

Org 1 Chicago Council on
Foreign Relations

**The
Chicago Council
on
Foreign Relations
1971-1973**

'stimulating awareness that Americans are part of a broader world society'



Fifty-one years ago, in 1922, the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations was founded with the purpose of educating people in the Midwest on foreign affairs. On June 22, 1973, the Council formally celebrated its 50th anniversary with a dinner at the Palmer House featuring an address by Secretary of the Treasury George P. Shultz.

Through the years, the Council has played an increasingly important role in stimulating awareness that Americans are part of a broader world society and in insuring that, whatever the climate of opinion of the moment, the question of the proper role of the United States in the world would receive a full hearing.

As part of its mission during the last three decades, the Council also helped educate leaders who have occupied important positions in American public life. Men from Chicago have gone out to help lead the nation and have left their impact on international affairs—men such as Frank Knox, Adlai Stevenson, Sargent Shriver, William McCormick Blair, David Kennedy, George Shultz, Peter G. Peterson, Charles H. Percy, Adlai Stevenson III, Donald Rumsfeld and Robert Ingersoll.

Now, in the 1970s, the Council has an opportunity to play a new role by providing an institutional means through which the leadership of the city and surrounding areas can take part in the shaping of United States foreign policy. With few exceptions, most Chicago institutions have traditionally been regional or national in scope, rather than international. During the course of the past decade this has changed.

National commercial and financial institutions have become international; some multinational corporations, once located principally on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, are now headquartered in Chicago. Institutional involvement, as distinct from personal participation, is a relatively recent thing. The number of people who are today professionally engaged in international activity in Chicago is many times greater than a decade ago. In the coming decade the Council will give considerable attention to making the voice of this community fully felt in the national foreign policy process.

In accepting the position of Executive Director in 1971, I remarked that the decade of the 1970s has seen the emergence of international economic issues as central foreign policy concerns. With the phenomenal growth of Japan and the emergence of a strong Europe, U.S. attention has necessarily begun to focus on these issues.

Therefore, during the past two years, priority consideration in the substantive work of the Council's program has been given to questions of international economic policy. Three separate seminar series over a two-year period have focused on various aspects of this broad subject—one on U.S. relations with Japan, another on Europe and a third on Canada. In November, 1972, an international conference (the Atlantic Conference) was devoted to international economic policy as it applies to Europe, North America and Latin America. In view of the position which the city of Chicago now plays in the international economic life of our country, it is important that the Council continue to devote considerable resources to examining America's international economic posture.

At the same time, there are other critical issues we cannot ignore. Perhaps the overriding question of American foreign policy today is that of redefining America's overall role in the world. Because of the difficulties experienced in some of our foreign policy of the last decade, it is both natural and right to

place some limitation on our overseas aspirations, to restrict the exercise of American political and military power. But it is important that our memory extend beyond the last decade and our vision beyond the next. As we seek to redefine the international role which the United States will play for the remainder of the century, we should not entirely forget Gladstone's defense of a foreign policy based ultimately on moral imperatives. "Good ends," he said, "can rarely be attained in politics without passion." No doubt this is a dangerous doctrine placed in the wrong hands. But perhaps it is as necessary during a retrenchment as during an advance, as necessary in the pursuit of stability as in the pursuit of justice. The Council must continue to address this central issue.

During the past decade, the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations has become a large organization—its 22,000 members make it the largest private foreign policy institution in the country. Because the Council's membership is diverse, its program also must be diverse.

For the past two years the Council has sought to broaden the services offered to its members. Because many Council members live in the suburbs rather than the city, we have developed an extensive suburban program, both on the North Shore and in the Western suburbs, a program which will be continued. Second, because many of our members are first introduced to international affairs through foreign travel, we have diversified the opportunities to travel abroad. We have added greatly to the substantive programs available to members before and during their overseas visits. Third, we have strengthened our extensive secondary education program through more carefully focused efforts on teacher training, and by relating the program more closely to

Council Executive Director John E. Rielly with Dr. Gwendolen Carter, Council Vice President and Director of the Program of African Studies at Northwestern University.

the needs of the public and parochial school systems. We have strengthened our programs serving the leadership of the community through expanding the Chicago Committee's program and diversifying its membership.

Fourth, in order to strengthen the Council's publication program, we have affiliated with a new quarterly, *Foreign Policy*, published in New York and Washington. We are promoting the widest possible circulation of this excellent journal in the Chicago area. It is available to Council members on special terms, and, as Executive Director, I serve on the Editorial Board. We regard *Foreign Policy* an important outlet for serious foreign policy writing stemming from Council programs.

Finally, during the last two years, the Council's Board of Directors has been strengthened by the addition of executives from the business and banking world, editors and publishers from

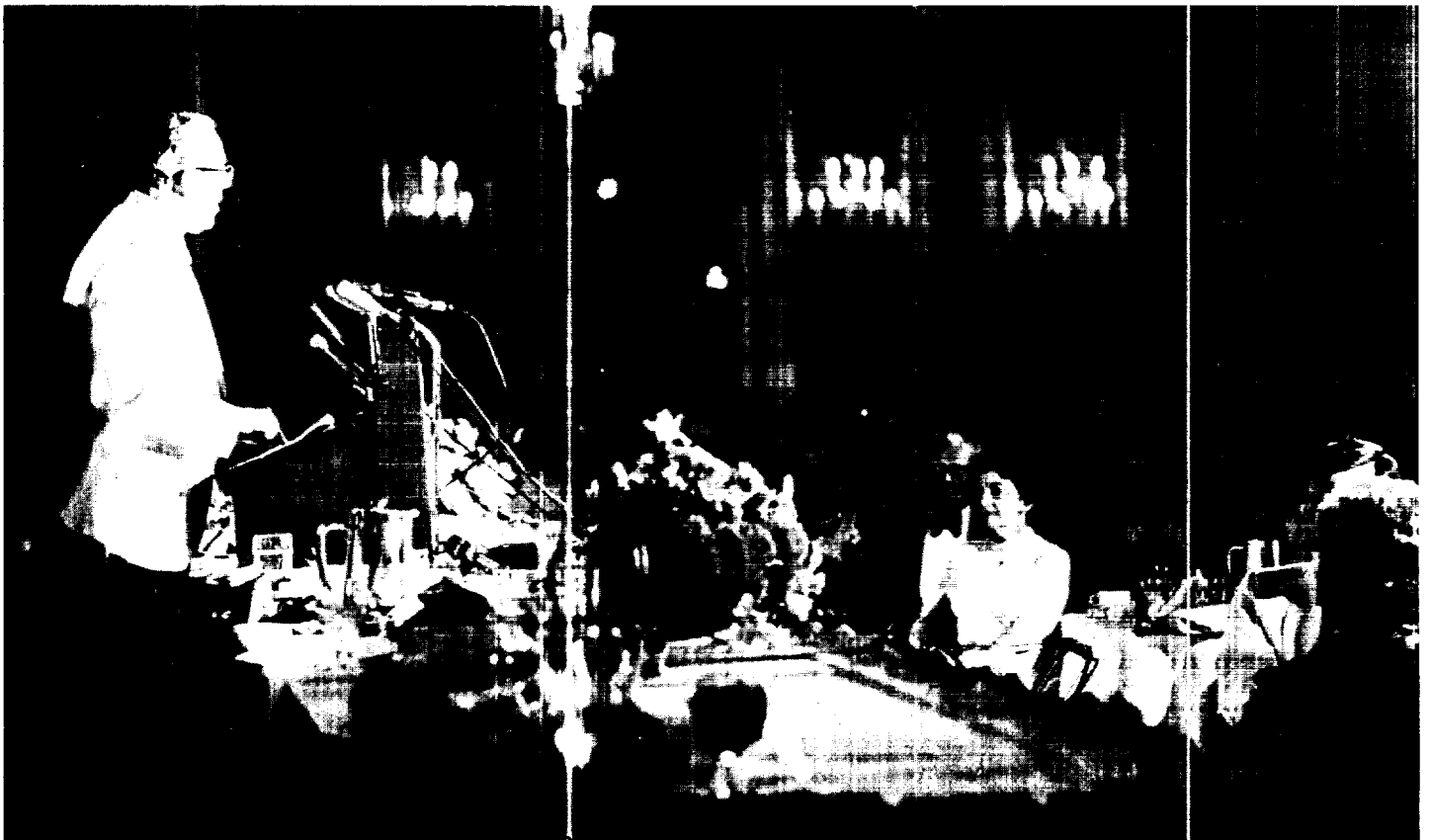
Chicago media and leading academics and university administrators.

Since the Council does not have a resident research staff, we have tried to use more fully the resources of the major universities with which the Council has long enjoyed a close association—the University of Chicago, Northwestern University and the University of Illinois. In addition, we have developed regular cooperative ties with other private foreign policy institutes in this country and abroad which seek to reach influential segments of the public interested in foreign policy. These include the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, The Council on Foreign Relations in New York; the United Nations Association in New York; the Center for Inter-American Relations; The Japan Society; The National Committee on U.S.-China Relations; The Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies; The

Adlai Stevenson Institute and the Brookings Institution.

In the pages that follow, we report on some highlights of the Council's work between July 1, 1971, and June 30, 1973. The items here illustrate our work, but are by no means exhaustive. They do, however, give an idea of the range of the roughly 200 meetings per year the Council now conducts, plus various publications and a diverse travel program. I want to take this opportunity to thank the loyal supporters of the Council during the past two years, especially President Richard Hoefs, the members of the Board, and Patrons and Sponsors who have contributed so much to the success of the Council's work.

John E. Rielly
Executive Director



50th anniversary focus: the economy

The theme of the Secretary of the Treasury's address at the 50th anniversary dinner of the Council on June 22, 1973, was a familiar one to members—that the problems of United States foreign policy, more than ever before, are economic in nature.

At a time when the beleaguered dollar is being buffeted on every side and our

trade balance is piling up deficits, Secretary of the Treasury George Shultz brought that message to some 700 members and guests who gathered to celebrate the 50th anniversary at the Palmer House Hotel.

Shultz noted that never before had the economy of the United States been tied so closely to the world economy, a relationship that had become pronounced during the first six months of 1973.

He pointed out that world-wide anti-inflationary efforts were producing a closer economic relationship between the United States and other nations. One result of this was the recently concluded agreements between President Nixon and Soviet Communist Party leader Leonid I. Brezhnev.

"A Soviet-American detente is an absolutely necessary condition for greater economic development," said Shultz.

Shultz's remarks provided the highlight of an evening which brought together former presidents of the Council; former Executive Directors Louise Leonard Wright and Clifton Utley; representatives of Chicago's consular

corps, corporations and universities; and citizens drawn from the broad membership of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations.



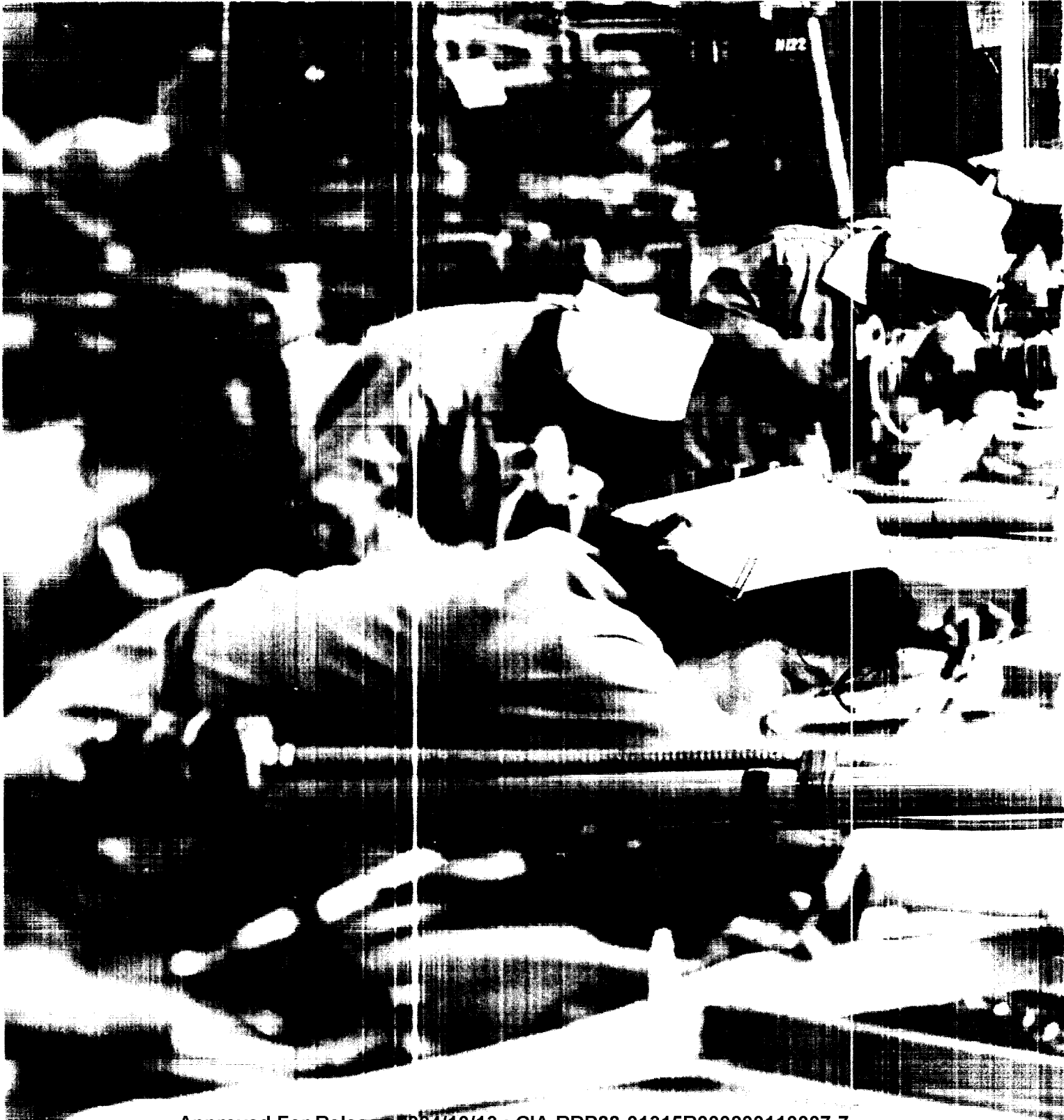
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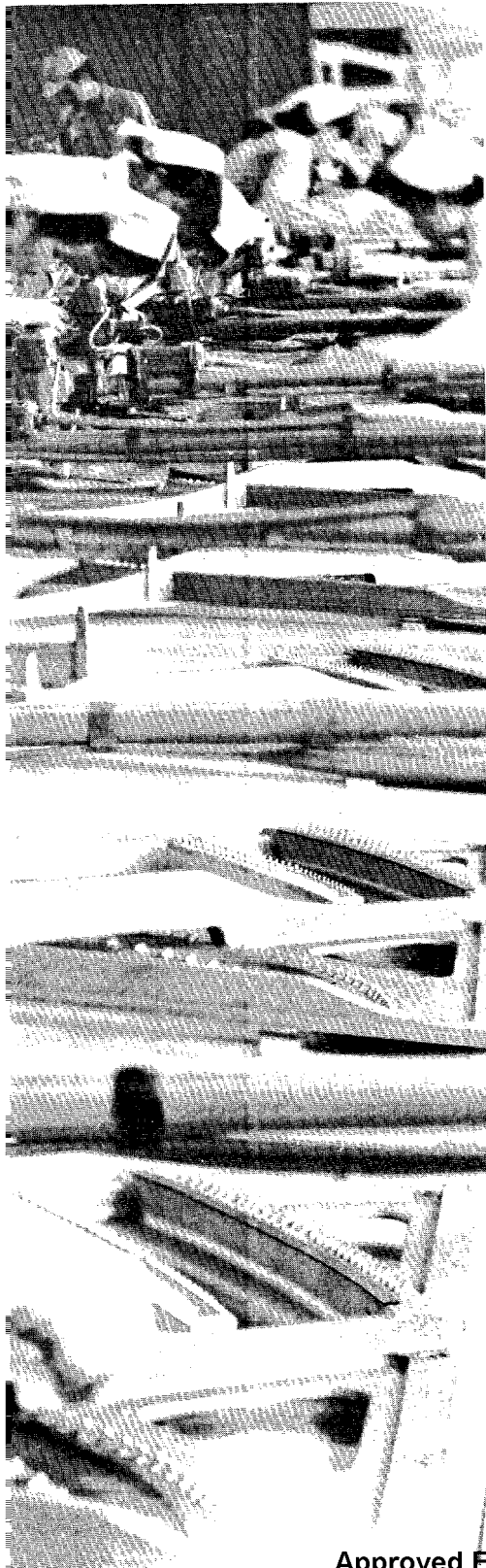


1. Secretary of the Treasury George P. Shultz addressing the 50th anniversary dinner of the Council at the Palmer House, June 22, 1973.
2. Chairman of the 50th Anniversary Committee and Past President of the Council Alex R. Seith introduces the former Presidents of the Council.
3. Thomas Coulter, Chief Executive Officer of The Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry in discussion with The Honorable Tateo Suzuki, Consul General of Japan for the Midwest.

3

Japan: the new challenge from Asia





Can the United States work with Japan in Asia? Ten years ago, this question would have been ridiculous. The United States was the world's unchallenged economic superpower and had just weathered a test of wills with the Soviet Union in Cuba. Japan's security was bound up with America's, while China sulked in isolation—part self-imposed, part thrust upon it. Japan's economic miracle was only just beginning, and Vietnam was still a name that most Americans mispronounced.

Today, Asia has entered a new era, dominated by economics. Nuclear treaties between the United States and the Soviet Union have reduced fears of war generally in the world and, with them, reduced dependence of Japan and other countries on the United States for military security against Moscow. Japan has climbed in the economic ranks, "Trying Harder," and is about to become "Number Two." The last scene in America's military venture in Vietnam is being played out, leaving Japan at the critical hub of East Asia—the hub of an economic wheel. China, meanwhile, has joined the complex geometry of great nations, and raised new questions . . . problems . . . opportunities for Russians, Americans and Japanese.

Can we work with Japan? Perhaps not, if we keep the old standards of world power—power based on military might. Perhaps not, if our economic interests in East Asia and elsewhere conflict with Japan's—if problems of trade, monetary reform and energy lead to a diplomacy of mutual suspicion.

But perhaps we in the United States can work with Japan—if we both accept the emerging rules of the new security—economic security—in the game of great powers. Perhaps we can—if the end of Indochina does not mean the end of U.S. interest in the economic fortunes of East Asian trade . . . investment . . . development. Perhaps we can, if the China craze does not blur the giant form of Japan in Asia—and the world. Perhaps—if we can understand

Japan's own cultural values.

The real question is whether the U.S. and Japan can, in spite of growing economic competition, find a *modus vivendi* which will allow us to compete creatively and avoid a confrontation which would have serious consequences for both sides—and for the world.

In meeting the many questions posed by the emergence of an economically powerful Japan, the Council has sponsored seminars for businessmen, bankers, journalists, academicians and teachers; through the Council Forum reached out to its younger members; and, by developing a close working relationship with the Japanese Consulate and Japan Trade Center, provided a vehicle for intelligent transmission of ideas.

The Council's response

Invitational Seminar—"Growth of the Japanese Economy: Implications for the United States." held in eight meetings with: Howard F. Van Zandt, International Telephone and Telegraph Co. executive; Professor Martin Bronfenbrenner, Carnegie-Mellon University; Professor Chikashi Moriguchi, Kyoto University; Dr. Harald Malmgren, Deputy Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, The White House; Professor Solomon B. Levine, University of Wisconsin; Professor Koji Taira, University of Illinois; Dr. James C. Abegglen, Boston Consulting Group, Inc.; Professor Hugh T. Patrick, Yale University; and His Excellency Nobuhiko Ushiba, Japanese Ambassador to the U.S.

Council Forum—"The Dynamic Relationship Between China, Japan and the U.S.," Dr. Akira Iriye, University of Chicago; "Elections '72: The Foreign Press Watches," Kuzuhiko Morinaga, Japanese wire-service correspondent; and "The Japanese Challenge," Dr. Richard F. Kosobud, University of Illinois.

Membership—"Northeast Asia—A Crucial Test of America's Asian Policy," Professor Robert A. Scalapino, University of California; and "The Spirit of Japan, Sources of the Economic Miracle," Professor Chiaki Nishiyama, Rikkyo University, Tokyo.

Chicago Committee—The Honorable Robert Ingersoll, U.S. Ambassador to Japan, and "The Japanese Economy,"

Dr. Saburo Okita, Director, Japan Economic Research Institute.

Travel Department—"A Businessman's View of Japan," Harvey Shoemack, The Public Relations Board, Inc., and "History of Japan," Professor Harry Wray, University of Wisconsin; talks given in preparation for the Council Charter to Japan for 170 people in May, 1973

Ad hoc meeting—"Japan's International Security Policy in the '70s," Professor Makoto Momoi, National Defense College, Tokyo.

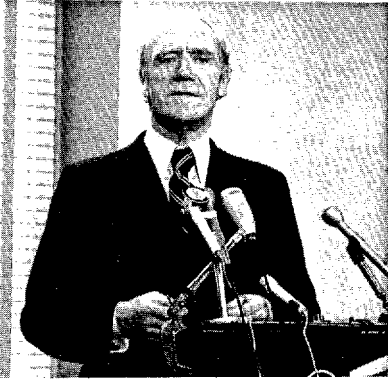
Secondary Education—"Japan Between East and West: The Cultural Clash," held in six meetings with: Professor Matthew S. Ikeda, Valparaiso University; Professor Richard F. Kosobud, University of Illinois; Jack Beem, international attorney; Dr. John E. Rielly, Council Executive Director; and Professor Hiroshi Wagatsuma, University of Pittsburgh.



1. The final session of the eight-part seminar on the Japanese economy, March, 1972.
2. Members of the Chicago Committee—Joseph Wright, Chairman of Zenith Corporation; John D. Gray, Chairman of Hart Schaffner & Marx; and Richard A. Hoefs, Partner of Arthur Anderson & Co. and Council President meet with Japanese Ambassador Nobuhiko Ushiba.
3. Professor Richard Kosobud, economist from the Circle Campus of the University of Illinois discusses Japan before members of the Council Forum.



Canada: cutting the American umbilical cord



1

"The United States and Canada share the longest unfortified border in the world." So much every American knows about relations with our northern neighbor; but little else. It is the forgotten member of the Atlantic Alliance; the forgotten market for one-third of all U.S. exports; the forgotten center of decision on the use of its own natural resources.

Why not forget? What choice does Canada have but to depend on the United States? Perhaps the range of that choice is small, but it does exist. It exists far beyond the point of meriting for Canada only a passive role in slogans of "friendship" . . . "partnership" . . . "community."

The United States' ability to act on the basis of "Continentalism" is fading fast. Cultural reaction is growing in both English and French Canada. The political climate of U.S.-Canadian relations has progressively gone sour in recent years, especially as our economic problems—and some heavyhandedness—have had their impact on Canadian jobs, prices and prosperity. And the idea of a "continental energy policy," with Canada a passive partner, is as anathema north of the border.

Our increasing need for Canadian energy, water and export markets—along with opposition to U.S. control of Canada's industries and to possible pollution of its lands by U.S. oil pipelines—argue for different attitudes and different relations. These changes are possible, but they are not yet in prospect. Yet here, too, the decline in U.S. economic fortunes relative to other rich Western states is posing new demands that may not be to our liking, but which must still be met.



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The Council's response

Council Forum—Trip to Montreal-Quebec and "Canada," Lord John Garner, Former British High Commissioner.

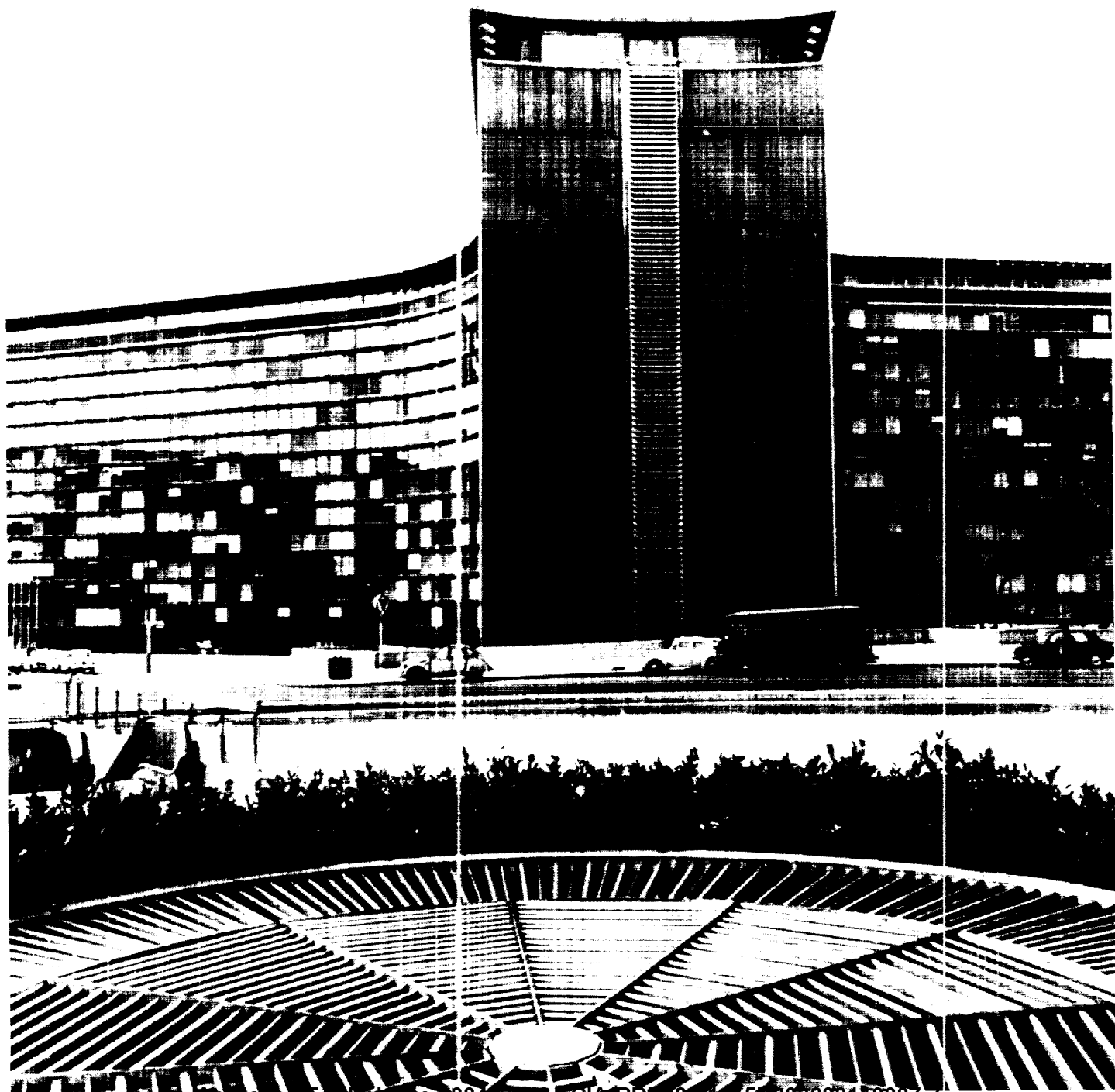
Membership—"To Sleep with an Elephant," Canadian Institute of International Affairs-sponsored panel, with James Coutts, Canadian economist; John Harbron, journalist and commentator; Gordon Hawkins, Center for Policy Studies; and Roy Maclaren, Massey-Ferguson, Ltd., and "U.S.-Canadian Relations," The Honorable Mitchell Sharp, the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada.

Chicago Committee—"The New Canadian Nationalism," seminar held in four parts with Edwin A. Goodman, Canadian attorney; R. E. Harrison, Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce; John Holmes, The Canadian Institute of International Affairs; and Ivan Head, Special Assistant to the Prime Minister of Canada.

1. Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, The Honorable Mitchell Sharp, in Chicago for an address to the Council's Lecture Forum Series, April 3, 1973.

2. "The New Canadian Nationalism" a seminar sponsored by The Chicago Committee. Ivan Head, Special Assistant to the Prime Minister of Canada, meets with members of The Committee, December 18, 1972.

Europe: problems in the Atlantic Alliance



What is Europe? The old Heartland . . . a political and cultural expression . . . the center of (once great) confrontation . . . a growing economic force, in both West and East . . . the newest New World . . . and more.

The Atlantic World is swept by the same currents of change that in Asia are moving U.S. relations with Japan. "Equal" becomes perforce a more important word than "Partnership" in the old cliché. The Year of the Economist and the Year of Europe will extend two decades and will shift to the Continent the genesis of ideas, of new forms of political organization, of economic clout. Security here, too, takes on an economic meaning, because of success and new concerns. Success (and at the summit) in the control of arms and conflict means less worry about the institutions of a military era. European economic power means new concerns for the institutions of trade, monetary relations, and the broader, working community of economic interests.

The Atlantic Alliance of the 1940s and '50s is near the end of its Cold War purpose. Tomorrow, that Alliance—and the community it has expressed—will die unless their purpose and methods can change as well. For the United States, troops abroad have let us remain aloof from real involvement in the outside world; yet today economic challenge is bringing that world into the lives of all Americans. Old attitudes and relations must die with the Almighty Dollar; a narrow focus on NATO must go the way of tensions that preceded *détente*; and the monopoly of American decision—and leadership—must end with the birth of West European pride and effort and a fledgling unity.

1. *The Headquarters of the European Community, Brussels, Belgium.*
2. *George Ball, former Undersecretary of State and U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, with Hermon Dunlap Smith, President of the Field Foundation of Illinois, Inc., and Council officer, and Robert Strotz, President of Northwestern University, at the Council's North Shore series, "Neo-Isolationism: Myth or Reality,"*



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The Council's response

Council Forum—"Germany Looks Eastward," Dr. Andreas von Bulow, Member of the Bundestag; "Ireland: A House Divided," Aidan MacDermot, Information Officer at the British Consulate; "Switzerland," Guido Hanselmann, Union Bank of Switzerland; "The Enlarged European Community," Guy Vanhaeverbeke, European Community Information Service; "Norway's Veto to the Common Market," Dr. J. William Fredrickson, North Park College; and "Germany 1972," Henry Regnery, Henry Regnery Publishing Co.

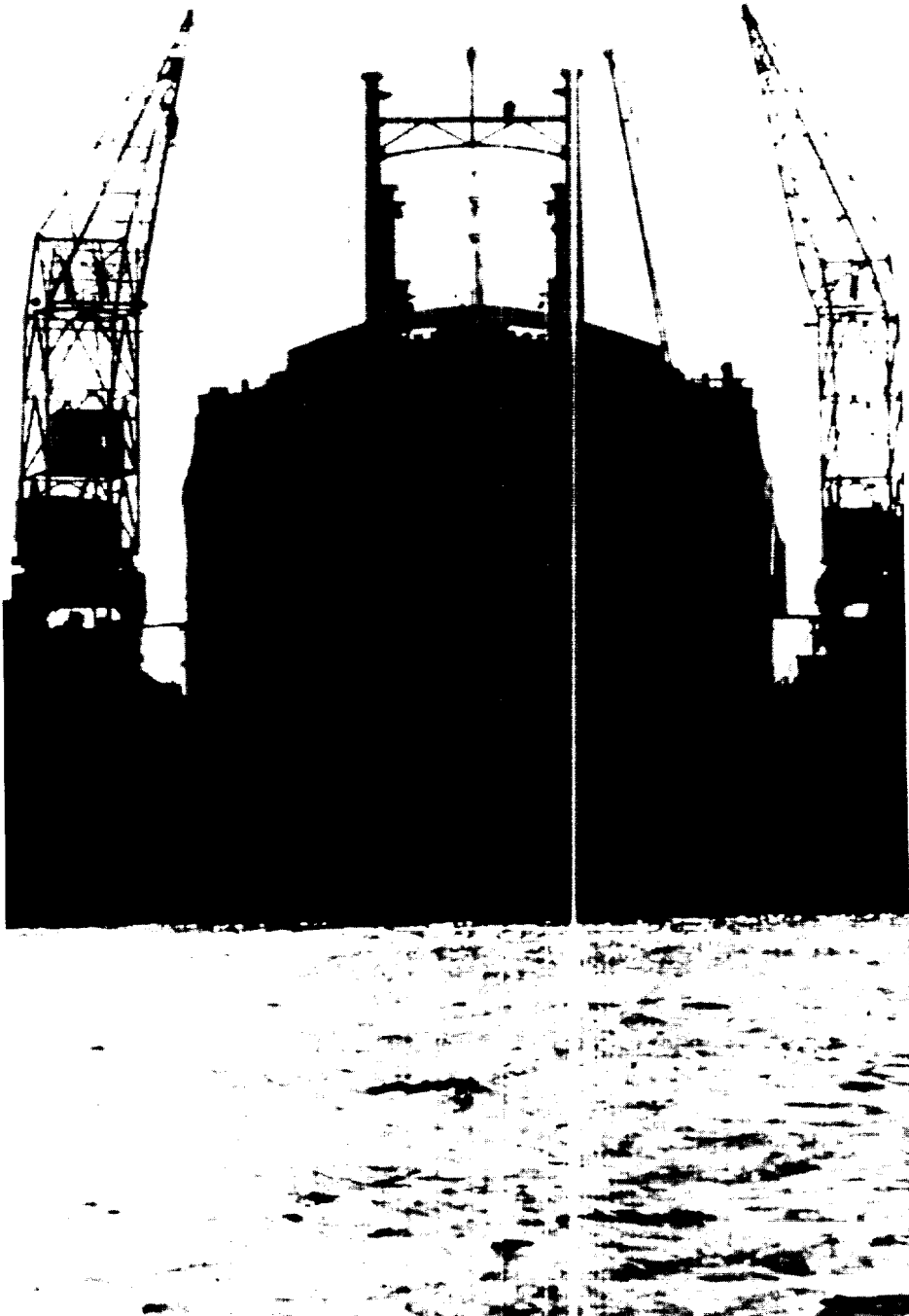
Membership—"China Today: a European View," The Honorable Maurice Couve de Murville, former Premier and Foreign Minister of France; "The Five Wounds of Latin America," Dr. Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn, lecturer from Austria; "Portrait of Ireland in a Troubled Time," The Honorable Conor Cruise O'Brien, Irish Parliament Member; "A Reappraisal of the Atlantic Partnership," Zygmunt Nagorski, New York Council on Foreign Relations; "France and the New Europe," The Honorable Jacques Kosciusko-Morizet, French Ambassador to the U.S.; "As Others See Us," The Honorable Luigi Barzini, Italian Senate Member; "1973: The

Year of Europe," Joseph Kraft, syndicated columnist; and "The Literature and Politics of Irish Nationalism," held in eight meetings

Chicago Committee—"Portrait of Ireland in a Troubled Time," The Honorable Conor Cruise O'Brien, Irish Parliament Member; "Relationships Between the United States and the Enlarged European Community," Ambassador John W. Tuthill, The Atlantic Institute, Paris; "As Others See Us," The Honorable Luigi Barzini, Italian Senate Member; and John Robert Schaezel, former Ambassador to the EEC, Brussels.

Invitational Seminar—"The Implications for the United States of an Expanded Europe," held in five parts with: Joseph Kraft, syndicated columnist; Guy Vanhaeverbeke, European Communities Information Service; John Robert Schaezel, former Ambassador to the EEC, Brussels; Robert Hunter, Overseas Development Council; and Geoffrey Denton, University of Reading, England.

New answers from the Atlantic Conference



In November, 1972, the Atlantic Conference series met for the first time under the auspices of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations. This private, international conference series, originally initiated in 1965 by Joseph Slater at the Ford Foundation, moved to the Chicago Council in the autumn of 1971.

The 1972 meeting, held in Macuto, Venezuela, brought together 50 leaders from the three continents for a private, off-the-record discussion of the subject, "International Economic Policy: Europe, North America and Latin America."

By 1972, international economic issues had become among the most divisive in the foreign policies of Western nations. The measures taken by the Nixon administration in August, 1971, followed by the Smithsonian agreement, focused attention on the fundamental re-alignment that has taken place in world commercial and financial arrangements. Well before the devaluation of the dollar in February, 1973, international economic policy had moved to the front rank of American foreign policy issues. As a result, the discussion at the 1972 Atlantic Conference centered on three themes: revision of the international economic system, growth of the multinational corporation, and the search for development by Latin American nations.

The Atlantic Conference meetings focus on the common problems of the Western World shared by the three continents. The title of the series, "Atlantic Conference," is designed to emphasize that these are meetings of leaders from the major nations of the Western World, not simply the United States and Europe, or the United States and Latin America. The conference meets every two years and discusses a specific subject of special relevance to all three continents. The series is now organized and administered by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations in cooperation with an International



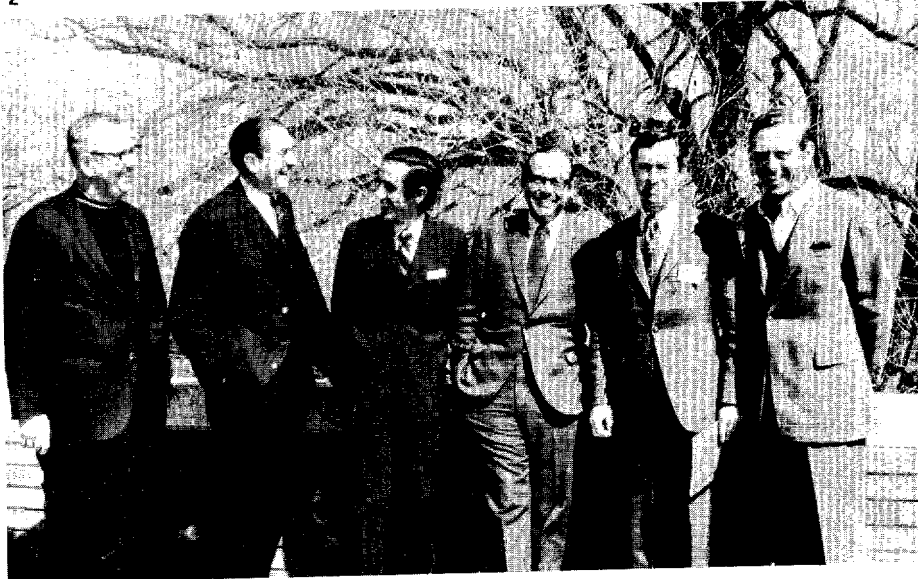
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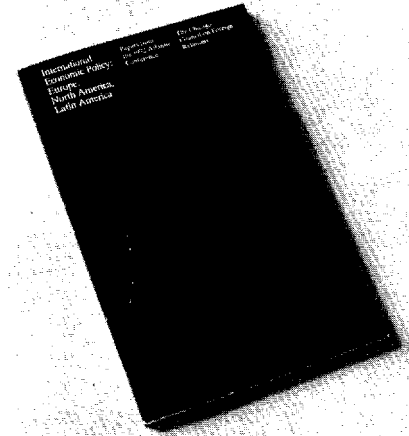


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Steering Committee headed by Senators Frank Church and Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.

The site of the meetings alternates among North America, Europe and Latin America. All discussions at Atlantic Conference meetings are off-the-record, and no attempt is made to adopt formal conclusions.

The papers discussed at the Conference were published in early 1973.

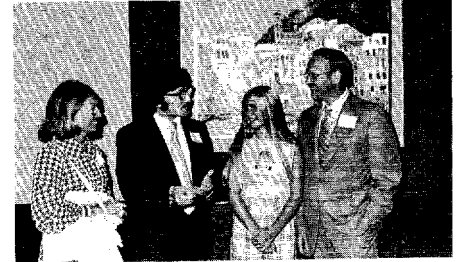


The Council's response

The Atlantic Conference papers, which have been made available to Council members and others interested in foreign policy, contain these provocative articles: "International Economic Peace-keeping — A Sphere of Influence World or a Multilateral World," by Harald B. Malmgren; "What is the Political and Economic Role of Europe in the Wake of the Nixon Economic Measures of 1971?" by Gian Paolo Casadio; "Latin America and the New Relationships Between the Big Powers," by Rodrigo Botero; "The Multinational Corporation — Paths, Pitfalls and Politics Ahead," by John Diebold.

1. Co-hosts of the Atlantic Conference, Senators Frank Church and Charles McC. Mathias, Jr. with the President of Venezuela, The Honorable Rafael Caldera, and Laureano Lopez-Rodo, Former Minister of Planning and now Foreign Minister of Spain.
2. The Mayor of Lima, Eduardo Di Bos, in conversation with Charles Meyer, Assistant Secretary of State for Latin America, Senator Adlai E. Stevenson III and Jack Cates, President, The Center for Inter-American Relations.
3. Ernst Keller, President of ADELA, with Augustin S. Hart, Group Vice President of The Quaker Oats Company, and Representative John B. Anderson.
4. The Wingspread conference on "International Economic Policy," The Johnson Foundation, Racine, Wisconsin, April 14, 1973. From left to right—Council President, Richard A. Hoefs; Thom Kerstiens of Belgium; Rodrigo Botero of Colombia; Peter T. Jones, Vice President of MARCOR; John E. Rielly and John Diebold, President, Diebold Inc.





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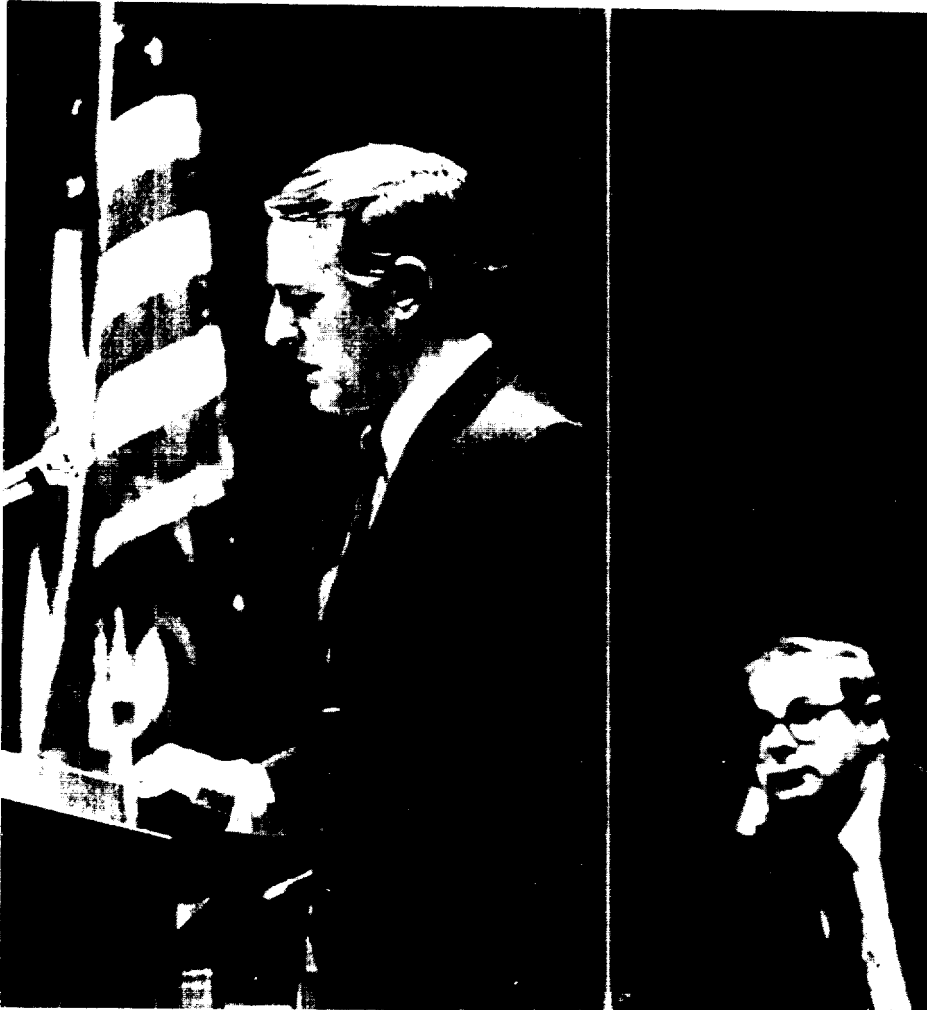
1. Professor Lincoln Bloomfield of M.I.T. and I. David Mellon, Assistant Executive Director, respond to a question raised in a discussion of, "A Foreign Policy for Disillusioned Liberals" in the series, "The Author Meets His Chicago Critics."
2. Stephen Durchslag, Chairman of the Council Forum, at a Forum meeting of March 2, 1972, flanked by Editors-in-Chief Daryll Feldmeir of The Chicago Daily News (left) and Clayton Kirkpatrick of The Chicago Tribune (right).
3. Mary Owens, Director of the Council's Travel Department, at a travel briefing featuring Israeli scholar Abraham Ben-Zvi of Hebrew University, Jerusalem.
4. Program Associate Susan Gilbert and members of the Council Forum Steering Committee Edith Falk, Jerry Falk and Richard Newman.
5. Co-Chairman of The Committee on Foreign and Domestic Affairs, Chicago attorney and Council Treasurer, David J. Rosso (left) and Bruce A. Blomstrom, Regional Director - Far East, Libby, McNeill & Libby and Council Vice President (right).
6. Council Board member A. Robert Abboud, Vice Chairman of The First National Bank of Chicago, with Senator Frank Church, Attorney General William J. Scott, Governor Daniel Walker and Mrs. Richard A. Hoefs.
7. Council Board member Richard E. Burow and Mrs. Burow and daughter about to depart for Europe on a Council charter meet with Francesco Mollaioli at La Stanza Del Arte restaurant for a briefing on contemporary Italy.



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Visiting speakers spark new outlooks



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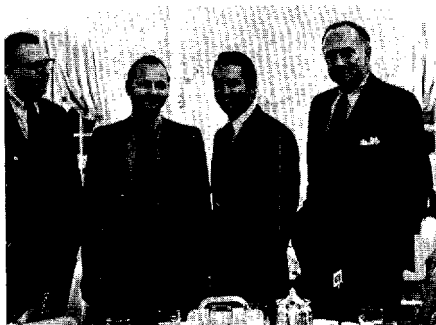
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1. The Lecture Forum Series, November 29, 1972. William F. Buckley, Jr. on his experiences in China with Council Vice President and Chief Executive Officer of PROCON, Inc., Lawrence C. McQuade, chairman for the meeting for over 1,200 Council members.
2. Luigi Barzini, author of *The Italians*, at the North Shore Luncheon Forum with co-chairmen Lois Beskin of Glencoe and Lynn McConnell of Kenilworth, November 2, 1972.
3. Senator Edward M. Kennedy at the opening session of the Special 50th Anniversary Lecture Forum Series, October 12, 1972.
4. Senator Thomas F. Eagleton, the opening speaker at the Council's series, "Neo-Isolationism: Myth or Reality" February 16, 1973, in Wilmette, part of the Council's expansion to the suburbs.
5. Further expansion to the suburbs. Zbigniew Brzezinski at Oak Brook discussing the Soviet Union, as part of a three-part series on U.S. foreign policy. 800 Council members were on hand in the Western suburb on January 14, 1972.



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6. "The Author Meets His Chicago Critics," Part II, David Halberstam at the Drake Hotel commenting on his best seller, *The Best and the Brightest*.
7. Council President Richard A. Hoefs (far left) and Vice President Alex Hehmeyer (far right) meet with Maurice Strong, Secretary-General of the U.N. Stockholm Conference and Attorney General of Illinois William J. Scott, at a luncheon honoring Mr. Strong.
8. Club of Rome President, Aurelio Peccei, at The Arts Club of Chicago with Council Board Member Roy Papp and wife Marilyn. The evening discussion focused on, "The Limits to Growth."
9. Senator Robert Dole, Republican leader from Kansas, outlining Republican foreign policy at a suburban meeting, April 26, 1972.
10. Irish Parliamentarian, author and intellectual Conor Cruise O'Brien in Chicago for the Council on May 2, 1972. He spoke to 600 members at the Illinois Athletic Club and later introduced the film *Odd Man Out* to over 1,000 people at the Prudential Auditorium.

In the city ...and suburbs

In recognition of the fact that a significant proportion of the Council membership now lives in the suburbs, in 1971 the Program Department initiated a series of meetings designed to serve the needs of the North Shore and the Western suburban areas.

In a highly successful series on, "Neo-Isolationism: Myth or Reality," the Council closely examined a central problem in contemporary America and brought Senator Thomas Eagleton, The Honorable George Ball and Professor Robert Tucker of Johns Hopkins to the North Shore, where, over the course of three discussions, some 600 members heard the issues debated.

In the Western suburb of Oak Brook the Council cooperated with The University of Illinois and The League of Women Voters in a three-part analysis of, "The Limits of Intervention." This series featured a debate between then Presidential candidate Congressman Paul N. McCloskey, Jr., and Senator Gale McGee, and lectures by Professor Zbigniew Brzezinski of Columbia University and Senator Jacob Javits. Audiences of 1,000 attended these discussions.

In addition to serial programming, the Council has also sponsored a number of evening lectures in the suburbs where notables such as Senator William Proxmire, Clovis Maksoud of *Al Ahram* of Cairo, Senator Robert Dole and correspondent Mark Gayn met for discussions of the Mid-East, China and the allocation of defense expenditures.

On the scene in six continents



It's a typical busy day in downtown Tokyo. Up the road from the Emperor's Palace in the Akasaka district, a group of Americans from Chicago are being briefed at the Embassy on the state of United States-Japanese relations.

A day later, halfway around the globe, a similar group is making its way to the Embassy in Rome for a discussion of Italy's role in NATO.

Through the Council's travel program these scenes are repeated some 30 times a year in cities as familiar as London, as remote as Katmandu, as problematic as Budapest.

In the two-year period, 1971-1973, 44 charter flights and 16 tours enabled 10,000 Council members to visit virtually every continent of the globe.

The result? An increased awareness on the part of Chicagoans who get a feel for China by going to the New Territories in Hong Kong, an understanding of the Soviet Union by trekking the streets of Leningrad, a refurbished view of Paris and the French by meeting Pierre Boudry of the French Parliament.

Prior to every trip, the Council sponsors a series of meetings designed to provide the Council member with political, economic and social information on the places he will visit. From large dinner meetings to small informal gatherings at foreign restaurants, informed speakers examine the issues relevant to Scandinavia and West Germany, the Middle East and the Orient.

The Council's travel program is an integral part of its educational mission, a vital link in the chain of programs calculated to bring the world to Chicago and Chicago to the world.



Working with the schools: a two-way street



Conferences on Africa, a six-part seminar on Japan, training for teachers in foreign affairs simulation—these and related endeavors make up the Council's program in the field of secondary education.

Using these various mechanisms, the Council annually reaches over 3,000 students and 500 teachers in Chicago and the suburbs.

Through Project United Nations, 25 teachers visited the U.N. in New York, attended two days of briefings and upon return led a conference for their students on themes developed in New York.

Working with the Board of Education of the City of Chicago, the Council sponsored a study on Japan for teachers from the city in the spring of 1973. Guest professors and business and professional people led discussions of Japan's changing role in Asia and in the world.

At other times the Council has gone out into the suburbs to private, public and parochial schools for regional conferences on a variety of topics, including "Race and Nationalism in South Africa," "President Nixon's Visit to Peking," and "Ireland, What's It All About?"

A series of teacher institutes on Latin America treating Mexico, Chile, Brazil and Peru also marked the 1972-1973 program year.

INDONESIA TODAY
A seminar sponsored by
THE CHICAGO COUNCIL
ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
Friday, April 27, 1973
Chairman: Mr. Seth King
Chicago Bureau Chief
New York Times

To this seminar and others like it, the Council invites representatives of mid-western colleges and universities, professors and graduate students for serious discussion of current issues. Nine schools were represented at the Indonesian seminar, ranging geographically from Madison, Wisconsin, to Ann Arbor, Michigan, and including Northwestern University, the University of Chicago, the University of Illinois and Knox College. Four representatives of the Center for Strategic International Studies in Jakarta presented papers and engaged the 28 participants in a full-day discussion of Indonesia's role in Southeast Asia.

Additionally, the Council co-sponsors foreign affairs courses with the University of Chicago extension program and with the City Colleges of Chicago.

In this latter connection, working with the Loop College, the Council has offered its members opportunities to study contemporary Mexico, Southeast Asia and most recently the sources of Irish nationalism.

Altogether, the Council's work with Chicago's colleges and universities is a two-way street, where the Council draws on the intellectual resources of the schools and at the same time provides the professors and students of the Midwest an opportunity to meet in small sessions with many of the distinguished visitors who come to the city as guests of the Council.



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1. Project United Nations, a meeting for 1,000 high school students held annually following on the visit of 25 Chicago teachers to New York and the United Nations.
2. A Seminar on Indonesia for college professors and graduate students. Pictured is Soetaryo Sigit, Minister of Mines of Indonesia, meeting with Professor Steven Douglas of the University of Illinois.

Young ambassadors to the world

A summer abroad? To some young people this represents a backpack and a carefree trip through Europe via hostels. To others it means a present from parents, a chance to explore the world's marketplaces and build up a sizable slide collection; but, to the 11 students who participated in the Council's "Young Ambassador" program this year, it spelled an unusual experience. As Young Ambassadors, the students spent the summer with a foreign family experiencing first hand the lifestyle and culture of another nation.

The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, working jointly with the American Field Service and local community organizations, has been able to send 55 students abroad since the Young Ambassador program originated in 1969. The first delegation sent by the Council spent the summer in Norway and since then travels have extended as far as Australia, Brazil, Argentina and throughout Europe.

Typical of the Young Ambassadors is Mary Tudela. While parades and firework displays proclaimed the Fourth of July 1971 across the United States, Mary celebrated with her German family, who gave a party in her honor. A student from Chicago's Wells High School, Mary spent the summer in Neukerchen, Germany. She was sponsored by Emerson House.

Now a sophomore at the University of Illinois, Mary hopes to spend her junior year abroad in Barcelona. A Spanish and pre-law major, she spends her spare time singing with the university choir and working at the local Boys' Club. "Sharing my family's day-to-day life was a beautiful experience," Mary explains. "Not only did I grow to know and love them, but I was also able to grasp an understanding of the German people and their culture . . . and knowing people that way makes 4,000 miles seem like next door."



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1. The 1972 edition of the Young Ambassadors against a Chicago backdrop.

2. Program Associate of the Council Irene Hill meets with representatives of Emerson House.

New directions in publications

Through its monthly publication, *World Events*, and through an affiliation with the new quarterly, *Foreign Policy*, the Council offers members additional opportunities to obtain information and informed analysis on U.S. foreign policy. In addition, the Council publishes papers which result from its conferences and study groups, such as the Atlantic Conference papers published in 1973.

Founded on April 29, 1925, the first edition of *World Events* (it was then called *News Bulletin*) featured stories on Henri Poincare's government in France and on "The Agile Benes" and his recently concluded agreement with Poland; turned to the concerns of President Calles of Mexico; and concluded by noting with trepidation that Field Marshall von Hindenberg had been elected President of the German Republic. Such was the world of 1925. In the 1930s, under Clifton Utley, then Executive Director, it became the principal source of analysis of news in the Midwest.

Forty-seven years after its founding, edited by former *Time* correspondent, Frank McNaughton, *World Events* is geared to the needs of over 22,000

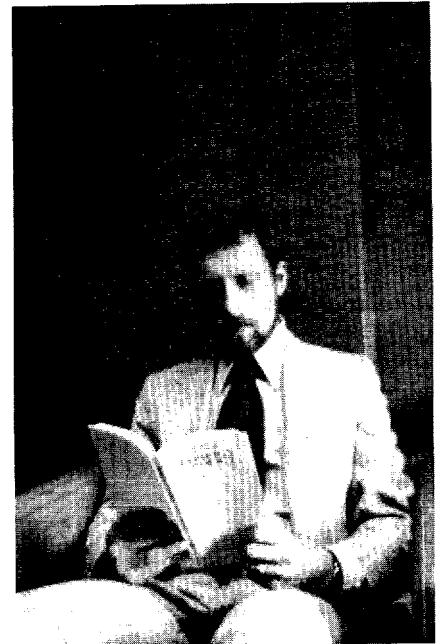
Council members, keeping members current on the Council's varied activities and offering a platform for airing diverse views on a wide range of foreign policy issues.

The Council's affiliation with *Foreign Policy* dates from December, 1972. Executive Director John E. Rielly serves on the editorial board of the magazine, and Council members may subscribe under special arrangements. The journal offers an outlet for serious essays emanating from Council programs.

As part of its arrangement with *Foreign Policy*, the Council inaugurated a special series of meetings called "The Author Meets His Chicago Critics," which brings authors of articles in the magazine to Chicago for discussions of their work. On January 10, 1973, some 500 members turned out to hear Lincoln Bloomfield of M.I.T. discuss "A Foreign Policy for Disillusioned Liberals," and on March 20, 1973, over 800 were on hand for David Halberstam's analysis of *The Best and the Brightest*.

Meanwhile, the Japan Trade Center saluted the Council on its 50th anniversary and published an article drawn from the papers of the Council's seminar on the Japanese economy in the spring, 1972, issue of *U.S./Japan Outlook*.

The Atlantic Conference papers, published following the meeting at Macuto, Venezuela in November, 1972, appeared under the title, *International Economic Policy: Europe, Latin America and the United States*.



WORLD EVENTS

COUNCIL BEGINS COOPERATIVE PROGRAM WITH "FOREIGN POLICY" MAGAZINE

The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations has entered into an agreement with the publishers of *FOREIGN POLICY* magazine whereby the new journal will be available to Council members at special rates.

Under the cooperative arrangement, Council members may now subscribe for \$7.00 a year, instead of \$10.00.

Though just two years old, *FOREIGN POLICY* already has a circulation of 10,000, is rated number two out of 104 journals "read and consulted" by Foreign Policy experts.

NEWSWEEK says of *FOREIGN POLICY*: "It pledges to bring together divergent views under one cover." Recent articles gave proof of honoring that pledge: "Roosevelt's Agreement" by John Lincicum, on the "Nixon-Kissinger System," "X-Plus 25," by George F. Kennan, and "The Balance of Power Delusion," by Zdzislaw Brzezinski.

FOREIGN POLICY articles have been front-page news in Washington and other capitals. They have been the subject of editorials and columns in *TIME*, *LIFE*, *NEWSWEEK*, *WASHINGTON POST*, *THE NEW YORK TIMES*, and the *CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR*. Over half the major Foreign Policy page 2.

FOREIGN POLICY

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OCTOBER 1972

Program Associate Paul Kedrok researches Foreign Policy for writings of invited speakers.

A look back

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During the past two years great emphasis has been placed on the celebration of our 50th anniversary. Attention properly has focused upon many of the accomplishments of those first 50 years, and in various ways recognition was given to the key people who were essential in the building of the Council. That attention and the related recognition were certainly well deserved.

In reviewing the last two years, however, I note an interesting parallel in the growth of the Council relative to the importance of international developments to the Chicago metropolitan area. To be sure, since the 1950s, Chicago has become an international center in many ways. Commercial, academic, intellectual, and just plain personal interests in other areas of the world now exist among the people in this area. The opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway in the late 1950s was perhaps the most dramatic symbol of the developments then taking place. But for all that the period 1971-1973 marked a particularly sharp rise of Chicago-area involvement in the world of business and international trade.

At the Council's annual meeting in 1971, Peter G. Peterson, then the Special Assistant to the President for International Economic Affairs, told us that foreign affairs issues of the 1970s would be economic issues. Many such issues have surfaced in the intervening two years, including problems with the monetary system and future international trading arrangements. Such problems represent serious issues with no obvious solutions in sight. Those new international problems which have surfaced to date seem to be only the tip of an iceberg of completely new and different foreign affairs questions. It seems likely the future will hold other completely different problems.

How will Americans react when foreigners become owners of major portions of United States companies or even major portions of complete industries? Middle Eastern petroleum funds are likely to create exactly such a result

if the owners of such funds choose to make such an effort.

Both the United States and Japanese governments are encouraging Japanese investments of their surplus funds in United States investments. Recently Prime Minister Tanaka of Japan announced that Japan would give \$10,000,000 to United States universities to further Japanese studies.

In a reversal of past trends, recently there have been takeover bids made by European companies for United States businesses. It is entirely possible that in not too many years we may well have multinational activity by labor unions on a level commensurate with that of large international companies in operation today.

As such developments take place, they will create new and different problems. We of the Council can and should play leading roles during the future decades in developing new thinking geared to resolving such future foreign policy problems. As we have responded to some of the new economic issues during the past two years through special seminars and new programs, we must also respond in new and different ways to the questions of the future. I know that the Council will do its best to meet the challenges of the future with the same energy, enthusiasm and confidence which it has shown in meeting the challenges of the past.

In the autumn of 1971, John E. Rielly assumed the position of Executive Director. With a varied background of experience at Harvard, the Ford Foundation, the Senate and the White House he has brought to the post experience, youth and imagination—which is reflected in the Council's program for the past two years.

Richard A. Hoefs



Council President 1971-1973, Richard A. Hoefs, with Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban on the occasion of the Minister's visit to the Council, October 3, 1972.

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... and a gaze ahead



This biennial report covers the period 1971 to 1973, but in a certain sense it goes well beyond those two years. The history of the founding and development of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations has been recorded in other places, most notably in our 40th anniversary book, so I need not repeat it here. But as we plan for the years to come, we cannot forget that it is through the hard work and untiring efforts of many people that 50 years after its founding we at the Council look forward to a bright and productive future.

The last two years have been marked by many advances in programming: a strengthening of the publications program, a tightening of the administration of the Council and a continuation of a strong financial position. The Board has been significantly strengthened by the addition of new members. In the years to come we look forward to implementing the many ideas which come from our Board members, the committees of the Board and our talented professional staff.

I am honored to have been chosen the 26th President of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations. I look forward to working with the Board and staff in furthering the aims of the Council in our ever-expanding service to the Chicago community, to the nation and to the world.

Hermon Dunlap Smith

Board of Directors June 30, 1973

Officers—Richard A. Hoefs, President; Bruce A. Blomstrom, Dr. Gwendolen M. Carter, John D. Gray, Alexander Hehmeyer, Lawrence C. McQuade, Hermon Dunlap Smith, and Mrs. Harold E. Strauss, Vice Presidents; David J. Rosso, Treasurer; and Peter T. Jones, Assistant Treasurer.

Board of Directors—A. Robert Abboud, William O. Beers, William C. Bernhardt, Robert G. Biesel, Mrs. Jules H. Beskin, Richard E. Burow, Even T. Collinsworth, Jr., Mrs. Patrick F. Crowley, Mrs. Edison Dick, Stephen Durchslag, Charles E. Dykes, Leonard Evans, Donald N. Frey, John F. Gallagher, Robert G. Gibson, Rev. Vincent Giese, Prof. Chauncy Harris, Augustin S. Hart, Mrs. Robert S. Ihrig, Walter Jacobsen, The Hon. Otto Kerner, Edward Klinenberg, Mrs. John Kysar, Mrs. Harold Levin, Gerald M. Marks, Aloysius A. Mazewski, Thomas H. Miner, William J. McCarter, Mrs. Francis J. McConnell, Daniel O'Connell, Mrs. Norman L. Olson, Jr., Roy Papp, James Parton, Senator Charles H. Percy, Robert C. Preble, Jr., Ben Raskin, Arthur E. Rasmussen, David Roberson, Richard Rosenzweig, Mrs. Charles Shepherd, Edmund A. Stephan, Senator Adlai E. Stevenson III, James H. Stone, John Strohm, John T. Trutter, Maynard P. Venema and Mrs. Bernard G. Ziv, Jr.

New Directors, July 1, 1973 — Roger E. Anderson, James F. Berè, Joseph L. Block, Stanton R. Cook, Georgie Anne Geyer, Irv Kupcinet, Edward H. Levi, Robert H. Malott, Louis E. Martin, Robert H. Strotz, Omer G. Voss, Mrs. Albert Wohlstetter.

Advisory Board—Alex R. Seith, Chairman; Charles A. Bane, Melvin Brorby, Edmond I. Eger, Walter T. Fisher, Daggett Harvey, Edward D. McDougal, Jr., Herbert V. Prochnow, Richard H. Templeton, Clifton M. Utley, Robert E. Wiczorowski, Robert B. Wilcox and Louise Leonard Wright.

Staff

John E. Rielly, *Executive Director*; I. David Mellon, *Assistant Executive Director*; David A. Ross, *Director, Finance and Administration*; Mary Owens, *Travel Director*; Susan Gilbert, Irene Hill, Pamela Hunter, Paul Kedrok, *Program Department*; Eleanor Kuhn, Norma Newkirk, Karen Olson, Rita Pionke, *Administration*; Brenda Boyer, Lora Meisner, Eloise Mollaioli, Margaret Primavera, Ann Whedoger, *Travel Department*.

President-elect Hermon Dunlap Smith with long time friend and prominent Democratic Senator from Wisconsin, William Proxmire. The Senator spoke to a Council audience of 400 at the Highland Park Country Club on May 26, 1972.

The Council is the sum of its many parts

Membership Programming

For its more than 22,000 members the Council annually programs some 35 meetings, exclusive of travel briefings. The meetings range in scope from the large, prestigious Lecture Forum Series to small dinner meetings for 20 people. There are also annual conferences and seminars and college courses set up by the Council in cooperation with local universities. Programs for Council members living in the suburbs include both luncheon lectures and evening discussion meetings.

Council Forum

Some 50 meetings a year are planned by the Council staff and the Steering Committee for the Council Forum, a group of members in their twenties and thirties. The Forum draws largely on local resources and, in addition to dinner meetings, sponsors an annual conference, one seminar and activities of a cultural nature—including the showing of foreign films, celebrations of various national holidays and occasional trips to Canada and Mexico.

Education Department

Working together with the Board of Education of the City of Chicago and many suburban schools, the Council sponsors a variety of meetings and seminars for teachers and students centering on international issues.

Chicago Committee

A group of senior business, academic, and professional people in the city of Chicago who participate in 25 programs annually with world leaders in off-the-record sessions. The Chicago Committee also sponsors an annual seminar related to problems of current interest.

Committee on Foreign and Domestic Affairs

A group of younger Chicagoans who meet in private homes for dinner discussions centered on both international and domestic issues. The committee sponsors some 10 meetings annually.

Travel Department

Integrated closely with the activities of the Council, the Travel Department sponsors some 25 charter flights and 8 tours to every part of the globe. Prior to each charter flight, Council members are briefed on the relevant economic, political and social problems of the country they are to visit. In the foreign country, they often are hosted by American government agencies or representatives of local national governments and organizations.

Publications

The Council publishes its newsletter, *World Events*, ten times a year and additionally cooperates with *Foreign Policy* magazine under an agreement which allows Council members reduced rates. The Council is also responsible for soliciting articles from the Midwest, and the Executive Director of the Council serves on the editorial board of the magazine. The Council also publishes on an *ad hoc* basis articles and books coming out of its conferences and seminars.

Speakers Bureau

The Council operates a Speakers Bureau for some 70 international experts from the Chicago area and programs these speakers for various organizations' meetings throughout the year.



Some former Presidents of the Council with the President of the Johnson Foundation, Leslie Paffrath (left) — Melvin Brorby (1953-56), Robert E. Wiczorowski (1964-66), Edward D. McDougal, Jr. (1962-64), Richard H. Templeton (1958-60), and Richard A

The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations
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