THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
18 Apr 80

Peter Tarnoff

The attached was returned in the President's outbox today and is forwarded to you for appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Secretary Vance
    Lloyd Cutler
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Call Tarnoff 632-0968

to see if he wants
to deliver

P.H.

(send Vance copies
in any case)
4/18/80

Rick Hutcheson --

Since these two are DoS personnel...it is important that Peter Tarnoff be contacted to see if Secretary Vance wants to forward letters with his own, or forward them.

It would be especially important for him to do this and not Lloyd, if Lloyd was planning on "presentation", or delivery. Unless for some reason Vance didn't want to (and in view of the proper "protocol" & feelings, the only reason he'd say he didn't was in the event Lloyd inferred he himself wanted to do so.

Thanks--Susan Clough
April 16, 1980

Susan:

Mr. Cutler requested these letters be signed by the President.

I checked with Rick Hutcheson.

He said once the speechwriters have approved to give them to you.

Tom Teal in speechwriters approved them.

Once signed, please call and we will come down to get them.

Thank you

Shelly
x2632
The State Department has been doing an outstanding job on the Olympics issue. I recommend that you send the attached letters to Nelson Ledsky, the head of the Olympics Working Group, and to Hodding Carter.

Warren Christopher concurs.

Attachments
To Nelson Ledsky

I want to thank you and the other members of the State Department's Olympic Working Group for the excellent job that you are doing.

Your efforts at home have culminated in the successful vote at Colorado Springs. I am confident your efforts abroad will culminate in a widespread and effective boycott of the Moscow Olympics.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Mr. Nelson Ledsky
Director, Olympic Working Group
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 17, 1980

To Hodding Carter

I want to thank you and your staff for the excellent work you did in preparing for the USOC House of Delegates vote. Your briefings were a key to our success at Colorado Springs.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Mr. Hodding Carter, III
Public Affairs and Department Spokesman
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 17, 1980

To Nelson Ledsky

I want to thank you and the other members of the State Department's Olympic Working Group for the excellent job that you are doing.

Your efforts at home have culminated in the successful vote at Colorado Springs. Your efforts abroad will culminate in a widespread and effective boycott of the Moscow Olympics.

Thank you again.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

[Signature]

cc: Secretary Vance

Mr. Nelson Ledsky
Director,
Olympic Working Group
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 17, 1980

To Hodding Carter

I want to thank you and your staff for the excellent work you did in preparing for the USOC House of Delegates vote. Your briefings were a key to our success at Colorado Springs.

Sincerely,

cc: Secretary Vance

Mr. Hodding Carter, III
Public Affairs and Department Spokesman
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Electrostatic Copy Made for Preservation Purposes
Hamilton Jordan

The attached was returned in the President's outbox today and is forwarded to you for appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson
Memorandum for Hamilton Jordan

From: Richard Moe

Subject: Mobil Strategy

The group Al McDonald has been convening this week to ensure positive events on the President's schedule (Pat, Marty Franks, Bill Albers, Phil Wise, David Rubenstein and myself) strongly recommends an event Friday at which the President would have a showdown with the leadership of Mobil.

We suggest that Mobil's president be invited to a meeting with Bill Miller, Charlie Duncan, Fred Kahn, et al., in the Roosevelt Room, at which they would present the Administration's bottom line as to both the precise amount we want to see them roll back their prices and the kind of statement we want them to issue. If they agree, the President would come, congratulate them, and together go into the press room to announce an amicable settlement. If they don't agree, the President would come in and indicate that this case is essential to our guidelines program; if they don't agree, he will have no choice but to take his case to the public. The President would then go to the press room and issue a harsh denunciation of Mobil's attitude, and this could be followed by some creative backgroundering by Jody to put the President in the most forceful posture possible.

A decision will have to be made this afternoon if this event is to take place tomorrow. Some at COWPS and the EPG, as you know, would much prefer to work this out without a confrontation, and will undoubtedly argue against this strategy or at least for a delay. We fear, however, that if they succeed an invaluable opportunity will be lost to enable the President to be seen vigorously and effectively fighting inflation. It could probably slide to Saturday (I don't know what his weekend plans are) but I fear that by Monday it will be seen as too political.
Stu Eizenstat

The attached was returned in the President's outbox today and is forwarded to you for appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Jack Watson
Arnie Miller
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FOR STAFFING
FOR INFORMATION
FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND
NO DEADLINE
FOR APPROPRIATE HANDLING
LAST DAY FOR ACTION

ADMIN CONFID
CONFIDENTIAL
SECRET
EYES ONLY
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT
FROM: STU EIZENSTAT
SUBJECT: HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL COUNCIL

The prospective Holocaust Memorial Council members recently approved by you have been notified and cleared. Upon further inquiry, however, it turned out that two of those approved (Ms. Paulette Fink and Professor Jochanan Wijnhoven) are not United States citizens and therefore not eligible for service on the Council. With the concurrence of Jack Watson's office, we have substituted two other persons as follows:

Professor Terrence Des Pres
Professor of English, Colgate University, Hamilton, New York; author of The Survivors, a study of writings by survivors of the Holocaust and other forms of massive oppression.

Mr. Kalman Sultanik
Survivor; attorney; author of articles on current events in the Middle East; Executive Vice Chairman of World Conference of General Zionists; Vice President, World Jewish Congress; New York City.

Attached is the final Council list of fifty persons, including the two described above, should you wish to review the entire list once again before it is released to the public.
Proposed Membership List

UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL COUNCIL

* Mr. Elie Wiesel, Chairman
   Distinguished author and witness to the Holocaust; survivor;
   Andrew Mellon Professor of the Humanities at Boston University;
   New York City

* Mr. Mark Talisman, Vice Chairman
   Director of the Washington Action Program for the Council of
   Jewish Federations; Washington, DC

Rabbi Joseph Asher
   Rabbi, Congregation Emanu-El in San Francisco, Past President,
   currently Vice President of the American Jewish Congress;
   San Francisco, California

Mr. Tibor Baranski
   Honored by Yad Vashem for actions saving Hungarian Jews during
   Holocaust; Social Services Department, Catholic Charities,
   Buffalo, New York

* Mr. Irving Bernstein
   Executive Vice Chairman, United Jewish Appeal; New York City

Dr. Marver Bernstein
   President, Brandeis University; Waltham, Massachusetts

* Mr. Hyman Bookbinder
   Washington Representative of the American Jewish Committee;
   Washington, DC

Mr. Victor Borge
   Distinguished star of stage and screen; long active in Tribute
   to the Danes, a foundation designed to honor the Danes for their
   efforts in World War II by providing scholarships for Danish
   students to study the Holocaust; Greenwich, Connecticut

* Dr. Robert McAfee Brown
   Professor of Theology and Ethics, Pacific School of Religion,
   Berkeley; noted scholar and author; Palo Alto, California

Professor Harry J. Cargas
   Chairman of Department of Literature, Webster College; author of
   books on the Holocaust; St. Louis, Missouri

Ms. Esther Cohen
   Co-Chairperson, Simon Wiesenthal Center for Holocaust Studies;
   Los Angeles, California

* Denotes membership on former Holocaust Commission or Advisory Board
Professor Gerson D. Cohen
Chancellor and Jacob H. Schiff Professor of History at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America; New York City

The Honorable Mario Cuomo
Lieutenant Governor of New York State; Albany, New York

Mr. A. Arthur Davis
Attorney; President of Des Moines Chamber of Commerce; active in civic and humanitarian programs; Des Moines, Iowa

Professor Terrence Des Pres
Professor of English, Colgate University, Hamilton, New York; author of The Survivors, a study of writings by survivors of the Holocaust and other forms of massive oppression; Hamilton, New York

Pastor Constantine N. Dombalis
Theologian and Pastor Sts. Constantine and Helen Greek Orthodox Cathedral, Richmond, Virginia; National Conference of Christians and Jews Brotherhood Award; B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League Torch of Liberty Award; Richmond, Virginia

Mr. Jaroslav Drabek
Survivor; former prosecutor of Nazi war criminals in Czechoslovakia; worked at Voice of America until retirement; Washington, DC

Ms. Kitty Dukakis
President, Center for the Study of the Holocaust and Armenian Genocide; Brookline, Massachusetts

Professor Willard Fletcher
Chairman of History Department, University of Delaware; teaches seminar on the Holocaust and is currently writing a book on that period, Einsatzgruppen; assisted Office of Public Prosecutor in West Germany in gathering evidence against Nazi war criminals; born a Catholic in Luxembourg, he was interned by the Germans from 1942 to 1944 and, upon his release, he enlisted and fought with the United States Army; Newark, Delaware

Mr. Irvin Frank
Chairman, Board of Zochrim, Zachor: The Holocaust Resource Center, New York City; Past President of the Tulsa (Oklahoma) Jewish Community Council; Past President of Temple Israel; Board of Directors of Hilcrest Medical Center; Board of Directors of the National Conference of Christians and Jews; Chairman of the Board of Newmans; Chairman of the Board, Energy Control, Inc.; Tulsa, Oklahoma

Mr. Sol Goldstein
Survivor; President of Harry J. Bosworth and Company; President, Master Chemical Company; Chairman, Chicago Committee for Holocaust Commemoration; Member, Board of Directors of the Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Chicago; Skokie, Illinois
* Cantor Isaac Goodfriend
  Survivor; Cantor, Ahavath Achim Congregation; Atlanta, Georgia

* Professor Alfred Gottschalk
  President of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of
  Religion; Cincinnati, Ohio

* Dr. Irving Greenberg
  Director, National Jewish Resource Center; former Director,
  President's Commission on the Holocaust; author and Holocaust
  scholar; New York City

* Father Theodore Hesburgh, C.S.C.
  President of Notre Dame University, South Bend, Indiana

Ms. Dorothy Height
  President, National Council of Negro Women in Washington, DC;
  New York City

* Professor Raul Hilberg
  Professor of Political Science, University of Vermont; author
  of the magisterial work, The Destruction of the European Jews;
  Burlington, Vermont

Mr. Julian E. Kulas
  Attorney and banker; member Chicago Commission on Human
  Relations; Chairman, Helsinki Monitoring Committee of Chicago;
  former President Chicago branch of Ukrainian Congress Committee
  of America; Chairman for the Interfaith Group of Jewish Federation
  of Chicago; Chicago, Illinois

* Professor Norman Lamm
  President of Yeshiva University; New York City

* Mr. Frank R. Lautenberg
  Chairman of the Board, Automatic Data Processing Corporation;
  President, United Jewish Appeal; business executive and
  philanthropist; Clifton, New Jersey

* Mr. Miles Lerman
  Survivor; resistance fighter; President, Miles Petroleum, Inc.;
  Vice Chairman, State of Israel Bonds; Vineland, New Jersey

* Professor Franklin Littell
  Chairman of the Board, National Institute on the Holocaust;
  Professor of Religion, Temple University; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

* Mr. Steven Rudsin
  Attorney and investment banker; President, Remembrance of the
  Holocaust Foundation; member, Board of Directors of the
  American Friends of Haifa University; child of survivor;
  New York City
Dr. Ingeborg G. Muaksch
Professor of Nursing, Vanderbilt University; holder of numerous honors and awards in nursing profession, active in community affairs and human rights causes; many members of extended family perished in concentration camps; Nashville, Tennessee

Mr. Aloysius Mazewski
President, Polish American Congress, Inc.; Chicago, Illinois

Mr. Benjamin Meed
Business executive; survivor; resistance leader; President, Warsaw Ghetto Resistance Organization; New York City

Mr. Set Momjian
Leader in the American-Armenian community; Public Member, United States Delegation to the United Nations, 1978-1979; White House Representative to Human Rights Commission in Geneva, 1979; Member, Board of International League of Human Rights; Member, Board of Balch Institute of Ethnic Studies; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Father John T. Pawlikowski
Professor of Historical and Doctrinal Studies, Catholic Theological Union; Member, Advisory Committee, Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations, National Conference of Catholic Bishops; Chicago, Illinois

Rabbi Bernard Raskas
Rabbi, Temple of Aaron Congregation, St. Paul; active in national rabbinical organizations; St. Paul, Minnesota

Ms. Hadassah Rosensaft
Lecturer and author on the Holocaust; survivor of Bergen-Belsen who remained in the camp over 5 years following liberation to supervise the resettlement of other survivors; New York City

Mr. Bayard Rustin
President, A. Philip Randolph Institute; former assistant to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.; New York City

Dr. Abraham Sachar
Chancellor and former President of Brandeis University; Waltham, Massachusetts

Mr. Edward Sanders
Former Senior Advisor to the President; attorney; Los Angeles, California

Mr. Julius Schatz
Director, Commission on Jewish Life and Culture; American Jewish Congress; New York City
* Mr. Richard Schifter
  Attorney; former President, Maryland Board of Education; refugee from Nazi-occupied Europe (parents perished in the Holocaust); Chevy Chase, Maryland

* Mr. Sigmund Strochlitz
  Survivor; business executive and philanthropist; President of American Friends of Haifa University where he endowed a Chair in Holocaust Studies; New London, Connecticut

Mr. Kalman Sultanik
Survivor; attorney; author of articles on current events in the Middle East; Executive Vice Chairman of World Conference of General Zionists; Vice President, World Jewish Congress; New York City

* Mr. Glenn E. Watts
  President of the Communications Workers of America; Washington, DC

* Mr. Siggi Wilzig
  Survivor; Chairman and President, The Trust Company of New Jersey; Jersey City, New Jersey

Mr. Eli Zborowski
Survivor; Honorary President of the American Federation of Jewish Fighters, Camp Inmates and Nazi Victims; business executive and philanthropist; New York City
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STU EIZENSTAT

SUBJECT: Holocaust Memorial Council

After some discussion, Elie Wiesel has agreed to your suggestion that the Executive Order establishing the Holocaust Council not be changed but that the letters of appointment be redrafted to indicate the distinctive Jewish quality of the Holocaust.

Attached at Tab A are the letters of appointment for Wiesel, Mark Talisman (Vice Chairman), Glenn Watts and Victor Borge. The Watts and Borge letters will serve as the models for appointment letters for, respectively, Council members who previously served on the Holocaust Commission and for Council members who did not.

At your direction, we have eliminated three proposed Holocaust Council members and have added three persons of Eastern European backgrounds. These individuals have been approved by the relevant staff members of Zbig and Jack, both of whom have been out of town this past week.

The three new members are:

1. Mr. Tibor Baranski (Hungarian) - Honored by Yad Vashem, Israeli National Memorial and Holocaust Remembrance Authority, as a "Righteous Among the Nations" for heroic actions by non-Jews during the Holocaust to save Jewish lives; his documented actions resulted in saving over 3,000 Hungarian Jews; honored by the Jewish community of Buffalo; employed by the Social Services Department of Catholic Charities; Buffalo, New York.

2. Professor Harry James Cargas (Polish) - Professor and Chairman of the Department of Literature and Language, Webster College, St. Louis, Missouri; author of books on the Holocaust, St. Louis, Missouri.

3. Mr. Jaroslav Drabek (Czech) - Survivor of Nazi concentration camp; prosecutor of Nazi war criminals in Czechoslovakia in post-World War II period; worked at Voice of America until retirement; Washington, D.C.

Attached at Tab B is the complete list of proposed Holocaust members.
If you decide to hold a "Days of Remembrance" ceremony to honor Holocaust victims (which I would strongly urge), that occasion would be the ideal setting to announce the Council and its membership. If such a ceremony is not held, I will develop an alternative way to announce the Council.

(NOTE: Another memo from Stu, recommending a "Days of Remembrance" ceremony, was not submitted, as Phil Wise indicates you do not have time for it during the period of the Sadat/Begin visits.)

---Rick)
To Mark Talisman

I would like to reiterate to you my deep appreciation for your distinguished service as a member of the President's Commission on the Holocaust. The Commission has made an invaluable contribution to our country and to the memory of the six million Jews and the millions of other victims of Nazism in World War II.

In order to carry out the Commission's recommendations, I have now established the United States Holocaust Memorial Council. The Council will be responsible for implementing the recommendations of the Commission on the Holocaust. Specifically, the Council will be concerned with the establishment of an appropriate memorial museum, an educational and research foundation, and of a Citizens Committee on Conscience to commemorate the Holocaust.

I think it is essential that these projects recognize the distinctively Jewish nature of the Holocaust. As Elie Wiesel so eloquently wrote in submitting the Commission's report, while not all victims were Jews, all Jews were victims, destined for annihilation solely because they were born Jewish. Of course, it is also important to take into account, as the Council's work proceeds, that there were Nazi atrocities committed against other nationalities and ethnic groups in all of the occupied countries of Europe.

Although the Holocaust took place in Europe, the event is of fundamental significance to Americans for at least three reasons. First, it was American troops who liberated many of the death camps, and who helped to expose the horrible truth of what had been done there. Secondly, however, we must
share the responsibility for not being willing to acknowledge forty years ago that this horrible event was occurring. Finally, because we are humane people, concerned with the human rights of all peoples, we feel compelled to study the systematic destruction of the Jews so that we may seek to learn how to prevent such enormities from occurring in the future.

Because of your previous contribution as a member of the Commission, your distinguished record of community service, and your leadership abilities, I am pleased to invite you to serve as Vice Chairman of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council.

You have my full support in this uniquely important mission.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Mr. Mark Talisman
Director
Washington Action Office of
the Council of Jewish Federations
227 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002
To Glen Watts

I would like to reiterate to you my deep appreciation for your distinguished service as a member of the President's Commission on the Holocaust. The Commission has made an invaluable contribution to our country and to the memory of the six million Jews and the millions of other victims of Nazism in World War II.

In order to carry out the Commission's recommendations, I have now established the United States Holocaust Memorial Council. The Council will be responsible for implementing the recommendations of the Commission on the Holocaust. Specifically, the Council will be concerned with the establishment of an appropriate memorial museum, an educational and research foundation, and of a Citizens Committee on Conscience to commemorate the Holocaust.

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share the responsibility for not being willing to acknowledge forty years ago that this horrible event was occurring. Finally, because we are humane people, concerned with the human rights of all peoples, we feel compelled to study the systematic destruction of the Jews so that we may seek to learn how to prevent such enormities from occurring in the future.

Because of your membership on the Commission, and your distinguished record of community service, I am pleased to invite you to serve as a member of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council.

You, and the other members of the Council, will have my support in your uniquely important mission.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Mr. Glen Watts
President
Communications Workers of America
1925 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006
To Victor Borge

Last year, I appointed the President's Commission on the Holocaust, under the Chairmanship of the distinguished humanitarian, author, and scholar, Mr. Elie Wiesel. The Commission was to assess how our government might officially recognize, for the first time, the tragedy of the Holocaust. In September, the Commission submitted its Report and Recommendations to me.

In order to carry out the Commission's recommendations to fruition, I have now established the United States Holocaust Memorial Council. The Council will be responsible for implementing the recommendations of the Commission on the Holocaust. Specifically, the Council will be concerned with the establishment of an appropriate memorial museum, an educational and research foundation, and of a Citizens Committee on Conscience to commemorate the Holocaust.

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Although the Holocaust took place in Europe, the event is of fundamental significance to Americans for at least three reasons. First, it was American troops who liberated many of the death camps, and who helped to expose the horrible truth of what had been done there. Secondly, however, we must
share the responsibility for not being willing to acknowledge forty years ago that this horrible event was occurring. Finally, because we are humane people, concerned with the human rights of all peoples, we feel compelled to study the systematic destruction of the Jews so that we may seek to learn how to prevent such enormities from occurring in the future.

Because of your distinguished record of community service and your own humanitarian concerns, I am pleased to invite you to serve as a member of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council.

You, and the other members of the Council, will have my support in your uniquely important mission.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Mr. Victor Borge
Field Point Park
Greenwich, Connecticut 06830
To Elie Wiesel

I want you to know once again how greatly I have valued your distinguished service as Chairman of the President's Commission on the Holocaust. Under your guidance and leadership, the Commission has made an invaluable contribution to our country and to the memory of the six million Jews who perished in the Holocaust, and the other victims of Nazism in World War II.

I have been gratified by our developing friendship, and deeply touched by the opportunity to broaden my awareness and perception of the Holocaust — a period of darkness that revealed the most profound evil and the highest spirituality that the human soul is capable of achieving.

In order to carry out the Commission's recommendations, I have now established the United States Holocaust Memorial Council. Specifically, the Council will be responsible for the establishment of an appropriate memorial museum, an educational and research foundation, and a Citizens Committee on Conscience to commemorate the Holocaust.

I think it is essential that these projects recognize the distinctively Jewish nature of the Holocaust. As you so eloquently wrote in submitting the Commission's report, while not all victims were Jews, all Jews were victims, destined for annihilation solely because they were born Jewish. Of course, it is also important to take into account, as the Council's work proceeds, that there were Nazi atrocities committed against other nationalities and ethnic groups in all of the occupied countries of Europe.
Although the Holocaust took place in Europe, the event is of fundamental significance to Americans for at least three reasons. First, it was American troops who liberated many of the death camps, and who helped to expose the horrible truth of what had been done there. Also, the United States became a homeland for many of those who were able to survive. Secondly, however, we must share the responsibility for not being willing to acknowledge forty years ago that this horrible event was occurring. Finally, because we are humane people, concerned with the human rights of all peoples, we feel compelled to study the systematic destruction of the Jews so that we may seek to learn how to prevent such enormities from occurring in the future.

I am pleased to invite you to serve as Chairman of the Holocaust Memorial Council. In view of your previous service and your extraordinary record as a survivor, witness, author, scholar, and teacher, it is uniquely appropriate that you once again assume the responsibilities of leadership in this vital mission.

As always, you will have my strongest personal support.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

The Honorable Elie Wiesel
239 Central Park West
New York, New York 10024
MR. PRESIDENT:

Congressman John Dingell called yesterday at 4:30 p.m. Bill Cable says he's in the middle of marking up the '81 DOE Bill, he's on our side, and we need to keep him that way; Bill recommends you return his call.

PHIL
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INFORMATION (Continued on back if necessary)

BACKGROUND: I recommend that you place a thank-you call to the Senator who led the minority support for the trucking deregulation bill. I understand from his staff that he communicated his disappointment in not hearing personally from you after the successful Committee action.

NOTES: (Date of Call 4-18) Grateful.

FRANK wants to know ahead of time if FTC bill will be vetoed so that he might help on floor debate.

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TALKING POINTS

1. I want to express my appreciation for your efforts in guiding the trucking deregulation bill through the Senate. This legislation is extremely important to our nation, and in my view will increase competition, conserve energy, improve services to small communities, and eliminate arbitrary and inefficient regulations on the trucking industry.

2. I understand that this was a difficult subject with several controversial votes on both the Committee and on the floor, particularly the vote to broaden the agricultural exemption to include processed foods. Your leadership on this issue is to be commended.

3. On behalf of the administration, please accept my thanks for the passage of this crucial legislation which, if passed by the House, will play an important role in our fight against inflation.

4. In the event Senator Packwood mentions the FTC authorization bill to you, you should voice concern about this bill, say you are studying the latest version closely, and will talk to him about it shortly. A comprehensive memorandum is on its way to you tonight.
BACKGROUND: I recommend that you make a thank-you call to the Senator. He was the floor manager for the trucking deregulation bill.

NOTES: (Date of Call 4-18-80)
TALKING POINTS

1. I want to express my appreciation for your efforts in guiding the trucking deregulation bill through the Senate. This legislation is extremely important to our nation, and in my view will increase competition, conserve energy, improve services to small communities, and eliminate arbitrary and inefficient regulations on the trucking industry.

2. I understand that this was a difficult subject with several controversial votes on both the Committee and on the floor, particularly the vote to broaden the agricultural exemption to include processed foods. Your leadership on this issue is to be commended.

3. On behalf of the administration, please accept my thanks for the passage of this crucial legislation which, if passed by the House, will play an important role in our fight against inflation.

4. In the event Senator Cannon mentions the FTC authorization bill to you, you should voice concern about this bill, say you are studying the latest version closely, and will talk to him about it shortly. A comprehensive memorandum is on its way to you tonight.
Senator Wallop's father died yesterday. You should call him as soon as possible to express your sympathy.

I offered or help if needed.
INFORMATION (Continued on back if necessary)
Thank Congressman Edwards for his help on the draft registration vote this morning. Tell him you heard about the strong statement he made on the bill and you appreciate his support. Also mention that it is important to get the bill passed on Tuesday.

NOTES: (Date of Call 4-18)
Working on letter to Republicans.
Norm Dicks is also.
"Will go to wire on this one."
NAME: Jamie Whitten

TITLE: Chairman, House Appropriations Cte.

CITY/STATE: (D-Miss.)

Phone Number--Home (___) WH Operator
Work (___) 225-4306
Other (___) 225-2771 (Approp. Cte.)

INFORMATION (Continued on back if necessary)

You should call Chairman Whitten and thank him for his support this morning on the draft registration bill. Tell him how important it is to get the bill passed on Tuesday.

NOTES: (Date of Call 4-18) Will speak on floor. Pointing out damage from not backing President.
The concert Willie has agreed to do in Atlanta tomorrow night has been an overwhelming success. We expect to raise $150,000 from it. It would be helpful for you to call Willie right before the show in his suite or backstage to again thank him for doing the event.
In addition to thanking Willie for doing the concert in Atlanta tonight you should mention that you have heard about his new movie, "Honeysuckle Rose", and you are anxious and excited to see it.
Jack Watson

The attached was returned in the President's outbox today and is forwarded to you for appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Fran Voorde
    Phil Wise
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT
FROM: JACK WATSON
SUBJECT: Memo from Victor Palmieri

I am transmitting for your review the attached memo from Victor Palmieri.

Secretary Vance plans to testify before the Senate Judiciary Committee, tomorrow, Thursday, April 17, and before the House Judiciary Committee during the following week. This information will familiarize you with the administration position the Secretary plans to present to the Congress, a summary of which is attached.

Victor has requested a meeting with you sometime soon to discuss these issues. Under the circumstances, I recommend you have this meeting. I will submit a more detailed memo regarding this meeting next week.
MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
From: Victor H. Palmieri
Subject: Problems and Progress in Resettlement

I am submitting for your approval a report to the Congress required by the Refugee Act of 1980 to initiate the consultation process necessary to your formal determination to provide relief and resettlement of emergency situation refugees. My Office has coordinated this report with the White House and participating agencies, and their comments are reflected in the text.

Your signing of the Refugee Act of 1980 on March 17, marked a turning point in our efforts to provide a more comprehensive and equitable basis for United States efforts to assist refugees seeking immediate relief and permanent resettlement. In the coming months my Office will be overseeing steps to implement the Refugee Act, particularly those provisions underscoring more effective coordination of domestic programs, and ensuring that refugees have access to the kinds of training and assistance to help them become self-supporting and contributing members of society as soon as possible. By far the greater proportion of our efforts will be directed towards the Indochinese. As of April 1, the United States had accepted 333,000 Indochinese for resettlement since 1975. We estimate that this number will reach 416,000 by the end of the 1980 fiscal year. Overall, the resettlement program has worked reasonably well, but the problems are growing as the number of arrivals increase. I would like to touch on the more pressing problems and indicate the nature of our response.
Problems:

-- There is danger of renewed violence in the small fishing communities along the Gulf Coast, where the continuing influx of Indochinese fishermen is creating mounting resentment. Family reunification and economic opportunities exert a magnet effect drawing the refugees to the area, who in turn compete with local fishermen for scarce resources.

-- My talks with the press, public officials and others reveal a growing public perception that refugees are receiving special assistance from the government as well as special advocacy from both the public and private sectors, at the expense of other minority groups.

-- Unlike refugees arriving in 1975, many recent arrivals have little or no knowledge of the English language or of our society and customs. As a result they have a harder time finding employment, and frequently require cash assistance before entering the job market.

-- Voluntary agencies responsible for the resettlement have been under increasing pressure to aid ever growing numbers of refugees. These agencies need help in strengthening management techniques and coordinating their efforts with government and private groups.

-- As a result of efforts by voluntary agencies to reunite families, and the natural inclination of new refugees to seek out earlier arrivals, refugee populations have tended to become concentrated in certain areas. This creates increasing tensions, strains community resources, and builds community resistance to accepting additional refugees.

-- My visits to communities around the country reveal that state and local officials feel that they have not been adequately consulted or informed about federal refugee policies or programs.

Response:

-- The Community Relations Service of the Department of Justice has developed a crisis response plan which has played a vital role to date in keeping peace in these localities. However, CRS lacks resources to respond adequately to potential problems in the critical months ahead. With the fishing season opening in mid-May, I am seeking immediate help from the White House staff and OMB to develop the necessary funding.
-- A public information program is needed to counter rumors and misinformation such as the common assertion that "refugees don't have to pay taxes" on their earnings. We should also be alert to possibilities for expanding programs initiated on behalf of refugees which can benefit other minority groups in the community as well. Day care centers and summer camps are examples.

-- We are working with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to establish orientation and language training programs in the camps in first asylum countries. Initial programs call for immediate expansion of small existing language projects and rapid distribution of cultural orientation materials.

-- Voluntary agencies recognize problems of management and are cooperating with the Department of State to establish clearer and more uniform performance standards. We are also seeking to strengthen communication and coordination through a series of regional conferences which will bring together all the public and private agencies involved in resettlement activity.

-- My Office and the Department of Health and Human Services are working to identify new communities capable of providing the jobs, housing, and social services necessary to attract and hold refugees in areas of initial placement. However, a conscious effort to direct refugees to new areas is a difficult undertaking and the results are hard to predict.

-- We will be ready soon to introduce a statistical information system designed to provide more accurate and timely data on monthly refugee arrivals in each city and state. In addition we are meeting regularly with state and local officials and with the staffs of the governors', counties' and mayors' associations.

Comment

I believe that the resettlement of more than 300,000 Indochinese since 1975 is an important accomplishment. The growing scarcity of jobs and housing and the increasing federal, state and local budgetary resources, however, has brought us to a critical point in our domestic refugee program. Developing problems must be quickly addressed or we will risk undermining public support for an effort that must be sustained at present levels for the most basic humanitarian reasons through fiscal year 1981.
Report to the Congress


April 15, 1980

Prepared by the Office of the U.S. Coordinator for Refugee Affairs in cooperation with the Departments of State, Justice, Labor, and Health, Education and Welfare, and the Office of Management and Budget
SUMMARY

The attached report has been prepared for the Committees on the Judiciary of the House and the Senate in compliance with the requirements of the Refugee Act of 1980. The Act requires that the Committees be provided with information on the six areas of concern as follows:

(1) Nature of the Refugee Situation

During the past year, there have been significant increases in the numbers of refugees and displaced persons throughout the world, with estimates as high as 14 million. Although some crises are short lived because refugees are repatriated or resettled in place, situations in Southeast Asia, the Horn of Africa and Afghanistan suggest an ominous trend toward massive and long-term refugee problems. Large numbers of refugees impose economic and political strains on countries of first asylum and are a threat to peace in their respective regions.

(2) Number and Allocation of Refugee Admissions

The proposed number and allocation of refugees to be admitted to the United States during Fiscal Year 1980 is as follows:
## REFUGEE ADMISSIONS
### FY 1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area of Origin</th>
<th>Approximate Number Admitted First Half of Fiscal Year</th>
<th>Approximate Number to Be Admitted Remainder of Fiscal Year</th>
<th>Total Number of Admissions for FY 1980</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ASIA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indochinese</td>
<td>84,000</td>
<td>84,000</td>
<td>168,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOVIET UNION</td>
<td>18,000</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>33,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EASTERN EUROPE</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIDDLE EAST</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>2,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LATIN AMERICA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cubans</td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>16,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>936</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFRICA</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>1,380</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUB-TOTAL</td>
<td>114,284</td>
<td>113,916</td>
<td>228,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ASYLUM STATUS ADJUSTMENTS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>2,500</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>230,700</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(3) Proposed Plans and Cost of Their Movement and Resettlement

A framework for the selection, processing, transportation and resettlement of refugees is provided. We propose to give preference to refugees with ties to the United States, such as close relatives or past associations with the U.S. Government or American institutions, and to refugees without such ties who are of special humanitarian concern to the United States, such as political prisoners.

Resettlement assistance includes placement with sponsors, reception, and initial assistance and orientation by voluntary agencies. In addition, refugees are eligible for federally-funded assistance necessary to help them become self-sufficient in the shortest possible time, including language and vocational training and job placement. Needy refugees are also eligible for cash and medical assistance. Special services are provided to unaccompanied minors.

It is expected that the total cost of assistance to refugees being resettled in the United States during Fiscal Year 1980 will be approximately $1.05 billion.
(4) **Anticipated Social, Economic, and Demographic Impact of Their Admission to the United States**

Despite the difficulty that refugees have created in some parts of the country, we expect that they will make a positive contribution to the United States as have refugees before them.

(5) **Resettlement Efforts of Other Countries**

Third country participation in the resettlement of refugees has been and is expected to continue to be substantial during Fiscal Year 1980. Of the 736,025 Indo-Chinese refugees resettled, 432,749 have been admitted to countries other than the United States, including 254,345 resettled by the People's Republic of China. Africa and Latin America have resettled most of their refugees within their own regions. Canada, Western Europe, the Scandinavian countries, Australia, New Zealand and Israel have accepted significant numbers of refugees from other regions.

(6) **Impact of Refugee Resettlement on Foreign Policy**

The acceptance of refugees for resettlement in the United States is of critical importance in furthering U.S. humanitarian as well as political and strategic objectives in the world.
Stu Eizenstat

The attached was returned in the President's outbox today and is forwarded to you for appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson
MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: STU EIZENSTAT, JACK WATSON, ANNE WEXLER
SUBJECT: Speech to the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped

We would like to ask you to reconsider your decision to appear before the Committee at its Annual Meeting this May 1.

The 5,000 handicapped community leaders at this meeting represent over 30 million disabled Americans. Handicapped groups and individuals are most concerned about the progress of their civil rights struggle. A Supreme Court decision last year has been viewed as a major step backward in their slow march toward full equality. The handicapped and their advocates on the Hill have been earnestly hoping for a strong statement of personal commitment from the President for the full civil rights of the handicapped. Such a statement would be the most welcome words they could possibly hear. Twice this year -- in an interview with ABC's Frank Reynolds and before the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights -- you spoke of your commitment to the civil rights of blacks, Hispanics, and women. Your omission of the handicapped in these instances caused many to again believe that their civil rights are less important than those of other minorities. Thus there is a compelling need for a personal reaffirmation of your commitment to handicapped civil rights.

There is some danger of a backlash against the handicapped because of what many incorrectly perceive to be the excessive costs of accessibility required by Section 504 of the 1973 Rehabilitation Act.

Other prominent members of the Administration could highlight your considerable record for the handicapped and announce new initiatives. A convincing and dramatic commitment to handicapped civil rights can only come from you. This would be an important message to the whole country as well -- as you yourself have said before, the greatest barriers for the handicapped are the psychological barriers that exist in the minds of the non-disabled.

The handicapped have not heard from you in three years. Mrs. Carter joins us in recommending that you speak to the handicapped on May 1. I understand that she had submitted a memorandum independently endorsing our original request.
The attached was returned in the President's outbox today and is forwarded to you for appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

cc:  Fran Voorde
     Phil Wise
MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STU EIZENSTAT

SUBJECT: Message on the Handicapped

You have been invited to address the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped this May 1. The meeting will be attended by nearly 5,000 handicapped community leaders from every state. No President since Lyndon Johnson fifteen years ago has addressed the Committee.

Members of my staff have been working for some time on a number of initiatives which we had hoped to package into a Congressional message on the handicapped. However, I believe your personal appearance at the Committee announcing these initiatives and highlighting your outstanding record on behalf of handicapped people would be extremely effective and well received.

Major Administration accomplishments for handicapped people include:

- Signing the Rehabilitation Act Amendments of 1978
- Hosting the first White House Conference on the Handicapped in 1977
- Dramatically increasing funding for education of handicapped children
- Signing the Education of the Handicapped Amendments of 1977
- Proposing National Health Insurance and the Mental Health Systems Act
New initiatives which could be announced include:

- A spinal cord injury research and services program
- An independent living interagency demonstration
- The designation of a new lead agency to enforce section 504 regulations
- The finalizing of all section 504 regulations by the end of the year
- The adoption of government accessibility standards, and the designation of an agency to monitor compliance with those standards
- The first post-Census disability survey
- Submission of the Florence Agreement for ratification by the Senate (the Florence Agreement allows duty-free importation of items for the handicapped).

A strong statement on your commitment to handicapped civil rights should also be included in this address. A recent Supreme Court decision on 504 has concerned and confused many as to future enforcement and progress of handicapped civil rights.

I have suggested to Jody as a possible additional initiative, having your public speeches interpreted for the deaf. This idea has been suggested by a number of individuals and organizations and appears to be logistically feasible. With your approval, we will pursue this initiative.
Retyped version not yet received from wherever Rick sent it (either Cutler's office or Correspondence)....

however, I just retyped from my copy of what was sent out.-- attached

Expeditie To Lloyd

Electrostatic Copy Made for Preservation Purposes
To Alexander Trowbridge

This is in reply to your letter of April 15 concerning the appearance of Esther Peterson on the program of "Big Business Day" to be held April 17.

As you know, Mrs. Peterson's duties are in the field of consumer affairs, and she accepted this invitation to speak about the progress this Administration has made in working cooperatively with business and consumer groups to improve the efficiency and performance of the free enterprise system.

I have seen a flysheet on "Big Business Day", announcing Mrs. Peterson as a speaker and containing perjorative phrases concerning the business community. Mrs. Peterson will totally disassociate herself from these phrases.

Mrs. Peterson's appearance should not be interpreted as in any way endorsing such an attitude, either for herself or for this Administration. Her speech will be a carefully drafted analysis of her work to protect consumer interests.

While every group in our society is open to legitimate and constructive criticism, I do not condone such attacks on business, labor, education, science, politics, or any other vital American entity. Business is a critical and vital force in our free American society. To be productive and efficient, business needs the maximum degree of freedom consistent with the obligations we all share to act honestly, fairly and with due regard for our responsibilities to others. This Administration is committed to striking a proper balance among these goals.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Jimmy Carter
Lloyd Cutler

The attached was returned in the President's outbox today and is forwarded to you for appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

With Cutler for retyping
Susan retyped another letter
To Alexander Trowbridge

This is in reply to your letter of April 15 concerning the appearance of Esther Peterson on the program of "Big Business Day" on April 17.

As you know, Mrs. Peterson's duties are in the field of consumer affairs, and she accepted this invitation to speak about the progress this Administration has made in working cooperatively with business and consumer groups to improve the efficiency and performance of the free enterprise system.

I have seen a flyer on Big Business Day, announcing Mrs. Peterson as a speaker and containing perjorative phrases concerning the business community. Mrs. Peterson totally disassociated herself from these phrases. Mrs. Peterson's appearance should not be interpreted as in any way endorsing such an attitude, either for herself or for this Administration. Her speech is a carefully drafted analysis of her work to protect consumer interests.

While every group in our society is open to legitimate and constructive criticism, I do not condone such attacks on business, labor, education, science, politics or any other vital American entity. Business is a critical and vital force in our free American society. To be productive and efficient, business needs the maximum degree of freedom consistent with the obligations we all share to act honestly, fairly and with due regard for our responsibilities to others. This Administration is
committed to striking a proper balance among these goals.

Sincerely,

Alexander Trowbridge  
President  
National Association of Manufacturers  
1776 F Street, N. W.  
Washington, D. C. 20009
WASHINGTON

To Alexander Trowbridge

This is in reply to your letter of April 15 concerning the appearance of Esther Peterson on the program of "Big Business Day" to be held April 17.

As you know, Mrs. Peterson's duties are in the field of consumer affairs, and she accepted this invitation to speak about the progress this Administration has made in working cooperatively with business and consumer groups to improve the efficiency and performance of the free enterprise system.

I am distressed to have seen a flysheet on Big Business Day, announcing Mrs. Peterson as a speaker and containing such perjorative phrases as "Tour the Corporate Hall of Shame" and "Learn how to Fight Crime in the Suites." I totally disassociate myself from these phrases. If Mrs. Peterson had known her appearance would be exploited in this manner, she would not have accepted the invitation.
I have also been advised that the program preceding Mrs. Peterson's talk will feature so-called "shadow" boards of directors of leading major corporations which will make charges of misconduct against the chief executive officers of these firms. Mrs. Peterson's appearance should not be interpreted as in any way endorsing such charges, either for herself or for this Administration.

While every group in our society is open to legitimate and constructive criticism, I do not condone such attacks on business or any other vital American entity as such. Business is a critical and vital force in our free American society. To be productive and efficient, business needs the maximum degree of freedom consistent with the obligations we all share to act honestly, fairly and with due regard for our responsibilities to others. This Administration is committed to striking a proper balance among these goals.

Sincerely,
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  

April 17, 1980  

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT  
FROM: LLOYD N. CUTLER  
SUBJECT: ESTHER PETERSON - BIG BUSINESS DAY  

Esther Peterson and I reviewed her draft speech again this morning. I believe it is now as satisfactory as feasible under the circumstances. It will specifically disassociate her and you from the lurid captions on the flysheet announcing the program, and from any attacks by other panels on Shapiro, Wriston, et al.  

I also recommend that you send the enclosed letter to Sandy Trowbridge, President of the NAM, in response to his letter of April 15 to you, also attached. Esther and Al McDonald approved the draft. While Anne Wexler is away today, I am sure she would also.  

The proposed reply is attached both as a double-spaced draft and a final letter.  

Attachments
April 15, 1980

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

Dear Mr. President:

A coalition identified as "consumer and public interest" groups, plus a number of labor unions, plan to sponsor a nation wide "Big Business Day" for April 17, 1980. The objective of this coalition, as clearly enunciated yesterday by Ralph Nader in a National Press Club speech, are further regulation and control of the nation's economy, higher government spending, higher taxes on business, and additional government involvement in every facet of our society. Such objectives, of course, seem at cross-purposes with your current moves toward federal budgetary balance, your excellent initiatives in regulatory reform, and your plans for a productivity incentive tax relief, particularly in the area of capital recovery, once a balanced budget is assured. The nation's industry, as represented by the National Association of Manufacturers, supports your objectives.

Therefore, we were dismayed to find that during Mr. Nader's address on April 14, at the National Press Club, the following Administration officials occupied prominent places at the head table: Esther Peterson, Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs; Mike Pertschuk, Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission; and Susan King, Chairman of the Consumer Product Safety Commission. Their presence lent unexpected dignity and support to the event.

We also find that Mrs. Peterson will occupy a prominent place on the program on "Big Business Day," and is scheduled for a speech at 3:00 p.m. on April 17, 1980, in the National Visitors Center Gallery.
We are concerned that such prominent affiliation by senior members of your Administration will indicate support of this entire effort, and would appear to be largely in contradiction to your own stated policy objectives. We would welcome your personal review of this apparent contradiction, and reaffirmation of your important national economic objectives as recently described in your budget message of March 14.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

bc: E. Hardy
F. Rettgers
S. Winston
Thursday, April 17, 1980

Join us at the National Visitors Center of Union Station

Big Business Day

Tour the Corporate Hall of Shame! Exhibits open 6:30 and 1:30 p.m. Public forum begins at 6:00 p.m.

Featuring:

Pete Peterson, Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs

The Harrington Author's Chair for the Democratic Socialists

Organizing Committee

and a special performance by vocalist, Tracy Harpp

For the first time, we will introduce:
regular foreign affairs breakfast
4/18/80

- THE WHITE HOUSE -
WASHINGTON

For AFL breakfast 4-18-80

UN Res - Lebanon
Byrd/Baker

F&G
Oman

Saudi Arabia
PCC on Mideast
Spanish aircraft
Fed Aid to Needy
9,000 jobs, 200,000 to Pa.
100,000 blacks
No youth job cuts
-Black Fed Judges
-Biggersonham, Giles, Simmons

INFLATION
Econ Justice

Black Ministers (from PA)

Friday, April 18, 1980
Emp + 43,000 (9%)  
EDA/54 58A/74  
Mass X1/121  Navy/134  
EDA/340 58A/241  
Mass X1/88  
EDA/1400 58A/178  
Mass X1/483  

Anthracite #35 m/2475  
Allegheny Electric Power Corp  
B. umwelt - +10% 24/75  

Steel Profits $22 m = $13.6  
U1 78% = 88%  
Imp 19.3 mt = 17.5 (-5%)  

Sri Lanka 10,684  Keep 8100/5000 + 2500  
155 Trip = P.M. + 9 Others
Dear Mr President,

At a time when Mary and I are praying for the success of your Middle East discussions this week, I wanted to add some trivia into your life and let you know that I plan to run in the Boston Marathon next Monday.

This has been the result of two years of hard work, and the loss of fifty pounds. I finally qualified in the Marine Corps Marathon here last November. To participate in Boston is the fulfillment of an ambition I gave up on twenty years ago when I stopped running after graduating from college. Twenty years later I will make it come true. I will not be at the front, but I will be doing my best.

It is a terrible injustice that you should have been inflicted with such a perverse and insoluble problem as Iran. Your restraint and leadership has been extraordinary, and it is impossible for me to think of anything different you should have done. I believe in the good sense of the American people enough to think that in the final analysis they will recognize it too. It is also possible that the hostage release will finally come at a time when it can really do you the most good here at home.

With warmest personal regards,

Pete

April 14th 1980
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT
FROM: FRANK MOORE
SUBJECT: REGISTRATION LETTER

Attached for your approval or correction is a letter we intend to send to each Member of Congress on registration. We believe the letter should be short and to the point, since there appear to be sufficient votes for passage.
Dear Doug:

Enclosed is a copy of your letter which includes the President's note to you. I appreciate very much not only your interest, but the time and effort you spent in putting down your thoughts on paper!

Trust your weeks in Pakistan were "mutually" beneficial. Must add that I chuckled in reading your last request that I not send anything in a White House envelope to you while you were in Pakistan which might tend to confuse those who don't know of your medical dedication and professionalism.

With my best personal regards,

Sincerely,

Susan S. Clough
Personal Assistant/Secretary to the President

Dr. Douglas H. Huber
Room 894, Hampton House
624 N. Broadway
Baltimore, Maryland 21205

Hope you come back to Washington soon & we can visit!
Mr. President --

I've given a copy of this letter to Ham, which I just received.

Doug Huber is a physician who was at CDC in Atlanta during your first years as Governor... then spent several years in Bangladesh.

I think his letter is worth review, if you don't mind.

--ssc
James E. Carter, President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

SOME FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR RESOLUTION OF THE IRANIAN CONFLICT

I am highly confident that the necessary ingredients exist for the successful conclusion of the Iranian conflict. However, I believe the ultimate solution will rely much more on your sensitivity and warm personality characteristics than on the intensification of political and economic pressure, however necessary and appropriate these may be at present. The conditions favorable to a resolution I expect would eventually evolve by a reversal from the emphasis on pressure and forcefulness toward your direct expression of friendship, understanding, and empathy for the Iranian people, their aspirations and their leaders.

This concept is based on my past four years experience in a highly conservative Moslem country, my personal experience with your approach toward difficult human problems (such as the 1971 heroin deaths in Atlanta), and my basic medical orientation toward understanding human character and conflict. I am one of the very few Americans requested to be an advisor to the Bangladesh Government, or any other orthodox Muslim country. As an Advisor to the Ministry of Health and Population in Bangladesh, I have gained a very different perspective about the character of Islam and the influence of this major force in societies and political systems different from our own. It is difficult to develop a basic understanding and empathy without living and sharing the same hopes, needs, aspirations, and frustrations. While others find it difficult to place themselves in the position of our Iranian adversaries, I believe I am prepared to think and react as a Moslem would in the current circumstances.

Much of the essence of the struggle for the Moslem militants and the revolutionary leaders revolves around suffering, martyrdom, dignity, and the common bond of brotherhood shared by those working together in their adversity to the U.S. Hundreds of thousands—perhaps millions—of young men in Iran are ready to sacrifice themselves for their principles and for Islam. In fact, a great number will be disappointed if they are not able to sacrifice themselves. Therefore, our threat of hostility serves to stimulate the appetite for the ultimate sacrifice they are quite prepared to make. Likewise, any economic hardship is seen in the same light and strengthens the solidarity.

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and the bond of brotherhood among those committed to the struggle. In light of this circumstance our current escalation of pressures would be expected to strengthen their will to resist.

An escalation of tension may very well be necessary, and my knowledge of the important political and international factors is limited. It seems likely that another somewhat unrecognized factor may exist, that an apex of suffering on both sides is necessary before a resolution can be effected. It may even be inevitable that some American will die before an emotional catharsis can be achieved. I expect some Iranians feel this is required. Even the open recognition that the feelings may be this strong might go part way toward defusing the revolutionary hostility. Emphasizing the lawlessness of their position I would not expect to be effective. They will be firm that Islamic and revolutionary principles are superior to the moral values we express as international law.

For the most part, the ultimate resolution may not be achieved by force or economic hardship, promoting the moral superiority of our position, or developing world opinion in support of us. The style and personal approach of Andrew Young should be more successful than that of some of our spokesmen who emanate sober determination and forcefulness. I know you and Andrew Young share many of the same characteristics for developing an understanding and empathy toward those with deviant behavior. I recall vividly your response to the epidemic of heroin use and overdoses in Atlanta in 1971. As the Chief Epidemic Intelligence Service Officer of the Center for Disease Control, I conducted the field investigation of the deaths in cooperation with the State Health Department and Peter Bourne. You related directly to the needs and suffering of those involved, rather than taking the single-minded approach of law enforcement officials who believed that simply more forceful control and punishment were the solutions. Your capacity for empathy was impressive. It may be more difficult to relate to Iranian militants than to the suffering of youthful Atlanta drug users; however, the process has several parallels.

The reversal of an adversary relationship need not require a formal American confession of wrong-doing, or recognizing the militant or revolutionary positions are morally correct. In the Islamic and Eastern tradition, it may require more that we understand their position—using their own words—recognizing how important these values are to them. Acknowledging the sacrifice of the Iranian people (and the militants) and the suffering that has occurred for all will require less need for further martyrdom.

Iranians can easily love Americans. Nothing was so convincing of the ease with which the reaction could be changed as to see Americans being carried on the shoulders of Iranians in Teheran a few months ago. They agreed with the Iranian position and respected the Iranian revolution. None would expect the President to be so conciliatory,
but then, the end result is not expected to be a love feast of emotional affection. It was interesting that this display of love for Americans in Teheran was discussed by the TV commentators as a peculiar aberration. To me it was perfectly logical.

However, currently they have labeled the President a demagogue and we have labeled Iran's leader a fanatic lunatic. The task is to turn this around. A sincere dialogue by the President with the Iranian people would help—recognizing our common ground, the misunderstandings (not mistakes) that have existed in the past and our good will to assist the country in its future development. The Shah is dying of cancer. His suffering could be given much more meaning for Iran than it has received in the past.

Unlike our struggle with the Soviet Union, in which offering dignity, respect, and empathy may be viewed simply as a weakness, I believe these elements are an essential key in reversing the Iranian antagonism. The Russians know they are morally wrong, and are embarrassed by their human losses—the Iranian revolutionaries "know" they are morally right and are proud of their human suffering and sacrifice. A fundamental difference.

The timing of the resolution understandably depends on many complex political and international cross-currents. I recognize and respect that until the appropriate time, a more intense period of conflict may be required. I hope we as a nation and individuals are up to the challenge, including the possible loss of life.

The synthesis of a dialogue by you, effective both in resolving the conflict and maintaining our dignity and strength, will be a trying, difficult art demanding a broad range of input. I believe my unique experience as a physician having worked with you and your direct associates as well as in Moslem countries dealing with human crises should provide a useful perspective on our current problems. My continuing relationship with the Moslem world will include two weeks in Pakistan beginning April 18, to initiate a United Nations sponsored health training program in six medical colleges.

I remain completely confident of your capacity to bring the conflict to a successful resolution. I would gratefully serve you in any way requested. My very best wishes.

Sincerely,

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