  
government, with private  
and public statements made  
to present leaders in the  
Middle East, and with my  
own personal beliefs and  
hopes for permanent peace.

Respectfully, Jimmy Carter



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September 15, 1977

The President  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

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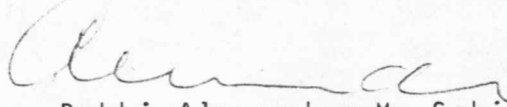
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Cordially,

  
Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman

cc Kony

September 15, 1977

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Washington, D.C.

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Cordially,

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman

September 15, 1977

The Honorable Allard Lowenstein  
Ambassador to the United Nations  
for Political Affairs  
United States Mission to the U.N.  
799 United Nations Plaza  
New York, New York 10017

Dear Al:

The enclosed was sent out today with copies to Mondale, Jordan, Lipschutz and Eizenstat asking their support.

I think it would be helpful if Andy Young were to push from his end.

I'm ready for that tripartate meeting which we discussed. I assume that the Mission will take the initiative.

With warm good wishes to you and your dear ones for a healthy, happy and fulfilling New Year, I am

Sincerely,

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman

Encl.



September 15, 1977

The Honorable Walter Mondale  
Vice President of the U.S.  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

My Dear Mr. Mondale:

I take the liberty of calling to your attention  
a letter which I have sent to President Carter  
and which is pretty much self-explanatory.

I think that from every perspective it would be  
desirable were the President to include such a  
recommendation in his United Nations speech.  
I write merely to keep you informed and to ask  
your support should you agree with my judgment.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman

Encl.

September 15, 1977

Mr. Hamilton Jordan  
The White House  
Executive Office  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Hamilton:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter I have sent to the President. I really think that it would be a good idea if your Chief were to give serious consideration to this proposal, not just because it is in full harmony with his conviction as well as with the image of America as a moral force which he is striving to project, but on political grounds as well. It would go a long way toward regaining the applause of a Jewish community which has become just a little bit restive under the impact of the recent drift in America's Mid-East policy.

With warm good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman

Encl.

P.S. That offer of a set of tennis for the West Bank still stands!



September 15, 1977

Mr. Robert J. Lipschutz  
Counsel to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Bob:

The enclosed is self-explanatory, Bob. I really think it would be a great idea from every point of view.

May I take this opportunity to wish you and your loved ones a New Year blessed with good health, happiness and fulfillment.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman

Encl.



September 15, 1977

Mr. Stuary E. Eizenstat  
Assistant to the President  
for Domestic Affairs & Policy  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Stu:

The enclosed letter to the President is self-explanatory. I do believe that it would be a great idea, from every point of view.

I want to take this opportunity to express my warm good wishes for the New Year. May you and your loved ones be blessed with good health, happiness and fulfillment.

Sincerely,

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman

Encl.

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Zionist Organization of America

31 August 1977

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

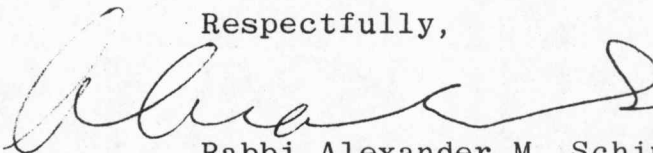
Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to thank you for your prompt handwritten response to my letter concerning the PLO. Your words are reassuring indeed and I am most grateful to you.

I would also like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation to you for having received Mr. Y. Hellman and me on Friday afternoon at such very short notice.

All of us in the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations join you most fervently in your beliefs and hopes for permanent peace.

Respectfully,



Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman

RAMS: jbj

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31 August 1977

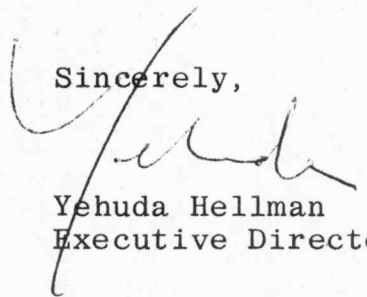
Dr. Mark Siegel  
Deputy Assistant to the President  
for Policy Analysis  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mark,

As you know, we have received a prompt hand-written reply from the President. His words were reassuring indeed and we are grateful to you for having helped to bring about this most gratifying result.

Rabbi Schindler joins me in wishing you a good holiday and we hope to have an early opportunity to thank you personally.

Sincerely,

  
Yehuda Hellman  
Executive Director

P.S. I read the story in yesterday's Wall Street Journal with great interest.

YH:jj



July 7, 1977

Mr. Robert J. Lipshutz  
Counsel to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Bob:

I want to express my sincere appreciation to you for your efforts in arranging for the meeting between President Carter and leaders of the Jewish community, as well as the attendant session with Vice President Mondale and other members of the Administration. It was most gratifying to have the opportunity to share mutual concerns in a full and frank discussion.

With deepfett appreciation for your consideration and with warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

July 26, 1977

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

Congressman Solarz informed me of the fact that a number of young Syrian Jewish girls have already been released to come to the United States and other countries in order to enable them to find husbands since no young Jewish eligible men can be found in Syria. Indeed, so I am told, a number of marriages have already been performed.

The American Jewish community is aware of the fact that it is largely thanks to your personal intervention with President Assad of Syria that this mission of mercy was made possible and we are profoundly grateful to you.

We would shout our thanks from the rooftops but we know that this mission depends for its success on secrecy. Hence the silent gratitude of our community as well as the glad hearts of those who have been rescued will have to serve as the expression of our indebtedness.

With warmest regards and profound respect, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

cc: Congressman Stephen J. Solarz

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WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON DC

DEAR MR PRESIDENT ALL AMERICANS AND MEN AND WOMEN IN EVERY COUNTRY WHO CHERISH FREEDOM WILL TAKE INSPIRATION FROM THE MESSAGE OF ENCOURAGEMENT AND SUPPORT THAT YOU HAVE SENT TO THE GREAT LEADERS OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN THE SOVIET UNION, ANDREI D. SAKHAROV. YOUR WORDS WILL BE PARTICULARLY HEARTENING TO OUR BROTHER JEWS IN THE SOVIET UNION, FOR WHOM DOCTOR SAKHAROV HIMSELF HAS ALSO SPOKEN OUT WITH COURAGE AND ELOQUENCE - THOSE JEWS WHO SEEK THE RIGHT OF EMIGRATION TO THE LAND OF ISRAEL; THOSE WHO SEEK TO STUDY AND LEARN THE RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL TRADITION, SO LONG DENIED THEM, OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE; AND THOSE VICTIMS OF OPPRESSION WHO SIT IN SOVIET DETENTION CAMPS - THE PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE TO WHOM YOU REFERRED AND FOR WHOSE RELEASE YOU HAVE PLEDGED YOUR GOOD OFFICES.

WE ARE PROUD THAT OUR PRESIDENT HAS RE-ASSERTED ON THE INTERNATIONAL FRONTS THE GREAT PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN RIGHTS ENSHRINED IN THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION, PRINCIPLES OF FREEDOM THAT GAVE RISE BOTH THE DISSIDENT MOVEMENT IN THE USSR AND THE SOVIET JEWISH STRUGGLE.

"BECAUSE WE ARE FREE," YOU DECLARED IN YOUR INAUGURAL ADDRESS AND IN YOUR MESSAGE TO DOCTOR SAKHAROV "WE CAN NEVER BE INDIFFERENT TO THE FATE OF FREEDOM ELSEWHERE." WE JOIN YOU IN THAT COMMITMENT AND LOOK TO YOUR LEADERSHIP IN THE GREAT STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

RABBI ALEXANDER M SCHINDLER CHAIRMAN, CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

12:13 EST

MGMCOMP MGM



The President  
Washington, D.C.

TELEGRAM

February 18, 1977

Dear Mr. President:

All Americans and men and women in every country who cherish freedom will take inspiration from the message of encouragement and support that you have sent to the great leader of the human rights movement in the Soviet Union, Andrei D. Sakharov. Your words will be particularly heartening to our brother Jews in the Soviet Union, for whom Dr. Sakharov himself has also spoken out with courage and eloquence -- those Jews who seek the right of emigration to the land of Israel; those who seek to study and learning the religious and cultural tradition, so long denied them, of the Jewish people; and those victims of oppression who sit in Soviet Detention Camps -- the prisoners of conscience to whom you referred and for whose release you have pledged your good offices.

We are proud that our President has reasserted on the international front the great principles of human rights enshrined in the American constitution, principles of freedom that gave rise both to the dissident movement in the USSR and the Soviet Jewish struggle.

"Because we are free," you declared in your inaugural address and in your message to Dr. Sakharov, "we can never be indifferent to the fate of freedom elsewhere." We join you in that commitment and look to your leadership in the great struggle for human rights.

Sincerely,

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman, ~~of the~~ Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations

January 20, 1977

Dr. Moshe Decter  
412 Cathedral Parkway  
New York, N.Y. 10025

Dear Moshe:

I appreciate your thoughtfulness in sharing the Brzezinski  
articles with me. Many thanks.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

MOSHE DECTER  
412 CATHEDRAL PARKWAY  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10025

Jan. 18, 1977

Rabbi Alexander Schindler  
UAHC  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10021

Dear Alex:

In going through my files recently, I ran across a couple of articles by Zbig Brzezinski, which may be of some interest to you as head of the Presidents Conference, now that he is national security advisor.

The first, almost exactly three years old, is from the New Leader, Jan. 7, 1974. The second is from New York magazine, Mar. 3, 1975.

Best wishes,

*Moshe*

*Please answer*



CONFIDENTIAL

October 20, 1976

Mr. Bruce Corwin  
Metropolitan Theatre Corp.  
8727 West Third Street  
Los Angeles, Ca. 90048

Dear Bruce:

Thanks for sharing with me the various columns on Governor Carter. I appreciate your thoughtfulness and I also want to assure you that I will be voting on November 2nd!

You will also be interested in knowing that we're for the same man. It's been some time since our last contact and you ought to know that immediately following the Maryland Primary some of my earlier doubts were removed and I have been working very closely with the Carter Campaign people. I hope you can appreciate that all of this has been done unofficially and quietly and I would not wish you to share it with others. I am in almost daily contact with the Atlanta Headquarters and have been for some time now. Please do, however, share this information with your mother for when I saw her in Los Angeles I had expressed my doubts and I'd like her to know where the situation now stands.

Enclosed is a copy of my introduction of Governor Carter at a meeting of leaders of the Presidents' Conference in Boston, I think it will be of interest.

And so, Bruce, come Tuesday I pray we will both be happy with the results of the election. I also hope that in the days and years ahead our faith and confidence will be upheld.

With warmest regards to you and your mother, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

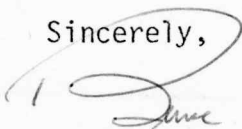
Encl.

BRUCE CORWIN

The enclosed articles best convey  
my faith and confidence in Jimmy  
Carter.

Please don't forget to vote on  
November 2nd.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "Bruce", written in a cursive style with a large loop at the beginning.

BCC/jc  
Encls.

# Does It Really Matter?

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, Oct. 19—The real scandal of this election so far is the indifference and even cynicism of so many of the American people. On the 200th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, when there has been so much talk about the glories of the democratic process and the endless struggles for universal suffrage, less than half of the eligible voters are expected to go to the polls on Nov. 2, and the rest are asking: Does it really matter?

The argument in this corner is that it matters very much. As noted before, it matters if the majority of our people, now 28 and under, are left with four more years of the same stodgy government that has eroded their confidence in the American political system. It matters a great deal if the South is rejected once more for the highest office in the land—and this for Gerald Ford!

But especially when the voters are dissatisfied with both Presidential candidates, it also matters—in fact it may be decisive in the next four years—how the Presidential power of appointment is exercised and by whom.

The Presidential elections of 1960 and 1968 dramatize just how much it matters when a sizable proportion of the eligible voters stay home. John Kennedy won over Richard Nixon in '60 by two-tenths of one percent of the vote, and was so shocked that only 65 percent voted that he organized an inquiry to explain the non-voters.

In 1968, Mr. Nixon defeated Hubert Humphrey by seven tenths of one percent of the popular vote—510,645 out of a total of 73 million, with 55 percent voting. So there is an enduring and increasing 15-year trend of indifference here, the consequences of which seem to have been forgotten.

Did it really matter that Richard Nixon, rather than Hubert Humphrey, was in position to choose Spiro Agnew as his Vice President, John Mitchell as his Attorney General, Maurice Stans as his Secretary of Commerce,

## WASHINGTON

Earl Butz as his Secretary of Agriculture, and Messrs. Haldeman, Ehrlichman, Dean and the rest of that gang to staff the White House?

Does it matter that the balance of the Supreme Court has changed in the last seven years of Nixon and Ford appointments from five Democrats and four Republicans to seven Republicans and two Democrats in 1976, and that Mr. Ford, if elected, would have a fairly good chance to appoint two or three more in the coming four years?

This is not to say he has not appointed or retained some good men, for example Henry Kissinger, Attorney General Edward H. Levi, Secretary of Labor John Dunlop—whom he lost—Secretary of Everything Elliot L. Richardson, and Mr. Justice John Paul Stevens of Illinois, his only appointee to the high bench. But it is a spotty and even capricious record.

He had at least three able young potential Vice-Presidential nominees in George Bush of Texas, Donald Rumsfeld of Illinois, and William Ruckelshaus of Indiana, but he suddenly decided to fire his Secretary of Defense, James R. Schlesinger, and his C.I.A. chief, William Colby, and put Rumsfeld and Bush in their jobs where they were unavailable for the Vice-Presidential nomination.

Finally, he allowed the Reagan conservatives to talk him out of Ruckelshaus in favor of Senator Robert Dole of Kansas, whose qualifications for the Senate, let alone the Presidency, are wholly imaginary.

We do not, of course, know how Governor Carter would choose his White House staff, or what sort of appointments he would make to the Cabinet or the Supreme Court, but his careful procedure for choosing a Vice-Presidential running mate is reassuring. Fritz Mondale may not be everybody's favorite Senator, but if you could take a private poll of how the 100 Senators view Mondale's and Dole's qualifications for the Presidency, even Senator Dole might have enough sense of humor to vote against

In this situation, the surprising thing is not that the Republicans are hoping for a low turnout on Election Day—that is their main hope of victory—but that the Democrats, and particularly so many Democratic liberals, are sitting on the side, as they did in '68, complaining that Carter is no Roosevelt.

Even Roosevelt was no Roosevelt in 1932, and somehow Harry Truman managed to overcome the hostility of his own divided party in 1948, but then, as now, the one proposition that cannot be defended is that the choice makes no difference.

"Don't blame me—I'm against both of them," is the latest bumper sticker, and in a way, Ford and Carter have asked for it by ignoring the issues and trying to throw it away on turn-overs. But the vote is not merely for a man but for a Government—four more years of the same or four of at least something newer younger and different—and voter indifference could make all the difference.



# Decent Is as Decent Does

By Anthony Lewis

BOSTON, Sept. 22 — Some liberals who are uneasy about Jimmy Carter for one reason or another have taken to speaking of President Ford's "decency." That overworked word, covering a variety of rationalizations, has taken on a code significance. A California Democrat said: "We don't really know Carter. And Ford's not so bad—he's decent."

In personal relations Gerald Ford undoubtedly is a considerate person: One cannot imagine him being unkind to children or dogs or neighbors. But decency in political leadership must be more than that. It connotes a sensitivity to human needs, a breadth of wisdom and humanity.

Does Mr. Ford measure up to the demands of decency in political leadership? His responses on a number of issues provide a fair basis for judgment.

**Human Rights.** In his two years as President Mr. Ford has taken no interest in the growing world problem of official brutality: the use of torture and other inhumanities by governments of the left and right. He has strongly resisted Congressional efforts to secure human rights in countries supported by the United States such as Chile. He snubbed the man who is the foremost symbol of resistance to official tyranny, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn.

Sensitive? Wise? Decent?

**Law.** Mr. Ford never criticized the violations of law disclosed in investigations of the C.I.A. and F.B.I., and to date no legal action has been taken against any official of those agencies. Shortly before Richard Nixon's resignation, when in addition to the public record Vice President Ford had been privately advised of Mr. Nixon's criminality, he said in a speech: "I can say from the bottom of my heart, the President of the United States is innocent and he is right."

Sensitive? Wise? Decent?

**Secrecy.** The other day Mr. Ford praised a new "sunshine law" for Federal agencies as he signed it before the cameras. But one of his early actions as President was to veto an improvement of the Freedom of Information Act so widely accepted that Congress easily overrode the veto. After the disclosure of abuses by the intelligence agencies, Mr. Ford proposed the toughest law in American history to conceal information related to claimed intelligence methods.

Sensitive? Wise? Decent?

**War.** As the thirty-year war in Vietnam drew to a close in 1975, Mr. Ford tried to keep it going with an urgent appeal for \$1 billion more in American arms. He took punitive—and blundering—military action over the Cambodian seizure of the ship Mayaguez, in the teeth of a law expressly forbidding the use of U.S. forces in Indochina. He secretly aided

one side in the Angolan civil war and wanted to increase that intervention when Congress said no.

Sensitive? Wise? Decent?

**Arms.** Escalating American arms sales to such countries as Iran and Saudi Arabia have aroused concern among many students of international security affairs. When Jimmy Carter suggested that the policy was dangerous, Mr. Ford told a Jewish organization: "Does the gentleman want Soviet arms to have a monopoly in the world? Does he want our adversaries to arm not only the radical Arabs but the more moderate Arabs?"

Sensitive? Wise? Decent?

**Amnesty.** As "an act of mercy," Mr. Ford in 1975 created a program of "clemency" for Vietnam draft evaders and deserters. Because he was opposed to a blanket pardon, men were to be treated on a case-by-case basis. But the program was so complex, the standards so vague, the administration so quixotic that a former U. S. Attorney in Utah, William J. Lockhart, has spoken of the process he saw as "inevitably inconsistent and discriminatory."

Sensitive? Wise? Decent?

**Abortion.** A year ago, Mr. Ford was against a constitutional amendment to limit abortions. But as the chance for Catholic votes seemed to glimmer in the campaign, he said he was for letting the states limit abortions as they wished—a step that would require a constitutional amendment.

Sensitive? Wise? Decent?

The record of Gerald Ford should be the central issue in this campaign. It is the narrow conservative record of a narrow conservative man. It ought to please voters who have no interest in human rights, who do not care about official obedience to the law, who believe in government secrecy, who are not willing to forgive or forget resistance to the Vietnam war, and so on.

But for liberal-minded voters to accept that record is something else. It is indecent for those who care about sensitivity and humanity in politics to talk of the decency of Gerald Ford.

# Southern Jews, and Baptists, and Jimmy Carter

By Eli Evans

Jimmy Carter has been caught in a nexus of changing images among Jews, Roman Catholics, white Southern Baptists and blacks about themselves, each other, and about the South. Stereotypes crumble slowly, however, and when religion and race are involved we are all prisoners of our emotions and history.

It was always an axiom of Jewish life in the South that racial trouble meant heated passions and a dangerous atmosphere that was "bad for the Jews." The opposite was true, too: if blacks were making progress, so were Jews. As the Presidential campaign progresses, these and other lessons of growing up Jewish in the South have seemed more and more relevant.

One of the real secrets of Mr. Carter's appeal to blacks lies in his native ability to communicate in the idiom of the black church. Even with the tough talk since the second debate, Mr. Carter's style before black audiences remains the same. His soothing manner, the tones of his voice, his willingness to speak of love in a religious context—all mark him as a man who understands. The Southern accent on matters political may grate on the ears of Northerners so used to hearing bigotry in those same accents, but in the context of the black church it is home talk from a familiar terrain of the heart. It stirs mixed memories for me.

My friends and I, as Southern teen-agers, did what most other white boys did on weekends. Occasionally, on a Sunday night, we visited the rural black churches just to see the holy rollers shake and chant. It was a special experience for me to immerse myself in a kind of Old Testament Christianity and to sing out spirituals about my heroes, Moses and Joshua, without fear.

For one thing, no black preacher-man would try to convert a Jewish boy like me, because I was white; and, more important, there was no chance that any of my buddies, who were all Baptists, would get swept away and go down front to be saved and leave me as the only outsider at the service.

Looking back, I now realize that to me the Jesus of the white man and the Jesus of the black man gazed down at congregations whose needs and histories molded two distinctly different saviors.

While black Jesus was benign and comforting, white Jesus was strict and unbending. Black Jesus passed among the people as a friendly saint; white Jesus stood tall like an awesome soldier bent on retribution sinners.

Because of the history of the Ku Klux Klan, Jews in the South have always judged politicians by their attitudes toward blacks. To Jews and Catholics in the North, ardent Christianity and the Klan have been joined as images—the burning crosses,

the sounds of "Onward Christian Soldiers" in the Klan cow pastures, the lynchings. Jews in the South, more at home in the Bible Belt atmosphere, learn to distinguish between politicians by instinct, and the race issue is one of the measures.

"It's like Andy Young said about blacks," a Jewish lawyer in Atlanta told me. "As a Jew in the South, you develop antennae about politicians. For instance, when you're around Lester Maddox, who always mixed up God with segregation, you just knew he could be anti-Semitic at the drop of a hat. Jimmy is different. You just

To the older generation, with memories of Eastern European persecution, sawdust Christianity is reminiscent of a narrow-minded, relentless suspicion of the Jews. But a Jewish shop owner in Georgia with a slight accent said: "No one down here can imagine Jimmy as a cossack on a steed. Hell, Carter won't destroy the shtetl. He comes from a shtetl."

But Jimmy Carter is not running for office in the South; he is running for President, and the major issue for Jews, North and South, is Israel. In that connection, the Southern Jewish response is instructive, perhaps another

example of the ignorance in the North of Southern Baptist attitudes. Jews in the South may sense that in a world of growing dependence on Arab oil they are more secure with a candidate whose commitment to Israel's survival is based on something deeper than a search for Jewish votes.

"We Jews are paranoid," an Atlanta doctor states, "and for good reason. Given petro-dollars, we can't trust anyone. But Carter's support for Israel is biblical. It's deep. He doesn't have to be convinced there ought to be a Jewish state. He knows that in his heart."

One never had to argue with the man-on-the-street Southerner about Israel's right to live, nor the moral justification for a Jewish state. With the exception of J. W. Fulbright of Arkansas, this support has been reflected by virtually every Southern Senator and Congressman in the last 28 years. Jimmy Carter's statement last March that "I think God wants the Jews to have a place to live" is in that tradition.

Support for Israel is not only deep in fundamentalist prophecy, but became stronger politically as the Soviet Union began pouring arms into Egypt and Syria. Time and events translated it into Southern myth—the appeal of the underdog, the respect for toughness and scrappiness, the admiration for military daring and bravery in the face of overwhelming odds. The exploits of the Israeli military have managed to crack through the Jewish stereotype and change the image of the modern Jew in the mind of the South.

"I always thought Jews were yellow," a filling station attendant in south Georgia once said to me, "but then Israelites, they're tough."

If the South has changed in the last 20 years in attitudes toward Jews, Catholics and blacks, then the Southern Baptist church is changing also. Doctrinal disputes abound but the deeper psychological changes were little

noticed until the emergence of the Carter candidacy.

Before the Civil War, every church in the South with a constituency in the North experienced a deep schism (including the Jews, who in the South feared for their safety and wanted to remain quiet on the issue of slavery).

The Southern Baptist Convention was formed out of the abolitionist condemnation of the South, and slavery was banished from its agenda. After the war, all the Southern Protestant churches that gave divine justification for slavery turned inward, abandoning for a hundred years talk of social justice and embracing the so-called "spirituality of the church"—that private witness and individual soul-saving was the primary purpose, removing the church from any involvement in political and economic issues. The opposite occurred in the black church. Born in bondage, it cried out for freedom and grew into the heart of the civil rights movement.

In the early stages of the campaign when Jimmy Carter seemed to be speaking from a pulpit, it was "Daddy" King and Andy Young—symbols of the black church—that gave him credibility in the North. He spoke of the need for "simple justice" in his acceptance speech and during his men's Bible class in Plains, Ga., which incidentally was front-page news across the South. Perhaps the more vital issue for Jews and Catholics is not the narrow influence of the Southern Baptists on Carter, but the profound impact of Carter on the 34,902 Southern Baptist congregation. Some leaders may endorse Ford, but to the mass of Baptists Carter is becoming something of a church folk hero.

If Carter is elected, one major question will be whether a Southern Baptist in the White House, with integrationist pride and black support, can begin to build bridges between the black and white churches in the nation on the "public sins" of racial discrimination and urban blight.

The Klan is as great a historical burden for Southern Baptists as slavery is for the South as a whole. Perhaps Jews, evangelicals, mainline Protestants, and Catholics, recognizing the new Southern realities revealed by the political campaign, could begin a dialogue aimed at mutual understanding beyond outdated stereotypes on all sides. It would be fitting, indeed, if the black church, with common links to the Old and New Testaments, could be the catalyst for the first steps toward building new trust and communication among the major American faiths.

Eli Evans is the author of "The Provincials: A Personal History of Jews in the South."

# In Search of Leadership

By William V. Shannon

WASHINGTON—The basic choice confronting voters in this election is whether they want a pleasing personality or a leader in the White House.

If the people are content with a pleasing personality, Gerald Ford will do very well. He is financially honest, about as candid as most political men, and is a likable person. But he is not a leader. He lacks the intellectual gifts, the imagination, and the inner force, that leaders have.

Mr. Ford rocks no boats, offers no challenges to the conventional wisdom, and has no deeply held convictions that he is not prepared to temper—or drop altogether—if political necessity requires. He is a good listener.

He does not always understand what he is being told but he tries. When he is through listening he figuratively looks around to see if there is somebody who will do something about the problem, or at least move it off his desk.

He does not care very much. He does not care, for example, about the many forms of misery that create social problems in America and in the world. He has normal compassion for family and friends. But for those outside the range of his vision, he lacks the imagination to visualize their misery or to hold their problems for very long in the forefront of his mind.

Mr. Ford does not even care all that much whether he is re-elected. His vanity is engaged at the moment and he hates to lose. But if he does lose, he will be delighted with his big pension and will play golf and ski and enjoy himself traveling. If he is re-elected, he will be out at Burning Tree with his lobbyist friends playing golf every weekend and one or two afternoons during the week as well. He will ski at Vail, take lots of trips, and make forgettable speeches. Either way, it will be a pleasant, sun-filled four years for him.

Mr. Ford is no worrier. Under a show of earnestness, he is as light-hearted as Mr. Micawber and as sure that something will turn up. After all, it always has. By being a regular fellow and thinking regular thoughts and being on the job, he has already gone a lot further than those who know his limited capacity would ever have predicted. World hunger and nuclear terror and surging inflation and financially strapped cities might worry

some people, but Mr. Ford is sure he can bumble on for another four years as he has the last two.

Jimmy Carter, by contrast offers the nation an opportunity for leadership. He is an unknown quantity as a President. Any man is until he serves in the office. But Mr. Carter's seriousness, quickness of mind, and executive energies are apparent to everyone who has talked with him or studies his public record.

In baseball terminology, Jimmy Carter is a "take-charge guy." He relishes responsibility, sets high goals for himself, and knows how to organize himself and his team to reach those goals.

If Mr. Carter becomes President, he is sure to defend aggressively the interests of consumers and of the environment. There is a reasonable chance that he may reorganize the welter of Federal-state programs and make the ponderous bureaucracies more responsive. He will lead the fight for a genuine tax reform and may succeed. There is a good chance that he will work out a national health care plan and achieve a major reform of welfare.

None of these aspirations is sure to be realized in a Carter Administration, but there is ground for hope on each of them. On the record of the last two years, there is no hope of realizing any of them in another Ford Administration.

Mr. Carter's empathy for the outcast and the defeated is genuine. He is a leader reaching for greatness. Although his reach is sure to exceed his grasp—as is true of every leader—he might make America once again a tribune of justice in the world community.

By contrast, no one who knows Mr. Ford's long, dreary record in the House, 25 years of plodding through hackdom, would ever accuse him of being a leader. One can paraphrase Winston Churchill's description of Neville Chamberlain—"He would make a good mayor of Grand Rapids—in a quiet year."

As against the reasonable prospect of high achievement in a Carter Administration, Mr. Ford offers four more years of drift, bluff, and fumble. Historically, it is the choice between the possibility of another Roosevelt and the certainty of another Coolidge. Americans as a people sometimes like to be on the move and sometimes like to rest easy. The Carter-Ford election offers that kind of choice.



September 2, 1976

Mr. Larry Kievef  
Carter Headquarters  
P. O. Box 1976  
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

Dear Mr. Kievef:

Thank you for agreeing to pursue the matter of our meeting with Governor Carter.

In brief and for your information:

1. Our Conference is, in fact, the overarching organization for American Jewry on all matters affecting Israel and problems of Jews in other lands. For the past decade or so, when the President or Secretary of State wants to deal with American Jewry officially, he does it through us.

2. Very early in the campaign, long before the nominating process was completed, we were assured by several leaders of the Carter campaign that the Governor would meet with us once he was selected as the official Democratic candidate and following the patterns of past campaigns when the presidential candidates also met with our organization.

I spoke at various times, and received this assurance, from Bob Lipschutz and other associates.

3. Only the date and the place are unresolved. In both, I express myself to be amenable to Governor Carter's convenience. I am willing to have the meeting either in New York or Washington and the date is also open to conform to his schedule.

4. It was reported to me that the Governor is under some pressure to meet with the Jewish Senators and Congressmen and I indicated to the campaign leadership that I would be perfectly willing to invite these legislators to our meeting, as we have done in the past. In such a case, the meeting would have to be in Washington.

Mr. Larry Kievef  
Page No. 2

September 2, 1976

5. I have also informed the campaign people, in response to their suggestion, that I will undertake to invite the foremost leadership of every single solitary American Jewish grouping, even those who are not formally affiliated with us, to this meeting, so that the Governor will have the assurance that he has covered the field and will not need to deal with the many parts individually. In other words, this is a meeting which is national in its scope and will receive according treatment, certainly within the Jewish community.

I much appreciate your readiness to deal with us and I am beholden to you.

During office hours I can be reached at 212-249-0100. Over the weekend I will be in my home, 203-227-0232. If for any reason you cannot reach me personally, please call the Executive Director of the Conference, Mr. Hellman, whose office number is listed on this stationery and whose home phone number is 212-734-8488.

Sincerely yours,

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

AMS:tb

c.c: Mr. Yehuda Hellman

7/23/76

~~897-7103~~  
~~#3~~  
404-897-5000  
404-897-7000

Called Carter Headquarters today and none of the people I wanted to talk to were in....will be returning Monday or Tuesday..if you want to call, Harriet and Stu are at

404-~~897-7106~~ 897-5091

and Vicki Rogers in the Scheduling Office is at 404-897-7112....

am also advising Dick Cohen no date as yet.....

Represented -  
up front

Vicki away  
come

Call

① will be  
② Critical  
+ 4 ✓  
first day 1st wk Sept.



404-897-7100  
897-7100  
5091

July 19, 1976

404-897  
K 7112

Ms. Vicki Rogers  
Carter Campaign  
Scheduling Office  
P.O. Box 1976  
Atlanta, GA. 30301

Dear Ms. Rogers:

By now I trust you have learned from Stuart Eizenstat and Harriet Zimmerman that the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations is eager to have Governor Carter meet with the top leadership of the American Jewish community. As Rabbi Schindler, Chairman of the Presidents' Conference, is out-of-the-country, I am taking the liberty of writing in his stead to formalize the request for such a meeting.

It is hoped that arrangements can be made for a session during the week of August 23-27, 1976 and, if possible, a morning meeting would be best, at about 10:00 a.m. The preference for date would be for Tuesday, Wednesday or Thursday but the specific day and time which are most convenient for the Governor will be most acceptable to the Presidents' Conference.

The format for the meeting would include a presentation by Governor Carter to be followed by questions and answers. Attendance will be by invitation only and the session will be held in the auditorium at 515 Park Avenue (between 59th and 60th Streets), New York City. I might also note that because of the number of Jewish organizations with offices in this building, including the Presidents' Conference, there is very tight security at the building. Just as soon as we hear from you and details are finalized, invitations will be extended by the Presidents' Conference. Hopefully, we will be hearing from you very soon for we are eager to advise our people of this meeting well in advance of the date selected.

With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Edith J. Miller  
Assistant to the President

404-897-5000

cc: Mr. Stuart E. Eizenstat  
Mr. Robert Lipschutz  
Ms. Harriet Zimmerman  
bcc: MS. Chris Miller

Harriet Zimmerman

404-897-7106

Carta/  
P.e.

9/13 or week of 8/23

América  
581-1000

30A - NYC 9-12 Sept.

SEA - NYC 9/12

UANC - NYC 12.13/Sept.

Dick Cohen

# 988-8042

JUV - Miami - 8/15.22

End Aug. Uge Mission

Prime Minister's

8/29 - 9/2/76

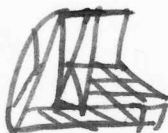
Dick Cohen



# Per Org.

Out House?

Non - P.C. people?



N.Y.

Cable AmS



# Jimmy Carter

## Presidential Campaign

For America's third century, why not our best?

July 8, 1976

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Thank you for your letter of June 10, 1976. I am sorry that I have not had the opportunity of responding to it earlier.

I hope that I will have the opportunity of seeing you at the Democratic National Convention. I will be staying at the Americana Hotel.

I will attempt to arrange through our scheduling office an appearance by the Governor before the leadership of the Conference of Presidents of the major American Jewish Organizations. As you are aware, Bob Lipshutz, Harriett Zimmerman and I have already appeared before that group and very much enjoyed the experience.

I will be in touch with you in the near future.

Very truly yours,

Stuart E. Eizenstat  
National Issues and Policy Director

SEE:dan



June 10, 1976

Mr. Stuart E. Eizenstat  
P.O. Box 1976  
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

Dear Stuart:

Thank you for your letter of the 7th and I too hope that my letter will be of help. I'm going to be out of town on June 24th so will not be at the meeting which has been set, but Al Vorspan, Vice President of the UAHC, will be attending the session.

I do hope that you and I will have an opportunity to meet, and ask that you let me know when you plan to be in New York. Hopefully, we can arrange for a mutually convenient time to get together.

If there is anything further I can do to be of help, I hope you'll let me know. I'd like to do something and if you are interested in having a gathering in Westport, I hereby offer, unofficially, the services of a great organizer - my wife, Rhea. Do let me know if you'd like to do something in our town.

From where I sit, things look very good for the Carter Campaign and I know the schedule for the next few months will be very hectic. However, I do want to apprise you of the fact that for the past twenty years each Presidential candidate has made an appearance before the leadership of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. This Conference represents the top leadership of the Jewish community from every area of the U.S. Once the convention is over, we'd be pleased to organize a meeting with the candidate and we can extend the session beyond the usual one hundred leaders if you so desire. The meeting agenda includes a presentation by the candidate followed by a question and answer period. I do hope you'll bear this in mind and keep me posted on schedules and possible dates for such a gathering.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



# Jimmy Carter

## Presidential Campaign

For America's third century, why not our best?

June 7, 1976

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
President  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10021

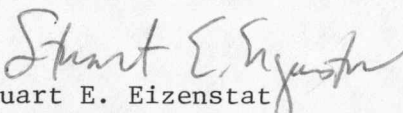
Dear Rabbi Schindler:

I very much appreciated the opportunity to talk with you last week.

I have received your letter of June 3 and the letter which came with it, that you had mailed to the National Board. I think the letter is very balanced and to the point. I hope that it helps.

On behalf of Governor Carter I greatly appreciate your effort to help "set the record straight".

Very truly yours,

  
Stuart E. Eizenstat  
ISSUES AND POLICY DIRECTOR

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200  
after  
10/1*

P. O. Box 1976 Atlanta, Georgia 30301 404/897-7100

A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.

September 22, 1976

Mr. Robert Lipschutz  
Carter Headquarters  
P.O. Box 1976  
Atlanta, Ga. 30301

Dear Bob:

I want to express my deep appreciation for all your efforts in regard to a meeting with the Presidents' Conference. All of us are grateful for your consideration.

I know that the meeting is of great meaning for the Jewish community as a whole and I hope it will be of importance to Governor Carter too.

It was very nice meeting you and I hope our paths will cross again in the future on many occasions.

May I also take this opportunity to express my warm good wishes to you and your dear ones for a happy, healthy and fulfilling New Year.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



September 22, 1976

Mrs. Harriet Zimmerman  
Carter Headquarters  
P.O. Box 1976  
Atlanta, Ga. 30301

Dear Harriet:

I want to express my appreciation to you for all your efforts in behalf of the Presidents' Conference. I know how hard you worked on this effort and the pain of heart you suffered because of it and want you to know I am deeply grateful.

I also want to take this opportunity to extend to you and all your dear ones warm good wishes for the New Year, may it be blessed with good health, happiness and fulfillment.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

September 22, 1976

Mr. Stuart E. Eizenstat  
Carter Headquarters  
P.O. Box 1976  
Atlanta, Ga. 30301

Dear Stu:

It was good seeing you in Atlanta and I am grateful for your kindness and consideration. I want to express my thanks to you for the time you gave us during our visit, it was much appreciated.

I would very much like to see how the letter to the Synagogue Council of America finally came out and I would be grateful if you would be kind enough to share a copy with me.

With every good wish to you and your dear ones for a New Year blessed with good health, happiness and fulfillment, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

**NATHAN GREENBERG & ASSOCIATES**

*Certified Public Accountants*

NATHAN GREENBERG, CPA  
MELVIN M. ROSENBLATT, CPA  
JOSEPH A. ROSENBERG, CPA  
JOHN W. PIERZCHALA, CPA  
AGNES E. KULL, CPA  
NORMAN BITSOLI, CPA  
BRADFORD W. VERGE, CPA

390 MAIN STREET  
WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS 01608  

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(617) 791-0901

August 26, 1976

Rabbi Alex Schindler  
6 River Lane  
Westport, CT

Dear Alex:

I am sorry that I missed you when you were in town. I would very much have liked to have said hello to you and Rhea.

I spoke with Bob after you left and he suggested that I send you a copy of the proposed chain letter that has been suggested by some of our leadership. I am tempted to agree with you that perhaps we would be much better off not taking sides.

Please let me know if there is anything that you would want me to do relative to this matter.

Very truly yours,



Nathan Greenberg, CPA

NG/cpp  
Enclosure

CC: Robert Siff



September 21, 1976

Mr. Nathan Greenberg  
390 Main Street  
Worcester, Mass. 01608

Dear Nate:

Please forgive the delay in responding to your letter of August 26th. I've been caught up in so many activities and a great deal of travel and just seemed to get behind in my mail.

As to the chain letter and the subject it deals with, I feel certain that it is absolutely essential to retain a neutral stance. I don't think the Jewish community can gain anything by an official endorsement of any candidate. Someone has to be the winner and identification with the wrong side can well send us into hot water. It is advantageous to us to have Jewish leaders active in both campaigns and that we have. In addition, we have established as many lines of communication as possible with Carter since the lines of communication with Ford are fairly well-established.

I'd really like to know from whom you received the July 21 letter, I promise not to tell a soul.

With fondest regards from house to house and best wishes for the New Year, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

JULY 21ST, 1976

Dear Nate —

I AM SENDING YOU ENCLOSED A COMPLETE REPORT OF A MEETING HELD WITH PRESIDENT FORD, GIVEN TO ME BY A VERY CLOSE FRIEND WHO IS ONE OF THE LUCKY 30 PEOPLE WHO WERE INVITED TO THIS MEETING.

THE GUEST WHO REPORTED THIS MEETING TO ME IS AN ARTICULATE DEMOCRAT, WHO WAS DEEPLY INVOLVED IN THE HUMPHREY CAMPAIGN IN 1968 AND WITH MUSKIE IN THE 1972 CAMPAIGN. HE HAD MANY DOUBTS ABOUT SUPPORTING PRESIDENT FORD, AND HIS VIEWPOINT IS THE MORE REMARKABLE BECAUSE OF THESE FACTS.

YOU WILL FIND THAT PRESIDENT FORD'S SINCERITY AND HONESTY NOT ONLY DESERVES OUR SUPPORT, BUT WE ASK YOU TO FOLLOW THROUGH AND SEND A COPY OF THIS LETTER TO 25 OF YOUR FRIENDS, TODAY IF POSSIBLE.

THE ONLY APPEAL WE ARE MAKING TO YOU IS TO START AN OLD-FASHIONED CHAIN LETTER SO THAT WE CAN NOTIFY AND APPEAL TO MORE THAN A MILLION JEWS TO VOTE FOR FORD. HE HAS A VERY TOUGH CAMPAIGN COMING UP AND IT IS GOING TO TAKE THE CONCERTED EFFORT OF NOT ONLY OUR JEWISH VOTE BUT THE ENTIRE REPUBLICAN VOTE, THE INDEPENDENT VOTE, AND AS MANY DEMOCRATIC VOTES AS WE CAN GET AWAY FROM MR. CARTER.

WOULDN'T YOU PLEASE HELP AND SEND THOSE LETTERS, TODAY.

SINCERELY YOURS,



JULY 21ST, 1976

ON JUNE 24, 1976 AT THE INVITATION OF PRESIDENT FORD, MAX FISHER OF DETROIT WAS INVITED TO BRING 30 OUTSTANDING JEWISH LEADERS TO MEET WITH PRESIDENT FORD AT THE WHITE HOUSE FOR ONE HOUR. THE MEN INVITED WERE FROM ALL OVER THE COUNTRY, MANY OF THEM DEMOCRATS AND MANY OF THOSE WHO PREFERRED JACKSON FOR PRESIDENT.

ONE HOUR BECAME TWO AND WE MIGHT STILL BE THERE BUT FOR THE FACT THAT SOME OF OUR GROUP HAD TO LEAVE. FOR WHAT WE EXPERIENCED WAS NOT A MEETING - BUT A "HAPPENING."

WHEN HE CAME INTO THE CABINET ROOM IT WAS NOT THE FORD WE SEE AND HEAR ON T.V. - BUT RATHER A VERY WARM, RELAXED MAN WHO, AFTER INTRODUCING HIMSELF TO EACH OF US, IN HIS INTRODUCTORY REMARKS DEALT WITH THE ECONOMY, AND GAVE US AN OVERVIEW OF WHAT HE BELIEVES IN FOR AMERICA.

HE KNEW THAT OURS WAS A GROUP WHICH ALSO WANTED TO KNOW HIS POSITION ON THE MIDDLE EAST, LEBANON, THE BOYCOTT, AND THE PROBLEMS OF SOVIET JEWS. HEAVY QUESTIONING FOLLOWED ON THESE ISSUES AND ON THE FOREIGN AID BILL AND THE TRANSITION QUARTER AMOUNTS - AND THEN QUESTIONS ON QUOTA SYSTEMS AFFECTING JEWS AS A RESULT OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROGRAMS.

JUST ABOUT EVERY QUESTION YOU MIGHT HAVE ASKED WAS ASKED AND EVERY ANSWER - IF NOT TOTALLY TO OUR LIKING - WAS STRAIGHTFORWARD AND EXPLAINED IN SUCH DETAIL THAT ALL OF US SUDDENLY REALIZED WHAT A GREAT HUMAN BEING HE IS - AND HOW STRONGLY HE FEELS NOT ONLY ON THE MIDDLE EAST BUT ON ALL ISSUES THAT ARE OF IMPORTANCE TO JEWRY.

WE ASKED ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF ISRAEL TO THE UNITED STATES AND THE PRESIDENT'S RESPONSE WAS SIGNIFICANT. AFTER DISCUSSING THE HISTORY AND DEPTH OF HIS OWN COMMITMENT TO THE SECURITY AND SURVIVAL OF ISRAEL AND ITS PEOPLE, INCLUDING HIS ACTIONS IN 25 YEARS IN CONGRESS, THE PRESIDENT WENT FURTHER. HE SAID THAT ISRAEL OCCUPIES A VERY STRATEGIC PIECE OF LAND, OF IMPORTANCE TO THE WORLD, ALTHOUGH ISRAEL LACKED SOME OF THE MINERAL RESOURCES OF THE AREA. HE CALLED ISRAEL THE LINCHPIN OF THE AREA IN TERMS OF PEACE AND STABILITY. HE SPOKE OF OUR MILITARY AS WELL AS OUR MORAL COMMITMENT.

WE SPOKE TOO ABOUT OUR CONCERN FOR SOVIET JEWRY. WE EXPLORED WITH THE PRESIDENT THE QUESTION OF HOW TO START THE PROCESS OF TAKING STEPS WHICH WOULD AGAIN INCREASE THE FLOW OF EMIGRATION AND IMPROVE THE SITUATION FOR THOSE REMAINING IN THE SOVIET UNION. WE KNEW THERE WERE NO MAGIC ANSWERS BUT WERE ENCOURAGED BY THE PRESIDENT'S ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS. IT WAS CLEAR THE PRESIDENT CARED, KNEW A GREAT DEAL, AND WANTED TO WORK CLOSELY WITH US.

WE ALSO DISCUSSED THE QUESTION OF AID TO ISRAEL AND THE TRANSITION QUARTER AND I WANT TO PUT THAT IN WHAT I THINK IS THE PROPER PERSPECTIVE. WHATEVER THE MERITS OF THE DEBATE ON THE EXTRA QUARTER, HERE IS A MAN WHO IN TWO YEARS TIME HAS RECOMMENDED FOR ISRAEL 40% OF THE TOTAL AID ISRAEL HAS RECEIVED IN ALL 28 YEARS OF ITS EXISTENCE. (FROM 1948 TO 1975 ISRAEL RECEIVED \$6.5 BILLION. IN 1976-77 THE TOTAL WILL BE OVER \$4.3 BILLION.) THE PRESIDENT DISCUSSED WITH US THE PROCESS BY WHICH THE FINAL EXTRA QUARTER FIGURE WAS BEING DETERMINED. IN THE CLASSIC AMERICAN SENSE, THIS IS HOW THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS WORK TOGETHER TO RESOLVE PROBLEMS. ALTHOUGH THE PRESIDENT COULD NOT ACCEPT THE HIGHEST FIGURES BEING DISCUSSED IT WAS CLEAR THAT HE WANTED TO RESOLVE THE SITUATION IN A WAY BENEFICIAL TO ISRAEL'S NEEDS. I THINK HE ALSO LEFT US WITH A BETTER APPRECIATION OF HIS DILEMMA IN COPING WITH AID QUESTIONS ON THE ONE HAND AND DOMESTIC BUDGET NEEDS ON THE OTHER. THE FUNDAMENTAL POINT IS THAT A MAN WHO WANTS TO

(CONTINUED)



GIVE ISRAEL OVER \$1 BILLION IN TWO YEARS IS A FRIEND - AND WE SHOULD SAY SO.

I WISH YOU COULD HAVE BEEN WITH US TO HEAR THE DETAIL WITH WHICH THE MAN RESPONDED AND TO MEASURE HIS SINCERITY. AS I SAID BEFORE, HE PLAYED IT STRAIGHT EVEN WHEN HE KNEW HIS ANSWER MIGHT NOT BE 100% WHAT WE WANTED. I WISH YOU HAD BEEN THERE TO WITNESS THE DEPTH OF EMOTION OF THE PRESIDENT AS HE SPOKE ABOUT THE WELFARE OF THIS NATION - AND OF ISRAEL - AND WHAT HE COULD CONTRIBUTE - GIVEN ANOTHER FOUR YEARS.

WE BECAME TOTALLY SOLD THAT HIS ARE NOT POLITICAL PROMISES TO BE TESTED IN THE FUTURE - BUT REALISTIC APPROACHES TO THE PROBLEM BASED ON HIS PAST RECORD AS PRESIDENT AND BEFORE THAT IN THE CONGRESS.

AS HE FINISHED WE ROSE TO APPLAUD AT LENGTH BECAUSE WE SENSED THE COMPLETE INTEGRITY OF EVERY THOUGHT HE EXPRESSED.

NOW FOR YOUR HELP!

(1) WE ARE NOT ASKING FOR FINANCIAL SUPPORT - ALTHOUGH THE FORD CAMPAIGN CAN USE CONTRIBUTIONS.

(2) WE ARE NOT ASKING YOU TO A MEETING.

THE PRESIDENT NEEDS VOTES - AND WE CONCEIVED THE IDEA TO WRITE THIS LETTER - NOT ONLY TO YOU - BUT TO 100 PEOPLE - AND ASK EACH OF YOU TO WRITE TO 25 OR MORE FRIENDS OR BUSINESS ASSOCIATES ALL OVER THE COUNTRY. YOU CAN EITHER ENCLOSE A PHOTOSTAT OF MY LETTER OR WRITE ONE OF YOUR OWN. THE OTHERS AT THE MEETING AGREED TO DO THE SAME THING - TO START A GREAT CHAIN LETTER EFFORT BY DOING AS WE ARE DOING.

NOW IF EACH LETTER WRITER ASKS THE RECIPIENT TO WRITE 25 LETTERS AS YOU ARE DOING, IN FOUR WEEKS WE SHOULD HAVE TOLD THIS MESSAGE TO OVER ONE MILLION PEOPLE.

PLEASE --

(1) 25 LETTERS SIMILAR TO ABOVE.

(2) DO IT TODAY.

(3) SEND ME A NOTE AND A COPY OF YOUR LIST.

SINCERELY,

SUMMARY OF REMARKS OF PRESIDENT GERALD FORD  
AT THE WHITE HOUSE - JUNE 24, 1976

The economy is in good shape. We made the right decision a year ago. I will meet in Puerto Rico with six other heads of state to continue the discussions begun eight months ago at Rambouillet.

The situation in Lebanon is chaotic. Lebanon and the PLO are fighting fiercely. It is likely that Syria will become the dominant force, the PLO a minor force in Lebanon. The Syrians are now aligned with the Christians. Such an alignment may be less dangerous to Israel than a coalition of Libians, Iraqis, and the PLO.

My relations with Premier Rabin are good. U.S. aid to Israel over the past 25 years has amounted to \$10.2 billion. The two appropriations since I have been President will amount to \$4.2 billion. This financial support is in the interest of the United States because it has contributed to stability in the Middle East.

Interim financing for Israel will be resolved at a level satisfactory to Israel and to the United States. Israel has indicated it has an \$80 million shortfall. The reason for confusion is that the budget cycle has changed. Fiscal year 1976 ends June 30. Fiscal year 1977 begins October 1. The original figure that I proposed to Congress, which was the highest figure recommended to me by any agency of government, included fifteen months of needs rather than the normal twelve months.

I am concerned about the decrease of immigration of Jews from Russia which has declined dramatically from the previous level of 35,000 immigrants per year. The rate should return to that level. The rate of immigration dropped precipitously after the passage of the Trade Bill in October 1974, which granted small credits to the Russians and did not give them "most favored nation" status. I believe that if there were support for favorable action on both of the issues, the rate of immigration would quickly rise to the previous level.

A sustained increase in spending for defense is essential. The defense budget should be funded at approximately \$100 billion. A strong defense capability by the United States is essential for U.S. leadership in the world and for the survival of Israel. During the past 10 years, Congress has slashed \$50 billion from the appropriations requested by the President. This has caused a decrease in our capabilities which, if continued, will cause the United States to lose its present capability to defend itself against all types of military attack.

JUL 13 1976

Our government is faced with a fiscal crisis. A deficit of \$72 to \$74 billion this year must be reduced. Federal expenditures have grown at an annual rate of 11% during the last 10 years. I cut this year's budget by \$24 billion. In this context, many domestic programs have received no additional funding. There have been no new domestic programs that have been funded.

The United States will continue to vigorously and effectively oppose Israel's expulsion from the United Nations.

I have always admired the Jewish people and the Jews I have known in the United States. My feeling toward Israel is one of admiration. I couldn't stand idly by if Israel were threatened.

Israel is important to the United States. It is strategically located in a part of the world that has untold resources. It is a link, then, for peace in that part of the world. I would like to see Israel form the basis for expanding peace and democracy in that part of the world.

The penalties in the pending bill on the Arab boycott of industries doing business with Israel are dangerous. The penalty of loss of tax status or loss of export license will lead to future abuses by government against our economic system and our people. I vigorously resist pressures for boycott. I have been told that the Arabs are willing to make private concessions, but that they must resist publicly.

Alan Greenspan, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors, spoke on this issue. He, too, resists the tax legislation provision because of the precedent it would set. He believes it would lead to the government infringing on personal freedoms. He believes that the provision itself undercuts the very strong moral position which now exists against the boycott.

In response to another question, President Ford said that quotas are anathema to him. "You get what you obtain through hard work and diligence."

Max Fisher thanked the President for spending so much time with us and for his warm and supportive views, which were encouraging. Max said that he had been deeply touched by the depth and sincerity of the President's feelings, convictions, and positive positions.





RABBI ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER • UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS  
PRESIDENT 838 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100

June 3, 1976

Dear Fellow Board Member:

Our recent Board meeting was most satisfactory - not perfect but these things never are, but there were moments of beauty and inspiration and a good deal of substantive work was accomplished. Those of you who were not with us were missed, even as we are grateful to those who were able to come. Your presence always gives us much strength.

The election campaign is heavy upon us and as you can imagine the candidates and issues are mingling in my mind as I try to weigh them against our fundamental concerns as a religious community. It occurred to me that you might welcome some of my thoughts on the various matters which have come to the fore. I discussed them, as I always do, with our Vice President, Al Vorspan, who is so knowledgeable in this as he is in every other sphere, and the various matters listed below reflect his thoughts as much as they do mine. Let me set forth these issues for your consideration and reaction.

1/ A tendency has developed in recent years, shared by many politicians and fed by the approach of many Jews, to see our concerns as limited to such specific Jewish matters as Israel, Soviet Jewry, anti-Semitism, and the like. We make no apology for our deep and abiding commitments on these issues. Moreover, the expression of ethnic, religious and other forms of group self-concern is a part of the very fabric of American pluralism. At the very same time, we are deeply concerned about more general moral issues such as full employment, civil rights, civil liberties and more general international affairs. Hopefully, our views on these and like moral issues are influenced by a Jewish value stance.

2/ The question of religion has come to the fore in 1976 more sharply than at any time since 1960. It is becoming increasingly clear that Jewish voters, perhaps to a greater extent than any other group, are troubled by the religious fundamentalism expressed by one of the candidates. It is not surprising, remembering that historically much of anti-Semitism had its roots in fundamental Christian religious doctrine, that such anxieties should stir many Jews; and so we feel and express a certain discomfort when a candidate describes himself as a "born again Christian" and discusses the details of his Christian beliefs which include moments of personal revelation. Nonetheless, so it seems to me, it is unjust and paradoxical for religious Jews to look askance at a presidential candidate because he is deeply religious. A degree of prejudice, both sectional and religious, has seeped into this political campaign. It deserves condemnation by persons of good-will, regardless of religious faith, in the

same way that many of us raised our voices against religious bigotry in 1960. It should be noted in this connection that Carter scrupulously adhered to the principle of separation of Church and State while Governor of Georgia, so much so that his opponents accused him of being an atheist. This does not mean that I am endorsing Carter or any of the candidates. All I mean to say is that each candidate should be judged on his merits and on his issues-stance. His adherence to a particular faith grouping, or his attendance of a particular seminary, ought not to be a factor in our decision.

3/ There is a potential for anti-Semitism in this political campaign. None of the presidential candidates can justly be accused of anti-Semitism but the focusing of political passions on Henry Kissinger has touched a deep source of nativism and hatred. The chronicle of Kissinger's failures and foibles is long, stretching through Vietnam, Cambodia, Greece, Cyprus, wire-taps and a host of other issues of the past decade. But history will undoubtedly hail him as the architect of historic changes on the world scene, such as the opening of China and of improvement in relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. With respect to the Middle East, the evidence is not all in, but I do not subscribe to that apocalyptic analysis which sees Kissinger as an enemy of Israel. In any event, demagogic attacks on him and on the processes of negotiation -- whether in Panama, SALT or the Middle East -- could wreak havoc in an America desperately seeking to regain its balance after the traumas of Vietnam and Watergate.

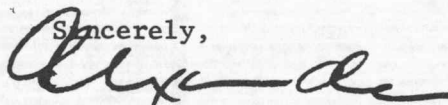
4/ Reform Judaism's Commission on Social Action, as you probably know, held a consultation with presidential candidates early in the campaign and we have materials bearing on the stance of most of the candidates on such issues as Israel, the Jackson amendment, amnesty, abortion, gun control, etc. These materials are available for your study and your use in your congregation and community.

5/ While there is no such thing as a Jewish vote in the sense that anyone can deliver Jewish voters to any party or candidate, it has become a well-established axiom of American political life that Jews are overwhelmingly within the framework of America's liberal tradition. Seizing on this fact, Arab propaganda, wittingly or unwittingly furthered by such as Spiro Agnew, as well as many sensation seeking columnists, have lamented and inflated "Jewish influence on the media" and in Congress. This is a canard. The truth of the matter is that Jewish influence, to the extent that it is effective, flows not from any blind obedience to a party or an ideology but rather from the fact that Jews by and large are a well-educated group who participate fully and freely in the political process, bringing to bear the deepest convictions about social justice and the American destiny.

I hope these comments will give you some food for thought during the months ahead. On a more personal level, may those months treat you and your loved ones most kindly.

With warm good wishes, I am

Sincerely,



Alexander M. Schindler



PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

March 25, 1976

His Excellency, The Israel Ambassador Simcha Dinitz  
Embassy of Israel  
1621 22nd Street, Northwest  
Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Simcha:

The following list of names represents the key people advising Carter on foreign policy. I am given to understand that should he be elected one of them would undoubtedly be named his Secretary of State.

Dick Gardner	)	
Z. Brzezinski	)	Columbia University
Sorenson		
Finletter		
Yost		
Roger Kenndy	)	Ford Foundation
Dean Rusk		

I thought you would want to have this information.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 10, 1978

Dear Alex:

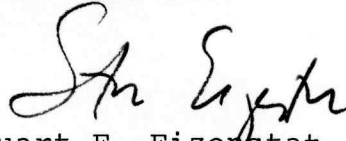
Thank you for your telegram of December 15, 1977 to the President applauding his position on the P.L.O.

The President has continued to refuse to deal with the P.L.O. and had indicated that they have now removed themselves from the peace process by their intransigence.

Promising new developments have come about due to the bold action by President Sadat and Prime Minister Begin and because of the constant efforts by President Carter.

We appreciate your sharing your views with us.

Very truly yours,

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

Stuart E. Eizenstat  
Assistant to the President  
for Domestic Affairs and Policy

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
President  
Union of American Hebrew  
Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, NY 10021

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 1, 1977

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
President  
Union of American Hebrew  
Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, NY 10021

Dear Rabbi:

Thank you for your congratulations and good wishes. I am looking forward to the coming years on the White House Staff.

I sincerely hope that I live up to your expectations in serving the country for the betterment of the American people.

With best regards,

Very truly yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Stu", written in a cursive, slightly stylized font.

Stuart E. Eizenstat  
Assistant to the President  
for Domestic Affairs and Policy

Plouy

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

8/26/77

To Rabbi Schneider

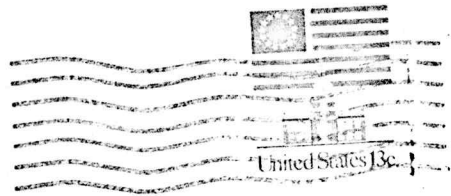
I appreciate your letter of  
this date.

I can assure you that  
our position regarding the  
PLO is consistent with  
commitments previously made  
voluntarily to the Israeli  
government, with private  
and public statements made  
to present leaders in the  
Middle East, and with my  
own personal beliefs and  
hopes for permanent peace.

Respectfully, Jimmy Carter



THE WHITE HOUSE



Rabbi Alexander Schindler  
Conference of Presidents of  
Major American Jewish Organizations  
515 Park Avenue  
New York, New York 10022

*Good Letter*

July 7, 1977

The President  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

Before I depart for a brief visit to Israel, I want to express sincere appreciation to you for meeting with leaders of the American Jewish community. We are grateful to you for taking the time to discuss with us matters of mutual concern in regard to the Middle East. We are confident that our discussions were mutually beneficial and thank you for providing us with an opportunity for so full and free a discussion.

May I also thank you for the pen you so graciously sent to me as a memento of the signing of the Export Aid Administration Act Amendments into law. I am delighted that I was able to participate in that historic event.

With repeated thanks and kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 30, 1977

To Rabbi Alexander Schindler

I want you to know how much I appreciate your work in support of the Export Administration Act Amendments which I signed into law on June 22, 1977.

As a memento, I would like you to have the enclosed pen commemorating this important occasion.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Jimmy Carter". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the word "Sincerely,".

Rabbi Alexander Schindler  
President  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10021





*file*

THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

July 15, 1977

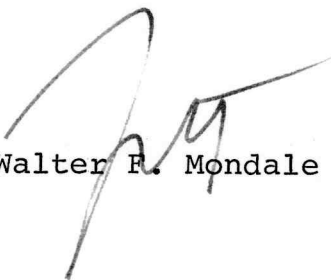
Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Thank you very much for your letter of July 7, 1977. It was my pleasure to participate with you and other leaders of the American Jewish community and I greatly value having the benefit of your views.

With personal best wishes,

Sincerely,



Walter F. Mondale

*Good letter  
Hear*

July 7, 1977

The Vice President  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Mondale:

It was good meeting with you yesterday and I want to express my deep appreciation to you for taking the time to meet with leaders of the Jewish community. We are most grateful to have had an opportunity to share with you and other members of the Administration our views on critical matters of mutual concern.

Your long held position in behalf of Israel has and continues to be a source of gratification. I look forward to working with you in the future on many matters of importance to our people and our nation.

With gratitude for your gracious hospitality and with kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

August 8, 1977

Mr. Robert J. Lipshutz  
Counsel to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Bob:

I am off to Israel again and will take the Dry Bones cartoons with me myself. Thank you for getting them inscribed by the President. I know that the cartoonist, Mr. Kirschen, will be overjoyed.

With warmest good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 25, 1977

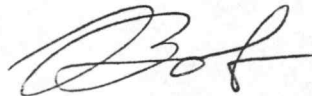
Dear Alex:

Under separate cover I have sent to you the two cartoons, personally inscribed by the President to "Dry Bones", the cartoonist.

On behalf of the President, I also wish to express appreciation to Mr. Kirschen for sending to the President two other copies of these cartoons, personally inscribed to Jimmy Carter.

My warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,

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

Robert J. Lipshutz  
Counsel to the President

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10021

August 10, 1977

Dear Barbara:

The enclosed cartoons appeared in the Jerusalem Post just prior to Begin's departure for Israel. Sam Lewis, the new United States ambassador to Israel called them to my attention, he was so delighted with them.

Prodded by Rhea, I came back with two sets - one inscribed by the cartoonist to Jimmy Carter and the other set with the request that Jimmy Carter inscribe them to the cartoonist, which as you can see, he has done in a delightful manner.

I am taking them with me to Israel today. Accordingly I would appreciate it if you were to have them back at my office by 2 P.M. The messenger can just leave them with the guard at the front desk.

With warm greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Ms. Barbara Walters

by messenger

July 26, 1977

Dear Mark:

Thank you for the picture of the July 6 meeting. I will most certainly be in touch with you in the future.

With warmest wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Mark Siegel  
Deputy Assistant to the  
President for Policy Analysis  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 20, 1977

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

The President thought you might like to have the enclosed picture taken at the July 6 meeting in the Cabinet Room.

We view the meeting as a good step toward open dialogue and access between the American Jewish community and the Administration. Feel free to contact us at any time about matters of mutual concern.

Best wishes,

Sincerely,



Mark Siegel  
Deputy Assistant to the  
President for Policy Analysis

Rabbi Alexander Schindler  
Chairman  
Conference of Presidents of Major  
American Jewish Organizations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10021

Enclosure

Thanks

Un touch  
w/you

7

December 22, 1976

Mr. Stanley H. Lowell  
99 Park Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10016

Dear Mr. Lowell:

Your letter of December 13th calling for a meeting of umbrella agencies of the American Jewish community was received during Rabbi Schindler's absence from the office. He will be back at his desk in another week or two and your letter will be given his immediate attention.

With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Edith J. Miller  
Assistant to the President

STANLEY H. LOWELL  
99 PARK AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016

December 13, 1976

PERSONAL

MEMO TO: Rabbi Alex Schindler  
Hon. Gene Gold  
Theodore Mann, Esq.

Dear Alex, Gene & Ted:

I am writing to you to urge that you call a prompt meeting of your umbrella agencies (and any others that you may deem appropriate) in order to discuss and reach a conclusion with respect to the procedure which will be instituted by the Carter Administration for input by the American Jewish community. On the basis of conversations that I have had, I believe that it is vital that the Jewish community present its proposal for future continuing contact between the community and the White House and other Federal Departments. Fragmentation of approach by us can be destructive and a single recommendation agreed to by all could well be accepted.

I would be happy to come to such a meeting and add my knowledge of what the present status is to that of others.



cc:  
Messrs. J. Goodman  
Y. Hellman  
A. Chernin  
B. Gold  
B. Epstein  
Ms. Naomi Levine



BRUCE C. CORWIN  
8727 WEST THIRD STREET  
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90048

November 8th  
1976

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Thank you for your thoughtful note.

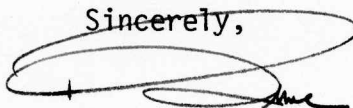
Your introduction of president elect Carter to the Boston Jewish community is truly magnificent. We both know that Jimmy Carter will be a great President and will be a credit to our people at home and in Israel.

Rabbi Haskell Bernat has been working miracles for us at Temple Israel of Hollywood. We will always appreciate your co-operation with us during those difficult days.

On your next visit to Los Angeles, I hope we will have an opportunity to get together.

Kind regards.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'Bruce', written over a large, loopy circular flourish.

BCC/jc

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
President  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10021

October 28, 1976

Mrs. Adolph Robison  
554 So. Forest Drive  
W. Englewood, N.J. 07632

Dear Ann:

Your column on the Carter meeting in Boston has finally come to my desk and I want to express my deep appreciation to you. I was very moved by your comments regarding my role at the meeting and I thank you for your warmth and kindness to me.

With appreciation and fondest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

OCT-8 -76



# ON THE GO

BY ANN ROBISON

"Ha Yamim Ha Noraim" — the ten days of awe and penitence — were very busy ones and not only because my "Cheshbon/Ha Nefesh" — soul searching — produced so many sins of omission and commission for which I needed to repent and to ask forgiveness.

This column will cover only Thursday. I flew to Boston to take advantage of the opportunity to become better acquainted with the Democratic presidential candidate (last week, you remember, started with a reception at the White House). This meeting was quite different from the doings in Washington. There, we were all guests in our individual capacities. At the Ramada Inn near Logan Airport we were representing organizations, which are members of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. As a National Vice-Chairman I represented NJCRAC, National Jewish Community Relations

Advisory Council.

In Washington the questions and comments were free wheeling. Here there was time only for about half a dozen presidents to ask a question. Senator Edward Kennedy was on the platform with Jimmy Carter but did not say a word. The Governor spoke long and answered questions fully. He promised the Jews everything they would or could wish for. If the Arabs imposed an oil embargo and took their petrodollar-business elsewhere, he, Carter, would not accept the embargo and prohibit the sale of anything and everything to states embargoing us. Pretty positive

thinking, I'd say, but what would happen to our economy, to the unemployment figures, to resentment against the Jewish population and Israel? How realistic are these promises? I ask here; there was no opportunity in Boston.

\*\*\*

**CARTER BLAMED** President Ford for the congressional backdown from its own strong anti-boycott legislation already cleared for the vote.

I found myself in total agreement with Carter's formulas for a comprehensive policy on energy: a shift from oil to coal, solar and nuclear energy, money for research, conservation measures and a cutback of consumption and waste.

The candidate, looking dog tired, seemed to be making a special effort to answer each question correctly. He had already electioneered in several states and had a few more to visit after Massachusetts. Our plane, in fact, was held up until the Carter entourage was airborne.

In reply to the questions relating to the serious problems on the home front asked by NJCRAC's National Chairman, Theodore R. Mann, Carter spoke about: money going where the needs are greatest; mayors being in at the beginning of the process for federal legislation affecting inner cities etc; moneys from revenue sharing going to local communities. We had heard it all before and probably will again.

\*\*\*

**ALTHOUGH** I sat but a few feet from the candidate, I neither spoke to him nor shook his hand. It would not be fair to judge a man obviously so bone weary, tense and eager. The principal emotion I felt toward him was sympathy. Perhaps I was unduly influenced by the piece I read in the Sept. 13 issue of "Newsweek," entitled "Sizing Up Carter" by Peter Goldman. In it Carter's mother is quoted as saying, "I hate to use the word ruthless, but Jimmy is going to win or bust. He'll go through hell to get what he wants."

Goldman also writes at the end that in Georgia the saying is "Carter can charm the lard off a hog if he really tries." Perhaps he did not try but it surely did not work on this representative of a Jewish organization.

Please don't come to the conclusion that it was all a waste of time. All the waiting, being pushed around and rushing for planes, and driving home in the dark in the pelting rain were all worthwhile just to hear the impressive words of Rabbi Alexander Schindler, the Chairman of the Presidents' Conference.

\*\*\*

**RABBI SCHINDLER** welcomed "the assembly of notables" before him whom he said he would forgo introducing "lest by specificity he would exclude." To Jimmy Carter he explained that since his name and fame had preceded him he would introduce to him the group who had come to hear him: "the foremost leadership of the American Jewish Community, lay and professional."

The introduction that followed was masterful. Rabbi Schindler stated that the six million Jews we represent differ in many ways, in their lifestyles, their politics, even their way of observing their religion, but, he

said, "We are united in a sacred task." He called us a self-confident community, happy to be living in this "great and bounteous land."

A refugee from Nazism himself, Rabbi Schindler then talked with visible emotion of this Jewish Community which has been grievously wounded for "we, in our own lifetime, had witnessed the extermination of one third of our people."

He stopped for a moment and then, looking at Mr. Carter, he spoke to him directly. He asked him to think of his own sons and daughter and multiply her by six million, "Then," he said, "you'll understand." Schindler continued, "Israel was established as a haven for those of our people who survived and for the rest of us for as long as we live."

\*\*\*

**THE RABBI** seemed to be

thinking aloud when he talked about still living with the torturous questions, whether we did enough, whether our eyes saw enough, whether our ears heard enough, whether our mouths spoke enough.

"All these questions and feelings have coalesced in a determination that we shall never, never allow such a thing to happen again." The words rang out loud and clear, as if in a threat. "We will come to the aid of any Jew in danger," the speaker continued, "on any continent, in any country; we will reach out to him."

Lowering his voice, the Chairman turned to the presidential candidate and asked, "What do we want in a president? — someone who will tell the truth and act upon that truth."

\*\*\*

This was a hard act to follow.



October 13, 1976

Mr. Robert Lipschutz  
1795 Peachtree Road, N.E.  
Atlanta, Ga. 30309

Dear Bob:

In case you haven't seen the enclosed I thought it would be of interest to you.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Encl.

October 7, 1976

Mr. Stuart E. Eizenstat  
Carter Campaign  
P.O. Box 1976  
Atlanta, Ga. 30301

Dear Stu:

Governor Carter was great on foreign policy in last night's debate. You are counselling him very well!

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



October 7, 1976

Mr. Robert Lipschutz  
Carter Campaign  
P.O. Box 1976  
Atlanta, Ga. 30301

Dear Bob:

I think Carter was just great on foreign policy last night!

I wonder whether the enclosed caught your attention, if not  
I share a copy for your interest.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Encl.



September 29, 1976

Professor Max Levitan  
Department of Anatomy  
Mount Sinai School of Medicine  
Fifth Avenue at 100th Street  
New York, New York 10029

Dear Professor Levitan:

I hope you will pardon the long delay in responding to your thoughtful letter in regard to Governor Carter. It had been my hope that there would be a New York meeting of the Presidents' Conference with Carter, but this was not possible and so a session has been set for Boston. Had we met in New York, it was my intention to invite you to participate. Alas, this cannot be and so I write that you may know I have not ignored your letter.

With kindest greetings and every good wish for the New Year, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



MOUNT SINAI SCHOOL OF MEDICINE  
of The City University of New York

FIFTH AVENUE AND 100TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10029



*Hold for  
Corder only*

Department of Anatomy

July 19, 1976

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman, Council of Presidents of  
Major American Jewish Organizations  
515 Park Avenue  
New York, New York 10022

Dear Rabbi Schindler,

In your meeting with Jimmy Carter please emphasize the following:

1. The need for federal legislation which will prohibit participation by American firms in the Arab boycott of Israel. Experience has amply shown that the mere obligation to report is not enough.
2. Our great concern about the personal assistance Mr. Patrick Caddell provides his Saudi Arabian clients. When this is coupled with his business associations with Exxon, Arco, Shell, and Sun oil companies, the potential for conflict of interest is alarming.
3. Our distress at the reports that Mr. George Ball, who is clearly not a friend of Israel, would become his Secretary of State.

With very best wishes for success in presenting these and similar matters that worry us concerning the conduct of the American Presidency in the near future, I am

Sincerely yours, .

*Max Levitan*

Max Levitan, Ph.D.  
Professor

*Rec'd 7/23  
weel you  
want to  
make  
to my  
with J.C.?*

July 1, 1976

Mr. Bruce C. Corwin  
Metropolitan Theatres, Corp.  
8727 West Third Street  
Los Angeles, Ca. 90048

Dear Mr. Corwin:

Rabbi Schindler is currently attending a series of international Jewish organizational meetings in Israel. I am therefore writing to acknowledge receipt of the JTA item on Carter and to thank you for your thoughtfulness in sharing this article.

The enclosed letter from Rabbi Schindler was sent to the members of the UAHG Board of Trustees and copies were shared with rabbis and presidents of our congregations. In the event it has not come to your attention, I am sharing it for I am certain it will be of interest to you.

With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Edith J. Miller  
Assistant to the President

Encl.



CARTER SAYS U.S. SHOULD GIVE  
STRONG COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL

NEW YORK, June 24 (JTA)--Jimmy Carter said here last night that "public statements by leaders of our country in the last few months" cast doubt on America's commitment to Israel's right "to exist in peace as a Jewish State" and that commitment should be unequivocally reasserted. The former governor of Georgia who is expected to be nominated for President by the Democratic Party convention here next month, made his remarks during a question and answer period following an address he delivered before the Foreign Policy Association. He said he favored a "general" rather than a "step-by-step" approach to a Middle East settlement.

Carter did not refer to the Middle East in his speech nor did he specify what public statements

by American leaders might have cast doubt on the U.S. commitment to Israel. But he made it clear that in his own view a solution of the Middle East conflict must be reached by direct negotiations between Israel and the Arabs in the framework of Security Council Resolution 242 and based on the Arabs' recognition of "the permanent existence of Israel" and their adoption of a policy of non-belligerence toward that country. Carter also said, "I think we should strengthen our commitment to give Israel whatever defense mechanisms or economic aid is necessary to let them meet any potential attack."

Carter stressed that he would never send American troops to Israel and added "I've never met an Israeli who advocated that."

Carter: 'Too Much Equivocation'

Carter made his statements on the Middle East when he was asked what "new ideas do you have beside the present declared U.S. policy concerning Middle East questions?" He replied: "One of the new commitments that I think should be made is an unequivocal, constant commitment to the world that is well understood by all people that we guarantee the right of Israel to exist in peace as a Jewish state. I think there's been too much equivocation about that and doubt cast upon that factor by public statements made by leaders of our countries in the last few months. That ought to be one basic change."

Carter continued: "I believe that we should pursue aggressively the effort as spelled out under United Nations Resolution 242 that the individual countries surrounding Israel should negotiate directly with Israel, recognizing two things: one, the permanent existence of Israel, and secondly, adopting a position of non-belligerency toward the State of Israel. We, I think, can play a role that's presently been requested of President Ford by Mr. Rabin (Premier Yitzhak Rabin of Israel) and others of Israel, which I don't know yet if it's been pursued or not. I would maintain a strong naval force in the eastern Mediterranean."

Carter warned against outside intervention in the Middle East. "I would let it be clear to the Soviet Union and others that neither we nor they nor anyone else should prospectively plan an involvement in any Middle Eastern confrontation that includes combat. I think we should strengthen our commitment to give Israel whatever defense mechanisms or economic aid is necessary to let them meet any potential attack."

September 27, 1976

Mr. Nathan Greenberg  
390 Main Street  
Worcester, Mass. 01608

Dear Nate:

Many thanks for your prompt and open response to me. I am grateful and I assure you my lips are sealed!

Thanks too for your offer to be of aid, I really can't think of anything more to be done. You shared my position with the party in question and that's good. Needless to note, I am pleased that you agree with me.

With warmest regards from house to house, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

**NATHAN GREENBERG & ASSOCIATES**

*Certified Public Accountants*

NATHAN GREENBERG, CPA  
MELVIN M. ROSENBLATT, CPA  
JOSEPH A. ROSENBERG, CPA  
JOHN W. PIERZCHALA, CPA  
AGNES E. KULL, CPA  
NORMAN BITSOLI, CPA  
BRADFORD W. VERGE, CPA

390 MAIN STREET  
WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS 01608

(617) 791-0901

September 24, 1976

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10021

Dear Alex:

In reference to your September 21 letter, of course, I will give you the information and I would appreciate your not making a disclosure for the contacts I received were from dear friends and clients.

Gene Ribakoff had contacted me in Worcester and Sam Wexler from Leominster had also contacted me with the same letter. I have spoken to Gene indicating to him your position which also happens to be mine, primarily not to get involved with either party. Naturally, I have not personally followed through with their request.

Please let me know if there is anything further you would like me to do on this matter.

My fondest regards to Rhea.

Very truly yours,



Nathan Greenberg, CPA

NG/cpp

*Nothing further  
Rhea!*



# AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS



STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE • 15 EAST 84<sup>TH</sup> STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10028 • (212) 879-4500

OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

June 24, 1976

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
President  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Somebody showed me your letter of June 3 to your Fellow Board Members. I found it a fascinating document and thoroughly enjoyed reading it. Indeed, it has given me much food for thought for the months ahead.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Naomi'.

Naomi Levine

PERSONAL

June 3, 1976

Mr. Stuart Eizenstat  
P.O. Box 1976  
Atlanta, GA. 30301

Dear Stu:

It was good having an opportunity to chat with you.

I'm enclosing herewith a copy of my letter as it finally went out.  
It is being mailed to our National UAHC Board and to every Reform  
rabbi.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Encl.

PERSONAL

June 3, 1976

Mr. Robert Lipschutz  
P.O. Box 1976  
Atlanta, Ga. 30301

Dear Bob:

It was good seeing you yestersay and I enjoyed our lunch. I am so pleased that we had a chance to chat.

Enclosed is a copy of my letter as it was finally sent out. It went to our National UAHC Board and to all Reform rabbis.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Encl.



PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

March 25, 1976

Mr. Morris Amitay  
AIPAC  
1341 G Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20005

Dear Morrie:

The following list of names indicates the people advising Carter on foreign policy. Chances are better than even that should be be elected one of them would be named as his Secretary of State.

Dick Gardner	)	
Z. Brzezinski*	)	Columbia U.
Sorenson		
Finletter		
Yost		
Roger Kennedy	)	Ford Foundation
Dean Rusk		

I would appreciate an evaluation of these men and your letting me know what you know about them

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

bcc: Al Vorspan

Please check these out too and let me have your evaluation.  
Todah rabbah.

3/25

Dick Garden }  
Brezninski } Columbia

Sorenson

Furlitt

Yost

Roger Kennedy (Ford Foundation)

# CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PLaza 2-1616

Cable Address: COJOGRA

---

29 August 1977

TO: Members Associated in the Presidents Conference  
FROM: Yehuda Hellman, Executive Director

---

Attached please find the full text of a letter to President Carter which was approved by the meeting of the Conference of Presidents on Thursday, 25 August 1977.

In accordance with the recommendations of the meeting, the letter was delivered in person by the chairman of the Conference to President Carter.

Rabbi Schindler and I were received by the President on Friday afternoon, 26 August 1977.



# CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PLaza 2-1616

Cable Address: COJOGRA

August 26, 1977

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I address you today to convey some of the deep apprehensions which I and the organizations I represent feel in view of what appears to be the weakening of our country's commitment to Israel regarding the P.L.O.

I am fully cognizant of the enormous effort which you personally, along with Secretary Vance and other members of your Administration, have invested in the task of bringing peace to the Middle East. It is precisely because of that effort that I venture to write you now.

I have just returned from a brief visit to Israel. There I saw the victims of the most recent example of P.L.O. terror--eight civilians wounded and maimed when a P.L.O. bomb exploded in a bus in the town of Afula. This outrage followed by two days a statement by the chief political officer of the P.L.O., Farouk Kadoumi, who told the Beirut newspaper, Monday Morning, that "the armed struggle must be continued. There is no escape from the creation of an independent Palestinian state on our entire land."

Thus by deed and word has the P.L.O. made clear it has abandoned neither its purpose of destroying Israel nor its use of terror to achieve that destruction. Since January 1st, some 50 terrorist attacks have been made by the P.L.O. against innocent civilians in Israel. Two people have been killed, 120 wounded. I cannot believe that a brutal band of killers who boast of slaughtering school children and Olympic athletes--and who insist on their right to do so--can be a partner for talks with our government or with decent people anywhere. Our national self-respect--and the moral leadership our country seeks to exercise in world affairs--would be permanently damaged by any such discussions.

As I understand it, the American commitment to Israel on the P.L.O. dates back to September 1, 1975, when the Secretary of State deposited with the Congress a memorandum of agreement on U.S. political, economic and military assurances to Israel. These pledges were given in connection with the signing of the second Sinai disengagement, in which Israel agreed to withdraw from the Gidi and Mitla Passes and return the Abu Rodeis oil fields to Egypt.

Under the terms of the U.S.-Israel memorandum, our country agreed to "continue to adhere to its present policy with respect to the P.L.O., whereby it will not recognize or negotiate with the P.L.O. so long as the P.L.O. does not recognize Israel's right to exist and does not accept Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338."

This policy was reiterated by Secretary Vance at a press conference in

Mr President

-2-

August 26, 1977

Jerusalem on February 16, 1977, when he stated: "As long as they /the P.L.O./ stand by the Covenant /calling for the liquidation of Israel/ and refuse to accept Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, this provides no basis for participation in the Geneva Conference."

At your own news conference of May 12, 1977, you confirmed that our country had "promised the Israeli government that we would not recognize the P.L.O. by direct conversations and negotiations as long as the P.L.O. continued to espouse the commitment that Israel has to be destroyed."

Thus we were concerned that your recent remarks in Plains to the effect "if the Palestinians should say, 'we recognize 242 in its entirety but we think the Palestinians have additional status other than just refugees,' that would suit us okay," may represent a reversal of long-standing Government policy. The statement appears to imply that the P.L.O. will no longer be required to accept Israel's right to exist as an essential condition of American recognition. Equally troubling is the seeming willingness to permit the P.L.O. to modify the terms of Resolution 242 in accepting it.

Such an American policy would represent a discouraging retreat from earlier commitments and from your own Administration's earlier policy. The basic concept of Resolution 242 is the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East through agreement between the states concerned. The P.L.O. is not a state; it does not, in our judgment, represent the Arabs of the West Bank; it was not a party to the original Geneva Conference called under Resolution 338. For the P.L.O. simply to "recognize 242," therefore, is not enough.

Finally, as your Administration has previously indicated, there can be no greater peril to America's interest in a stable and peaceful Middle East--nor a more direct peril to Israel's survival--than to hand over the West Bank and Gaza territories to the most radical element in the area. Any American flirtation with the P.L.O. would lead inevitably, we fear, to just such a dangerous result.

We have taken the liberty to address you at length, Mr. President, because we know how deeply you feel about Israel's strength and security. It is our profound conviction that the most recent Administration statements and actions in the matter of recognizing the P.L.O. are fraught with danger for America, Israel and the peace for which we all yearn.

Respectfully,

Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman

AMS:arf

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CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENT OF MAJOR AMERICAN  
JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS A SCHINDLER  
515~~2~~ PARK AVE  
NEW YORK NY 10022

THIS MAILGRAM IS A CONFIRMATION COPY OF THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE:

2127521616 MGM TDMT NEW YORK NY 110 12-29 0234P EST  
ZIP

HAMILTON JORDAN  
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT  
WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON DC 20500

THE FOLLOWING IS A COPY OF A TELEGRAM SENT LAST NIGHT DECEMBER 28 TO  
PRESIDENT CARTER

CONGRATULATIONS ON A SPLENDID INTERVIEW. IT DEMONSTRATED THAT YOU HAVE  
NOT LOST THE VISION WHICH YOU ARTICULATED A YEAR AGO AND WHICH WON THE  
HEART OF AMERICA'S MAJORITY.

WE THANK YOU PARTICULARLY FOR YOUR COMMENTS CONCERNING THE MIDDLE EAST,  
YOUR EXPRESSIONS OF APPRECIATION OF ISRAEL'S FLEXIBILITY, YOUR CLEAR  
REJECTION OF ANY INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE AND YOUR DETERMINATION  
FULLY ENCOURAGE THE SADAT-BEGAN EFFORT.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY WISHES YOU WELL AS YOU EMBARK ON YOUR  
IMPORTANT JOURNEY. MAY GOD GUIDE YOUR GOING AND YOUR COMING AND BLESS  
THE WORK OF YOUR HANDS.

RABBI ALEXANDER M SCHINDLER  
CHAIRMAN  
CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

14:34 EST

MGMCOMP MGM



CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK

Tel.: PLaza 2-1616

*Date:* 30 December 1977

MEMORANDUM

*To:* Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

*From:* Joanne Jahr

Copies of the attached mailgram were also sent to:

Dr. Joyce Starr  
Dr. Mark Siegel  
Robert Lipshutz  
Stuart Eizenstat  
and  
Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance

I am also enclosing a copy of the ad for your files.

Best wishes.



# BEGIN'S RISK FOR PEACE

---

Today in Ismailia, Menahem Begin presents his proposals for peace to Anwar Sadat.

The world has voiced its just admiration to President Sadat for the personal risk he took as the first Arab leader to move toward peace.

Now let the world understand the great national risks Prime Minister Begin and his people are taking in offering far-reaching concessions for peace.

These concessions are a demonstration of Israel's yearning for an end to the death and destruction brought about by four wars in less than 30 years.

Because our country's interests are tied so closely to security and stability in the Middle East, America has a special responsibility to welcome Israel's act of faith, to keep the momentum alive, to promote agreement.

On this day we salute the vision and courage of Prime Minister Begin as he sets out on his journey for peace.

On this day we call on our government to support Israel's quest for peace in the spirit of courage and faith with which it is offered.

On this day let there be peace.

Conference of Presidents  
of Major American Jewish Organizations,  
515 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10022

I endorse your call for support of Israel's peace initiative. Here is my contribution to carry this message to others across the country.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City & State \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_

**CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS**



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D C. 20520

December 16, 1977

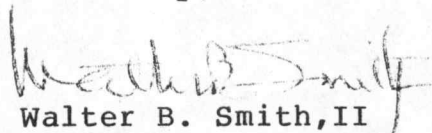
Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman  
Conference of Presidents of Major  
American Jewish Organizations  
515 Park Avenue  
New York, New York 10022

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

The President has asked that I reply to your telegram of November 28 urging that the United States accept President Sadat's invitation to attend the Cairo preparatory conference. As you know, we have not only accepted the invitation and sent Assistant Secretary Atherton to represent us, but the President has also strongly endorsed the meeting as an important step on the road to a comprehensive settlement, towards which we have been working for many months.

I would like to add that at no time did we seriously consider not accepting President Sadat's invitation. The brief delay in our reply resulted from the need for us to consult with the other invitees to the conference in an effort to encourage as large an attendance as possible. Now that the meeting is in progress, we will do all we can to assure that it produces tangible progress towards the objective of peace to which President Sadat and Prime Minister Begin have committed themselves.

Sincerely,

  
Walter B. Smith, II  
Director  
Office of Israeli and  
Arab-Israeli Affairs

2



MANN AND UNGAR  
PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION  
ATTORNEYS AT LAW  
1711 RITTENHOUSE SQUARE  
PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19103  
—  
(215) 732-3120

THEODORE R. MANN

November 2, 1977

Mr. Max Fisher  
2210 Fisher Building  
Detroit, Michigan 48202

Mr. Frank Lautenberg  
Automatic Data Processing  
405 Route 3  
Clifton, New Jersey 07039

Mr. Jerold C. Hoffberger  
7 East Redwood Street  
Suite 600  
P. O. Box 1326  
Baltimore, Maryland 21233

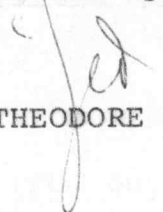
Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Union of American Hebrew  
Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, N. Y. 10021

Ms. Charlotte Jacobson  
World Zionist Organization/  
American Section  
515 Park Avenue  
New York, N. Y. 10022

Dear Max, Frank, Chuck, Alex and Charlotte:

Enclosed is the letter from Andy Meisels that I  
spoke to you about.

Sincerely,

  
THEODORE R. MANN

TRM/lm  
Enclosure



# THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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

OCT 28 1977

October 26, 1977

Mr. Theodore Mann  
National Jewish Community  
Relations Advisory Council  
1711 Rittenhouse Square  
Philadelphia, Pa. 19103

Dear Ted:

By coincidence, the enclosed letter just came in from Andy Meisels, a close friend of mine who is correspondent in Israel for ABC, the Washington Star, and other outlets, and is also English-language commentator in Tel Aviv for Kol Israel. He has worked a correspondent in Israel for some 15 years; while devoted to his country -- he is now an Israeli citizen although born in the U.S. -- he has long been outspoken about the problems that correspondents face. He was in New York this summer, and I had suggested he get to see Shmuel Katz and explain some of these problems. Apparently, according to his first paragraph, they have not yet come together. However, the succeeding paragraphs are much more important for they indicate again -- as if we needed such evidence! -- that the practical and procedural problems we discussed with Katz here the other day are indeed very serious ones. Just thought you would be interested.

Yours ever,

*Morton*

Morton Yarmon  
Director of Public Relations

MY:lf  
Enc.

RICHARD MAASS, President ■ MAYNARD I. WISNER, Chairman, Board of Governors ■ MORTON K. BLAUSTEIN, Chairman, National Executive Council ■ HOWARD I. FRIEDMAN, Chairman, Board of Trustees ■ GERARD WEINSTOCK, Treasurer ■ LEONARD C. YASEIN, Secretary ■ ROBERT I. HOROWITZ, Associate Treasurer ■ THEODORE ELLENOFF, Chairman, Executive Committee ■ Honorary Presidents: MORRIS B. ABRAM, LOUIS CAPLAN, IRVING M. ENGEL, ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG, PHILIP E. HOFFMAN, ELMER I. WINTER ■ Honorary Vice-Presidents: NATHAN APPLEMAN, MRS. JACOB BLAUSTEIN, JACK A. GOLDFARB, ANDREW GOODMAN, EMERY E. KLINEMAN, JAMES MARSHALL, WILLIAM ROSENWALD ■ MAX M. FISHER, Honorary Chairman, National Executive Council ■ MAURICE GLINERT, Honorary Treasurer ■ JOHN SLAWSON, Executive Vice-President Emeritus ■ Vice-Presidents: JORDAN C. BAND, Cleveland; EDITH S. COLIVER, San Francisco; EMANUEL DANNETT, Westchester; RAYMOND F. KRAVIS, Tulsa; DAVID LLOYD KREEGER, Washington, D.C.; RICHARD H. LEVIN, Chicago; ALFRED H. MOSES, Washington, D.C.; ELAINE PETSCHER, Westchester; MERVIN P. RISEMAN, New York; RICHARD E. SHERWOOD, Los Angeles; SHERMAN H. STARR, Boston ■

TELEGRAM - December 15, 1977

The President  
Washington, D.C.

We are profoundly gratified by your clear statement in your press conference that the PLO has "ruled itself out" of the Mideast peace process. We have always maintained that the PLO is nothing ~~but~~ but a terrorist extremist band committed to the goal of genocide against the Jewish state. Despite much wishful thinking by many people, the PLO has not even deigned to eliminate its bloody-minded Covenant pledging extirpation of Israel. Its contemptuous attempt to torpedo President Sadat's courageous initiatives for peace, now being advanced in Cairo, is, as you point out, the clearest confirmation that the PLO is a barbarous relic of a bloody past which both Israel and Egypt and all lovers of peace are determined to transcend. Warmest greetings.

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, President  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations



ANDREW MEISELS

אנדרו מייזלס

רח' דיזנגוף 190, תל-אביב 6101 :טל (03) 233316, ISRAEL, TEL-AVIV, 190 DIZENGOFF ROAD

Oct. 17, 1977

Dear Mort:

I've been meaning to write you for weeks to thank you for the usual warm reception I received from you during our recent trip to the States. Beyond that, I would like to give you a progress report on the state of Israeli information, about which we spoke so much in New York. I wish I could be upbeat about it, but I'm afraid the report will be negative.

First of all, I didn't get a chance to speak to Shmuel Katz. I must have called his office at least 20 times and was told, each time, that Mr. Katz was in a meeting and would call me back. I never got a callback, which is par for the course. On the 21st time, I asked the secretary point-blank to ask Mr. Katz if he wanted to speak to me, as, if not, I would not bother calling back again. At that point, Katz himself came to the phone and-- I must say -- apologized profusely, explaining that he had quite a lot of problems (which I knew) and that he was busily preparing to go to the States but would be sure to see me when he came back. I told him I was not personally offended and that I did hope to see him on his return, which is true, as I consider Katz a civilized and capable man and ~~xxx~~ still do want to talk to him. I understand, incidentally, that the information hassle is in the process of being ironed out, with the Foreign Ministry giving up some of this function to an agency which will be headed by Katz. This is totally unofficial information, but that's my understanding.

The second point I want to tell you ~~about~~ about is far more disturbing, and, I'm afraid to say, typical.

The Foreign Press Association called a cocktail party last Saturday night for the express purpose of having members of the foreign press meet the members of the new government. No better vehicle for information could possibly have been set up by Israeli officials -- at whatever expense -- since the foreign ~~xxxx~~ correspondents who are members of the Association represent, I would conservatively estimate, about half a billion readers and viewers in the U.S., Canada, Mexico and Western Europe. Actually, even Japan's Asahi Shimbun is represented, so my half-billion figure is clearly low.

Every minister was personally invited, along with every director general of every ministry, and the Chief of Staff. ~~xxxx~~ The Foreign Press Association rented the spacious garden of Beit Sokolow for the occasion and had the affair catered. It scheduled the cocktail party for Saturday evening, so as to make it as convenient as possible for the busy Israeli officials to attend. Not a single one showed up. Not one minister, not one director-general, not the Chief of Staff.



The only Israeli officials at the affair were the head of the Government Press Office, the two spokesmen of the Foreign Ministry and a couple of officers from the Army Spokesman's Office (not the Spokesman himself). We were happy to have these people there, of course, but none of them is involved in making policy.

It was impossible to be present at this function without getting the clear message that the Israeli establishment as a whole ranks foreign correspondents as considerably less important ~~xxx~~ than the Pioneer Women, who always get at least one minister to address their visiting groups. In case anyone missed this subtle point, the fact is that Dayan addressed the Israeli Editors Association on Friday, and a visiting UJA delegation on Sunday. All we had at our affair were the correspondents of the three U.S. networks, every major American newspaper, every major European newspaper, all of the wire services, ~~xxx~~ Time, Newsweek, Der Spiegel etc.

Of all of the snubs I have witnessed here over the past decade, this was the most inexcusable -- and the most unnecessary. That it came from a government which won on a platform that promised to improve Israel's image abroad gives me very little hope for improvement in the future.

At the risk of boring you, I'm going to give you yet another example gleaned from only the short time since I've been back:

The Dayan-Carter working paper for reconvening the Geneva conference was approved by the Knesset last Thursday. That event, it seems to me, should have been immediately followed up by a news conference for the foreign media. Not only was this not done, but Dayan himself was made totally inaccessible to foreign newsmen.

Not that Dayan wasn't talking; I could accept that. But he appeared before Israeli editors on Friday and scheduled a Hebrew radio interview on Saturday. Learning about this, I asked for a parallel English-language interview for Israel Radio, explaining to the Foreign Ministry spokesman that this was next best to a news conference for the foreign media, since all foreign correspondents listen to and record the English newsreel. His response: "Why are you ~~xxx~~ bothering me?" (sic).

As you know, Mort, I support this government strongly and am a special fan of Moshe Dayan. So when I react this bitterly, you can only imagine the reaction of foreign correspondents who are really foreigners and who suspect this government of intransigence to begin with. Nuff said. If you get to see Katz during his current swing through the States, you might mention these examples -- quoting me, if you like -- as typical of what should not be done.

On a personal note, I've been extremely busy since coming back here, since, as you know, it's just been one thing after another. I never heard anything from the people at The Trib and plan to write Denson a follow-up letter. Incidentally, is the project still alive? I read in the Jerusalem Post that The Trib was being sued by the publishers of the International Herald-Tribune over the ~~xxx~~ name.



I narrowly missed meeting your friend from Editor & Publisher, but Martha did, and conveyed your regards. What happened was that I was among a ~~x~~ few local newsmen invited to meet the visiting group of which your friend was a member. At the last minute, however, I had to go to Jerusalem to cover the government meeting, so Martha had the pleasure without me.

Nothing else new at the moment. I plan to write the NY Post offering my services but am waiting first for some response from The Trib.

Regards to Ralph Bass and love to Betty. Please keep in touch.

All the best,



P.S. I recently made the acquaintance of two extremely talented young men who want to set up an English-speaking Israeli Theater which would perform on tour around the world. The idea may sound strange, especially when I tell you that the two men in question are both new immigrants to Israel from Hungary, by way of Vienna. However, the way they present their idea -- and I agree with them -- is that such a theater would ~~be~~ present Israel's message abroad in a way not tried to date.

Since I like the idea, I gave them a letter to Shmuel Katz, and they got to see him, which is more than I did. Katz, too, is excited over the idea, as are a number of other government people, some of whom have even come forward ~~to~~ with money to get the project started.

The two men -- Paul Salamon and Janos Edelenyi -- are both top professionals with a long list of theater credits in Hungary and Vienna. Salamon is a writer, and Edelenyi a director. They are planning a trip to the States next month to try to drum up interest there, especially among the organized Jewish community. I took the liberty of giving them your name, along with my suggestion that they call ~~anyone~~ you and meet with you. I'm sure you'll find them very stimulating people.





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1 2127521616 MGM TDMT NEW YORK NY 11-28 0251P EST

CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN  
JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS J JAHR  
515 PARK AVE  
NEW YORK NY 10022

THIS MAILGRAM IS A CONFIRMATION COPY OF THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE:

2127521616 MGM TDMT NEW YORK NY 309 11-28 0251P EST

ZIP  
THE PRESIDENT  
WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON DC 20500  
DEAR MR PRESIDENT,

WE HAVE BEEN CONCERNED BY PRESS REPORTS INDICATING THAT YOUR ADMINISTRATION IS RESPONDING WITH UNUSUAL CAUTION TO THE INVITATION EXTENDED BY PRESIDENT SADAT OF EGYPT TO ATTEND A CONFERENCE HE HAS CALLED IN CAIRO NEXT SATURDAY TO DISCUSS ARAB-ISRAEL PEACE NEGOTIATIONS AT GENEVA.

WE URGE YOU TO ACCEPT PRESIDENT SADAT'S INVITATION SO THAT OUR COUNTRY MAY BE REPRESENTED AT THIS VITALLY IMPORTANT ASSEMBLY. THE HISTORIC FACE-TO-FACE MEETING OF PRESIDENT SADAT WITH PRIME MINISTER BEGIN OF ISRAEL HAS CREATED AN ATMOSPHERE OF GOOD WILL AND MUTUAL COMMITMENT TO CO-EXISTENCE UNPRECEDENTED IN THE MIDDLE-EAST SINCE THE FOUNDING OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL.

BY THEIR PUBLIC STATEMENTS ABJURING ANY RESORT TO WAR, PRESIDENT SADAT AND PRIME MINISTER BEGIN HAVE LAUNCHED A POWERFUL MOMENTUM TOWARD A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE-EAST. THE MOMENTUM CREATED BY THAT VISIT MUST NOT BE HALTED, LEST THE FORCES THAT STILL PLAN ISRAEL'S DESTRUCTION WIN THE DAY.

WE ARE AWARE THAT SOME OF THE ARAB STATES HAVE SIGNALLED THEIR REFUSAL TO ATTEND. IF OUR OWN COUNTRY SHOULD JOIN THEM IN THIS ACTION, WE BELIEVE THE HOPES INSPIRED BY THE DRAMATIC SADAT-BEGIN EXCHANGE WILL BE CRUSHED AND THE MIDDLE-EAST WILL FALL INTO THE HANDS OF THOSE WHO SEEK NOT PEACE BUT WAR, NOT ACCOMODATION BUT HOSTILITY, NOT STABILITY BUT UNREST.

YOU WHO HAVE SPOKEN SO ELOQUENTLY OF THE NEED FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE-EAST AND WHO HAVE TAKEN SO BOLD AN INITIATIVE TO BRING THE PARTIES TOGETHER MUST SURELY UNDERSTAND THE NEED TO SUPPORT PRESIDENT SADAT'S CALL. AMERICA HAS A LEADERSHIP ROLE TO PLAY IN KEEPING ALIVE THE MOVEMENT TOWARD PEACE. WE THEREFORE HOPE THAT YOU WILL ANNOUNCE



Mailgram®



AMERICA'S PARTICIPATION IN THE MEETING AND CALL ON ALL THOSE INVITED TO  
CAIRO TO ATTEND AND TAKE PART, THEREBY MOVING ONE STEP CLOSER TOWARD  
THE MIDDLE-EAST SETTLEMENT ALL AMERICANS HOPE AND PRAY FOR.

RESPECTFULLY,

RABBI ALEXANDER M SCHINDLER, CHAIRMAN  
CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

14:51 EST

MGMCOMP MGM

# CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PLaza 2-1616

Cable Address: COJOGRA

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November 3, 1976

Text of Telegram to President-Elect Jimmy Carter from Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler,  
Chairman, Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations

In the name of the American Jewish community, organized through the  
Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, I

extend to you our heartfelt congratulations on your election. We wish  
you well. May you be blessed with good health and strength, and may your  
dreams for our land be fulfilled.

We are deeply grateful for your commitment to the survival and security  
of Israel, to the attainment of peace in the Middle East and the ideals of  
human rights and dignity for which our embattled brethren in many lands so  
desperately yearn, and which you expressed so eloquently in your meeting  
with us and throughout the campaign.

May the Almighty guide your doing and may the work of your hands  
continue to be acceptable to Him.



Columbia University  
in the City of New York

RESEARCH INSTITUTE ON INTERNATIONAL CHANGE

420 WEST 118TH STREET

NEW YORK, N.Y. 10027

*file*

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

December 17, 1976

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Conference of Presidents  
of Major American Jewish Organizations  
515 Park Avenue  
New York, New York 10022

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

I wish to thank you most warmly for your congratulations on my appointment. You know of my interest and concern for the Jewish people here and abroad. I would appreciate your continued advice and support on these issues during the many difficult days which I know await me in the near future.

With warmest regards and many thanks,

*I love wa kapp in soul!*

*Z. Brzezinski*

Zbigniew Brzezinski

## MEMORANDUM

Date December 16, 1976From Cheryl SortorTo Ric Brown

Copy for information of \_\_\_\_\_

Subject MAILGRAMS

The following Mailgram was sent today.

Professor Zbigniew Brzezinski  
420 West 118th Street  
New York, NY 10027

Heartiest congratulations and all good wishes on your designation as National Security Advisor. I am delighted with this development. It is a richly-merited tribute to your outstanding talents and abilities. I recall our recent Presidents' Conference meeting and the candor and understanding you evidenced in addressing leaders of the American Jewish Community. I am heartened that a man of your outstanding calibre and knowledge of foreign affairs has been named to so critical a post. It bodes well for our nation's future and for world peace.

May you derive a full measure of fulfillment and personal happiness and satisfaction from your new responsibilities.

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 2, 1980

cc to Freehof

Dear Alex:

Many thanks for your good wishes. I deeply appreciate your kind words. It was good of you to write.

The Romanian situation which you and I labored on some years ago has come to a satisfactory conclusion for those Romanians seeking to emigrate to Israel. We have even succeeded in clearing up some of the old difficult cases.

Thank you for sending me Rabbi Freehof's thoughts on land for the Palestinian Arabs. If the present autonomy talks do not succeed, we shall be searching for new ideas.

Sincerely,



Alfred H. Moses  
Special Advisor  
to the President

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
President  
Union of American Hebrew  
Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10021



April 23, 1980

Mr. Alfred Moses  
Advisor to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Alfred:

The enclosed letter may be of interest to you. Dr. Solomon B. Freehof is a distinguished and highly respected colleague and one of the foremost scholars of the Jewish community.

With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Enc.

RABBI SOLOMON B. FREEHOF, D. D.

RODEF SHALOM TEMPLE  
FIFTH AND MOREWOOD AVENUES  
PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA 15213

April 21, 1980

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10021

Dear Friend:

Thank you for your letter of April 17.  
As you properly said, the Arabs would not accept  
any suggestion. They prefer to wait for time to  
bring them complete victory. But at least the  
value of my plan would be that they would have to  
make a public rejection to a proposal that they  
should give some land to their "beloved Palestinians."  
In other words, the onus would be on them.

I have turned the whole suggestion over  
to you and I have no objection to your showing it  
to anybody you wish. I will be glad if you pass  
the suggestion to someone in the White House.  
Maybe it will attract some affirmative action.

With best wishes,

As ever,

  
Solomon B. Freehof

SBF:t

*sent out 6  
of 8*

*Yasser  
Arafat  
Covering*

April 17, 1980

Dr. Solomon B. Freehof  
Rodef Shalom Temple  
Fifth And Morawood Avenues  
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15213

Dear Dr. Freehof:

Your suggestion makes eminently good sense from every point of view and while I never made your specific suggestion, I have always articulated the view that the Palestinian problem must be solved before there can be any kind of peace, that Israel has a moral responsibility to confront the problem, but this problem is not and cannot be Israel's burden alone. It must be shared by others (i.e. the Arab nations).

It is my judgment that the Arab nations will not accept such a proposal, principally because their present assessment is the same as yours, to wit, that time is not on Israel's side and that if they only wait long enough, they can have the whole basket of eggs and not just one egg. Nor do I really believe that President Carter would make such a suggestion for fear of alienating the oil-rich Arab states and their economic allies here in the United States. This administration much prefers to maintain Israel's vulnerable position as the "stumbling block to the peace."

Still, I will pass on your suggestion to the White House in the hope that it will find some listening ears, even as I would like to pass it on to some of my friends in Israel, providing, of course, that you have no objections.

With appreciation and warmest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

*Moses Schindler*



RABBI SOLOMON B. FREEHOF, D. D.

RODEF SHALOM TEMPLE  
FIFTH AND MOREWOOD AVENUES  
PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA 15213

April 8, 1980

Dr. Alexander Schindler  
President, Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10021

Dear Colleague:

All of us have been giving thought to the Israeli-Palestinian problem. It is clear that some solution has to be found soon, because the problem is becoming increasingly aggravated, which may very well turn much non-Jewish sentiment against Israel. Whatever the historic justice of it may be, the fact that a group of Palestinians "in exile" are crying to the world for the right to return to their homeland, that very demand has an instant appeal, especially to those who have no personal reason to love the State of Israel. I notice that in American newspapers, which have no reason at all to offend Jewish sentiment, the editorials, with increasing frequency, speak of the occupied land belonging by right to the Palestinians. It is clear, then, that the problem cannot be too long postponed. Time is against us and Israel. Is a solution at all possible? It is this question which has concerned us all.

I made a suggestion of a possible solution to Ivan Novick, President of the Z.O.A. He is a Pittsburgher and a friend, so he answered me in a friendly but off-hand manner. After all, he is an official of the Zionist organization and there is an official stand from which he may not deviate. The official stand seems to be to make no concessions and that time will be on the side of Israel. I think the reverse is true. Time is not on our side, so it is urgent that some solutions have to be thought out. Therefore I would like you to consider the plan which I had thought out which may have some possibilities at least of a solution.

My suggestion is based upon two principles. First, that a Palestinian state in a so-called occupied territory west of the Jordan would indeed be a dagger at the heart of the State of Israel. It is therefore totally unacceptable and Israel is right to resist any such suggestion.

But the second principle is this: The Palestinians must be offered a state of some kind. Otherwise they will keep

April 8, 1980

on clamoring and killing and, I am afraid, winning more and more of world sentiment, to say nothing of our State Department. How, then, can these two opposites be reconciled?

The ideal solution, of course, is impossible, namely, that since Transjordan was once part of Palestine and broken off from Palestine by the British, a Palestinian state could be located in Transjordan. Of course it is certain that Hussein, who expelled the Palestinians, would not consent to this solution. The solution which I thought out is as follows:

Let Israel give a small amount of territory in the extreme north around the Golan. Let Jordan add to it and also Syria and, if necessary, let Lebanon add to it. None of these states would be hurt by giving up a small piece of territory but all the territories together would make a viable country to be called "Palestine."

Now, dear Colleague, I am not sure whether my suggestion is geographically feasible, but psychologically it would be good. If the other states refuse to give up any land to their "comrades," the guilt is on them. If the Palestinians refuse to accept the state, the guilt is on them.

I am writing to you because you are not part of the official Israeli machinery and because you always have the courage to come out with new ideas. Please be good enough to give my suggestion some thought and let me hear your reactions.

I trust you have had a happy Passover.

Sincerely,



SBF:T

Solomon B. Freehof

P.S. Would it not be ideal if the above suggestion came from President Carter?



THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

July 11, 1978

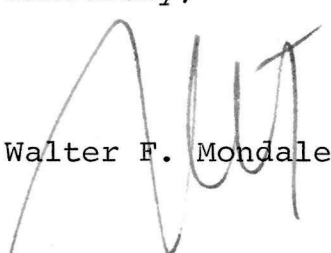
Rabbi Alexander Schindler  
President, Union of American  
Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10021

Dear Alex:

I want you to know how grateful I am to you for your willingness to be a part of the delegation to Israel. Your presence and the presence of the other members of the delegation was very helpful. It is so important to underscore that the special friendship between the United States and Israel goes beyond the governmental contacts to the people of the two countries.

Thanks again for your advice and counsel as well as your time. With your help, I think the trip was a useful step in the long process to achieving better understanding in the Middle East.

Sincerely,

  
Walter F. Mondale



April 11, 1978

Dear Mark:

Thank you for your letter of March 30. I appreciate your having taken the time to write and thank you for sharing with me your letter of resignation. Of course, I was aware of the reasons which brought about your decision but I was glad to have an opportunity to read your personal statement to President Carter.

Mark, I, too, hope that our paths will cross often in the future. I hold you in high esteem and I admire your most courageous stance. Too few people place personal commitment and ideals above the lure of sitting near places of power.

I look forward to hearing of developments in your career and trust you will keep in touch. Your letter was forwarded to this office from the Presidents' Conference without an envelope and thus I do not know your present address so I am asking the White House to forward this letter to you.

With every good wish and warmest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Mr. Mark A. Siegel  
The White House  
Washington, DC.

MARK A. SIEGEL

March 30, 1978

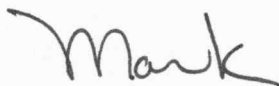
Dear Rabbi Schindler:

I'm sure you are well aware of my decision, but it is very important to me that you understand, in some way, the reasons for my action.

Therefore I am enclosing a copy of my letter of resignation to President Carter and his response.

I hope that we can remain in touch. You have my respect and appreciation, and I look forward to working with you in the future on the common goals we share so deeply.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Mark". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

Mark A. Siegel

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
Chairman  
Conference of Presidents of Major  
American Jewish Organizations  
515 Park Avenue  
New York, New York 10022

Enclosures

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 9, 1978

To Mark Siegel

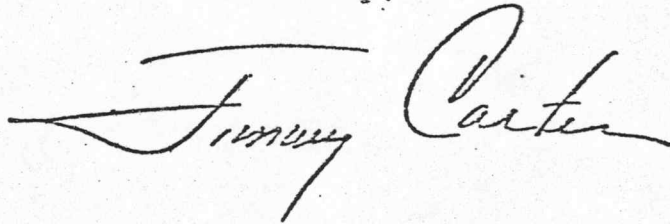
I have read your kind and thoughtful letter.

I appreciate the contribution you have made to my Administration. You have worked hard and effectively in support of the many dreams we share for our nation and the world. I thank you.

Your decision of principle is one I understand and will honor. I know your decision to leave the White House was difficult. I regret that decision, but I respect it, as I do your ability and integrity.

I continue to value your advice and friendship and wish you well.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Jimmy Carter". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the word "Sincerely,".

Dr. Mark Siegel  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.



# THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 8, 1978

Dear Mr. President,

We have known and worked with each other for five years. Therefore I write this letter to you in friendship, good will and with deep sadness. I hereby submit to you my resignation, effective at a time and under conditions to be worked out between me and Hamilton Jordan based on completion of my work currently in progress.

I take this action after careful and deliberate consideration, and with Judy's consultation and support. I have tried to serve you with dedication during this difficult first year, and have been and continue to be proud of our association. You have made courageous attempts to come to grips with major problems that have been largely ignored by your predecessors, and have restored dignity and integrity to the Presidency. Your attempt to serve as a catalyst for peace in the Middle East may be your most ambitious undertaking, and I endorse and praise your goals and your unprecedented attention, in time and effort to the problems that plague that critical area of the world. The dramatic progress that has been made in the Middle East this year reflects, in no small measure, your determination. For this, and for many things that will remain unsaid, I thank you.

However, I am deeply troubled by certain aspects of U.S. policy toward the Middle East, and more importantly, by the decision-making process utilized by the Administration to formulate policy. I think I owe it to you, and to myself, to bring these matters to your attention at this time. As I am sure you would agree, no one can credibly suggest that I have been anything but totally loyal to you and to your policies in my work with the American Jewish community. You are well aware that I have been traveling around the country, and meeting with Jewish groups and leaders regularly in Washington. In all of these discussions, I have strongly presented and defended the Administration's policies with respect to the Middle East. Although it has not been an easy task for me, certainly not made easier by the fact that there were and are specific and limited areas of personal disagreement, I have been more than willing to exercise this function because I felt that my job, like most things in modern life, was multi-faceted. I believe that I could justify being the external advocate, going out and presenting the Administration's line to your Jewish constituents, because I simultaneously could effectively serve another role, that is, internally presenting my own views, representing a broad constituency of American public opinion, based on traditional American public attitudes, support and commitment to the security and viability of Israel and to the special relationship that has always defined relations between our Nation and Israel. My view of the joint role responsibility -- externally advocating the Administration's policies while internally presenting a broader range of policy options -- did not stand up to the test. Clearly, I had no

internal role, and with no such internal decision-making process role, became the one person on the White House staff who had as my primary responsibility the defense and advocacy of positions which I had no voice in shaping, and occasionally but strongly disagreed with.

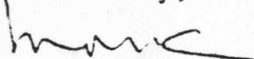
Because I, like the vast majority of Americans, agree with your eloquent remarks in Elizabeth, New Jersey on June 6, 1976, that "the survival of Israel is not a political issue; it is a moral imperative," I made a moral judgment that I could no longer, in good conscience, continue my work for you with the American Jewish community, and so informed Hamilton Jordan on March 1. Since that time it has become clear to me that the consequences of that decision are such that I can no longer be effective in any capacity in this White House, and have therefore chosen to submit my resignation.

Although in general agreement with the thrust of your policy in the Middle East, I have strong and personal reservations about the wisdom of your Arms Sales decision, the "packaging" of that decision, and its timing. I was distressed to learn that I often did not have the fullest information available to defend your policies and your decisions, and specifically with respect to the Arms Sales to Saudi Arabia, did not have accurate information. I am also concerned about amending U.S. commitments to Israel as part of the Sinai II Disengagement Agreement by making the fulfillment of our commitments predicated on approval of arms sales to other nations, two and one-half years after the fact.

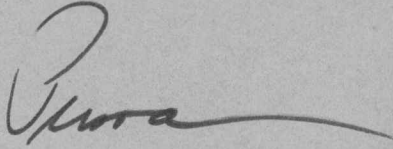
- Saying all of this, I want to be certain that you understand that I hold you in the highest regard, and that my problems and reasons for leaving speak to the process by which decisions are made, and the lack of consideration of all views and options in that process. You are a fine, decent and moral man, a man I trust and admire and whom I hope I will be able to assist in some way in the future. I hope you will understand and empathize with my position on this matter, and accept my resignation as an action of personal conscience and in the spirit of respect in which it is offered. Throughout this difficult period for me, and today, I have been guided and strengthened by the words of the great Jewish teacher and scholar, Rabbi Hillel, who wrote in the 11th Century: "If I am not for myself, who will be for me? and if I am only for myself, then what am I? and if not now, when?"

Judy and I extend our warmest best wishes to both you and Mrs. Carter.

Sincerely,



Mark A. Siegel  
Deputy Assistant for Policy Analysis



April 8, 1977

Mr. Stuart Eizenstat  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Stu:

Thank you very much for taking the trouble to meet with us. We are going to pursue the suggestion of having some sort of leadership meeting at the White House with you giving an address. Perhaps we can also bring in some others before or after your presentation but I do want you to have a slice of time for yourself. We won't plan on such a meeting immediately because of so many recent sessions with Jewish groups. Perhaps we can aim for the end of April or the beginning of May. Yehuda Hellman will be in touch with you to arrange the time and details.

On a matter of substance, you reported that you found Sadat's arguments for the need of arms "persuasive" because of the moderating role he can play in regard to the continent of Africa, never mind the Middle East. I did some thinking after we left your office and while the facts are not at my fingertips I do recall that far from playing a moderating role he was active in fomenting radical revolution on the continent. You might ask the State Department to prepare a careful brief on this issue but even without doing any research I recall that Egypt supported the Eritrean insurrection against Ethiopia, Somalia's claim on parts of Ethiopia and Kenya as well as Djibouti and Egypt also supported President Amin and rebellions in Chad and Niger, etc. All I am trying to say is that while his arguments were shrewd politically they bear a little closer examination and of course you have the resources to obtain the facts.

Once again my heartfelt thanks for your concern. With warmest regards,  
I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 1, 1977

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

It was so very kind and thoughtful of you to write me concerning my new appointment as Counsel to the President.

Already I have found the job most challenging and exciting, and I look forward to giving President Carter the support he needs to better serve the people of our country and the world.

Again, many thanks for your words of encouragement.

Sincerely,



Robert J. Lipshutz

2/9  
2:30 PM

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
President  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10021

*Please let me know  
when you next are in  
Washington.*

January 18, 1977

Mr. Robert Lipschutz  
General Counsel to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Bob:

Now that your appointment is official I want to express a very warm and hearty mazal tov. This is a richly-deserved tribute to your unusual talents and abilities and I am delighted that you will be serving the President and the American people in so critical a post. I can think of no one more qualified for the position.

These next weeks will be especially hectic for you, I know. But I do hope that once you are settled and the pace of your life takes on a measure of stability we will have an opportunity to meet. I am eager to chat with you and to have an opportunity to discuss matters of mutual concern.

With every good wish for the future and with warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

January 18, 1977

Mr. Stuart Eizenstat  
The White House  
Executive Offices  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Stuart:

Mazal tov on your new appointment. I am delighted with this development and want to express my warm good wishes to you. It is a tribute to your many fine qualities of heart and mind and is a richly-merited appointment.

It is my fond hope that you will derive a full measure of fulfillment from your new responsibilities.

With every good wish and warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



February 11, 1977

Edith J. Miller

Rabbi David Saperstein

Alex was at the White House on Wednesday and met Joyce Starr...(sp?)....  
she is in Midge Costanza's office and her area is individual human rights...  
keep her in mind, she's good.

April 15, 1977

The President  
Washington, D.C.

On behalf of the American Jewish community, I write to express profound admiration and appreciation for your deep and abiding commitment to human rights. Most especially, I wish to convey our gratitude to you, the United States Department of State, and Secretary of State Vance for the great understanding and sensitivity evidenced in regard to the plight of the young Jewish women of Syria who seek alleviation of emigration restrictions so they might be permitted to leave Syria. If they are to remain in Syria, their opportunities to marry within the Jewish faith and to fulfill their lives as Jewish wives and mothers are tragically slender. The attainment of such fulfillment can only be achieved if they are permitted to emigrate to a community which has a large Syrian Jewish population.

We were heartened to learn that Secretary Vance raised this issue in his discussion with President Assad and that he received an understanding and sympathetic response. We pray that President Assad will indeed look with favor upon the urgent request of these young women and their families.

On the eve of your own meetings with President Assad, I express the profound hope that you will reiterate to him the grave concern of the entire Jewish community for the plight and future of these young women. Your intercession in their behalf, to urge the expeditious handling of this urgent request for emigration will be deeply appreciated.

With every good wish and warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler, Rabbi  
Chairman

cc: Mr. Theodore R. Mann,  
Chairman, NJCRAC



February 13, 1978

Mr. Mark Siegel  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mark:

I was asked to hand this letter to President Carter when I met with him last week. It really wasn't an opportune time to do so and I am therefore forwarding it to you for transmittal.

With appreciation and warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Encl.





MARIETTA TOWER

**ADAMS-CATES/CUSHMAN & WAKEFIELD • LEASING & MANAGEMENT**

101 MARIETTA STREET • SUITE 2105 • ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303 • 404/522-0366

March 1, 1977

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, President  
The Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Ave.  
New York, New York 10021

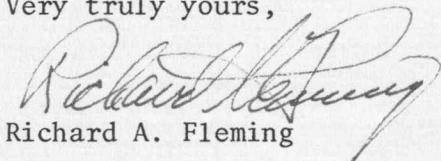
Dear Rabbi Schindler,

I want to personally thank you for your consideration as expressed through my Father, for my idea concerning the Carter Administration and their possible need for an Atlanta Headquarters.

I have enclosed a copy of my letter to Robert Lipshutz as per your suggestion. The letter was accompanied by a complete package of information regarding the 101 Marietta Tower. You never can tell an idea like this could work!

In any event please accept this letter as an expression of my gratitude and I look forward to the time when I might thank you in person.

Very truly yours,



Richard A. Fleming

RAF/mn

MARIETTA TOWER

**ADAMS-CATES/CUSHMAN & WAKEFIELD • LEASING & MANAGEMENT**

101 MARIETTA STREET • SUITE 2105 • ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303 • 404/522-0366

February 23, 1977

Mr. Robert J. Lipshutz  
Counsel to The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Lipshutz,

Congratulations on your recent appointment as counsel to the President. I wish you and President Carter continued successes.

I have been giving considerable thought to an idea and recently shared it with Alexander Schindler of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, which incidently is why this letter is addressed to you. Rabbi Schindler thought enough of the idea to suggest that rather than writing the President directly, I should address you with its merits to ensure the proper consideration.

The following information and enclosed material is for your review. At some point the Carter Administration or allied functions may find the need for an Atlanta based headquarters and a unique site is currently available.

At the apex of the 101 Marietta Tower, located directly across the street from the Sixth District Federal Reserve Bank, are three floors of available office space of approximately 54,000 square feet. This site is unique because it is separated from the rest of the building and the only means of access to the top two floors is by private elevator. The suites command a magnificent view of the City of Atlanta and the surrounding countryside and the readily controlled access will enhance the security.

We currently house the U. S. Postal Service Downtown Annex and Ambassador Andrew Young's Atlanta offices, along with twenty four law firms and several other professional firms.

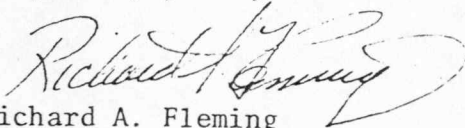
In recent conversations with the Special Agent in Charge of the U. S. Secret Service in Atlanta, the 101 Marietta Tower was mentioned as an alternative to the present location. As I understand it, the Secret Service is scheduled to

Robert Lipshutz  
February 23, 1977  
Page 2

occupy space in the new Richard B. Russell Building. However, please keep in mind that space to house this Agency is available in the 101 Marietta Tower and may be very appropriate in light of a move by President Carter's Administration.

I trust the enclosures will provide you with the fundamental information necessary to pursue this idea. I have enclosed my card for your convenience.

Very truly yours,

  
Richard A. Fleming

RAF/mn  
Enclosures



## MEMORANDUM

Date December 16, 1976From Cheryl SortorTo Ric BrownCopy for information of Al Vorspan, Aron Hirt-Manheimer, Gunther LawrenceSubject MAILGRAM - Sent 12/16/76

The following mailgram was sent today:

President-Elect Jimmy Carter  
Plains, Ga.

We are deeply gratified that you have pledged a pardon to reconcile and reunite the American people so dangerously divided by the traumas of the Vietnam War. Such a proclamation, however controversial, will lift the heart and spirit of an American people yearning for moral leadership. We urge that the pardon be given the widest possible application so that the healing process of America may be nurtured by presidential leadership.

As the delegates of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations resolved at our biennial, "With full respect for those who chose to serve and those who sacrificed so much for their country, we call...for an unconditional amnesty as an act of reconciliation and compassion that can help speedily to reunite the American people for the key task of justice and peace which lie ahead." To include less than honorable discharges and others in the compass of compassion and mercy would be a profound moral advance for a nation ready to move ahead to the challenge of leadership. God bless you.

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
President  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations

*RFK*

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

November 10, 1976

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, Pres.  
Albert Vorspan, Vice President  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 5th Avenue  
New York, New York 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler and Mr. Vorspan:

Thank you very much for your warm  
expression of congratulations.

I am extremely honored to have won the  
support of so many Americans, and our victory  
is even more worthwhile with friends like  
you.

Thanks again.

With warmest personal regards,

Sincerely,

*Walter F. Mondale*

Walter F. Mondale

# CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022  
Plaza 2-1616  
Cable Address: COJOGRA

## AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS:

November 3, 1976

American Israel Public  
Affairs Committee  
American Jewish Congress  
American Mizrahi Women  
American Zionist Federation  
Anti-Defamation League  
B'nai B'rith  
B'nai B'rith Women  
Bnai Zion  
Central Conference of  
American Rabbis  
Council of Jewish Federations  
and Welfare Funds (observer)  
Hadassah  
Jewish Labor Committee  
Jewish Reconstruction  
Foundation  
Jewish War Veterans  
of the U.S.A.  
Labor Zionist Alliance  
Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi  
National Committee for  
Labor Israel, Inc.  
National Council of  
Jewish Women  
National Council of  
Young Israel  
National Federation of  
Temple Sisterhoods  
National Jewish Community  
Relations Advisory Council  
National Jewish Welfare Board  
North American Jewish  
Youth Council  
Pioneer Women  
The Rabbinical Assembly  
Rabbinical Council of America  
Union of American Hebrew  
Congregations  
Union of Orthodox Jewish  
Congregations of America  
United Synagogue of America  
Women's American ORT  
Women's League for  
Conservative Judaism  
World Zionist Organization  
American Section, Inc.  
Zionist Organization of America

Text of Telegram to President-Elect Jimmy Carter from Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler,  
Chairman, Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations

In the name of the American Jewish community, organized through the  
Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, I  
extend to you our heartfelt congratulations on your election. We wish  
you well. May you be blessed with good health and strength, and may your  
dreams for our land be fulfilled.

We are deeply grateful for your commitment to the survival and security  
of Israel, to the attainment of peace in the Middle East and the ideals of  
human rights and dignity for which our embattled brethren in many lands so  
desperately yearn, and which you expressed so eloquently in your meeting  
with us and throughout the campaign.

May the Almighty guide your doing and may the work of your hands  
continue to be acceptable to Him.



NATIONAL SECURITY AREAS

*file*

HIGH

HIGH-MEDIUM

ABSHIRE, David F.

ALROY, Prof. Gil Carl

GOLDBERG, Arthur

BERGMAN, Eli Dr.

ROWEN, Henry

HAUSER, Rita

BRYEN, Steve

ROWEN, Hobart

JACKSON, Sen. Henry

CHURBA, Joseph

SCHWEBEL, Stephen

KATZ, Milton

COTTRELL, Alvin

SPIEGEL, Steve

KOHLER, Foy Amb.

DERSHOWITZ, Alan

TALISMAN, Marc

McGEE, Sen. Gale W.

DINE, Tom

TOLL, Maynard

NITZE, Paul

GARMENT, Leonard

TUCKER, Robert

ROCHE, John

HOFFMAN, Fred

WOLFOWITZ, Paul

ROSTOW, Eugene

KERR, Gordon

SCHLESINGER, James

LANDES, Prof. David

TAYLOR, Telford

LEHMAN, John

WEISS, Seymour

LEVINSON, Jerome

ZUMWALT, Elmo

McCALL, Dick

MARSHALL, Andy

PAUL Roland

PERLE, Richard

PIPES, Dick

REID, Cong. Odgen

*1944*

*19*

NATIONAL SECURITY AREAS

NEGATIVE

BALL, George

BROWN, Dean

FRYE, Alton

FULBRIGHT, J.W.

HALSTEAD, Tom

HARE, Raymond

HUGHES, TOM

HUNTER, Bob

LaROQUE, Gene

MILLER, William

SCOVILLE, Pete Herbert

VAN DUSEN, Mike

WARNKE, Paul

YOST, Charles

MEDIUM

ALROY, Prof. Gil Carl

Hunter College of the City Univ. of N.Y., professor of political science, 1972-present, associate professor, 1968-71, assistant professor, 1966-67, instructor, 1964-65.

U.S. Diplomatic Mission in Israel, senior information assistant, 1950-54.

Center of International Studies, Princeton, N.J., research associate, 1963-68.

Member: Middle East Studies Association (fellow), National Honor Society in Economics (president, 1960-61).

Author: The Involvement of Peasants in Internal Wars, 1966; Attitudes Toward Jewish Statehood in the Arab World (editor), 1971; Behind the Middle East Conflict: The Real Impasse between Arab and Jew; The Kissinger Experience: American Policy in the Middle East, 1975.

City College of N.Y., B.A., 1959.

Princeton Univ., Ph.D., 1963.

b. November 7, 1924.



BERGMAN, Dr. Elihu

Harvard Univ. Center for Population Studies, Asst. Director,  
1971-present.

Research Project on Energy and Economic Policy, Director, present.

Assistant Rep. for Mexico and Central America, Ford Foundation,  
Mexico City, 1966-69.

VISTA, Director Planning Evaluation and Research, 1965-66.

American Israel Public Affairs Committee, Legislative Council, 1965;  
National Council, present.

Other program and managerial positions involving international  
development programs in U.S. and overseas corporations (Iran,  
A.I.D. & predecessor agencies, Yugoslavia )

U.S. Army service.

Reed College, B.A., 1950.

Univ. of Chicago, M.A., 1951.

Univ. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Ph.D., 1971.

b.Aug. 19, 1927.

BRYEN, Stephen David

Professional staff member, Senate Foreign Affairs Comm.

Executive asst. for foreign affairs, Sen. Clifford Case,  
N.J.

Instructor, Tulane Univ. and Newcomb College, 1967-71;  
asst. prof., Lehigh Univ., 1971-75.

Member: American Assn. of Univ. Professors, American  
Political Science Assn., American Academy of  
Social and Behavioral Sciences.

Rutgers Univ., A.B., 1964.

Tulane Univ., M.A., 1967, Ph.D., 1970.

Va. Polytechnic, 1971.

b. June 30, 1942.

CHIURBA, Joseph

Special Advisor, Office of Assistant Chief of Staff, Intelligence,  
HQ USAF, 1973-present.

Prof. of Middle East Studies, Air University, Maxwell AFB, AL,  
1968-72.

Assistant prof. of political science, University of Winnipeg,  
Canada, 1967-68.

---

Author: "Air Power in Middle East Conflict" in John H. Scrivner  
(Ed.) A Quarter Century of Air Power, 1973; Conflict and  
Tension Among the States of the Persian Gulf, Oman and  
South Arabia, 1971; Perceiving Options in the Middle East,  
1970; Fedayeen and the Middle East Crisis, 1969; Soviet  
Penetration into the Middle East, 1968.  
"Diplomacy and the Possible", Air University Review  
(Nov.-Dec., 1971); "Arabia Felix", Air University Review  
(July-Aug., 1969); "Yemen: Disengagement in Protracted  
War", Air University Review (Jan.-Feb., 1969), "Fighting  
Arab Terrorism", Ideas (Spring, 1969); "U.A.R.-Israel  
Rivalry in East Africa", Military Review (Oct. 1968).



COTTRELL, Prof. Alvin

Georgetown Univ., Center for Strategic Studies, sr. research staff member, prof., current.

Univ. of Penn., instructor and research assoc., 1973-

Dept. of Defense, Weapons Systems Evaluation Group, staff member, 1973-

Stanford Research Institute, Strategic Studies Center, 1973-

Center for Strategic and International Studies, Indian Ocean conference, Project Director, March, 1971, Wash.

National War College, faculty member, 1964-67.

Author: (co-author) The Gulf: Implications of British Withdrawal, 1969; "Bahrain and the Future of the Gulf", The New Middle East, July, 1971; "Suez and the Indian Ocean", Near East Report, 1972.

Temple Univ., B.S.

Univ. of Penn., M.A., Ph.D.

National War College, graduate, 1964.

DERSHOWITZ, Alan Morton

Harvard Univ., faculty member, 1964-present, law prof., 1967-present.

President's Commission on Marijuana and Drug Abuse, 1972-73;  
Council on Drug Abuse, 1972-present.

American Civil Liberties Union, bd. dirs., 1968-71, 72-present.

National Institute of Mental Health, consultant to director,  
1967-69.

N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense Fund, 1967-68.

President's Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968.

U.S. Supreme Court, law clerk to justice Arthur J. Goldberg, 1963-64; clerk to chief judge David Bazelon, US Court of Appeals, 1962-63.

Yale Law Journal, editor-in-chief, 1961-62.

Author: (with others) Psychoanalysis, Psychiatry and the Law, 1967.

Brooklyn College, B.A., 1959.

Yale Univ., LL.B., 1962

Harvard Univ., M.A.(hon.), 1967.

b. Sept. 1, 1938.

DINE, Thomas Alan

Senate Budget Committee, sr. def. and intl. affairs analyst.

Senate Special Committee on National Emergencies, professional staff member, 1972-74.

Legislative assistant in foreign affairs, Sen. Frank Church, 1970-72.

Personal assistant to U.S. Ambassador, 1967-69.

Peace Corps, director, congressional liaison office, volunteer, 1966-67.

Member: Assn of Asian Studies, American Historical Assn.,  
Society for Historians of American Foreign Policy.

Author of articles published in N.Y. Times, Harvard Political Review, Commonweal, Moment Magazine.

Colgate Univ., B.A., 1962

---

Univ. of Calif., M.A., 1966.

Harvard Univ., 1974-75.

b. Feb. 29, 1940.

GARMENT, Leonard

*U.S. Rep., UN Human Rights Commn., 1975-present.*

Special consultant, Pres. Nixon, Wash., 1969-73; spl. counsel, 1973-74.

*Asst. to Pres. Ford, 1974.*

Member law firm Mudge, Rose, Guthrie & Alexander, N.Y.C., 1949-69, partner, 1957-69.

*Administrative Conf. U.S., vice chairman, 1973-74*

Brooklyn College (graduate), 1949.



HOFFMAN, Fred S.

Rand Corp., prog. dir. energy policy, 1973-present.

Economic consultant, private practice, 1970-73.

Laird Systems, Inc., v.pres., 1969-70.

U.S. Bureau of the Budget, asst. dir., 1967-69.

Office of the Secretary of Defense, dep. asst. sec.,  
1965-67.

NATO force planning, U.S. Del., NATO, acting dir. U.S.  
team, 1963-64.

Rand Corp., systems analyst, 1960-63; 1951-59.

Rand rep., directorate plans, Hq., U.S. Air Force, D.C.,  
1959-60.

USAF, 1943-46., 1st Lt.

Member: American Statist. Assn., Opers Res. Soc. of  
America, American Economic Association.

U.C.L.A., B.A., 1947; M.A., 1948.

Univ. of Calif. at Berkeley, 1949-51.

b. June 30, 1924.

KERR, Gordon Charles

Administrative asst. to Rep. Bingham (22-N.Y.)

Legislative assistant to Rep. Barbara Jordan, Texas, 1973

U.S. Navy service, released in 1970 as lt.

Yale Univ., 1963-67, B.A.

b. June 1, 1945.

LANDES, Prof. David Saul

Harvard Univ., prof. history, 1964-72, Leroy B. Williams prof. history and political science, 1972-present.

Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard Univ., 1966-68.

Columbia Univ., asst. prof. economics, 1952-55, assoc. prof., 1955-58, fellow Center For Advanced Study of Behavioral Sciences, 1957-58.

Univ. of Calif. at Berkeley, prof. of history, economics, 1958-64.

Council on Research Econ. History, chairman, 1963-present.

Fellow Am. Acad. Arts and Sciences; member: American Historical Assn., Econ. History Assn. (trustee), American Economic Assn., Soc. French Hist. Studies, Royal Historical Society (Gt. Britain), Econ. Hist. Soc. (Gt. Britain).

Author: The Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe, 1750 to the Present, 1969.

Editor: Journal of Economic History (assoc. editor), 1954-60; History as Social Science, 1971; Reader in the Rise of Capitalism, 1965.

City Coll. of N.Y., A.B., 1942

Harvard Univ., A.M., 1943; Ph.D., 1953.

b. April 29, 1924.

\*LEHMAN, John

\*TOLL, Maynard

\*LEVINSON, Jerome

\*Biographies forthcoming



McCALL, Richard Lee, Jr.

Special Assistant to Sen. McGee, Wyo.

Writer, U.P.I., 1968-71.

Member: Senate Staff Club, Senate Press Secys. Assn.

Hastings College, B.A., 1964.

Univ. of Nebraska, 1964-66, Eta Phi Lambda.

b. May 6, 1942.

MARSHALL, Andrew Walter

National Security Council Staff, dir. net. assessment group,  
Washington D.C., 1972-

Rand Corp., statistician, Soc. Sci. Div., 1949-50; economist,  
Econ. Div., 1950-53, 1954-72.

Budget Bureau, Office of the President, consultant, 1965-69.

McCoy Arms Control Study, arms control panel member, 1961.

Surprise Attack Negotiations, US delegate, Geneva, 1958.

Garthen Committee, staff member, 1957.

Univ. of Chicago, asst. prof. of statistics, 1953-54.

Member: Economet Society, Institute of Strategic Studies, American  
Statistician Society.

Author: NATO Defense Planning: The Political and Bureaucratic  
Constraints, 1967; Problems of Estimating Military Power,  
1966; Psychosis and Civilization (co-author), 1952.

b. Sept. 13, 1921.

ROLAND A. PAUL  
425 Mid Oak Drive  
No. Muskegon, Michigan 49445  
bus. tel.: (616) 722-1101 home tel.: (616) 744-4057

Education:

Yale University, A.B. 1958, summa cum laude  
President: Phi Beta Kappa

Harvard Law School, LL.B. 1961, magna cum laude  
Member: Harvard Law Review

Positions held:

Law Clerk to Hon. Sterry R. Waterman, U.S. Court of Appeals, 2nd Circuit, St. Johnsbury, Vt. and New York City	1961-62
Special Assistant to General Counsel and Foreign Affairs Officer, International Security Affairs, Department of Defense	1962-64
Cravath, Swaine & Moore, New York City and Paris, associate attorney	1964-69
Counsel to Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on U.S. Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad	1969-71
Simpson Thacher & Bartlett, New York City, associate attorney	1971-73
Partner, Gilbert, Segall & Young, New York City	1973-74
Delson & Gordon, New York City, associate attorney	1974-76
Vice President-General Counsel, Howmet Turbine Components Corporation, Muskegon, Michigan	1976-pres.

Special Experience:

As counsel to the Senate Subcommittee, briefed by American  
ambassadors and ranking military officers in 24 countries in  
Europe, the Middle East, and the Far East, and conducted 37  
days of hearings in executive session. Spent one year in the  
Paris office of American law firm.

Organizations:

Council on Foreign Relations, New York City  
American Bar Association

Publications:

"The Act of State Doctrine Revived but Suspended",  
University of Pennsylvania Law Review, March 1965

"The Foreign Agents Registration Act: the New  
Amendments", The Business Lawyer, April 1967

"The Ten Billion Dollar Misunderstanding", The New  
York Times, February 12, 1971

"Laos: Anatomy of an American Involvement",  
Foreign Affairs, April 1971

"Toward a Theory of Intervention", Orbis, Spring 1972

American Military Commitments Abroad (New Brunswick:  
Rutgers University Press, 1973)

"\$6 Billion Defense Paring Proposed by Rye Student of  
Foreign Commitments", The Daily Item, Portchester,  
New York, March 22, 1973

Hearings Before House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee  
on Asian and Pacific Affairs, "Our Commitments in  
Asia", March 13, 1974

"A Report on Foreign Portfolio Investment Study  
Regulations," The New York Law Journal, January 13, 1975

"A New Role for Lawyers in Contract Negotiations",  
American Bar Association Journal, December 1975

Miscellaneous:

Age: 39; married; two children



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Education:

Yale University, A.B. 1958, summa cum laude  
President: Phi Beta Kappa

Harvard Law School, LL.B. 1961, magna cum laude  
Member: Harvard Law Review

Positions held:

Law Clerk to Hon. Sterry R. Waterman, U.S. Court of Appeals, 2nd Circuit, St. Johnsbury, Vt. and New York City	1961-62
Special Assistant to General Counsel and Foreign Affairs Officer, International Security Affairs, Department of Defense	1962-64
Cravath, Swaine & Moore, New York City and Paris, associate attorney	1964-69
Counsel to Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on U.S. Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad	1969-71
Simpson Thacher & Bartlett, New York City, associate attorney	1971-73
Partner, Gilbert, Segall & Young, New York City	1973-74
Delson & Gordon, New York City, associate attorney	1974-76
Vice President-General Counsel, Howmet Turbine Components Corporation, Muskegon, Michigan	1976-pres.

Special Experience:

As counsel to the Senate Subcommittee, briefed by American  
ambassadors and ranking military officers in 24 countries in  
Europe, the Middle East, and the Far East, and conducted 37  
days of hearings in executive session. Spent one year in the  
Paris office of American law firm.

Organizations:

Council on Foreign Relations, New York City  
American Bar Association

HIGH

ABSHIRE, David Manker

Georgetown Univ., Center for Strategic and International Studies, executive director, 1962-70, 1973-present.

Congressional Commission on Organization of Government for Conduct of Foreign Policy, Presidential appointee, 1973-present.

Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations, 1970-73.

American Enterprise Institute, director, special projects, 1961-62.

U.S. House of Representatives, 1958-60.

Georgetown Univ., Ph. D., 1959.

U.S. Military Academy, B.S., 1951.

Univ. of Chattanooga, 1945.

Author: The South Rejects a Prophet: The Life of Senator D.M. Key, 1967; (with others) Detente, 1965.

Editor: Research Resources for the Seventies, 1971; Portuguese Africa, 1969; National Security, 1963.

b. April, 11, 1926

GOLDBERG, Arthur Joseph

Member brokerage firm Salomon Bros., 1971-present.

American Univ., prof. law and diplomacy, 1972-present.

Law practice, N.Y.C., Wash., 1968-present.

U.S. rep. to U.N., 1965-68.

U.S. Supreme Court, associate justice, 1962-65.

Gen. counsel CIO, 1948-55, United Steelworkers of America, 1948-61, industrial union dept. AFL-CIO, 1955-61, sec. labor, 1961-62.

Member firm Goldberg, Devoe, Shadur & Mikva, Chicago, 1945-61;  
Goldberg, Feller & Bredhoff, Washington, 1952-61.

Law practice, Chicago, 1929-48.

American Jewish Committee, past pres., now hon. pres.

Author: Defenses of Freedom, 1966; AFL-CIO; Labor United, 1956.

Northwestern Univ., B.S.L., 1929, J.D., 1930.

b. Aug. 8, 1908.

*Halonen Background  
Devoted Jew.*

HAUSER, Rita Eleanore Abrams

Law practice (international law), N.Y.C., 1961-present.

Partner firm Stroock & Stroock & Lavan, 1972-present;  
Moldover, Hauser, Strauss & Vilin, 1968-72.

UN Commission on Human Rights, US rep., 1969-73.

UN General Assembly, US delegate, 1969.

US Adv. Comm. on International and Cultural Affairs,  
member, 1973-present.

N.Y.C Board of Higher Education, member, 1974-present.

Lawyers Commission for Civil Rights Under Law, member  
executive comm., 1969-present.

Member: Committee for Re-election of the President  
(co-chairman), 1972; Legal Aid Society, bd. dirs., N.Y.;  
International Legal Center, trustee; American Society of  
International Law (exec. comm. 1971-pres.), American  
Foreign Law Assn. (dir.), American Arbitration Assn.

Hunter College, A.B., 1954.

Univ. of Strasbourg (France), Dr. Political Economy, 1955.

Univ. of Paris, Licence en Droit, 1958.

Harvard Univ., LL.B., 1959; N.Y.U., 1959.

Seton Hall Univ., 1969; Finch Coll., 1969; Univ. of  
Miami, 1971, LL.D.

b. July 12, 1934.



JACKSON, Sen. Henry M. (D-Wash.)

Senate service, 1953-1977 (Committee on Armed Services)

House service, 1941-1953

Snohomish Co. Prosecuting Atty., 1938-40

Practicing attorney, 1936-38.

Democratic National Committee, Chairman, 1960-61.

Univ. of Wash., LL.B., 1935.

b. May 31, 1912.

KATZ, Milton

KATZ, MILTON, legal educator, b. N.Y.C., Nov. 29, 1907; ~~author~~  
~~and~~ ~~Chair~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~Shulman~~ ~~Chair~~ ~~in~~ ~~Law~~ ~~at~~ ~~Harvard~~ ~~U.~~ 1927, J.D., 1931;  
LL.D., Brandeis U., 1972; ~~author~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~book~~ ~~"The~~ ~~Law~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~Individual~~ ~~"~~ 1957; July 2, 1943,  
Emerson, John, Reform, ~~Chair~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~Shulman~~ ~~Chair~~ ~~in~~ ~~Law~~ ~~at~~ ~~Harvard~~ ~~U.~~ 1927-28, admitted to N.Y. bar,  
1932; May 16, 1939, various other posts with U.S. Gov't, 1932-39;  
prof. law Harvard, 1940 (leaves of absence 41-46, 48-50), Henry L.  
Stimson prof. law, also dir. internat. legal studies, 1954 - dir.  
internat. program in taxation, 1961-63; Sherman Fairchild  
Distinguished scholar Cal Inst. Tech., 1974; John D. Donnell,  
~~Chair~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~Shulman~~ ~~Chair~~ ~~in~~ ~~Law~~ ~~at~~ ~~Harvard~~ ~~U.~~ 1927-28, Solicitor Gen., 1943-46;  
1941-43, U.S. exec. officer Combined Prod. and Resource Prog., B.I.  
1942-43; with OSS, 1943-44; U.S. spl. rep. to Europe, 1950-51; chief U.S.  
ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, 1950-51; chmn. Fed. Financial  
delegation Econ. Comm'n. for Europe, 1950-51; v.p. Ford Found.;  
1951-54, cons., 1955-60, asst. sec. edn. HEW, 1967; cons.,  
chmn. energy, hum. cons. Off. Office Tech. Assessment, 1974--; Nat.  
Endowment Humanities, 1974--; Pres. Cambridge Community  
Services, 1959-61; dir. Internat. Friendship League; chmn. cons.  
group, 1959-61; dir. Internat. Cooperation, 1965; chmn.  
com. on life scis. and social policy Nat. Acad. Sci.-NRC; mem. panel  
tech. assessment Nat. Acad. Sci., 1968-69; Trustee Case Western Res.  
U., Brandeis U., Inter.-Am. U. Found.; mem. corp. Boston Mus. Sci.;  
mem. vis. com. humanities Mass. Inst. Tech., 1970-73; mem. adv. bd.  
Energy Lab., 1974--; chmn. bd. trustees Carnegie Endowment  
Internat. Peace; chmn. bd. trustees Internat. Legal Center; trustee  
mem. exec. com. World Peace Found.; pres. Citicorp's Research  
Found. Served with USNR, 1944-46; MTO, 1946-47; comdr. Res.  
Decorated Legion of Merit; Alumni Assn. (dir. 1952-55). Author:  
Cases and Materials in Administrative Law, 1947; Government  
Under Law and the Individual (with others), 1957; Law of  
International Transactions and Relations (with Kingman Brewster,  
Jr.), 1960; The Things That Are Caesar's, 1966; The Relevance of  
International Adjudication, 1968; The Modern Foundation: Its Dual  
Nature, Public and Private, 1968; (with others) Man's Impact on the  
Global Environment, 1970; (with others) Assessing Biomedical  
Technologies, 1975; also articles. Home: 6 Berkeley St Cambridge  
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KOHLER, Foy

Center for Advanced International Studies, Univ. of Miami, prof.,  
1968-present.

Cons. Dept. of State, Dept. of Defense, 1968-present.

Ambassador to USSR, 1962-66.

Deputy under Sec. of State for Political Affairs, State Dept., 1966-67.

Board for International Broadcasting, member, 1974 - present

National War College, consultant, 1974 - present.

Counselor of embassy, Ankara, Turkey, 1953-56.

Policy planning staff, State Dept., 1952.

Voice of America broadcasts, director, 1949.

International Broadcasting Division, State Dept., chief, 1949.

American Embassy, Moscow, 1st Sec., 1947, counsellor, June 1948.

U.S. Mission to Observe Greek Elections, sec. gen., 1945-46.

American Embassy, London, 1944.

Dept. of State, country specialist, 1941-44; asst. chief, Near Eastern  
Affairs, 1944-45.

Foreign Service Officer, from 1931; vice consul, Windsor, Ont.,  
Canada, 1932, Bucharest, Rumania, 1933-35, Belgrade, 1935;  
legation sec. and vice consul, Bucharest, 1935-36, Athens, Greece,  
1936-41, Cairo, Egypt, 1941.

Toledo Univ., student, 1924-27, LL.D., 1964.

Ohio State Univ., B.S., 1931, L.H.D., 1962.

Univ. of Akron, Findlay Coll., LL.D., 1967.

Author: The Soviet Union and the October 1973 Middle East War,  
The Implications for Detente (co-author), 1974;  
Convergence of Communism and Capitalism: The Soviet  
View; Soviet Strategy for the Seventies: From Cold War  
to Peaceful Coexistence, 1973

b. Feb. 15, 1908

McGEE, Senator Gale William (D-Wyoming)  
Senate service, 1959-77. (Committee on Foreign Relations)

Leg. ass't, Sen. Joseph O'Mahoney, 1955-56.

Prof., Neb. Wesleyan Univ., 1940-43; Iowa State, 1943-44; Univ. of Notre Dame, 1944-45; Univ. of Chicago, 1945-46; Univ. of Wyoming, 1946.

Univ. of Chicago, Ph.D., 1947.

Univ. of Colo., M.A., 1939.

Neb. State Teachers College, B.A., 1936

b. March 17, 1915.



NITZE, Paul Henry

Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, US delegate, 1969-<sup>1974</sup>present.

Dep. Sec. of Defense, 1967-69.

Sec. of Navy, 1963-67.

Assistant Sec. of Def. for International Security Affairs, 1961-63.

Foreign Service Educational Foundation, Wash., 1953-61.

Policy planning staff, State Dept., director, 1950-53.

Dep. to Asst. Sec. of State for Economic Affairs, 1948-49.

Office of International Trade Policy, State Dept., 1946

US Strategic Bombing Survey, director, then vice chmn., 1944-46.

Dillon, Read & Co., investment bankers, N.Y.C., 1929-37,  
v.p., 1939-41; pres. P.H. Nitze & Co., Inc., 1938-39.

Johns Hopkins, Pratt Institute, New School Social Research, LL.D.

Harvard, A.B., 1928.

b. Jan. 16, 1907.

ROCHE, John P.

Prof., civilization and foreign affairs, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 1973-present.

Hudson Institute, associate, 1970-present.

Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars, Smithsonian Instn., trustee, 1968-present.

Presidential Commission on International Broadcasting, member, 1972-73; *U.S. Board for Int'l. Broadcasting*, member, 1974-present.

Brandeis Univ., prof. politics and history, 1956-73; chairman dept. politics, 1956-59, 61-65; dean faculty arts and sciences, 1959-61.

Americans for Democratic Action, national chairman, 1962-65.

Consultant, Vice Pres. Hubert H. Humphrey, State Dept.; spl. cons. to President US, 1966-68.

Civil Liberties Union Mass., exec. comm. member, 1961-66.

Nationally syndicated columnist, 1968-present.

Served with USAAF, 1943-46.

Author: American Political Thought: Jefferson and the Progressives, 1967; Origins of American Political Thought, 1966; Shadow and Substance: Studies in the Theory and Structure of Politics, 1964, The Quest for the Dream: Civil Liberties in Modern America, 1963; The Dynamics of Democratic Government (with M.S. Stedman, Jr.), 1954; Sentenced to Life: Reflections on Politics, Education and Law, 1974.

Hofstra College, A.B., 1943

Cornell Univ., A.M., 1947, Ph.D., 1949.

ROSTOW, Eugene Victor

Yale Univ. School of Law, faculty member, 1938-present, prof. law, 1944-present, dean, 1955-65, Sterling prof. law and public affairs, 1964-present.

Atlantic Treaty Association, 1973-present.

Under-sec. state for political affairs, 1966-69.

Econ. Commn. for Europe, UN, asst. exec. sec., 1949-50

State Dept., adviser, 1942-44.

Cons. undersec. state, 1961-66.

Guggenheim fellow, 1959-60.

Jud. Council of Connecticut, 1955-56.

Peace Corps, advisory council member, 1961.

Atty. General's National Comm. Study Antitrust Laws, 1954-55.

Yale Univ., A.B., 1933, LL.B., 1937, A.M., 1944.

King's Coll., Cambridge (Eng.) Univ., 1933-34; M.A., Cambridge Univ., 1959, LL.D., 1962.

Author: Peace in the Balance, 1972; Law, Power and the Pursuit of Peace, 1968; The Sovereign Prerogative, 1962; Planning for Freedom, 1959.

Editor: Is Law Dead?, 1971.

b. Aug. 25, 1913; Democrat.

SCHLESINGER, James Rodney

U.S. Sec. of Defense, 1973-76

CIA, director, Feb.-July 1973.

Bur. of Budget, 1969, acting dep. dir., 1969-70, asst. dir. Office Management and Budget, 1970-71.

AEC, chairman, 1971-73

RAND Corp., sr. staff member, 1963-67, director of strategic studies, 1967-69

Foreign Policy Research Institute, mem. bd. assos., Univ. Pa., 1962-63

Univ. of Va., asst. prof., associate prof., 1955-63.

Frederick Sheldon prize fellow Harvard, 1950-51.

Author: Issues in Defense Economics (co-author), 1967,  
The Political Economy of National Security, 1960.

Harvard Univ., A.B., 1950; A.M., 1952; Ph.D., 1956.

b. Feb. 15, 1929      Republican



TAYLOR, Telford

Columbia Univ. Law School, Nash. prof., 1974-present;  
law prof., 1963-present; visiting lecturer, 1958-63.

Yale Univ. Law School, visiting lecturer, 1957-present.

N.Y.C. Adv. Bd. Public Welfare, chairman, 1960-63;  
member, 1963-present.

Small Defense Plants Administration, administrator, 1951-52.

Joint Council for Educational T.V., council, 1951-61.

FCC, general counsel, 1940-42.

Special assistant to U.S. Attorney General, 1939-40.

U.S. Senate Committee on interstate commerce, asso. counsel,  
1935-39.

A.A.A., sr. atty., 1934-35.

U.S. Dept of Interior, assistant solicitor, 1933-34.

Law clerk to U.S. circuit judge, N.Y.C., 1932-33.

Williams College, instructor of history and political  
science, 1928-29.

U.S. rep. for prosecution of war criminals, brig. gen., 1946.

U.S. chief of counsel for war crimes, Office Mil. Gov.(U.S.),  
1946-49.

Decorated Distinguished Service Medal.

Member: American Academy of Arts and Sciences (fellow),  
American Law Institute, American Military Institute,  
American Legion, Military Order of World Wars.

Author: Two Studies in Constitutional Interpretation, 1969,  
Nuremberg and Vietnam, 1970; The Breaking Wave,  
1967; The March of Conquest, 1958; Grand Inquest,  
1954; Sword and Swastika, 1952.

Williams College, A.B., 1928; A.M., 1932, LL.D., 1949.

Harvard Univ., LL.B., 1932.

b. Feb. 24, 1908.

WEISS, Seymour

Ambassador to the Bahamas, 1974-present.

Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs, director, 1973; combined policy office, director 1960-67.

State Dept; Secretary's planning and coordination staff, sr. member, 1969-73; office of Strategic Research and Intelligence, director, 1968-69; Director of military assistance coordination, 1955-60.

Assigned sr. seminar in foreign policy, 1967-68.

Mut. Security Agency, Wash. D.C. director of military assistance coordination, 1952-55.

Bureau of the Budget, principal examiner, international programs, 1949-52.

Served with USNR, 1943-46

Univ. of Pa., B.A. 1945

Univ. of Chicago, M.A., 1949

b. May 15, 1925

ZUMWALT, Elmo Russell, Jr.

Visiting prof., Vanderbilt Univ., 1974-75, Univ. of Neb., 1975, Whittier Coll., 1975.

Chief of Naval Operations, Wash., 1970-74.

Commander, U.S. Naval Forces Vietnam, chief, naval advisory group, Vietnam, 1968-70.

Center Naval Analysis, dep. sci. officer, 1966-68.

Washington Office Chief Naval Operations, systems analysis group, dir. chief naval operations.

Cruiser-Destroyer Flotilla Seven, commander, 1965-66.

Executive asst. sr. aide, Sec. of Navy, 1963-65.

Dir., arms control and contingency planning for Cuba, 1963.

Desk officer for France, Spain and Portugal, Office Asst. Sec. Def. for International Security Affairs, 1962-63.

U.S.S. Dewey, commander, 1959-61.

Bureau of Naval Personnel, head shore and overseas bases section, Washington, 1953-55.

Asst. prof., naval science, Naval R.O.T.C., Univ. of N.C. at Chapel Hill, 1948-50.

U.S. Naval Academy, B.S., 1942.

Naval War College, 1952-53; National War College, 1961-62, student.

LL.D. Villanova Univ., 1972, U.N.C., 1975.

U.S. International Univ., L.H.D., 1973.

Central Mich. Univ., Dr. Public Service, 1974.

b. Nov. 29, 1920

PERLE, Richard Norman

Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, professional staff member; Subcommittee on Arms Control, U.S. Senate, Committee on Armed Services, staff, July, 1972-present.

Staff, Senator Henry M. Jackson (D.-Wash.), Jan-June, 1972.

Subcommittee on National Security and International Operations, U.S. Senate, professional staff member, Oct., 1969-Jan., 1972.

Full-time consultant, Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defense, Office of the Secretary of Defense, Wash. D.C., Sept.-Oct., 1969.

Staff, Committee to Maintain a Prudent Defense Policy, Wash. D.C., June-Aug., 1969.

Westinghouse Electric Corporation, Defense and Space Center, Advanced Studies Group, Waltham, Mass., Oct., 1967-March, 1969, consultant; March-June, 1969, Senior Political Scientist.

Sandia Corporation, Albuquerque, New Mexico, consultant, Sept., 1966-Oct., 1967.

Institute of Naval Studies, Center for Naval Analyses, Cambridge, Mass., professional research staff, June 1965-Dec., 1965.

Univ. of Calif. at Los Angeles, Institute of Government and Public Affairs, research assistant, Feb., 1964-Sept., 1964.

Publications and Research: Overseas Bases in American Defense Policy, Sandia Corporation, 1968; The National Security Debate, California Debate Research Bureau, 1964.

Univ. of So. California, B.A., 1964.

Princeton Univ., M.A., 1967; presently Ph.D. candidate.

b. Sept. 16, 1941.



PIPES, Richard Edgar

Harvard Univ., faculty member, 1950-present, prof. history, 1963-present, Russian Research Center, assoc. dir., 1962-64, dir., 1968-73.

Stanford Research Institute, sr. consultant, 1973-present.

Stanford Univ., Center for Advanced Study in Behavioral Sciences, 1969-70

Guggenheim fellow, 1956, 65

Served with AUS, 1943-46

Author: Struve: Liberal on the Left 1870-1905, 1970; Europe Since 1815, 1970; Social Democracy and the St. Petersburg Labor Movement, 1963; Karamzin's Memoir on Ancient and Modern Russia, 1959; Formation of the Soviet Union, rev. edit., 1964.

Editor: Collected Works in Fifteen Volumes (P.B. Struve), 1970-71; Revolutionary Russia, 1968; (with John Fine) Of the Russe Commonwealth (Giles Fletcher); Russian Intelligentsia, 1961.

Muskingum (O.) College, 1940- 1943.

Cornell Univ., A.B., 1945.

Harvard Univ., Ph.D., 1950.

b. July 11, 1923.

REID, Ogden Rogers

Yale Univ. Council, graduate school committee member,  
1968-present.

U.S. Representative, 24th district, N.Y., 1962-75.

N.Y. Commission for Human Rights, chairman, 1961-62.

U.S. Ambassador to Israel, 1959-61.

Panama Canal Co., director, 1956-59.

N.Y. Herald Tribune, Inc., president and editor, 1955-59.

N.Y. Herald Tribune Societe Anonyme, president, 1953-58.

Hampton Institute, trustee.

U.S. Army service, 1943-46.

Member: Council on Foreign Relations; National Institute  
of Social Sciences; Atlantic Council of U.S., dir.;  
11th Airborne Division Assn.

Yale Univ., A.B., 1949.

Brandeis Univ., fel; Bar-Ilan Univ., Israel, fel.

Honorary degrees: LL.D., Adelphi Coll, 1960 & Jewish  
Theological Seminary, 1961.  
Dr. of Hebrew Letters, Dropsie College, 1961.

b. June 24, 1925.

ROWEN, Henry Stanislaus

Stanford Univ., prof., public management, business graduate school, 1972-present.

Rand Corp., Santa Monica, president, 1967-72;  
economist, 1950-61.

Bureau of the Budget, Washington, asst. dir., 1965-67.

Deputy Assistant Sec. of Defense for plans and National Security Council affairs, 1961-65.

Harvard Univ., research associate, 1960-61.

Served with USNR, 1943-46.

Member: Council on Foreign Relations; trustee, N.Y.C.-  
RAND Inst.

Author: National Security and the American Economy in the  
1960's.

Mass. Inst. Tech., B.S., 1949.

Oxford Univ. , B.Phil., 1955.

b. Oct. 11, 1925.

ROWEN, Hobart

Washington Post, financial editor, asst. mng. editor, 1966-75;  
*columnist, economic editor, 1975-present.*  
Business Trends, editor, 1957-65.

Newsweek, Washington bur. corr., 1944-65.

War Production Board, Washington, with information division,  
1942-44.

N.Y. Journal of Commerce, reporter, 1938-41; Washington corr.,  
1941-42.

Councilman, Town of Somerset, Md., 1957-65.

National Council for Aging, bd. dirs.

Contributor of articles and columns to various magazines and  
newspapers, including Harpers, New Republic.

Author: The Free Enterprisers--Kennedy, Johnson and the Business  
Establishment, 1964.

N.Y. City College, B.S., 1938.

b. July 31, 1918    Democrat



Dept. of State; dep. legal advisor, 1974-present; consultant, 1967-73; special rep. Micronesian claims, 1966-71; counselor, international law, 1973; asst. legal advisor for UN affairs; lecturer, American foreign policy university, India, 1952.

Johns Hopkins Univ., School of Advanced International Studies, professor of international law and organization, 1967, Edward B. Burling prof. of international law, 1973-present.

U.N.; Economic and Social Council, U.S. alternate rep., Geneva, 1974; UNCTAD Working Group on Charter Economic Rights and Duties of States, U.S. rep., delegation chairman, 2nd and 4th sessions, Geneva, 1973, Mexico City, 1974; Program Assistance in Teaching, Study, Dissemination and Wider Appreciation of International Law, U.S. rep. on adv. committee, 1966-74; Special Committee on Question Defining Aggression, U.S. rep., delegation chairman, 3rd session, Geneva, 1970; Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning friendly relations and cooperation among states, 1st session, U.S. rep., chairman U.S. delegation, Mexico City, 1964; World Federation of UN Associations, director, 1950-53; International Student Movement for UN, pres., 1950-51; Collegiate Council for UN, national chairman, 1948-50.

U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agy., consultant, 1970-73.

Cambridge Univ., visiting lecturer, international law, 1957; Harvard Univ., asst. prof. law, 1959-61; Australian National Univ., Canberra, visiting prof., international law, 1969; Dag Hammarskjold Inst., Uppsala, Sweden, visiting lecturer, 1967; lecturer, USN War College, Newport, 1966-68, National War College, 1970-75

American Society International Law, exec. dir., exec. v.p., 1967-73.

Member: Washington Institute on Foreign Affairs, International Law Association, Council on Foreign Relations, British Institute of International and Comparative Law, American Foreign Service Assn, Inter-American Institute of International Legal Studies.

Author: The Secretary-General of the United Nations, 1952.

Editor: (adv. bd.) Law and Policy in International Business, 1968-present; (chmn., editorial advisory comm.) International Legal Materials, 1967-73; (ed. bd.) American Journal of International Law, 1967-present; The Effectiveness of International Decisions, 1971.

Harvard Univ., B.A., 1950.

Yale Univ., 1954.

b. March 10, 1929.

SPIEGEL, Steven L.

Univ. of Calif. at Los Angeles, assoc. prof. political science;  
member, Dept. of Political Science, 1966-present.

Columbia Univ., asst. prof. political science, 1969-70.

Harvard Univ., Dept. of Gov., teaching fellow, 1964-65.

Fellow, Institute of War & Peace Studies, 1969-70; Washington  
Center of Foreign Policy Research, SAIS, Johns Hopkins Univ.,  
Wash. D.C., 1973-75.

Guggenheim Fellowship, 1973-74; Danforth Graduate Fellowship, 1962-66.

Author: At Issue: Politics in the World Arena (editor), 1973;  
Conflict in World Politics (co-editor), 1971; The International  
Politics of Regions: A Comparative Approach (co-author), 1970;  
Dominance and Diversity: The International Hierarchy, 1972;  
The War for Washington: The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict (forthcoming);  
"The Analysis of Regional International Politics: The Integration  
Versus the Empirical Systems Approach" (co-author), International  
Organization, Autumn, 1973; "The Fate of the Patron: American  
Trials in the Arab-Israeli Dispute," Public Policy, Spring, 1973;  
"International Regions: A Comparative Approach to Five Subordinate  
Systems" (co-author), International Studies Quarterly, Winter, 1970;  
"Bimodality and International Order: The Paradox of Parity,"  
Public Policy, Spring, 1970.

Univ. of So. Calif., B.A., 1962.

Harvard Univ., M.A., 1966; Ph.D., 1967. Thesis: "The Soviet-  
American Role in the Current International System: A  
Theoretical Analysis"

b. April 7, 1941.

TALISMAN, Mark Elliott

**TALISMAN, MARK ELLIOTT** (D)  
b Cleveland, Ohio, July 16, 41; s. ~~John F. Talisman~~ & ~~Rosalyn Seidenberg~~ T.  
~~or 1972 to 2nd Leslie Dworkin~~. Educ: Harvard Col. AB cum laude; George Washington Univ.  
grad studies in pub affairs, 2 years. Polit & Govt Pos: Admin asst to US Rep Charles A Vanik,  
63-; mem operating exec adv bd, Cleveland Coun for Econ Opportunity, 64-; mem, Cleveland  
Health Manpower Coun, 64-; mem, Cleveland Summer Arts Festival, 66-; ~~Ad Hoc~~  
~~Comm on Camping~~ 66-; mem, Vice President's Comm on Youth Opportunity, 67-68; deleg.  
Dem Nat Conv, 68; mem, Mayor's Comm on Youth Opportunity, 68-; mem, Bi-Partisan  
Internship Comm, US House of Rep, 69-; mem, JCC Self Study Comm; fel, John F Kennedy  
Inst Polit, Harvard Univ, 71-72, fel & instr. Spec Proj Training Freshman Congressmen, 72;  
official photographer, Dem Nat Conv, 72. Bus & Prof Pos: Chmn, Eastern Area Jr Red Cross,  
57-58; co-chmn, Nat Jr Red Cross, 58-59; chmn, Admin Assts Seminar Group, 64-68; intern,  
Off Int Rels, Am & Nat Red Cross; founder & proj dir, Oper Govt which produced 40 half  
hours of TV on three branches of fed govt, 64-69; mem bd dirs, Jewish Nat Fund; lectr, Case  
Western Reserve Univ, 70-71, bd mem, Bd Overseers, 72-78; mem pub affairs comt, Nat  
Jewish Welfare Bd, 70-72, bd mem, 72-; mem bd, Gov Sch, State of Ohio, 70- Publ: Harvard  
student guide to vineyards of France, Cambridge Univ, 64; Confronting congress, Harvard  
Polit Rev, 72; numerous articles on photography, cooking & wine notes to friends. Mem: Am  
Polit Sci Assn; Admin Assts Study Group; Harvard Clubs of Cleveland & Washington; B'nai  
B'rith. Honors & Awards: David McCord Frize for Artistic Endeavor, Harvard Univ, 63;  
Outstanding Photographer Awards; 12 One-Man Nat Color Photographic Shows; Harry F  
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American Council Learned Socs., chairman, planning group on comparative government studies, 1969-73.

National Endowment for the Humanities, fellow, 1975-76.

Institute for Advanced Studies, School of Historical Studies, member, 1968-69.

Guggenheim fellow, 1968-69.

Center for Advanced Study of Behavioral Sciences, fellow, 1964-65.

Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, visiting professor of Soviet studies, 1962.

Indiana Univ., assoc. prof., then prof., government, 1958-62.

Attache embassy, Moscow, USSR, editor, embassy's joint press reading service, 1944-53.

Member: American Political Science Assoc., American Philos. Assn, American Society Politics and Legal Philosophy, American Assoc. for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (bd. 1963-64).

Author: Stalin as Revolutionary, 1973; The Marxian Revolutionary Idea, 1969; The Soviet Political Mind, 1963; Philosophy and Myth in Karl Marx, 1961.

Editor: The Lenin Anthology, 1975; The Marx-Engels Reader, 1972; The Great Purge Trial (with S.F. Cohen), 1965.

Univ. of Mich., student, 1935-37.

Harvard Univ., A.B., 1939; M.A., 1941; Ph.D., 1958.

b. May 29, 1918.



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Yale Univ., asst. prof., 1970-73.

Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, foreign affairs  
officer 8/73.

Cornell Univ., A.B., 1965.

Univ. of Chicago, M.A., 1968.; Ph.D., 1972.

b. Dec. 22, 1943. :