



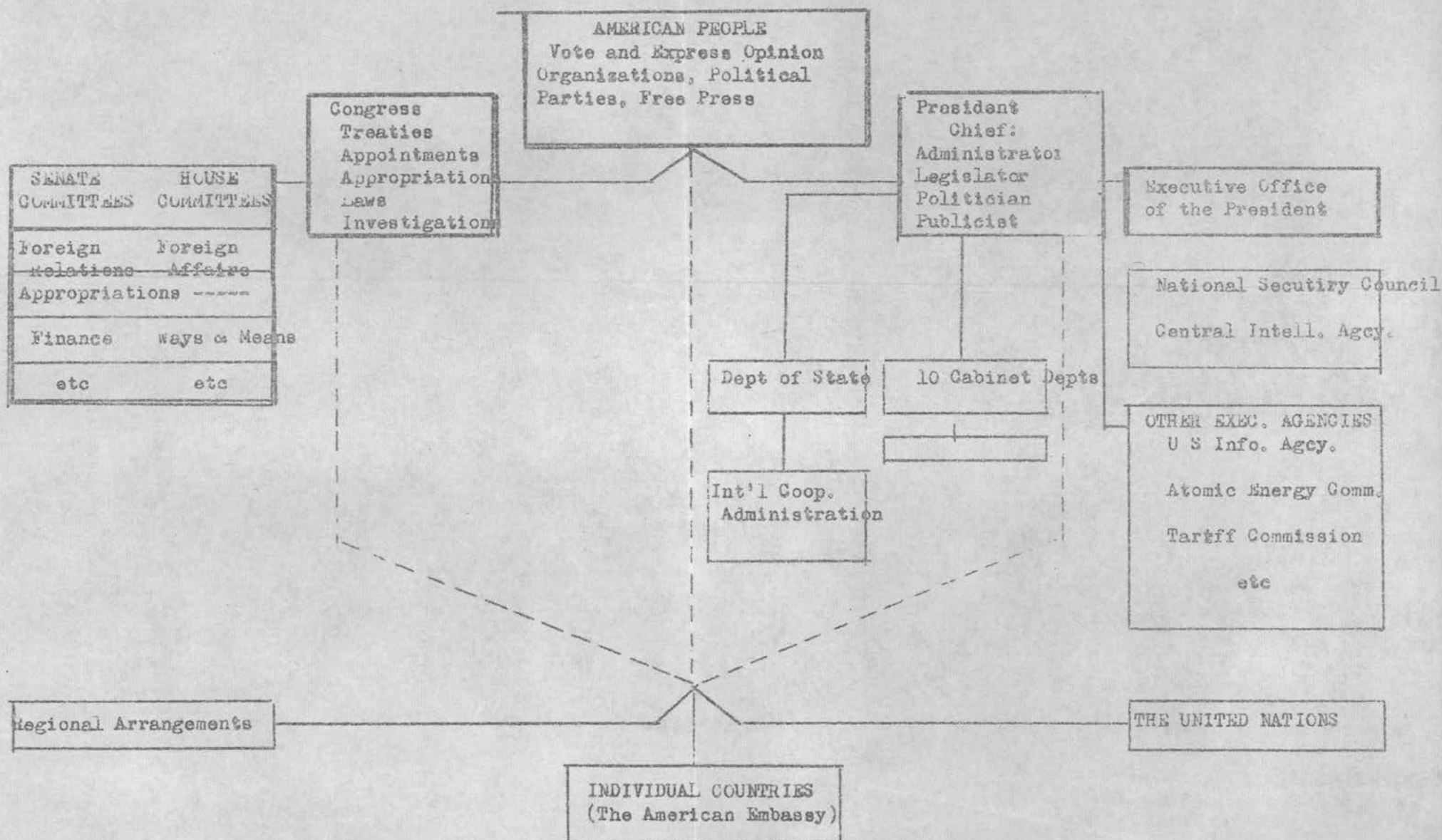
League of Women Voters of Minnesota Records

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MAKING AND CARRYING OUT UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY

Key Influences, Agencies and Instruments



FOREIGN POLICY MEETING

Mrs. Milton Ravensborg, chairman, Mrs. E.D. Newell and Mrs. William Eisler.

Principle--Domestic policies which facilitate the solution of international problems.

National Item, 1960-62: Support of U.S. economic policies which promote world development and maintain a sound U.S. economy.

Overview: In drawing up U.S. economic and foreign policies, our administrators and law givers are faced with a dilemma: aiding the growth of underdeveloped nations--and maintaining a sound home economy.

We are confronted with a real threat to survival. Russia and Red China have promised to bury us--economically, if not militarily. It is thus important that we bring our own nation's economy up to peak strength.

At the same time, we are called upon to contribute to the welfare of poorer countries. Largesses, especially the million-dollar volumes we are considering, are bound to effect our own economy. Moreover, the have-not nations we aid today will eventually want to set up and run their own capital equipment, produce their own goods, and become self-sufficient.

Inevitably, this will mean turning out products to compete with ours in world markets. For illustration, take a look at the astonishing comeback of West Germany and Japan after World War II.

Problems for Study:

- 1) How to aid the growth of underdeveloped countries, while
- 2) Maintaining a sound domestic economy.

-----OUTLINE OF JANUARY MEETING-----

1. Support of policies which maintain a sound economy

A. Problem: What are the ingredients of a sound U.S. economy?

- 1) What makes an economy grow?
- 2) How does an economy grow?
- 3) What is Growth National Product?
- 4) Will aiding world development involve "painful" readjustments to our own economy?

B. Problem: How does the Balance of Payments affect our economic and foreign trade policies?

- 1) What is the Balance of Payments?
- 2) How does a deficit in the Balance of Payments effect our supply of gold bullion?
- 3) What caused the Balance of Payments deficit the United States is feeling now--and, how important is this?
- 4) What methods can our government use to keep any deficit in the U.S. Balance of Payments from growing too large?

II. Support of Policies which promote world development.

A. Problem: Financing world economic development adequately and effectively.

- 1) How much aid is required?
- 2) How long must aid be continued to be really effective?
- 3) How can we coordinate the aid we give with the donations of other industrialized nations?
- 4) Aid is Trade-Trade is Development Aid.

LEGISLATIVE OBSERVERS PROGRAM

Beginning January 13th the League will sponsor a Legislative Observer Program to be held at or near the Capital. Mr. Charles Backstrom, assistant professor of political science at the U of M, will present a series of lectures concerning the legislative process in Minnesota. The subjects for each session:

January 26-- What can the legislature do?

February 9-- How does the legislature work?

February 23- How does a bill become a law?

March 9----- How does the Governor influence legislation?

March 23---- What interests concern themselves with legislation?

After Mr. Backstrom speaks at 10 A.M., he will be followed by state agenda item chairmen and reporters who will bring us up to date on the status of League issues and other selected key issues. Following these reports we will lunch with legislators and members of the executive and judicial branches of government. (Cafeteria, Dutch Treat).

In the afternoon, those of us who can, will attend committee hearings and legislative sessions.

As we will be planning no other Legislative Day, won't you join us at this series?

Those interested please contact Merle Park at Gr. 1-9448.



Mrs. H. P. Borg
Box 5 - Mound





Connally Amen

foreign policy roundup

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE U.S., 1026 - 17th STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

Price: 25¢

June, 1960

DEAR LEAGUER:

As I was walking down a corridor of the Secretariat Building one day, I noticed a particularly attractive tour guide and stopped to hear what she was saying to her group. She was carefully explaining in English (which was obviously not her native language) the placement of the flags before the building. "You will observe," she said, "the flags are arranged according to the English language alphabet from 'A' for Afghanistan to 'U' for Yugoslavia"!

Now this issue of Foreign Policy Roundup does not guarantee to cover the United Nations from "A" to "U", but it is hoped that in its pages you will find the tools with which to accomplish this yourselves. The "Roundup" is divided into two sections: 1) "Carrying the UN to the League" is a presentation designed to facilitate study in greater depth on the United Nations for both long-time and recent League members. Many changes have come about in the United Nations since the League last took a hard look at it, and with the adoption by Convention of C.R. 2, the obligation to be aware of what we really are supporting becomes essential. 2) "Carrying the UN to the Community" has been prepared to meet the needs of those Leagues whose communities rely on them, not only to spearhead UN Day activities, but to provide UN information throughout the year.

The materials recommended in the "Roundup" are a selection from the mass of information, documentation and films available to me as Observer for the League of Women Voters. Part of this job as Observer is to look at all material with a League-like eye and assess what best meets the League's needs.

Another part of the Observer's job is to attend special briefings at the United Nations given for accredited non-governmental organizations, and information from these briefings will come to you throughout the year, either as VOTER articles, or in Foreign Policy Roundup. The briefings, which are given each week, afford the Observer an opportunity to hear top members of the Secretariat discuss the latest developments in their particular fields, i.e. World Health, Atomic Energy, the World Bank, or the United Nations Emergency Force. The briefings offer, also, political analyses from our own United States Delegation members. One day Ambassador Lodge explained the U. S. stand on disarmament (and added tales of his tour with Khrushchev as extra fare). Another day, one of the delegates from

Congress told his reactions to Technical Assistance as seen through the eyes of a practical politician. This look into the kaleidoscope of activity and politics at the United Nations is an exciting experience, which I hope I can convey to you in timely reports during the year.

Reports, however, can hardly tell the hopes, accomplishments, color, variety, and challenge in a working session of the General Assembly; and since another part of the job of Observer is to make your visit to the United Nations easier, plan such a visit if at all possible.

In planning your League's work under the United Nations C.R., the type of UN activity your League undertakes will, of course, be as individual and varying as the Leagues themselves. However, two general rules for success seem to apply, whatever activity is chosen. First, that the allotted time for UN work should be scheduled by the June Board meeting to insure proper planning; and second, that a person in charge of UN affairs be selected as soon as possible, whether she be a Special Chairman with a Board position, or some member of the National Program Committee. May she get far on her trip from "A" to "U"!

Betty Little, UN Observer

ISSUES BEFORE THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The 14th General Assembly met in the atmosphere of comparative relaxation of the Khrushchev visit. The coming session will take place in the midst of the U. S. election campaign and will follow a Summit failure, a "postponement" of President Eisenhower's visit to Russia and heightened international tensions. All these events cannot help but set the tone for the 15th General Assembly, as well as determine some of the issues before it. What will some of these issues be?

Disarmament: While the 10-nation disarmament committee meeting in Geneva is not directly under the United Nations, the 82-member UN Disarmament Commission did unanimously approve its existence, and a close liaison exists between the two bodies. Any agreements determined by the Committee of Ten will be referred back to the United Nations for general discussion. It was suggested in the last General Assembly that the Disarmament Commission meet around the middle of 1960 to receive whatever information was available by that time. Secretary General Hammarskjold is firm in his belief that "ultimate responsibility for disarmament rests with the UN."

Outer Space: The last Assembly established a 24-nation committee to study "practical and feasible means for giving effect to programs in the peaceful uses of outer space which could appropriately be undertaken under UN auspices." This was supported by the United States. The Committee is to work out details for a conference to be held in 1960 or 1961 and a report on progress towards this conference is expected.

China: The question of Red China's admission to the United Nations is a perennial problem. Indian-Red Chinese border clashes and Chinese action in Tibet last year strengthened the U. S. opposition to consideration of such a resolution, though India favored it. Another attempt to pass such a resolution can be expected.

Trusteeship Territories: Togoland and Somalia will become independent in 1960 and undoubtedly will seek admission to the UN. Cameroun has already been approved by

the Security Council for membership at the opening of the 1960 plenary session. Dates will probably be set for most of the remaining territories to become independent, and plans for economic assistance to this group instituted.

UN Emergency Force: There is no sign that the need for UNEF will be less in 1960 than in 1959. With Arab pressure on Israel being stepped up, the failure of the Secretary General to persuade Nasser to allow Israeli cargoes through the Suez Canal, and the renewed Israeli attacks on Arab villages in the demilitarized zone, UNEF seems to be the one guarantee of an uneasy truce in the Middle East. However, its continued existence is always a "financing problem," and will come before the UN in this guise if in no other.

Refugees: Spurred on by World Refugee Year, a number of countries have taken in refugees from Europe and Asia. The problem of the Palestine refugees still remains and will until there is a satisfactory political settlement between Arabs and Israelis. The UN Relief and Works Agency, to help this group, was extended by the 14th Assembly for three years. The coming Assembly will attempt to raise enough money to provide training programs as well as relief.

The question of Korea and possible reunification of that country continues. This and other unresolved problems, such as Hungary and Tibet and apartheid in South Africa, for which there seems at present to be no practical solution, will at least be kept on the agenda for discussion in the hope that some day a lessening of tension or shift in world opinion may provide some answer. If President de Gaulle does not succeed in achieving at least the beginning of a solution in Algeria, there will most certainly be another attempt to have the UN intervene there.

Economic Program

While the political issues that confront the United Nations are dramatic, and headline making, it is perhaps on the economic front that the UN is doing its most significant work. The 14th Assembly called upon all nations to increase their contributions to the economic programs, and generally they responded. With the increased prosperity of Western Europe and the new method of computing recipient country matching funds, thereby releasing more of the U. S. appropriation than before, both the Technical Assistance program and the Special Fund pre-investment work will be increased in 1960. The 14th Assembly recommended changing the term "Technical Assistance" to "Technical Cooperation," which better expresses the idea that it is the recipient countries themselves that must initiate and carry out development programs, and that even the least developed countries have something to contribute.

OPEX: This program for providing operational personnel to governments requesting it started in 1959 with the recruitment of 25 officers. In view of the fact that 90 were asked for, the 14th Assembly voted to continue the experiment, approving a budget of \$300,000, and further assessment of the program is expected after this year's operation.

Special Fund: In its first year the Special Fund has started more than 40 projects designed to lead to economic development of underdeveloped countries. Surveys of power in Argentina, of the Volta River flood plains in Ghana, support of training institutes in India, Yugoslavia, Poland, Central America and Turkey are samples of the kind of thing they are doing. New projects will be undertaken this year.

International Development Association: This affiliate of the World Bank is expected soon to be in operation. It is set up to make loans on easy terms to developing countries, to support sound projects of high development priority. It will probably come in the UN family as a Related Agency.

THE WORLD COURT

When Senate Resolution 94, calling for withdrawal of the Connally Amendment governing United States participation in the World Court, came before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee early this year the League of Women Voters took no stand on the issue. Though the League had acted in support of the acceptance by the United States of the compulsory jurisdiction of the World Court in 1946, there has been neither League study nor action on the World Court since that time. The National Board therefore concluded in its January meeting that while there was no lessening of League support for the United Nations system in general, there was also no evidence that the membership was prepared to act on the World Court. The Board prepared an article on the World Court in the March, 1960 issue of the NATIONAL VOTER. At the national Convention in April, the delegates asked for additional material on the World Court to supplement that given in the March VOTER to help prepare Leagues for future action under the authority of the newly adopted Continuing Responsibility on the United Nations.

Meanwhile, on March 29th, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, voted 9-8 to postpone consideration of the repeal of the Connally Amendment on the grounds that it stood no chance of passage and was "too hot to handle" at that time. Unless repeal is brought up unexpectedly before the close of the congressional session, it will probably come up at the next session in 1961.

What is the Connally Amendment?

The 1946 Senate resolution which established our country's participation in the World Court outlined the type of disputes we would be willing to submit to compulsory World Court arbitration, and stated further that this adherence should not apply to matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States. This limitation was consistent with one of the basic criteria of the UN Charter. During debate on the Senate floor, a phrase governing our adherence was added as underlined: "disputes with regard to matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States as determined by the United States." These words are the Connally Amendment, and by their addition we thus reserved to ourselves the right to veto Court consideration of any case brought against us. The League of Women Voters had no opportunity at the time to testify in opposition to the Connally Amendment.

What Motivated Passage of the Connally Amendment?

Passage of the Connally Amendment seemed to be motivated by a fear that the World Court would exceed its specified jurisdiction and enter into our domestic affairs. It was feared that by letting an international tribunal determine this all-important criterion of "domestic," we would be giving up our sovereignty. It was also feared that the 15 judges who compose the Court, because of their different political and legal backgrounds, would have standards different from ours as to what constitutes "domestic," and their judgment was therefore, not to be trusted.

What Are the Arguments for Repeal?

Because the Statute of the World Court requires that each nation accept the same obligations, the Connally Amendment makes it possible for any country the United States may call before the Court to claim "domestic jurisdiction" for itself as we do. In other words as Mr. Chagla, India's Ambassador to the U. S., said, "The U. S. is hoist by its own petard." This boomerang quality of the self-judging reservation caused France to abandon it. The United Kingdom and India have also removed their self-judging reservations. The U. S. has more international commitments and investments than any other country in the world. Realistically, to protect our rights, it would seem wise to plug this loophole through which other countries can escape their obligations.

The United States cannot by unilateral action guarantee full use of the Court, but by complete submission to compulsory jurisdiction on the sole condition of reciprocity, it can at least abandon a position which is untenable in principle as well as give needed leadership by a proper example.

Suggested Readings for Leagues are:

THE NATIONAL VOTER, March 1960, "The World Court"

VITAL ISSUES, February 1960, "World Court - What's Its History? How Effective Is It?" available for 35¢ from the Center for Information on America, Washington, Connecticut.

READER'S DIGEST, June 1960, "The United States is Impeding World Law!" by William Hard, issue available for 35¢ from The Reader's Digest Association, Inc., Pleasantville, N. Y.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, April 28, 1960, "Should the Connally Amendment Be Retained?", (See reprint, page 21 of Roundup). Additional copies are available on order from the National Office at approximately 10 cents each.

CARRYING THE UN TO THE LEAGUE

DISCUSSION OUTLINE

Subject: The United Nations

Occasion: Unit Meeting

(The numbers in parentheses are keyed to the appropriate source material on the bibliography)

1. Introduction (5 minutes)

The purpose of the discussion

- a) To learn a little of the workings of the UN and its part in today's world
- b) To analyze the limitations of the UN as well as its successes
- c) To understand how our own foreign policy relates to this international body
- d) To understand the citizen's responsibility to this new level of government

2. Background (10 minutes)

Historical (18)

- a) Founding
- b) Purpose
- c) Concept of sovereignty

Comparison between 1945 and 1960 (2) (3)

- a) Membership
- b) Scope of peace role
- c) Scope of economic role

Transition: Our discussion will help us take a deeper look at what some of these changes are and what they have meant to the UN, to us and to the world. Let us start first with the problem of membership.

3. Discussion (1 hour)

- A. What is the significance of the enormous changes in membership in the UN both quantitatively and qualitatively? (2,3,9,*) Discuss:
 1. The possibility of the Western nations' decrease in power
 2. Bloc action and its implications
 3. The desire of new nations to remain neutral in the cold war
- B. What means has the UN found to enforce its decision in the political field? (2,4,6,8) Discuss:
 1. Uniting for Peace Resolution (Korea)
 2. Mobilization of public opinion (Africa)
 3. United Nations Emergency Force (Suez)
 4. United Nations Observer Corps (Lebanon)
 5. Mr. Hammarskjold's personal diplomacy (Arab-Israeli) *

* See Note, page 17 of Roundup.

- C. Why does the UN fail in the solution of some of the world's political problems? (1,6,5) Discuss:
 - 1. Hungary - unwillingness of "sovereign" nations to risk War
 - 2. Disarmament - cold war politics
 - D. What contribution has the UN made to the world's economic problems? (9,10,11,12,13,17) Discuss:
 - 1. Technical Assistance, the Special Fund and OPEX
 - 2. World Bank and IDA
 - 3. Pros and cons of UN aid.
 - E. What effect does our membership in the UN have on U. S. Foreign Policy (2,3,5) Discuss:
 - 1. Value of the new method of diplomacy
 - 2. Value of a sounding board for world opinion
 - 3. Value of face-saving action (Lebanon)
 - 4. Advantages of UN economic aid
 - 5. Problem of forced alignment on delicate issues (France vs. Algeria)
 - F. How can the citizen be effective in an organization so far removed from him as the UN (2)
 - 1. Through Congress
 - Appropriation of funds for all UN activities
 - Some policy decisions, e.g. Connally amendment
 - Ratification of treaties, e.g. test ban
 - 2. Through State Department
 - Formulation of policy
 - 3. Through body of public opinion
4. Summary (5 minutes)

WORKSHOP OUTLINE

(The numbers in parentheses refer to pertinent resource material on the bibliography)

Introduction:

This workshop outline has been prepared with two purposes in mind:

- 1. As a means of helping League members and other community leaders interested in the UN to become "specialists" in various facets of UN work. Discussion leaders, resource personnel and speakers should find the workshop helpful.
- 2. As a means of enabling League members and other interested citizens to explore in depth those aspects of UN work in which they are most interested.

The outline that follows is flexible and can be modified to meet the requirements of local League interest as well as to answer questions that may have been raised in the past in your community. We suggest that this be an all day program.

MORNING

The morning session might be divided into working groups by subject matter under the guidance of a discussion leader for each group. Two or more areas of interest could be chosen and developed along the lines of the examples given below.

1. Issues (1,7,8,9,16) Discuss five issues from differing areas of UN work, i.e. Disarmament, Refugees, Algeria, Special Fund and United Nations Emergency Force in the light of:
 - a) UN past action on the problem
 - b) Present status of the issue
 - c) U. S. policy on the issue
2. Emerging Nations (1,10,14,15) Discuss:
 - a) What is the political impact on the UN of its new members?
 - b) What help can the UN give new nations - economically and politically?
 - c) If more economic aid is required for Africa, how might the UN meet the need?
 - d) What role can OPEX and the Special Fund play in the new nations of Africa?
 - e) Where does the U. S. stand on the issue of colonialism vs. Independence?
 - f) When does a "domestic issue" become "international"? (South Africa)
3. Economic Development (10,11,12,13,17) Discuss:
 - a) What types of aid giving machinery does the UN have?
 - b) What are the advantages of giving through these UN agencies?
 - c) What is the role of the regional Economic Commissions?
 - d) What are some of the international loan facilities, their purpose? distinctions and U. S. support?
 - e) What is the role of the Special Fund and its value?
 - f) How does the work of the related agencies enter the economic development picture?
 - g) What should be the U. S. contribution toward world economic growth?

AFTERNOON

We suggest that the afternoon session be devoted to a showing of selected films relating to the areas covered in the morning and to a discussion following. This would accomplish two things:

1. It would provide additional information in an entertaining manner
2. It would demonstrate the technique of using films as another means of telling the UN story.

Introduction on Use of Films:

When and Why: Films can be used to attract an audience, to illustrate or give information on a topic, or to provide a springboard for discussion. Useful for the League of Women Voters unit or open meeting, films are also a valuable tool for League speakers going to other groups in the community.

How:

- 1) Always preview film.
- 2) Always introduce film (topic, why chosen, background information necessary to understanding of film).
- 3) Where time for discussion is planned, a discussion leader should be provided and a resource person be prepared to answer questions.

Recommended Films:

1. Issues:

Ten Days that Shook the Commonwealth. National Film Board of Canada, 1957.

The British Commonwealth in action during the Suez crisis; applicable to the UN, however, because of the extended sequence showing how the emergency was handled in the Security Council and the General Assembly. 30 min. b&w Rental \$7. CF *

Dateline UN:US Mission to the UN.#1 made by the UN TV Division for the U. S. Broadcasters Committee for World Affairs, 1958. A useful account of the organizational set-up and work of the U.S. Mission to the UN. Includes an interview with Henry Cabot Lodge with typical questions on UN's importance as well as less elementary discussion. 14 min. b&w. Rental: nominal. Available from your local TV station or Mr. Fred Kugel, Chairman of American Committee for Broadcasters for World Affairs, 422 Madison Avenue, New York City.

2. Emerging Nations:

Question in Togoland. UN Film, 1957. The preparation for independence and the plebiscite which brought the UN Trust territory of Togoland into the newly formed state of Ghana. 20 min. color. Rental \$7.50. CF*

They Called It White Man's Burden. National Film Board of Canada, 1957. An assessment of the good and bad in the record of British paternalism. 30 min. b&w. Rental \$7. CF*

Storm Clouds Over the Colonies. The material benefits of modern developments to colonial peoples are weighed against the implications of exploitation for profit. 30 min. b&w. Rental \$7. CF*

3. Economic Development:

Yugoslavia Today. UN Film, 1955. A good factual account of different kinds of technical aid given within a single country by the UN and Related Agencies. 10 min. b&w. Rental \$2.50, CF*

Power Changes Mexico. UN Film, 1951. A serviceable film about electrical power for Mexico financed by loans from World Bank and three examples of rural and industrial changes wrought thereby. 17 min. b&w Rental \$4.00 CF*

Poverty and Plenty. National Film Board of Canada, 1957. A somewhat leisurely but very complete account of technical assistance in Southeast Asia under the Colombo plan - its needs, history, and techniques of aid. 30 min. b&w. Rental \$7. CF*

Bibliography:

Leading Film Discussions: League of Women Voters of the City of New York, 461 Park Avenue South, New York 16, New York, 50¢.

* See last page of Roundup for address.

SUGGESTED BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR DISCUSSION AND WORKSHOP OUTLINES

Note: The numbers after topics in discussion outline and workshop outline refer to corresponding numbers of publications in this list.

- *1. Issues Before the Fifteenth General Assembly, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, UN Plaza at 46th St., New York 17, New York, "Issues" is published annually in September, 50¢. Order from Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, New York. An authoritative exposition of the agenda of the approaching General Assembly session and some historic background on each issue.
- *2. The United Nations ... A Candid Appraisal, Zelia Ruebhausen, CCCMF, October 1957, 30 pp. on each issue, 35¢ from the League of Women Voters of the United States. A realistic assessment of the United Nations by the former observer for the League of Women Voters of the U. S. at the UN.
- *3. The New United Nations, Ernest Gross, September 1957, 67 pp. Foreign Policy Assn. Headline booklet, 35¢ from The Foreign Policy Assn. Inc., 345 E. 46th St., New York 17, N. Y. A thoughtful, penetrating analysis of the UN by a former U. S. ambassador to the UN and a five-time delegate to the General Assembly.
- *4. A UN Peace Force. William R. Frye, 1957 Public Affairs Pamphlet #257, 28 pp., 25¢, from Public Affairs Pamphlets, 22 E 38th St., New York 16, New York. A searching inquiry into prospects and problems of a permanent UN military force.
- *5. The United Nations: Its Role in a Changing World, Francis O. Wilcox, Asst. Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs. Address of September 1959 to American Association for the United Nations. A summary of some important U. S. positions. Order from AAUN, 345 E 46th Street, New York 17, New York.
- 6. Can The United Nations Enforce Peace? article by Sir Leslie Munro in Foreign Affairs Quarterly, January 1960, Vol. 38, #2.
- 7. The September, 1960 issue of United Nations Review will be devoted to a General Assembly Preview as was the September 1959 number, which contains much helpful material. Official monthly magazine of the UN, 1 yr., \$6.00, single copies, 50¢. Available at most libraries, or may be ordered from Sales Section, United Nations, New York 17, New York.
- *8. United Nations - Hope for a Divided World, by Sir Leslie Munro, 1960, Henry Holt and Co., New York, 175 pp., \$4.00. A fresh evaluation of the UN's work to date by one of its ablest and most astute diplomats.
- 9. The Developing Role of the United Nations, the Introduction to the 14th Annual Report of the Secretary General to the General Assembly, reproduced from September 1959 United Nations Review (See 7 above). Single copy, 10¢ from Sales Section, United Nations, New York 17, New York.
- * May be purchased at The World Affairs Book Shop, World Affairs Center, UN Plaza and 46th Street, New York 17, New York. Mail orders will be filled.

10. One Hundred Countries - One and One Quarter Billion People - How to Speed Their Economic Growth and Ours in the 1960's, Paul G. Hoffman, February 1960, 62 pp., one copy free from The Committee for International Economic Growth, 1028 Connecticut Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C. Contains helpful charts, and graphs plus some provocative proposals.
11. For Human Welfare, a Discussion Guide on the work of the Economic and Social Council with 26 pp. of background material. Revised April 1959, 48 pp., UN Pub. No. 59.I.6, 25¢. Order from Sales Section, United Nations, New York 17, New York.
- *12. This Growing World - Economic Development and the World Bank, by Robert L. Heilbroner, July 1958, Public Affairs Pamphlet #237, 28 pp., 25¢. Order from Public Affairs Pamphlets, 22 E. 38th Street, New York 16, New York. The work of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development is simply and interestingly explained.
13. Technical Assistance: Why? What? How?, 1957 (A United Nations Review reprint), 64 pp. UN publication No. 58.I.9, 25¢. Illustrated booklet answering most frequently asked questions about UN technical assistance.
14. A Sacred Trust, December 1959, UN Publication No. 59.I.17, 48 pp., 25¢ from Sales Section, United Nations, New York 17, New York. A description of the work of the UN for dependent peoples in Trust Territories and Non-Self-Governing Territories, including an explanation of the functions of the Trusteeship Council.
15. The U. S. and Africa, Background Papers of the 13th American Assembly, Columbia University, June 1958, Chapter 3, External Political Pressures on Africa Today by Vernon McKay. Price, \$1.00 from Columbia Press (See No. 1.) Available in most libraries.
16. Fact Sheet, the Committee for World Development and World Disarmament, published monthly. Single copies free, \$1.00 for annual subscription. Order from the committee at 345 E. 46th Street, New York 17, New York. Current, factual material on disarmament negotiations and activities.
17. Cooperation for Economic Progress, 1959, UN publication No. 59.I.16, 56 pp., 25¢. A cumulative, comprehensive account of the activities and achievements of the four Regional Economic Commissions from time of inception to end of 1958 and early 1959.
18. The UN - What it is, What it does, How it works, U. S. Committee for the UN, 816 21st Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. pamphlet, 5¢ each. The title tells its contents, and a copy of the preamble to the Charter is also included.

* May be purchased at The World Affairs Book Shop, World Affairs Center, UN Plaza and 46th Street, New York 17, New York. Mail orders will be filled.

CARRYING THE UN TO THE COMMUNITY

FILMS & FILMSTRIPS

Community Meetings to Celebrate UN Day:

I. Short film on program featuring speaker.

Recommended general film: Overture, UN Film, 1958. A striking film without narration set to the music of Beethoven's Egmont Overture with scenes showing the effects of war and UN efforts to aid recovery and development 9 min. b&w. Rental \$4. CF*

Recommended specific films: If the speaker is covering a specific aspect of UN work, a good film may be used to introduce it. See list of films recommended for the League of Women Voters Workshop on page 10 of this Round-up or, for recommendations for your particular needs, consult the World Affairs Center (Audio-Visual Section) or the League Committee.

II. An evening of films.

A well-balanced film program is sometimes appropriate where speakers are not available. A good commentator, however, is necessary. There are only a few full-length UN films and these are not of the quality of some of the shorter ones; a program such as the following is therefore recommended: Overture, UN Film, 1958. A good opening for any UN film program (see above for description).

The UN in Korea, UN Film, 1953. An exciting and illuminating chronicle of UN action in Korea. The topic is not only of historical interest, but, as treated, seems pertinent today. 30 min. b&w. Rental \$7.50 CF*

World Without End, UNESCO Film, 1953. A beautiful film about the problems common to underdeveloped countries and the help given to them by the UN Related Agencies. Filmed in Mexico and Thailand, the photography is outstanding. 45 min. b&w Rental \$7. WAC*

World Refugee Year Films

Leagues may receive requests for films on the refugee problem from organizations interested in helping the cause of World Refugee Year. The following films are recommended:

The Camp, Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, 1959. A simple, moving film about a refugee camp with a sound track using Ingrid Bergman as narrator and Larry Adler's harmonica. 10 min, b&w, Rental \$4. CF*.

We Very Much Regret, Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, 1959. Also an account of a family in a refugee camp; effectively done. 14 min. b&w, Rental \$4. CF*.

Note: Films recommended in this and other sections were mostly made before 1957; some may have already been shown in your community. They are recommended, however, because they are thought to be still the best in each category.

* See last page of Roundup for address.

Filmstrips

The UN Way To Freedom

Prepared by Mrs. Juliet Blanchard for United Church Women, General Department, National Council of the Churches of Christ. 87 frames, 20 minutes, 1959. The filmstrip takes its theme from the phrase "Freedom to live .. to live in dignity... to live well," and develops the various activities of the United Nations in connection with these basic desires. Available from the Broadcasting and Film Division of the National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, New York. \$7.00

The Bridge UNESCO Builds

Prepared by Mrs. Juliet Blanchard for The U. S. National Commission for UNESCO 101 Frames. 28 - 30 minutes. '58. A full-color filmstrip depicting UNESCO's efforts to build bridges of understanding between the nations of the world. A clear, concise analysis of the Organization's structure and purposes and a dramatic portrayal of UNESCO activities in more than a dozen countries. Developed especially for civic organizations and service groups interested in foreign affairs and international relations, this filmstrip is equally useful to libraries, high schools, colleges, and adult educators. With script \$4.75; With recorded narrative, \$7.50. Available from the UNESCO Publications Center, 801 Third Avenue, New York, New York, or Knowledge Builders, 31 Union Square West, New York, New York.

SCHOOLS

Programs devised by schools themselves are always the best. Local Leagues, however, continue to receive requests for suitable materials and films for UN week.

Materials.

Most textbooks and the Scholastic Magazine now cover the UN excellently for the upper grades. For those classes of all levels who wish to do something more intensive, there are good bibliographies of materials in the U. S. Committee for the UN, Materials and Publications List and Selected & Annotated Bibliography of Resource Materials for Teaching the UN (28 pp. 1958. National Education Association, 1201 16th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. 25¢.)

Recommended written material:

For elementary grades:

Three Promises to You. Munro Leaf, J. B. Lippincott, 1957. A delightful and imaginative book that explains to children from 6 to 10 what the UN is and why. 60 pp. \$1.00

For middle grades:

The United Nations - What You Should Know About It - By Jean S. Picker, edited by Eleanor Roosevelt. 3rd edition 1959. An illustrated, popular booklet explaining in a lively way the purposes and functions of the UN. 52 pp. 35¢.

How Peoples Work Together - 3rd Rev. Edition 1957. An illustrated account of the UN and the Specialized Agencies. 92 pp. 75¢.

Recommended visual materials:

Posters, large picture sets, flags, models, etc. can be ordered from the publications list of the U. S. Committee for the UN. Outstanding is the model kit by Education Research Inc.: The United Nations and How It Works. In addition to printed paper materials needed to produce a 3-dimensional model of the UN Headquarters, the kit includes a world map, three-sided panels showing pictorially the works of the UN, and a Teachers Guide. \$1.00.

Films

As with adult audiences UN films are best when properly introduced and when time is allotted for questions and further information afterwards.

Recommended film for elementary grades:

Danish Children Build a Greek School. Under UN guidance, Danish students contribute money and their own labor to build a school in a Greek Village. 10 min. b&w Rental \$4. CF*

Recommended films for middle grades:

Workshop for Peace. UN Film, 1954. A guided tour of UN headquarters, with description of the functions of each unit. The viewer sees the General Assembly in action and is taken behind the scenes for the day-to-day work of the Secretary-General and Secretariat. Interesting photography with lots of action. (Note: This has turned out to be the UN's most useful film, ideal for any age group, a must for those planning an actual visit to the UN.). 29 min. b&w. Rental \$7.50. Sale (for those groups wishing to procure one for their town's school or library) \$65. CF*

Question in Togoland. UN Film, 1957. A color film which could be used in connection with many school activities (i.e. elections, current events, study of Africa, etc.). The preparation for independence and the plebiscite which brought the UN Trust territory of Togoland into the newly formed state of Ghana. 20 min. color. Rental \$7.50. CF*

Miscellaneous Projects.

Leagues have helped with Tricks or Treats for UNICEF in many communities. For information, materials, films etc., write to U. S. Committee for UNICEF, UNITED NATIONS, NEW YORK. (they produce some of the most suitable materials for elementary grades)....Essay contests have been sponsored by Leagues, with the prize - a trip to the UN....School participation in town celebration. Although one must be careful not to exploit schools in this regard or interfere with their own UN programs, school participation can add a great deal to the town celebration (i.e. use of school band, panel of high school students to question guest speaker, etc.).

Note: "Resolved: that the United Nations should be significantly strengthened" is one of the national debate topics this year. Further information can be obtained from Dr. Bower Aly, Committee on Discussion and Debate Materials, National University Extension Association, University of Oregon, 209 Villard Hall, Eugene, Oregon.

* See last page of Roundup for address

SETTING UP A UN DAY BOOTH

1. Planning

- A. Send immediately for "Materials and Publications List" from the U. S. Committee for the UN, 816 21st Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C. (Free.) All the materials mentioned below are included in this list, and it will help you in the selection of other materials, i.e. flags, posters, etc.
- B. Decide:
 - 1. Location: Whom do you wish to reach? The housewife? Her husband? Both?
 - 2. Hours: When is the chosen location the busiest?
- C. Approach:

There are two types of persons you want to reach: the one who is interested enough to come to the booth, and the one who has to be attracted. Consequently, two Leaguers (at least) are needed to man the booth - one out front to hand material to passersby, and the other inside to give information to the interested.

2. The Booth Itself

- A. Appeal: To make your booth eye-catching so that passersby will stop for a better look, here are some ideas:
 - 1. "Do you Recognize These Faces?" or "Familiar Faces." Enlarged snapshots of citizens known in the community with their comments on different aspects of UN work.
 - 2. UN Tree - Before and After. A three sectioned display. Center section a tree (cardboard or actual branch) with UN flags as leaves. Left section depicts poverty (empty rice bowl), disease, despair. Right section shows UN at work (WHO, FAO, UNESCO).
 - 3. Display of UN flags.
 - 4. Display of products imported from UN nations with flag of country as identifying mark.
 - 5. UN posters. Should be large enough to be meaningful at a distance.
- B. Content of booth:
 - 1. Giveaways (to be handed out to passersby):
 - a. "The UN at Work" - a brief, readable, informative survey of the UN. \$15.00 for 1,000 copies
 - b. "Pocket Reference on the UN" - tells structure, cost, accomplishments and current problems in brief pamphlet form. \$1.25 for 25 copies (500 to 1000 copies - 10% discount; 1000 copies and over - 20% discount.)
 - 2. Material for sale:
 - a. "UNICEF Greeting Cards." A box of 10 costs \$1.25 and they may be sold on consignment. Minimum order of 50 boxes, but all unsold boxes may be returned. For further information write to the U. S. Committee for UNICEF, United Nations, N. Y.
 - b. "The UN - a Candid Appraisal" by Zelia P. Ruebhausen. A realistic assessment of the kind of things the UN can and cannot do. 35¢ (See page 11 of Roundup)
 - c. "Issues Before the 15th General Assembly" September 1960. Authoritative exposition of the agenda of this Year's General Assembly. Contains historical background on each issue. 50¢ (see page 11 of Roundup)

- d. "The United Nations - What You Should Know About It," by Jean S. Picker, edited by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. 3rd edition, 1959. An illustrated popular booklet recommended for beginners 35¢, U. S. Committee for the UN, 816 21st Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C.

ANY SUCCESSFUL BOOTH REQUIRES EARLY PLANNING

TELEVISION AND RADIO PROGRAMS ON THE UN

There are two interesting series of quarter-hour television shows dealing with the UN to watch for. One, called THE UN REVIEW, is produced weekly by the United Nations Television at the UN. When the General Assembly is in session, issues before it are discussed each week by key figures. Other programs deal with related agencies and various UN activities.

The other series, produced by the U. S. Broadcasters Committee on World Affairs, working closely with the UN, is called DATELINE UN. UN camera crews and correspondents gather material on the role of the United Nations in its work to improve the economic, cultural and political conditions throughout the world. If the television station in your area carries this series, Leagues may borrow the prints from the station free of charge. For a list of subscribing stations, and for other information, write to U. S. Broadcasters Committee on World Affairs, 422 Madison Avenue, New York 17.

There are three weekly radio programs which cover the work of the UN:

1. "Perspective UN" - Columbia Broadcasting System. A presentation of issues, trends and ideas on the UN scene, with particular attention to political questions before the United Nations.
2. "Around the World" - Mutual Broadcasting System. A magazine-type program which reviews UN news in brief and takes listeners to various points around the world for coverage of UN activities. Each week the program ends with a dramatic narrative from the annals of the UN told by the stars of stage and screen.
3. "This Week at the UN" - Broadcast by many local stations throughout the nation. A 14 minute week-end review of the most important international developments of the week and reports on UN activities all over the world.

Check your local newspaper or radio station for the exact time that the programs can be heard in your community. Requests for program information may be addressed to: U. S. Station Relations, United Nations, N. Y.

Note: "New Perspectives: The United Nations" a radio interview featuring Mrs. Oscar Ruebhausen, former Official Observer of the League of Women Voters at the United Nations questioning Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, United States Representative to the United Nations, and Mr. Andrew Cordier, Executive Assistant to the Secretary General of the United Nations, is still useful both for use on radio and in unit meetings or workshops devoted to the United Nations. For example, Mr. Lodge's comments on the effect of an increase of members on the U. S. position in the United Nations might very well be inserted under "A. 3. Discussion" in the suggested Unit Meeting and Mr. Cordier's assessment of the Secretary General's role would be pertinent under "B. 5. Mr. Hammarskjold's personal diplomacy." Inserting a two or three minute recorded bit into the meeting provides a nice change of pace and according to some Leagues "makes you feel that the person on the tape is really a member of the discussion group." Running-time: about 13½ minutes; available from the League of Women Voters of the United States, 1026 17th Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. \$3.50.

PLANNING TRIPS TO THE UN

League members all over are well aware of the value of field or "go-see" trips. They visit departments of their local government, they visit their state legislatures, they visit courts, schools, hospitals; whatever is of interest to the informed, thoughtful citizen. Visiting the United Nations can be one of the most rewarding and exciting of all field trips.

Visitors are always welcome to the United Nations and all but a very few meetings are open to the public. To attend a session of the General Assembly in its dramatic setting is a new experience in understanding and awareness of both the hopes and problems of our goal of a peaceful world. There are other smaller meetings of equal interest, and special briefings and talks can be arranged for visiting League groups. Just to take the guided tour of the impressive and, in many ways, beautiful buildings is an inspiring experience.

One of the least expensive and most enjoyable ways to visit New York and the UN is to go in a group. Trailways Bus System, for example, will pick up a group, or half a group, wherever it is convenient for each half to assemble. In this way two or more Leagues could work out a joint trip which would add to the interest and fun. Chartered buses will take you and your luggage directly to your hotel, if your trip requires more than one day. *American Express offices can be helpful in giving costs on hotels, making reservations, etc.

Listed below are approximate costs of individual fares by air, train and bus to New York from various parts of the country, east of the Mississippi, within what might be considered a reasonable distance for such a field trip. To give you an idea of the saving by group travel on a bus, Buffalo and Richmond show the cost approximately on a chartered bus holding 37 people.

From	Sample Round Trip Fares to New York				
	First class Air	Air Coach	Rail Coach	Bus	Chartered Bus
Atlanta	\$108.30	\$67.60	\$53.39	\$44.50	
Buffalo	42.40	29.90	31.80	22.60	\$15.00 per
Chicago	95.90	72.70	63.55	44.75	person plus
Cincinnati	79.70	62.90	52.20	38.10	75¢ per person
Cleveland	56.30	43.60	40.10	28.50	for each night
Detroit	66.70	52.00	48.70	36.45	layover
Pittsburgh	47.00	35.30	31.95	22.00	
Richmond	44.20	36.30	24.75	18.20	\$11.00 (plus above)

All fares, except chartered bus fares, subject to payment of Federal Transportation Tax.

This kind of field trip will take advance planning. To be sure of proper arrangements at the United Nations itself, it would be necessary to write to the Public Reception Unit, Visitors Service, United Nations, New York City for bookings and information, not later than one month in advance; and as soon as possible if a fall reservation is your desire. At the same time, if you would like the help of your League UN Committee in lining up a special speaker, write to your UN representative, Mrs. George A. Little, 18 West Way, Old Greenwich, Connecticut.

* Often staying over to have a day in New York as well as a UN day is an added incentive in interesting a group.

WHERE TO GO FOR HELP

1. Speakers Services For the UN: 345 East 46th Street, New York 17, N. Y. This is a non-profit organization sponsored by the AAUN and the Institute for International Order and is set up to provide authoritative speakers on the UN. Speaker's fees vary from "expenses only" to a substantial honorarium. This organization now has regional offices in Kansas City, Missouri, Chapel Hill, North Carolina and Chicago, Illinois, so a wider area can be serviced than heretofore. All inquiries, however, should be addressed to the New York office, Mrs. Pauline Rivers, Director.
2. American Association for the United Nations: Your local chapter of the AAUN has materials for suggested community projects and programs, including five one-act play scripts useful in portraying the UN concept (50¢ each). Leagues have at times cooperated with AAUN chapters in UN work to the advantage of all.
3. World Affairs Center: First Avenue at 47th Street, New York 17, N. Y. The Center will help you with program planning and aid in finding the materials and services needed for that program. A brochure, available on request, describes the Center's services, including Intercom (its regular monthly information exchange), reading lists, film tests, program guides and other material on the UN and other related League program items. If you are coming to the UN, you will find a visit to the Center across the street most worthwhile.
4. LWV Committee at the UN: Members of this Committee can help you with trip planning and in solving specific problems of League work on the UN. Write Mrs. George A. Little, 18 West Way, Old Greenwich, Connecticut, with your requests.
5. U. S. Commission for UNESCO: The U. S. Commission for UNESCO is a national cooperating body working to carry out the purpose of UNESCO. It is made up of 100 members, 60 of whom represent national voluntary organizations---one of which is the League of Women Voters. Mrs. Waldo E. Stephens is the League's representative on the Commission. The Commission acts in an advisory capacity to the U. S. Government on matters related to UNESCO, and as an agency of liaison with the citizens. It serves as a channel of communication between UNESCO and the educational, scientific and cultural interests of the U.S. The Commission has available materials which will supplement League of Women Voters work in its study of world economic development; illustrated brochures, films and filmstrips which describe projects and the work of UNESCO; series of Foreign Language Discussion Pamphlets for use by Civic and Cultural Organizations emphasizing the importance of increased and improved foreign language teaching and study. Details of the 1961 biennial National Conference--which will be on the subject of Africa, south of the Sahara, will be announced later.

Address the Commission in care of the Department of State, Washington, D. C.
6. Film Services: Contemporary Films Inc., 267 West 25th Street, New York 1, N.Y. or 614 Davis Street, Evanston, Illinois, or William M. Dennis Film Libraries, 2506½ West 7th Street, Los Angeles 5, California.

World Affairs Center, Audio-Visual Department, First Avenue at 47th Street, New York 17, New York.

Should the Connally Amendment Be Retained?

Arguments For:

By Frank E. Holman

Nature of the Reservation

At the request of The Christian Science Monitor, two prominent American lawyers have agreed to present this written debate on the question of whether to retain the Connally Amendment. This is the amendment which specifies that the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice shall not apply "to matters . . . essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of the United States as determined by the United States." Both debaters are former presidents of the American Bar Association.

the settlement of truly international disputes. It does not occasion the paucity of litigation in the Court. How

Arguments Against:

By Charles S. Rhyne

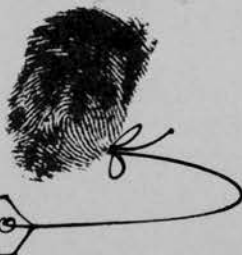
Violence as Decision Method

sought to substitute a courthouse for the battlefield. They established the World Court to decide:



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PLACE
STAMP
HERE

• The Clay Report (written by ten distinguished private citizens) does not say the aid programs are "riddled with waste and haste." Since every new operation is liable to trial and costly error, there has been some waste and duplication. But the Report firmly states:

"We believe these programs, properly conceived and implemented, to be essential to the security of our nation and necessary to the exercise of its world-wide responsibilities."

At this point, Mr. Sholmes ends with a cryptic but urgent message to his good friend and assistant, Dr. Potson:

*my dear Potson - Put out the Cat-
and don't forget to write your
Senators and Representative about
the upcoming aid legislation -
The Foreign Assistance Act of 1963.
Help clear up the mystery and let
him know where you stand
On Foreign Aid - Sholmes*

Mr. Sholmes' facts can be found in "A Proposed Path to Quiet Victories" (April 1963 issue of THE NATIONAL VOTER, 15¢ a copy) and the taped League interview with David Bell, Administrator of A.I.D. (\$3 per tape) available from the League of Women Voters of the United States; and in the A.I.D. Presentation to Congress (60¢) available from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES
1026 17th Street, N.W. Washington 36, D.C.

Publication #295 1963 100 copies—\$4.50



TO

Herlock Sholmes

takes on a new case . . .



Called in on
THE CASE OF FOREIGN AID
(also known as the Garbled Gossip Mystery)
the famous detective is off to track down . . .



Strange rumors, like:

- With foreign aid funds, some 48,000 cases of Metrecal (a reducing formula for overweight people) were sent to India.
- With foreign aid funds, some 300,000 tons of cement were bought, only to harden on the docks in monsoon weather in India.
- With foreign aid funds, a sugar beet factory was built in Turkey where no sugar beets are grown.

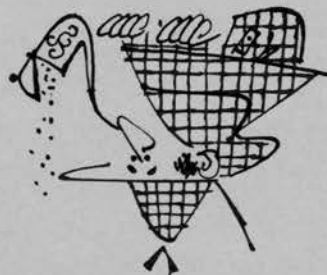
NOW, according to Mr. Sholmes, who checked the facts against the rumors:

- There is no record of Metrecal being shipped to India.
- Cement did harden on docks, but it was in Burma, and it was Soviet cement.
- A sugar factory was built, but it was in Indonesia and was built by sugar beet experts from East Germany.

It's a mystery, said Mr. Sholmes, how such garbled gossip starts, and he quoted from Pulitzer Prize-winning editor and publisher of the Atlanta Constitution, Ralph McGill:

"One of the continuing mysteries is where such stories come from and why so many Americans seem not merely willing to believe them but eager to do so." It is especially disheartening, McGill concludes, because "the U. S. foreign aid program, as it is being revised and reorganized, is ONE OF OUR BETTER STORIES."

Foreign aid, as President Kennedy, former President Eisenhower, and others agree, not only is "one of our better stories" but also a vital one in the development of a world where all nations can be self-supporting and where democratic institutions can flourish—so commented the famous Detective. And in order to apprehend rumors at the start, he has necessarily disappeared to assume a disguise but has left on his desk some notes for the amateurs.

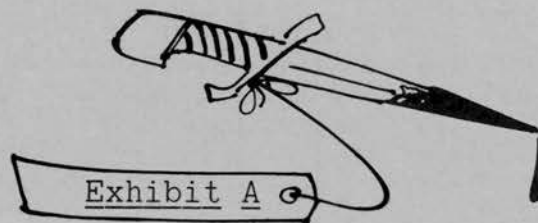


A CLUE

Check out the facts.

Most rumors become "corpus delicti" with a little investigation into the reliability of such information.

THE EVIDENCE



- Foreign aid is not a "relief program." Foreign aid in the form of development loans—goes toward building water and sewage systems, roads, railroads, harbors, schools, and other basic facilities almost completely lacking in many countries.

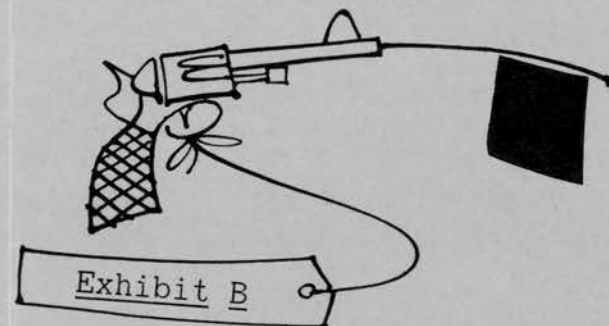
Example: An Alliance for Progress loan has been made to Colombia (a country where only 27 percent of the population has water and sewage facilities) to provide these facilities in 300 towns.

Foreign aid goes to pay the salaries and buy the equipment for technicians and educators to train people to do the job themselves.

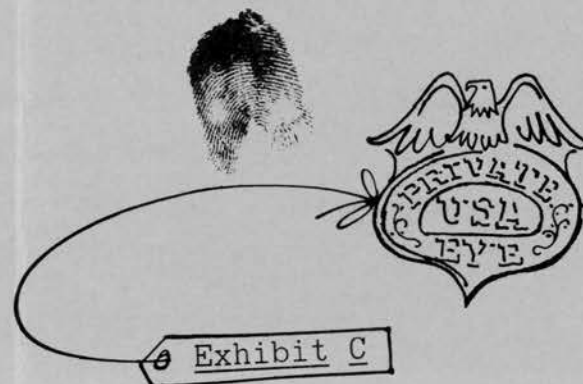
Example: In Nigeria, American university teams have already given advance training to 150 Nigerian primary instructors who are now passing on their skills to 5,000 prospective teachers in 35 training colleges.

Foreign aid goes to help build business enterprises in developing nations.

Example: American businessmen, with A.I.D. help, are exploring investment opportunities in developing countries, such as plastics in Turkey, milk and ice cream in Colombia, and machine tools in India.



- The United States is not the only one "in" the business of aid. Western Europe and Japan (once themselves beneficiaries of U. S. aid) increasingly provide assistance. And their share, as compared to ours, works out to about a 40%-60% ratio, which does not seem out of line with relative economic outputs. In fact, several Western European countries now contribute over one percent of their Gross National Product toward aid while the United States contributes less than one percent.



- U. S. aid funds are not being poured down an "endless rathole." Economic assistance takes time to take hold—but it doesn't take forever. Greece and Taiwan, for instance, are nearly on their feet and economic assistance to them may shortly end. And A.I.D. officials are encouraged over the economic headway being made by such countries as India, Pakistan, Colombia, and Nigeria.

As a matter of fact, the foreign aid share of the U. S. federal budget has been declining—from 11.5 percent in 1949 to 4.1 percent in 1963.

A NEW LOOK AT FOREIGN DEVELOPMENT



November 20, 1969



Sponsored by

The League of Women Voters
of Minnesota

Minnesota World Affairs Center

Minnesota Council of Churches



1969

Announcing . . .

A NEW LOOK AT FOREIGN DEVELOPMENT

A Conference

Open to all people in Minnesota

November 20, 1969

9:30 a.m. — 3:00 p.m.



PICK NICOLLET HOTEL

Nicollet and Washington Avenue South
Minneapolis, Minnesota

\$5.50 for the day including lunch

Reservations due Monday, November 17

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA
ST. PAUL, MINN. 55102

Phone 612 - 224-5445

PROGRAM

9:30—10:00 a.m. Registration

Film: "The Challenge of a Closer Moon",
National Council of Churches and National
Broadcasting Corporation

10:00—10:45 a.m. "Development As- sistance—What Have We Learned?"

Brief summaries of recent development
studies presented by the League of Women
Voters of Minneapolis

11:00 a.m.—12:15 p.m. Panel Discus- sion: "New Priorities of Develop- ment"

Panelists:

"Green Revolution"—Vernon W. Ruttan,
Head, Department of Agricultural Econ-
omics, University of Minnesota

Education — Gordon I. Swanson, Profes-
sor, College of Education, University of
Minnesota

Population Control — Dr. Harry Foreman,
Director, Center for Population Studies,
University of Minnesota

Citizen Involvement — Richard N. Blue,
Assistant Professor, Department of Poli-
tical Science, University of Minnesota

12:30— 2:00 p.m. Luncheon

"Development Assistance — Where We
Stand"

Speaker: Dr. Robert S. Bilheimer, Execu-
tive Director, Department of International
Affairs, National Council of Churches of
Christ

2:15— 3:00 p.m. "A Strategy for Action"

A workshop about building community
support for foreign assistance efforts

A NEW LOOK AT FOREIGN DEVELOPMENT

TICKET ORDER FORM — Detach and Mail

Enclosed is check for \$ _____ to cover _____ reservations for the entire day,
(including luncheon) at \$5.50 per person.

Name _____ Address _____ Zip _____
City _____ State _____

Please make checks payable to **League of Women Voters of Minnesota**. Mail to: **555 Wabasha, St. Paul, Minn. 55102**. Reservation deadline, Monday, November 17, 1969.

upper midwest council

federal reserve bank building
minneapolis, minnesota 55480
telephone (612) 373-3724

March 5, 1976

To: Ms. Helene Borg
Panelist, Minnesota Foreign Policy Forum

The first of the Department of State's five national foreign policy Forums has now been held in Pittsburgh and two of us were able to be there. We now have a better idea of how our Forum on April 28th can work.

One of the lessons of Pittsburgh is that we need to allow as much time as possible for discussion. We are going to keep the preliminaries to a minimum so we'll have time for three full hours for workshop discussion. We encourage all panelists to be as concise as possible in their comments.

The State Department team was particularly pleased with comments from the audience in Pittsburgh. Their meeting was open to the public, as ours will be. Members of the audience tended to be somewhat more provocative in their comments than those on the panel. So, we urge all of you to express your opinions and differences freely and frankly. We're not necessarily trying to seek agreement or consensus.

At the bottom of this letter we've listed the workshop group you'll be in. Usually we were able to give you your first choice. But in an effort to achieve proper balance in each workshop, we had to assign some of you to your second or third choice.

We have scheduled another meeting of the Forum panelists. It will be at 2 p.m., Thursday, April 8, in the Assembly Room, 10th floor of the Federal Reserve Bank Building. We will start immediately in our workshop groups, discussing a phase of the topic. Coffee will be available at 1:45. We plan to adjourn at 3:15 p.m. RSVP with the enclosed card. You may name a substitute for this meeting, but not for April 28th.

In one week we'll send a questionnaire we believe can be valuable for many of you in thinking through your views and in gathering ideas from others.

You may want to know about sources of information on your subject. We've just received "Your Food Policy Basebook" which we think is one of the best recent background papers on the agriculture and foreign policy topic. We are sending it directly to those on the agriculture panel. The Council has some State Department materials and the World Affairs Center has a collection of

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Page 2
March 5, 1976

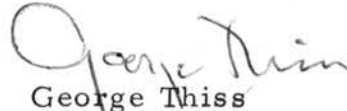
materials on our topics which you can share by calling Bill Rogers. The rapporteur for your panel may also be consulted and his or her telephone number is given on the enclosed sheet.

We'll be sending more information later in the month. In the meantime, if you have questions about the conference, call either of us.

Yours sincerely,



William C. Rogers,
Director
World Affairs Center
(373-3709)



George Thiss
Executive Director
Upper Midwest Council
(373-3724)

Enclosures: (2)

SOVIET-AMERICAN

RAPPORTEURS

Soviet-American

Norma Noonan
Chairman, Political Science Department
Augsburg College
731 - 21st Avenue South
Minneapolis 55404
(332-5181)

Third World

Barbara Stuhler
Associate Dean
Continuing Education & Extension
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis 55455
(373-0179)

Values

Charles McLaughlin
Professor, Political Science
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis 55455
(373-2656)

Food

Bill Hueg
Deputy Vice President & Dean
Institute of Agriculture
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis 55455
(373-0734)

upper midwest council

federal reserve bank building
minneapolis, minnesota 55480
telephone (612) 373-3724

March 16, 1976

Dear Forum Panelist:

Here is the foreign policy questionnaire we promised to send. It is not mandatory to use this at all, but we think it can be a useful tool in preparing for the Minnesota Foreign Policy Forum on April 28th.

First off, you might fill out one questionnaire yourself. This would be a benchmark reference for you.

Next, consider how your constituents/associates might answer the questions. Circle on your questionnaire what you think is the plurality or majority opinion for each question. Then guess what you think the percentage would be for each question. This is more than just an interesting exercise. When you see differences in your expectations and the actual results, it's worth your while to reflect on why this is so.


This form is available to you in whatever numbers required, if you wish to give or send it to constituents/associates. It's also quite all right for you to send your own questionnaire.

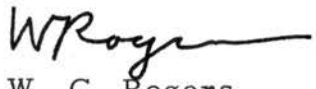
By way of background, the questionnaire is a refinement of the one we all examined earlier. It has been put to one rigorous test. Robert Coursen, Research Director of the Minneapolis Tribune, was the chief architect.

Please call either of us if you want help, or have questions. We think we're on our way to having a fine Forum. Hopefully, we'll see you in person on Thursday, April 8th (Federal Reserve Bank Building, 10th floor, 2 p.m. sharp) for our final pre-Forum meeting.

Best wishes.

Yours sincerely,


George Thiss
Executive Director
Upper Midwest Council
(373-3724)


W. C. Rogers
Director
World Affairs Center
(373-3709)

cc: Forum Chairman, Forum Moderators, Forum Rapporteurs

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M
E
M
O

TO: All Boarders

FROM: Helene Borg

SUBJECT State Department Listening

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102

PHONE: 224-5445

DATE March 19, 1976

Since I will be replacing Jerry at the State Department's Listening meeting (from H.H.: Borg'd probably rather be replacing J.J. in England!) on April 27-28, and since, to a degree, I'll be speaking for the LWV, I'd appreciate your completing the attached and returning same to me by April 5.

Thank you.

F.P. governed by capitalistic interests rather than by our democratic
+ humane ideals

The implementation of foreign policy should be thru established ambassadorial
channels + the avoidance of a "super star" sec. of state

Open world trade is the best method of world cooperation +
improvement of world conditions

Keep working on world organization at UN - world citizenship

The League of Women Voters of the United States

1730 M Street, NW
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 296-1770

APR 5 1976

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RUTH C. CLUSEN

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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Peggy Lampl

Helene

April 2, 1976

Jerry Jenkins, President
LWV of Minnesota
555 Wabasha Street
St. Paul, Minn. 55102

Dear Jerry:

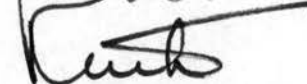
Thanks very much for the questionnaire that is going to be used in connection with the Minnesota Foreign Policy Forum on April 28th. It's an excellent questionnaire, and I'm sure the meeting itself will be a good one.

Mary Locke, IR staff, told me that she has spoken to a League participant at the Pittsburgh counterpart meeting, which was held recently. Apparently, the meeting went over very well and generated a lot of enthusiasm.

We'd really like to hear from Helene Borg what she thinks of the Minneapolis Forum... quality of participation, extent to which communication seemed two-way, principal ideas and concerns...that kind of thing. And if you have any further thoughts on the planning in which you took part, let us know.

I hope to see you at convention. Or will you still be in London? In any case, have a super time in that absolutely super city. (The exchange rate has never been better!)

Bon voyage,



Ruth J. Hinerfeld
V.P. and I.R. Chairman

M TO: Bong

E FROM: Davies

M
O SUBJECT State Dept.
"Town Meeting"

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102

PHONE: 224-5445

DATE 3/28/76

At Wingspread I spoke with MARY LOCKE of the LWVEF's International Relations dept. who asked us to send her a 1-page report on the format used at the State Dept. listening session. She'd also like views on whether it was at all useful. Can I delegate this to you?

upper midwest council

MAR 30 1976

federal reserve bank building
minneapolis, minnesota 55480
telephone (612) 373-3724

March 26, 1976

Ms. Jerry Jenkins
President
League of Women Voters of Minnesota
555 Wabasha Street
St. Paul, Minnesota 55102

Dear Jerry:

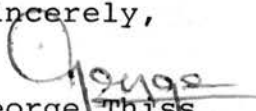
As you know, the World Affairs Center and the Upper Midwest Council are jointly sponsoring the Minnesota Foreign Policy Forum on April 28th. This event is an opportunity for senior policy State Department officials to hear what Minnesotans think on four critical issues.

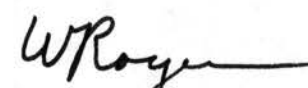
In the planning of this endeavor, many people have asked (including some of you) what happens after this is over. Should there be any follow-up? What should it be? In an effort to determine what, if any, follow-up should occur, we invite you to meet on Wednesday, April 14th, from 3 to 4:30 p.m., 10th floor conference room, Federal Reserve Bank Building, to discuss this subject and develop some possibilities. Post-April 28th activities can move in either or both of two general directions: 1) direct follow-up to this event itself, such as printing and distributing the results or summary, and 2) separate events or meetings building on the Forum that might be held at a later date.

By April 14th similar forums will have been held in Portland and San Francisco, so we should have feedback on these results. It is possible this committee should meet with some of the State Department leaders the morning of April 29th to evaluate our Forum and to more clearly define next steps. You might hold time open that morning.

If you have questions or answers, call either of us. Please advise whether you are able to be with us on the 14th. Thank you.

Sincerely,


George Thiss
Executive Director
Upper Midwest Council
(373-3724)


W. C. Rogers
Director
World Affairs Center
(373-3709)

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Kettering Foundation funding random survey by phone in all 5 cities \$4300 grant.

Have Jerry talk to Thiss

Debra
Fat nutritional
- economic motivation
Same as bankruptcy

upper midwest council

federal reserve bank building
minneapolis, minnesota 55480
telephone (612) 373-3724

April 2, 1976

To: Panelists for April 28th Minnesota Foreign Policy Forum

As noted in our previous letter, our pre-Forum meeting on April 8th will primarily consist of discussion in our actual workshop groups. We believe it is important to get some discussion under way before April 28th in order to: 1) get to know each other, and 2) determine some of the different points of view.

In the early stages of this effort we sent you a copy of a letter from Winston Lord to us and questions the State Department believed were important to address within each of four topic areas. We're now enclosing revisions of those questions (except the food questions) as developed by the State Department. This is an effort to frame the questions in such a way as to get a genuine reaction. These revisions are based on experience at the Pittsburgh Forum. The attempt is to reduce the number of questions and to make them as useful as possible for evoking discussion.

On April 8th, each group of panelists will discuss a separate topic:

- | | |
|---------------------------|--|
| Soviet American panelists | - What kind of relationship do Americans want with the Soviet Union? |
| Third World | - How should the United States respond to the political and economic challenges of the Third World? |
| Values | - What is the relationship between morality and foreign policy? What values should our policies reflect? |
| Food | - What is the relationship between agriculture and American foreign policy? |

As we said in our previous letter, present your views clearly and briefly. As a result of this session we may be able to start on April 28th focusing on the more important and more controversial areas within each topic. On the attached sheet we've listed the individuals in your workshop group. We've noted after the name if there will be a substitute on April 8th and who the person will be.

On the evening of April 28th, there will be a program on public television from 7 to 8 o'clock p.m. It will feature State Department people and some of the panelists for the day. We'll get back to you as arrangements progress.

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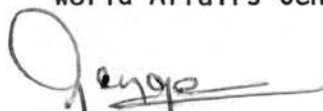
Page 2
April 2, 1976

The Kettering Foundation from Dayton, Ohio, is funding a public opinion survey on a number of specific questions within our topic areas. It will be similar to, but not the same as, we sent to you earlier. It will be a telephone sampling and the results will be given to you and others attending the Forum on April 28th.

Sincerely,



W. C. Rogers, Director
World Affairs Center



George Thiss
Executive Director
Upper Midwest Council

Enclosure

upper midwest council

federal reserve bank building
minneapolis, minnesota 55480
telephone (612) 373-3724

April 22, 1976

Dear Forum Panelist:

This is our final letter before the Forum on April 28th. We hope all of your questions will be answered; if they are not, don't hesitate to call either of us.

You won't need to send in your reservation form; your lunch will be complimentary. Your name tag and luncheon ticket will be available, starting at 8:30 a.m., at the special registration desk labelled "guests" on the main floor of the Forum Foyer. We have made a policy change: There will be no charge to anyone attending the Forum but not eating lunch. The charge of \$8.50 remains in effect for lunch.

Materials are available for anyone attending and can be picked up at the registration desk. Materials include: program for the day, with a listing of all panelists; biographies of State Department guests; results of the public opinion survey (enclosed herewith for your interest and use); blue questionnaire which you previously received; evaluation sheet and Foreign Policy Association papers which you previously received.

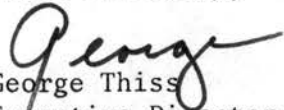
The State Department reports the two meetings held two weeks ago on the West Coast were most successful. Two hundred people attended in San Francisco; 400 in Portland.

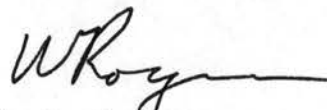
You and the other panelists are important to the success of the program. Again, we want to stress the need for you to speak out openly and concisely on your views. Feel free to challenge not only comments from other panelists, but also statements from the audience.

In particular, we urge panelists to fill out the evaluation form you receive and hand it in before the day is out. We need your thoughts since we will be meeting the next morning to post-mortem this event and to determine if there should be some kind of follow-up. If any of you would like to meet on this subject the next morning (April 29th) from 8:30 to 10, please call the Council office (373-3724).

Thank you for your commitment.

Yours sincerely,


George Thiss
Executive Director
Upper Midwest Council (373-3724)


W. C. Rogers
Director
World Affairs Center (373-3709)

Board of Directors: Dr. John R. Borchert, Director, Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, University of Minnesota • John Bosshard, Attorney, Bosshard, Sundet, Nix & Talcott, La Crosse • Arden Burbidge, Burbidge Farms, Park River, North Dakota • Thomas R. Felt, Chairman of the Board, Dain, Kalman, & Quail, Inc. • Donald R. Grangaard, President, First Bank System • C.R. Gustafson, Vice President, Otter Tail Power Company, Fergus Falls • Lawrence F. Haeg, President, Midwest Radio and Television • John O. Hjelle, Editor, Bismarck Tribune • Demetrius Jelatis, Vice President, Central Research Laboratory, Red Wing • Warren Jones, Secretary-Manager, Twodot Land & Livestock Co., Harlowton, Montana • James C. Kenady, Vice President, Industrial Development & Property Management, Burlington Northern, Inc. • L. T. "Vern" Laustsen, President, Dakota-North Plains Corporation, Aberdeen • Bruce K. MacLaury, President, Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis • Donald W. McCarthy, President, Northern States Power Company • John A. McHugh, President, Northwestern National Bank of Minneapolis • Philip H. Nason, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, First National Bank of St. Paul • Wm. R. Pearce, Corporate Vice President, Cargill, Inc. • James G. Peterson, Owner, James G. Peterson & Associates, Minneapolis • S. Clark Pyfer, President, Galusha, Higgins & Galusha, Helena • Gerald Rauenhorst, President, Rauenhorst Corporation, Minneapolis • Thomas M. Reardon, Chairman of the Board and President, Western State Bank, Sioux Falls • David Roe, President, Minnesota AFL-CIO Federation of Labor • Ernest Ronn, Sub-District Director, United Steelworkers of America, Negaunee, Michigan • Henry T. Rutledge, Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer, Northwest Bancorporation • Richard L. Schall, Sr. Vice President, Dayton Hudson Corporation • Bruce G. Schwartz, Vice President-Operations, Northwestern Bell Telephone Company, Omaha, Nebraska • Otto A. Silha, President, The Minneapolis Star & Tribune • Waverly G. Smith, President, St. Paul Fire and Marine Insurance Company • W. A. Strauss, Chairman of the Board and President, Northern Natural Gas Company, Omaha, Nebraska • James A. Summer, Vice Chairman, General Mills, Inc.

MINNESOTA FOREIGN POLICY FORUM

MAY WE HAVE YOUR HELP --

The World Affairs Center and the Upper Midwest Council would like your evaluation of today's Forum and your thoughts on a possible future activity.

Evaluation

To what degree did the Forum meet its stated objectives? (circle a number)

Low	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	High
Comments:	1	1	4	3	17	18	30	46	22	22	

Median 8.2 Average 7.2

To what degree did the Forum meet your needs? (circle a number)

Low	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	High
Comments:	3	3	10	9	20	22	22	32	17	22	

Median 7.6 Average 6.8

Future Programs

The Center, the Council and the State Department are considering a follow-up seminar/s on one of today's topics at a date in 6-8 weeks.

Would you be interested in attending?

Yes	154	No	1	Not sure	12
			(will NOT be here)		
on:	East-West Relations	69	The Third World	71	
Values	55	Food	46		

Name _____

Address _____

City _____, Zip _____

(Please turn in this survey to the registration desk before you leave.)



UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Continuing Education and Extension

MAY 3 1976

World Affairs Center
306 Wesbrook Hall
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455
(612) 373-3799

April 23, 1976

Dear Friend:

Attached is a questionnaire about U.S. foreign policy which is being used in connection with the Minnesota Foreign Policy Forum being held on April 28. As you know, the Forum is being sponsored by the World Affairs Center and the Upper Midwest Council in cooperation with the United States Department of State. The purpose of the Forum is to help the State Department learn more about public opinion on U.S. foreign policy.

With slight alterations, the enclosed questionnaire is being used in a telephone survey of a random sample of 300 members of the Minnesota public. We thought it would be extremely useful to compare the telephone response to a questionnaire response from the mailing list of the Activities Report of the World Affairs Center. This list contains a significant proportion of Minnesota's attentive public for world affairs news and information.

I hope you will fill out and return this questionnaire by May 1 so that we can make a valid comparison with the telephone survey in the same time frame. We will show the State Department the results, and share them with you through the Activities Report. A high rate of return is essential to the success of this study and your cooperation is most important.

We are grateful to the Charles F. Kettering Foundation for making this study possible. The questionnaire was devised by a consultant to the State Department and is different from the "blue questionnaire" some of you have seen. You will note this questionnaire does not have a place for a signature to protect the identity of respondents. A self addressed envelope is enclosed.

Yours sincerely,

William C. Rogers
Director

WCR:mje

encs. survey
return envelope

MINNESOTA WORLD AFFAIRS CENTER

FOREIGN POLICY SURVEY

APRIL, 1976

1. Following is a list of things that some people think are important for this country to achieve, or that other people think are not very important as American foreign policy goals. Circle one number to indicate for each item whether you think it is an important or unimportant goal for our country:

	<u>IMPORTANT</u>		<u>UNIMPORTANT</u>		<u>No Opinion</u>
	<u>Very</u>	<u>Somewhat</u>	<u>Somewhat</u>	<u>Very</u>	
Stopping wars between small countries	1	2	3	4	0
Stopping the spread of dictatorships	1	2	3	4	0
Stopping the spread of Communism.	1	2	3	4	0
Stopping world hunger	1	2	3	4	0
Helping to raise the standard of living in underdeveloped countries.	1	2	3	4	0
Raising this country's standard of living	1	2	3	4	0
Keeping peace in the world.	1	2	3	4	0
Protecting the jobs of American workers here in the U.S.	1	2	3	4	0
Persuading other countries to be more democratic	1	2	3	4	0
Protecting weaker countries against foreign aggression	1	2	3	4	0

2. Here are some comments we sometimes hear made about American foreign policy. By circling a number for each statement, please tell whether you agree with the comment or whether you disagree with it.

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>	<u>NO OPINION</u>
<u>This country</u> would be better off if we stayed home and did not concern ourselves with pro- blems in other parts of the world	1	2	0
<u>The rest of the world</u> would be better off if we stayed home and did not concern ourselves with problems in other parts of the world	1	2	3

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
We cannot trust the Russians.	1	2	3
American leaders don't care how much their foreign policies cost the American people	1	2	3
The United States should give aid only to those foreign countries that will help us do the things we want to do in the world.	1	2	3
The United States <u>should give aid</u> only to those foreign countries that have a democratic form of government	1	2	3
The United States <u>should make alliances</u> only with those foreign countries that have a democratic form of government.	1	2	3

3. Now, some questions about our relations with Russia. Do you feel relations between the United States and Russia are improving, getting worse, or are about the same as they have been? Circle the appropriate number.

IMPROVING. 1

ABOUT THE SAME . . . 2

GETTING WORSE. . . . 3

NO OPINION 4

- 4-a. Some people say that our farmers and businessmen should be able to trade with Russia as long as the goods are not used for military purposes. Other people say that our government should not allow Americans to trade with Russia at all. Which do you favor, American trade with Russia or no American trade with Russia? Circle one number.

TRADE 1

NO TRADE. 2

QUALIFIED 3

NO OPINION. 0

- b. Should we look at trade with Russia as strictly a business deal or should we sell to them only if they agree to act more democratically at home or more peacefully abroad?

Strictly as a business deal 1

Only if they agree 2

No opinion. 3

- c. Should trading with Russia be on the same business terms as it is with non-Communist countries, or should it be on more strict terms or more liberal terms?

SAME TERMS1

MORE STRICT.2

MORE LIBERAL3

NO OPINION0

5. How should U.S. military power compare to that of Russia? Should we try to be well ahead of them, should we try to keep about even, or is it alright if Russia gets ahead to some extent?

U.S. KEEP WELL AHEAD1

KEEP EVEN WITH RUSSIA.2

ALLOW RUSSIA TO GET AHEAD3

NO OPINION.0

6. Do you think the United States should be spending more money on its military budget, spending less money on the military budget, or spending about the same amount of money it is now?

SPEND MORE MONEY.1

SPEND LESS MONEY.2

SPEND SAME MONEY.3

NO OPINION.4

7. What does the phrase detente between Russia and the U.S. mean to you as you understand it?

- 8-a. Overall, would you say that the policy of detente has been of more benefit to the United States, more to Russia, or has it benefitted both equally?

BENEFITTED UNITED STATES MORE1

BENEFITTED RUSSIA MORE.2

BENEFITTED BOTH EQUALLY3

NO OPINION.0

b. Why do you believe the above?

9. American troops are now stationed in a number of different places around the world, including Europe, South Korea, and Japan. By circling a number, please tell whether you feel we should keep troops stationed there or bring them home.

- A. Japan SHOULD TROOPS BE STATIONED IN JAPAN. 1
 OR BROUGHT HOME. 2
 NO OPINION 0
- B. Europe SHOULD TROOPS BE STATIONED IN EUROPE 1
 OR BROUGHT HOME. 2
 NO OPINION 0
- C. South Korea SHOULD TROOPS BE STATIONED IN SOUTH KOREA. . 1
 OR BROUGHT HOME. 2
 NO OPINION 0

10. Now, a few questions on U.S. intelligence activities outside the U.S.

- A. Do you think the U.S. should, or should not, maintain secret spy activities in Communist countries?
 SHOULD 1
 SHOULD NOT 2
 DON'T KNOW 0
- B. Do you think the U.S. should, or should not, maintain secret spy activities in countries that the C.I.A. thinks might one day cause trouble for the U.S.?
 SHOULD 1
 SHOULD NOT 2
 DON'T KNOW 0
- C. Do you think the U.S. should, or should not, maintain secret spy activities in countries that are friendly to the U.S.?
 SHOULD 1
 SHOULD NOT 2
 DON'T KNOW 0

11. U.S. intelligence agencies have also tried to interfere with what happens in other countries by sending contributions of money for military supplies.

A. Do you think the U.S. should, or should not, secretly help a group that is trying to overthrow a government unfriendly to this country?

SHOULD 1

SHOULD NOT 2

DON'T KNOW 0

B. Do you think the U.S. should, or should not, secretly help a group that is fighting another group backed by Communist countries?

SHOULD 1

SHOULD NOT 2

DON'T KNOW 0

C. Do you think the U.S. should, or should not, secretly help a group that wants to overthrow a Communist government?

SHOULD 1

SHOULD NOT 2

DON'T KNOW 0

D. Do you think the U.S. should, or should not, secretly help others to overthrow a dictatorship unfriendly to this country?

SHOULD 1

SHOULD NOT 2

DON'T KNOW 0

12. Now, some questions about how you feel the United States should act toward underdeveloped countries. There are many countries in the world where the standard of living is much lower than in the United States. Do you think the United States should help these countries improve their standard of living or not?

YES, SHOULD 1

NO, SHOULD NOT. 2

DEPENDS 3

NO OPINION. 0

13. Many of these poor countries claim that the United States and other developed countries have exploited them by not paying a fair price for their raw materials. Do you agree or disagree with their point of view?

AGREE 1

DISAGREE. 2

NO OPINION. 0

14. Some underdeveloped countries do not have natural resources to sell and need help just to keep their people from starving. Would you be willing to help these countries in any of the following ways?

YES
HELP

NO, NOT
HELP

A. By paying increased taxes 1 2

B. By contributing money directly. 1 2

C. By reducing your own standard of living 1 2

D. Are there any other ways you would be willing to help? SPECIFY.

15. Do you think a critical world food shortage is very likely, fairly likely, or not too likely in the next 10 or 15 years?

Very likely 1

Fairly likely 2

Not too likely. 0

16. Do you think the U.S. should eliminate starvation at home BEFORE ANY government aid is sent abroad or not?

YES 1

NO. 2

And now just a few questions so we can be sure we are getting a good cross-section of people.

17. First, what is your approximate age? CIRCLE ONE ONLY.

18 - 20 1

21 - 24 2

25 - 34 3

35 - 49 4

50 AND OLDER. 5

REFUSE. 0

18. What was the last grade of school you completed? CIRCLE ONE ANSWER.

8TH OR LESS 1

9 - 11TH. 2

12TH (HIGH SCHOOL COMPLETED). 3

1-2 YRS. COLLEGES, BUSINESS OR
TECHNICAL SCHOOL. 4

3-4 YEARS COLLEGE 5

GRADUATE OR PROFESSIONAL DEGREE . . . 6

REFUSE. 0

19. What kind of work does the chief wage earner in your household do. (GIVE BOTH TYPE OF WORK AND TYPE OF INDUSTRY.)

(type of work)

(type of industry or service)

20. And finally, we would like to have just a rough idea of your total annual family income so we can group people . . . just roughly, is your annual total family income:

UNDER \$10,000 1

\$10,000 - \$19,999 . . . 2

\$20,000 OR OVER 3

REFUSE. 0

21. SEX OF RESPONDENT: MALE 1

FEMALE 2

INTERVIEWER _____

DATE _____

CITY _____

(1-4)

CARD 01

(5,6)

FOREIGN POLICY SURVEY

APRIL, 1976

Following are the results of a public opinion survey:

1. First, I'm going to read a list of things that some people think are important for this country to achieve, or that other people think are not very important as American foreign policy goals. As I read each of these I'd like you to tell me whether you think it's an important goal for this country, or not. That is, is it very (important) (unimportant), or only somewhat (important) (unimportant). The first one is . . . BEGIN READING AT RED CHECK (✓).

READ: → ↓ Is it an important or unimportant goal for our country?	IMPORTANT		UNIMPORTANT		DO NOT READ: No Opinion	
	Very	Somewhat	Somewhat	Very		
Stopping wars between small countries	28 ⁹⁰	27 ⁷⁰	23 ⁷⁰	18 ⁷⁰	5 ⁷⁰	(7)
Stopping the spread of dictatorships	57	24	12	6	1	(8)
Stopping the spread of Communism	74	14	6	4	2	(9)
Stopping world hunger	75	17	5	2	0	(10)
Helping to raise the standard of living in underdeveloped countries	39	40	14	5	3	(11)
Raising this country's standard of living	53	29	12	5	1	(12)
Keeping peace in the world	79	13	5	2	1	(13)
Protecting the jobs of American workers here in the U.S.	80	16	2	1	1	(14)
Persuading other countries to be more democratic	36	37	17	6	4	(15)
Protecting weaker countries against foreign aggression	34	40	13	6	6	(16)

2. Now, I'm going to read you some comments we sometimes hear made about American foreign policy. For each statement, please tell me whether you agree with the comment or whether you disagree with it. BEGIN READING AT RED CHECK (✓).

	AGREE	DISAGREE	DO NOT READ: NO OPINION	
This country would be better off if we stayed home and did not concern ourselves with problems in other parts of the world 1 2 0	289°	679°	59°	(17)
The rest of the world would be better off if we stayed home and did not concern ourselves with problems in other parts of the world 1 2 3	139°	719°	69°	(18)
We cannot trust the Russians 1 2 3	61	30	9	(19)
American leaders don't care how much their foreign policies cost the American people 1 2 3	57	39	4	(20)
The United States should give aid only to those foreign countries that will help us do the things we want to do in the world 1 2 3	47	47	6	(21)
The United States should give aid only to those foreign countries that have a democratic form of government 1 2 3	39	57	4	(22)
The United States should make alliances only with those foreign countries that have a democratic form of government 1 2 3	31	63	5	(23)

3. Now, some questions about our relations with Russia. Do you feel relations between the United States and Russia are improving, getting worse, or are about the same as they have been?

IMPROVING 1 329°
 ABOUT THE SAME 2 519°
 GETTING WORSE 3 13 (24)

DO NOT READ: NO OPINION 4 5

- 4-A. Some people say that our farmers and businessmen should be able to trade with Russia as long as the goods are not used for military purposes. Other people say that our government should not allow Americans to trade with Russia at all. Which do you favor, American trade with Russia or no American trade with Russia?

TRADE	66	90	1 - CONTINUE.	
NO TRADE	19	2		(25)
DO NOT READ [QUALIFIED	10	3	- SKIP TO Q. 5.	
[NO OPINION	5	0		

- B. Should we look at trade with Russia as strictly a business deal or should we sell to them only if they agree to act more democratically at home or more peacefully abroad?

Strictly as a business deal	1	63	
Only if they agree	2	31	(26)
DO NOT READ: NO OPINION	3	6	

- C. Should trading with Russia be on the same business terms as it is with non-Communist countries, or should it be on more strict terms or more liberal terms?

SAME TERMS	1	56	
MORE STRICT	2	39	(27)
MORE LIBERAL	3	2	
DO NOT READ: NO OPINION	0	3	

5. How should U.S. military power compare to that of Russia? Should we try to be well ahead of them, should we try to keep about even, or is it alright if Russia gets ahead to some extent?

U.S. KEEP WELL AHEAD	1	42	
KEEP EVEN WITH RUSSIA	2	47	(28)
ALLOW RUSSIA TO GET AHEAD	3	6	
DO NOT READ: NO OPINION	0	5	

6. Do you think the United States should be spending more money on its military budget, spending less money on the military budget, or spending about the same amount of money it is now?

SPEND MORE MONEY	1	27	
SPEND LESS MONEY	2	21	(29)
SPEND SAME MONEY	3	43	
DO NOT READ: NO OPINION	4	9	

7. What does the phrase detente (pronounced: day-tant) between Russia and the U.S. mean as you understand it? PROBE AND CLARIFY FULLY.

(30) _____

(31) _____

(32) _____

(33) _____

(34) _____

- 8-A. Well, (as you know) detente (day-tant) means that there is a lessening of tensions between the two countries. Overall, would you say that the policy of detente (day-tant) has been of more benefit to the United States, more to Russia, or has it benefitted both equally?

BENEFITTED UNITED STATES MORE 1 29°

BENEFITTED RUSSIA MORE 2 42 (35)

BENEFITTED BOTH EQUALLY 3 41

DO NOT READ: NO OPINION 0 14

- B. Why do you say that?

(36) _____

(37) _____

(38) _____

(39) _____

9. American troops are now stationed in a number of different places around the world, including Europe, South Korea and Japan. As I name the place, please tell me whether you feel we should keep troops stationed there or bring them home.

- A. Japan

SHOULD TROOPS BE STATIONED IN JAPAN . . . 1 56°

OR BROUGHT HOME 2 35 (40)

DO NOT READ: NO OPINION 0 8

- B. Europe

SHOULD TROOPS BE STATIONED IN EUROPE . . 1 68

OR BROUGHT HOME 2 26 (41)

DO NOT READ: NO OPINION 0 6

- C. South Korea

SHOULD TROOPS BE STATIONED IN SOUTH KOREA 1 62

OR BROUGHT HOME 2 32 (42)

DO NOT READ: NO OPINION 0 7

- A. Do you think the U.S. should, or should not, maintain secret spy activities in Communist countries?

SHOULD 1 809°
SHOULD NOT 2 15 (43)
DO NOT READ: DON'T KNOW 0 6

- B. Do you think the U.S. should, or should not, maintain secret spy activities in countries that the C.I.A. (Central Intelligence Agency) thinks might one day cause trouble for the U.S.?

SHOULD 1 74
SHOULD NOT 2 17 (44)
DO NOT READ: DON'T KNOW 0 9

- C. Do you think the U.S. should, or should not, maintain secret spy activities in countries that are friendly to the U.S.?

SHOULD 1 57
SHOULD NOT 2 38 (45)
DO NOT READ: DON'T KNOW 0 5

11. U.S. intelligence agencies have also tried to interfere with what happens in other countries by sending contributions of money for military supplies.

- A. Do you think the U.S. should, or should not, secretly help a group that is trying to overthrow a government unfriendly to this country?

SHOULD 1 20
SHOULD NOT 2 72 (46)
DO NOT READ: DON'T KNOW 0 8

- B. Do you think the U.S. should, or should not, secretly help a group that is fighting another group backed by Communist countries?

SHOULD 1 32
SHOULD NOT 2 60 (47)
DO NOT READ: DON'T KNOW 0 8

- C. Do you think the U.S. should, or should not, secretly help a group that wants to overthrow a Communist government?

SHOULD 1 36
SHOULD NOT 2 56 (48)
DO NOT READ: DON'T KNOW 0 8

- D. Do you think the U.S. should, or should not, secretly help others to overthrow a dictatorship unfriendly to this country?

SHOULD 1 35
SHOULD NOT 2 57 (49)
DO NOT READ: DON'T KNOW 0 8

12. Now, some questions about how you feel the United States should act toward underdeveloped countries. There are many countries in the world where the standard of living is much lower than in the United States. Do you think the United States should help these countries improve their standard of living or not?

	YES, SHOULD 1	57	70	
	NO, SHOULD NOT 2	14		(50)
	DEPENDS 3	28		
DO NOT READ:	NO OPINION 0	0		

13. Many of these poor countries claim that the United States and other developed countries have exploited them by not paying a fair price for their raw materials. Do you agree or disagree with their point of view?

	AGREE 1	31	
	DISAGREE 2	46	(51)
DO NOT READ:	NO OPINION 0	23	

14. Some underdeveloped countries do not have natural resources to sell and need help just to keep their people from starving. Would you be willing to help these countries in any of the following ways?

	YES HELP	NO, NOT HELP	
A. By paying increased taxes 1	40	2	60 (52)
B. By contributing money directly 1	47	2	53 (53)
C. By reducing your own standard of living 1	33	2	67 (54)
D. Are there any other ways you would be willing to help? <u>SPECIFY.</u>			

(55) _____

(56) _____

(57) _____

15. Do you think a critical world food shortage is very likely, fairly likely, or not too likely in the next 10 or 15 years?

Very likely 1	34	
Fairly likely 2	31	(58)
Not too likely 0	34	
Don't Know	2	

16. Do you think the U.S. should eliminate starvation at home BEFORE ANY government aid is sent abroad or not?

YES 1	81	
NO 2	16	(59)
Don't Know	3	

And now just a few questions so we can be sure we are getting a good cross-section of people.

17. First, what is your approximate age? CIRCLE ONE ONLY.

DO NOT
READ
LIST

18 - 20	1	1.3 90	
21 - 24	2	8	
25 - 34	3	27	(60)
35 - 49	4	25	
50 AND OLDER	5	39	
REFUSED	0	.7	

18. What was the last grade of school you completed? CIRCLE ONE ANSWER.

DO NOT
READ
LIST

8TH OR LESS	1	9 90	
9 - 11TH	2	8	
12TH (HIGH SCHOOL COMPLETED)	3	38	(61)
1-2 YRS. COLLEGE, BUSINESS OR TECHNICAL SCHOOL	4	21	
3-4 YEARS COLLEGE	5	13	
GRADUATE OR PROFESSIONAL DEGREE	6	11	
REFUSED	0	1.3	

19. What kind of work does the chief wage earner in your household do? (GET BOTH TYPE OF WORK AND TYPE OF INDUSTRY)

_____	_____	(62)
(type of work)	(type of industry or service)	

20. And finally, we would like to have just a rough idea of your total annual family income so we can group people . . . just roughly, is your annual total family income over or under \$10,000? IF OVER \$10,000: Is it over or under \$20,000?

UNDER \$10,000	1	29 90	
\$10,000 - \$19,999	2	42	(63)
\$20,000 OR OVER	3	24	
DO NOT READ: REFUSED	0	4 90	

21. RECORD SEX OF RESPONDENT: MALE 1 50
FEMALE 2 50 (64)

INTERVIEWER _____

DATE _____ CITY _____

(1-4)

CARD 01

(5,6)

FOREIGN POLICY SURVEY

APRIL, 1976

Following are the results of a public opinion survey:

1. First, I'm going to read a list of things that some people think are important for this country to achieve, or that other people think are not very important as American foreign policy goals. As I read each of these I'd like you to tell me whether you think it's an important goal for this country, or not. That is, is it very (important) (unimportant), or only somewhat (important) (unimportant). The first one is . . . BEGIN READING AT RED CHECK (✓).

READ: → Is it an important or unimportant goal for our country?	IMPORTANT		UNIMPORTANT		DO NOT READ:		
	Very	Somewhat	Somewhat	Very	No Opinion		
Stopping wars between small countries . . .	28 ⁹⁰	27 ⁷⁰	23 ⁷⁰	18 ⁹⁰	5 ⁷⁰	0	(7)
Stopping the spread of dictatorships . . .	57	24	12	6	1	0	(8)
Stopping the spread of Communism . . .	74	14	6	4	2	0	(9)
Stopping world hunger . . .	75	17	5	2	0	0	(10)
Helping to raise the standard of living in underdeveloped countries . . .	39	40	14	5	3	0	(11)
Raising this country's standard of living . . .	53	29	12	5	1	0	(12)
Keeping peace in the world . . .	79	13	5	2	1	0	(13)
Protecting the jobs of American workers here in the U.S. . . .	80	16	2	1	1	0	(14)
Persuading other countries to be more democratic . . .	36	37	17	6	4	0	(15)
Protecting weaker countries against foreign aggression . . .	34	40	13	6	6	0	(16)

2. Now, I'm going to read you some comments we sometimes hear made about American foreign policy. For each statement, please tell me whether you agree with the comment or whether you disagree with it. BEGIN READING AT RED CHECK (✓).

	AGREE	DISAGREE	DO NOT READ: NO OPINION	
<u>This country</u> would be better off if we stayed home and did not concern ourselves with problems in other parts of the world 1 2 0 (17)	289°	679°	59°	
<u>The rest of the world</u> would be better off if we stayed home and did not concern ourselves with problems in other parts of the world 1 2 3 (18)	239°	719°	69°	
We cannot trust the Russians 1 2 3 (19)	61	30	9	
American leaders don't care how much their foreign policies cost the American people 1 2 3 (20)	57	39	4	
The United States should give aid only to those foreign countries that will help us do the things we want to do in the world 1 2 3 (21)	47	47	6	
The United States <u>should give aid</u> only to those foreign countries that have a democratic form of government 1 2 3 (22)	39	57	4	
The United States <u>should make alliances</u> only with those foreign countries that have a democratic form of government 1 2 3 (23)	31	63	5	

3. Now, some questions about our relations with Russia. Do you feel relations between the United States and Russia are improving, getting worse, or are about the same as they have been?

IMPROVING 1 329°
 ABOUT THE SAME 2 519°
 GETTING WORSE 3 13 (24)

DO NOT READ: NO OPINION 4 5

- 4-A. Some people say that our farmers and businessmen should be able to trade with Russia as long as the goods are not used for military purposes. Other people say that our government should not allow Americans to trade with Russia at all. Which do you favor, American trade with Russia or no American trade with Russia?

	TRADE	6690	1 - CONTINUE.	
	NO TRADE	19	2	(25)
DO NOT READ	QUALIFIED	10	3 - SKIP TO Q. 5.	
	NO OPINION	5	0	

- B. Should we look at trade with Russia as strictly a business deal or should we sell to them only if they agree to act more democratically at home or more peacefully abroad?

	Strictly as a business deal	1	63	
	Only if they agree	2	31	(26)
DO NOT READ:	NO OPINION	3	6	

- C. Should trading with Russia be on the same business terms as it is with non-Communist countries, or should it be on more strict terms or more liberal terms?

	SAME TERMS	1	56	
	MORE STRICT	2	39	(27)
	MORE LIBERAL	3	2	
DO NOT READ:	NO OPINION	0	3	

5. How should U.S. military power compare to that of Russia? Should we try to be well ahead of them, should we try to keep about even, or is it alright if Russia gets ahead to some extent?

	U.S. KEEP WELL AHEAD	1	42	
	KEEP EVEN WITH RUSSIA	2	47	(28)
	ALLOW RUSSIA TO GET AHEAD	3	6	
DO NOT READ:	NO OPINION	0	5	

6. Do you think the United States should be spending more money on its military budget, spending less money on the military budget, or spending about the same amount of money it is now?

	SPEND MORE MONEY	1	27	
	SPEND LESS MONEY	2	21	(29)
	SPEND SAME MONEY	3	43	
DO NOT READ:	NO OPINION	4	9	

7. What does the phrase detente (pronounced: day-tant) between Russia and the U.S. mean as you understand it? PROBE AND CLARIFY FULLY.

(30) _____

(31) _____

(32) _____

(33) _____

(34) _____

- 8-A. Well, (as you know) detente (day-tant) means that there is a lessening of tensions between the two countries. Overall, would you say that the policy of detente (day-tant) has been of more benefit to the United States, more to Russia, or has it benefitted both equally?

BENEFITTED UNITED STATES MORE 1 29°

BENEFITTED RUSSIA MORE 2 42 (35)

BENEFITTED BOTH EQUALLY 3 41

DO NOT READ: NO OPINION 0 14

- B. Why do you say that?

(36) _____

(37) _____

(38) _____

(39) _____

9. American troops are now stationed in a number of different places around the world, including Europe, South Korea and Japan. As I name the place, please tell me whether you feel we should keep troops stationed there or bring them home.

A. Japan SHOULD TROOPS BE STATIONED IN JAPAN . . . 1 56°

OR BROUGHT HOME 2 35 (40)

DO NOT READ: NO OPINION 0 8

B. Europe SHOULD TROOPS BE STATIONED IN EUROPE . . 1 68

OR BROUGHT HOME 2 26 (41)

DO NOT READ: NO OPINION 0 6

C. South Korea SHOULD TROOPS BE STATIONED IN SOUTH KOREA 1 62

OR BROUGHT HOME 2 32 (42)

DO NOT READ: NO OPINION 0 7

10. Now, a few questions on U.S. intelligence activities outside the U.S.

A. Do you think the U.S. should, or should not, maintain secret spy activities in Communist countries?

SHOULD 1 80⁹⁰
SHOULD NOT 2 15 (43)
DO NOT READ: DON'T KNOW 0 6

B. Do you think the U.S. should, or should not, maintain secret spy activities in countries that the C.I.A. (Central Intelligence Agency) thinks might one day cause trouble for the U.S.?

SHOULD 1 74
SHOULD NOT 2 17 (44)
DO NOT READ: DON'T KNOW 0 9

C. Do you think the U.S. should, or should not, maintain secret spy activities in countries that are friendly to the U.S.?

SHOULD 1 57
SHOULD NOT 2 38 (45)
DO NOT READ: DON'T KNOW 0 5

11. U.S. intelligence agencies have also tried to interfere with what happens in other countries by sending contributions of money for military supplies.

A. Do you think the U.S. should, or should not, secretly help a group that is trying to overthrow a government unfriendly to this country?

SHOULD 1 20
SHOULD NOT 2 72 (46)
DO NOT READ: DON'T KNOW 0 8

B. Do you think the U.S. should, or should not, secretly help a group that is fighting another group backed by Communist countries?

SHOULD 1 32
SHOULD NOT 2 60 (47)
DO NOT READ: DON'T KNOW 0 8

C. Do you think the U.S. should, or should not, secretly help a group that wants to overthrow a Communist government?

SHOULD 1 36
SHOULD NOT 2 56 (48)
DO NOT READ: DON'T KNOW 0 8

D. Do you think the U.S. should, or should not, secretly help others to overthrow a dictatorship unfriendly to this country?

SHOULD 1 35
SHOULD NOT 2 57 (49)

12. Now, some questions about how you feel the United States should act toward underdeveloped countries. There are many countries in the world where the standard of living is much lower than in the United States. Do you think the United States should help these countries improve their standard of living or not?

YES, SHOULD 1	57	70	
NO, SHOULD NOT 2	14		(50)
DO NOT READ: [DEPENDS 3	28		
NO OPINION 0	0		

13. Many of these poor countries claim that the United States and other developed countries have exploited them by not paying a fair price for their raw materials. Do you agree or disagree with their point of view?

AGREE 1	31	
DISAGREE 2	46	(51)
DO NOT READ: NO OPINION 0	23	

14. Some underdeveloped countries do not have natural resources to sell and need help just to keep their people from starving. Would you be willing to help these countries in any of the following ways?

	YES HELP	NO, NOT HELP	
A. By paying increased taxes 1	40	60	(52)
B. By contributing money directly 1	47	53	(53)
C. By reducing your own standard of living 1	33	67	(54)
D. Are there any other ways you would be willing to help? <u>SPECIFY.</u>			

(55) _____

(56) _____

(57) _____

15. Do you think a critical world food shortage is very likely, fairly likely, or not too likely in the next 10 or 15 years?

Very likely 1	34	
Fairly likely 2	31	(58)
Not too likely 0	34	
Don't Know	2	

16. Do you think the U.S. should eliminate starvation at home BEFORE ANY government aid is sent abroad or not?

YES 1	81	
NO 2	16	(59)
Don't Know	3	

And now just a few questions so we can be sure we are getting a good cross-section of people.

17. First, what is your approximate age? CIRCLE ONE ONLY.

DO NOT
READ
LIST

18 - 20	1	1.3	70	
21 - 24	2	8		
25 - 34	3	27		
35 - 49	4	25		(60)
50 AND OLDER	5	39		
REFUSED	0	.7		

18. What was the last grade of school you completed? CIRCLE ONE ANSWER.

DO NOT
READ
LIST

8TH OR LESS	1	9	70	
9 - 11TH	2	8		
12TH (HIGH SCHOOL COMPLETED)	3	38		(61)
1-2 YRS. COLLEGE, BUSINESS OR TECHNICAL SCHOOL	4	21		
3-4 YEARS COLLEGE	5	13		
GRADUATE OR PROFESSIONAL DEGREE	6	11		
REFUSED	0	1.3		

19. What kind of work does the chief wage earner in your household do? (GET BOTH TYPE OF WORK AND TYPE OF INDUSTRY)

(type of work)

(type of industry or service)

(62)

20. And finally, we would like to have just a rough idea of your total annual family income so we can group people . . . just roughly, is your annual total family income over or under \$10,000? IF OVER \$10,000: Is it over or under \$20,000?

UNDER \$10,000	1	29	70	
\$10,000 - \$19,999	2	42		(63)
\$20,000 OR OVER	3	24		
DO NOT READ: REFUSED	0	4	70	

21. RECORD SEX OF RESPONDENT: MALE 1 50
FEMALE 2 50

(64)

19 30. A question about the
24 relationship of the
21 conduct of U.S. domestic
affairs and foreign affairs:
"If the United States
wanted to be the number
one power in the world,
would it have to pre-
serve and enlarge
domestic liberties or
cut back on domestic
liberties?"

- 1 ☐ Preserve domestic
liberties
2 ☐ Cut back on
domestic
liberties
3 ☐ No real relation-
ship between
domestic
liberties and
being world
power
4 ☐ I'm not sure

29 31. Do you think there
38 will be a critical
11 food shortage in the
world in the next 10
or 15 years?

- 1 ☐ Critical world
food shortage
is very likely
2 ☐ Fairly likely
3 ☐ Not too likely
4 ☐ I'm not sure

36 32. Do you think there is
35 a contradiction in
6 sending food aid
abroad when some
Americans are near
starvation in the
United States?

- 1 ☐ Yes, is a contra-
diction
2 ☐ No
3 ☐ I'm not sure

33. Do you have any thoughts on how the United States
might be best involved in fighting starvation at
home or abroad? If you do, please jot them down
below.

0 34. Your sex
79

- 1 ☐ Male
2 ☐ Female

0 35. Your age group:
17
44
14
2

- 1 ☐ Under 25 years
2 ☐ 26 to 34 years
3 ☐ 35 to 49 years
4 ☐ 50 to 64 years
5 ☐ 65 years and over

0 36. What is the highest
0 grade in school you
have completed?

- 1 ☐ 8th grade or less
2 ☐ Grades 9-11, did
not graduate
from high
school
3 ☐ High school
graduate
4 ☐ Some college
5 ☐ College grad or
more

4
19
54

Many thanks! Please know that your participation in
this survey will serve to make the Minnesota Foreign
Policy Forum on April 28, 1976 more effective. You
may have more opinions you want to voice on U.S. foreign
policy. If you do, please jot your thoughts down below.

PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY

Thank you for taking part in this project.

This questionnaire will give an indication of how you
feel about certain basic foreign policy considerations.
The information you and hundreds of others provide will
be very useful in indicating how Minnesotans generally
react to United States foreign policy in four broad areas.

When all the returns have been tabulated, we'll be ready
for an exciting undertaking called the Minnesota Foreign
Policy Forum. This is a one-day meeting in which some
senior policy makers from the United States Department of
State will attend to listen and observe.

We appreciate your making the Minnesota Foreign Policy
Forum a success by taking part in this survey.

Best wishes.

George Thiss
Executive Director
Upper Midwest Council
250 Marquette Avenue
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55480
(612) 373-3724

W. C. Rogers
Director
World Affairs Center
306 Westbrook Hall
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455
(612) 373-3724

Name _____

Date _____

If possible, please try to answer the questions using the suggested choices. However, if your opinion is not covered by the given answers, feel free to write in your special opinion.

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5
1. How much interest do you have in foreign policy matters?
- 1 ☐ A great interest
2 ☐ Moderate interest
3 ☐ Only a little
4 ☐ None at all
2. Do you think the American economy generally can be made largely independent of influences outside the country or not?
- 1 ☐ Yes, can be
2 ☐ No
3 ☐ I'm not sure
3. If extending credit to the Soviet Union would lead to larger sales, would you approve of allowing trade with the Soviet Union on credit?
- 1 ☐ Yes, approve
2 ☐ No
3 ☐ I'm not sure
4. There is some concern that the challenge of low-priced manufactured imports will force American firms out of business. How serious do you think that concern is?
- 1 ☐ Very serious
2 ☐ Moderately serious
3 ☐ Not too serious
4 ☐ Not serious at all
5 ☐ I'm not sure
5. When it comes to world trade, a country has two general choices. Which choice listed below do you favor for the United States?
- 1 ☐ To protect its own businesses by making it hard for foreign goods to enter, which also makes it difficult to develop export trade.
2 ☐ To make it easier for other countries to sell in our domestic markets which also opens up our trade to their markets.
3 ☐ I'm not sure
6. Do you think the United States should provide substantial aid to the world's very poorest countries if that meant lowering our standard of living?
- 1 ☐ Yes, should
2 ☐ No
3 ☐ I'm not sure
7. Given that American resources are large but do have limits and there is not enough for everyone, do you think the United States should allocate foreign aid only to countries likely to become self-supporting even if it means people in some countries might starve?
- 1 ☐ Yes, allocate aid
2 ☐ No, should not
3 ☐ I'm not sure
8. Should the United States condition giving assistance on whether overly populated nations reduce their population growth?
- 1 ☐ Yes, should condition
2 ☐ No
3 ☐ I'm not sure
9. Should the United States support a dictatorial regime if the alternative to United States support would be expansion of Communist power in the area?
- 1 ☐ Yes, should support
2 ☐ No, should not
3 ☐ I'm not sure
10. Do you think another world war is or is not likely to occur during the next 25 years?
- 1 ☐ War is likely
2 ☐ Not likely
3 ☐ I'm not sure
11. The United States has adopted a policy of trying to reduce tensions with the Russians, often referred to as "detente." Do you think that policy is or is not a good approach?
- 1 ☐ Is good approach
2 ☐ Is not
3 ☐ I'm not sure
12. Which country do you think is gaining more from detente, the United States, the Soviet Union, or do both countries benefit equally?
- 1 ☐ The United States
2 ☐ The Soviet Union
3 ☐ Both share equally
4 ☐ I'm not sure
13. Whatever way you answered questions 11 and 12, it would be interesting to learn why you feel the way you do. Please add your thoughts below.
14. Do you agree or disagree that helping the third world countries develop their economic potential is a good way to avoid another world war?
- 1 ☐ I agree
2 ☐ I disagree with all or part
3 ☐ I'm not sure
15. Twenty years ago the United States made a defense agreement to send U.S. troops to help defend South Korea if North Korea attacked the South. However, South Korea itself has been criticized for being an anti-democratic country. Which do you think would be in the best interests of the United States, to continue our agreement with South Korea or to dissolve that agreement?
- 1 ☐ Continue agreement
2 ☐ Dissolve agreement
3 ☐ I'm not sure

- 8
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16. The United States sells arms to many different countries. Which would you prefer, to have the United States continue to sell arms at the same pace as before or to markedly reduce arm sales to other countries?
- 1 ☐ Continue as now
2 ☐ Markedly reduce
3 ☐ I'm not sure

17. Whatever way you answered question 16, it would be interesting to learn why you feel the way you do. Add your thoughts below.

- 5
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18. This question is about the level of military power the United States should try to maintain. Do you think we should be more powerful than the Soviet Union, equally powerful with the Soviet Union, or less powerful than that?
- 1 ☐ More powerful than any group
2 ☐ More powerful than Soviets
3 ☐ Equal with Soviets
4 ☐ Less powerful
5 ☐ I'm not sure

Now a few questions on U.S. intelligence activities outside the United States.

- 67
4
1
2
19. One intelligence operation is to gather information from sources openly available and to evaluate this information. Should the United States continue to be involved in that?
- 1 ☐ Yes, should
2 ☐ Yes, but only in special cases
3 ☐ No
4 ☐ I'm not sure

- 25
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20. Another means of gathering information is by spying. Should the United States continue to be involved in that?
- 1 ☐ Yes, should
2 ☐ Yes, but only in special cases
3 ☐ No
4 ☐ I'm not sure

- 3
16
54
2
21. United States intelligence agencies have tried to influence what happens in other countries through secret operations, such as helping one side with money or with arms. Do you think the United States should continue to be involved in secret operations?
- 1 ☐ Yes, should
2 ☐ Yes, but only in special cases
3 ☐ No
4 ☐ I'm not sure

- 69
5
1
22. Please consider the following statement: "In order to have an effective foreign policy, the United States government must have the general confidence and backing of its people." Do you agree or disagree with that statement?
- 1 ☐ I agree
2 ☐ I disagree with all or part of it
3 ☐ I'm not sure

23. Here's another statement. "There are times when it is necessary for our government to issue reports or statements to the American public that are NOT completely true, in order to gain an advantage in handling some foreign policy problems." Do you agree with that, or disagree?
- 1 ☐ I agree
2 ☐ I disagree with all or part of it
3 ☐ I'm not sure

24. How much impact do you think American public opinion generally has on U.S. foreign policy?
- 1 ☐ A strong impact
2 ☐ Moderate
3 ☐ Fairly weak
4 ☐ Weak
5 ☐ I'm not sure

25. How much impact do you think world opinion has on the United States?
- 1 ☐ A strong impact
2 ☐ Moderate
3 ☐ Fairly weak
4 ☐ Weak
5 ☐ I'm not sure

26. How much impact do you think world opinion has on the Soviet Union?
- 1 ☐ A strong impact
2 ☐ Moderate
3 ☐ Fairly weak
4 ☐ Weak
5 ☐ I'm not sure

27. Do you think American foreign policy is sufficiently concerned about the pocketbooks of the American public?
- 1 ☐ Yes, is sufficiently concerned
2 ☐ No, is not
3 ☐ I'm not sure

28. Do you think American foreign policy is sufficiently concerned about the needs of various groups, such as workers, businesses, farmers and others?
- 1 ☐ Yes, is sufficiently concerned
2 ☐ No, is not
3 ☐ I'm not sure

29. What interests of the American public do you think are being overlooked or short-changed by U.S. foreign policy, if any?

-over-

13. I assume it's equally good, because neither would agree to something disadvantageous.
Too much emphasis on power-weapon portion of detente.
Giving more than we receive.
Detente a standoff - not sure it's achieving anything.
The more contact the greater possibility of better relations.
Strong economic bargaining before ideological discussions.
The alternative may be much worse. Superior to confrontation.
Communication should be kept open. Interdependence is a good thing.
Global needs must eventually replace some national needs.
Establishing relations with a country may lead to more realistic appraisals.
Agree with philosophy of detente, but am dependent on media for reports of what it's really doing - don't know what to believe.
Some bad decisions made for detente - it becomes the goal rather than the "free world".
Lulled into complacency - allows Soviet gains in other parts of the world.
They have obtained or gained from us, but not vice versa.
Tensions go hand in hand with distrust - a forerunner to war.
There is nothing to gain from continued hostility.
17. Arms kill people, arms reduction should be goal of all nations.
Should deal in marketable peace products, not war products.
Need gun control at an international level too.
Arms sales solve nothing - create problems.
Selling of arms is economic - no foreign relations or national security in mind.
We have some international responsibility not to promote the taking of life.
Reduce sales only if other countries do - if a country is determined to buy, our manufacturers have a right to trade.
We're selling arms for financial gain, arming nations encourages war.
If we don't do it the Soviets will. The USA should not be the arsenal for the world.
Arms production and sales does nothing to improve the quality of life on earth.
Don't interfere with private enterprise.
29. The entire US taxpaying public is being shortchanged by an inefficient, wasteful government.
Our farmers are being used. (stressed on many questionnaires)
Farmers - don't embargo grain. Most of the average citizens.
People are interested in goods and services, not armies.
World wide environmental quality.
Educate public about foreign policy issues - we cannot and don't have to be number 1, bestest and mostest in world.
We are presently deliberately widening gap. -Will mean eventual conflagration.
Desire for peace, support of democratic principles - ours is a war weapon economy.
People cannot exercise democratic privileges without facts - too much secrecy.
Selling of grain to Soviets not to help farmers or economy, but to help speculators get rich.
Multinationals have major influence on Foreign Policy - more than government.
Never sure I really know what foreign policy is - don't trust press releases.
Foreign policy governed by capitalistic interests rather than by our democratic and humane ideals.
The implementation of foreign policy should be through established ambassadorial channels and the avoidance of a "super star" Secretary of State.
Open world trade is the best method of world cooperation and improvement of world conditions.
Keep working on world organization at UN - world citizenship.
33. Starvation in US not due to sending food abroad. Develop protein sources.
Need UN "bank" of food to disperse food. Encourage less dependence on meat.
Support liberal credit and aid for developing countries.
Place more emphasis on development aid and agricultural research and less on military aid.
Education in nutrition and population control. Share technology.
Consistent coherent policy on agriculture - protect farmers from overproduction and depressed prices.
Affluent people must cut their consumption and share wealth. Population control.
We cannot justify amount of world resources we use.

33. continued

- Provide technology for use within their own environment with their equipment - not US tractors.
- Pursue land use policies that preserve agricultural land use.
- Protect agricultural land.
- Must respect human dignity as much as possible.
- Too much aid used in administration of programs.
- New food sources from sea.

This is really just a sample. Almost every Leaguer, who filled out a form, wrote in answers to these questions. We enclosed these questionnaires in the Council folders and suggested they fill them out if they wanted to and leave them with me. A few wanted to take them home for use in future discussions, and a few mailed theirs in later. There was a surprising amount of interest and cooperation, considering all the other activities.

Once interesting sidelight - In talking to several Board members afterwards and women from other organizations, who filled out the questionnaires, I discovered that they had led to discussions at home. In almost every instance the husbands and wives had disagreed on what the answers should be. Apparently they were surprised that they didn't know each other's opinions on these questions and some rather hot arguments ensued.

The answers of the State League Board were much more homogeneous than the rest of the League sample.

ROLE OF AUDIENCE

The audience is encouraged to comment during the concurrent workshops. Please raise your hand and, when recognized by the moderator, please speak up clearly and concisely, limiting your remarks to a maximum of two minutes. The audience is urged to fill out the blue questionnaire; the results will be given to the Department for review.

PUBLIC TELEVISION

There will be a program the evening of April 28th from 7:00 to 8:00 p.m. over Channel 2 and its Minnesota affiliates. The Department officials will discuss these issues with some of the Forum participants.

SPONSORSHIP

Ambassador John E. Reinhardt, Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs
Wm. D. Blair, Jr., Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs
C. Woods Vest, Jr., Conference Officer

George Thiss, Executive Director, Upper Midwest Council
William C. Rogers, Director, World Affairs Center, University of Minnesota
Yvette Oldendorf, Consultant, World Affairs Center, University of Minnesota

FUNDING ASSISTANCE

The sponsors wish to thank the following for contributions to the costs of the Forum:

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We also thank the Charles F. Kettering Foundation for funding the public opinion survey.

MINNESOTA FOREIGN POLICY FORUM

A chance for Minnesotans to be heard by senior
U.S. Department of State
foreign policy makers



SPONSORED BY:

The World Affairs Center, Continuing Education and Extension,
University of Minnesota

The Upper Midwest Council

In cooperation with:
The United States Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs

Holiday Inn Downtown
1313 Nicollet Avenue
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Wednesday, April 28, 1976

P R O G R A M

Bruce K. MacLaury, Forum Chairman
Chairman, Upper Midwest Council
President, Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis

8:30 a.m. Registration and coffee (Forum Foyer)
9:00-9:20 Plenary Session (Forum Room) - Purpose of the Forum and Introduction of State Department officials
9:30-11:50 Issue Workshops in Concurrent Sessions

SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS (Avenue 2 & 3 rooms, lower level)

Moderator - Dr. Howard Swearer, President, Carleton College
Rapporteur - Dr. Norma Noonan, Professor and Chairperson, Department of Political Science, Augsburg College
State Department Official - Jack F. Matlock, Jr., Minister-Counselor, U.S. Embassy, Moscow
Panelists - Helene Borg, League of Women Voters of Minnesota
Tom Burke, President, Seaway Port Authority of Duluth
Rosemary Davis, Commissioner, State Ethics Commission
Erik Dundurs, Chairman, Captive Nations Committee of Minnesota
Burton Genis, Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Vice President, Minnesota AFL-CIO
Rabbi Arnold M. Goodman, President, Minnesota Rabbinical Association
Ralph Keyes, Executive Director, Association of Minnesota Counties
Fred T. Lanners, President, Economics Laboratory, Inc. *Tom Voss*
Frank C. Momsen, Adjutant, Minnesota American Legion
Robert D. Schmidt, Executive Vice President, Control Data Corporation
Bill Wettergren, Executive Secretary, Minnesota School Boards Assn.

THE THIRD WORLD (Avenue 4 & 5 rooms, lower level)

Moderator - Gladys Brooks, Vice Chairman, Board of Directors, World Affairs Center
Rapporteur - Barbara Stuhler, Associate Dean, Continuing Education and Extension, University of Minnesota
State Department Official - Alfred L. Atherton, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs
Panelists - Barbara Boulger, President, Association of St. Paul Communities
Ronald G. Cohen, Director of Research, Minnesota AFL-CIO
Earl Craig, Jr., President, Urban Coalition of Minneapolis
John Edie, Director of Instruction, The Blake Schools
Rev. Edward Flahavan, Director, Archdiocesan Urban Affairs Commission
Joseph A. Grimes, Regional Manager-Latin America, Honeywell, Inc.
Ted Kolderie, Executive Director, Citizens League
Dean Lund, Executive Director, League of Minnesota Municipalities
Margaret Smith, Common Cause
James Thwaites, President, International Operations, 3M Company

THE ROLE OF VALUES (Satellite Room, 14th floor)

Moderator - Leonard LaShomb, Executive Vice President, Minnesota AFL-CIO
Rapporteur - Charles McLaughlin, Professor of Political Science, University of Minnesota
State Department Official - Ambassador John E. Reinhardt, Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs
Panelists - Leon Cook, Field Director, Native American Child Care, University of Minnesota
Judith Healey, Executive Director, Minnesota Council on Foundations
Donald Hill, President, Minnesota Education Association
Albert Lehman, Executive Director, Minnesota Council of Churches
Clair McRostie, Chapter Delegate, International Committee, Sierra Club
John O'Neill, Adjutant Quartermaster, Veterans of Foreign Wars
Oliver Perry, President, Minnesota Association of Commerce and Industry
Robert Shaw, Manager, Minnesota Newspaper Association
Adolph Tobler, Chairman, Minnesota Senior Federation
Marion Watson, Chairwoman, Agency Board, Minnesota Pollution Control Agency
William White, President, Urban Coalition of St. Paul
Clifford Whitehill, Executive Committee Member, UN Association of Minnesota

FOOD AND FOREIGN POLICY (Forum South, lobby level)

Moderator - James L. Hetland, Jr., Vice President, Urban Development Department, First National Bank of Minneapolis
Rapporteur - Bill Hueg, Deputy Vice President and Dean, Institute of Agriculture, University of Minnesota
State Department Official - James A. Placke, Director, Office of Food Policy and Programs, Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs
Panelists - Don Ault, Director of Economic Research, Land O'Lakes, Inc.
Cy Carpenter, President, Minnesota Farmers Union
Sherry Chenoweth, Director of Consumer Affairs, State of Minnesota
John Flicker, Attorney at Law, The Nature Conservancy
Edward Grady, Manager of Information Division, Minnesota Farm Bureau
Tobey Lapakko, Secretary, State Employees Council 6, AFSCME
Bill Pearce, Corporate Vice President, Cargill Incorporated
Philip Raup, Professor of Agricultural and Applied Economics, University of Minnesota
Flora Rogge, President, Minnesota Federation of Teachers
Loren Simer, President, Council of Community Councils, Minneapolis

12:00-1:15 p.m. Luncheon (Forum Room) - no program

1:30-2:30 CONTINUATION OF WORKSHOP SESSIONS

2:45-4:30 PLENARY SUMMATION PANEL (Forum Room)

Reports by workshop Rapporteurs and State Department Officials
Comments from the audience
Summary and Wrap-up

Minneapolis Tribune



Established 1867

Charles W. Bailey Editor
Wallace Allen Managing Editor
Leonard Inskip Editorial Editor

6A

Friday, April 16, 1976

A chance to tell Washington

The United States "lacks two elements essential to a sound foreign policy: inspired leadership and informed public opinion," concludes a two-year study of America's role in the world. The study,

questions. Some of them still are. Why get involved in Angola? is a recent example. What is "detente" all about? is another.



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PROGRAM -- Minnesota Foreign Policy Forum, April 28, 1976

- 8:30 a.m. Registration and coffee
(Forum Foyer)
- 9 - 9:20 Plenary Session - *Bruce F. MacLaury, Forum Chairman*
(Forum Room) *Pres. - Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis*
- Purpose of Day
Introduction of Department Guests
- 9:30 - 11:50 Issue Workshops in Concurrent Sessions + *their St. Dept. listeners*
- SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS - *Jack F. Matlock, Jr.*
Minister-Counselor, U.S. Embassy Moscow
- Alfred L. Atherton, Jr., Assistant Sec. of State, Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs* - THE THIRD WORLD
- THE ROLE OF VALUES - *Ambassador John E. Reinhardt*
Assistant Sec. for Public Affairs
- FOOD AND FOREIGN POLICY - *James A. Placke, Director, Office of Food Policy + Programs*
Bureau of Economic + Business Affairs
- 12 - 1:15 p.m. Lunch
(Forum Room)
- 1:30 - 2:30 Continuation of Workshop Sessions
- 2:45 - 4:30 Plenary Session - *Summary of workshops by*
(Forum Room) *reporteurs and state*
department officials
- Workshop reports
Department responses
Summary

Department of State persons attending:

Ambassador Joseph A. Greenwald, Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs -- Agriculture Workshop

Alfred L. Atherton, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs -- Third World Workshop

William H. Luers, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs -- Values Workshop



BIOGRAPHIES
OF
STATE DEPARTMENT PARTICIPANTS

MINNESOTA
FOREIGN POLICY FORUM
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA
APRIL 28, 1976

JACK F. MATLOCK, JR.

MINISTER-COUNSELOR
AMERICAN EMBASSY, MOSCOW

Mr. Matlock was born in Greensboro, North Carolina in 1929. He received his A.B. summa cum laude from Duke University in 1950 and then did graduate work at Columbia University, receiving a Certificate of the Russian Institute in 1952 and an M.A. in Slavic Languages and Literature the same year. He was the recipient of the Edwin Scudder Johnston Scholarship in 1952-53 and was a Ford Foundation Area Fellow in 1954-55.

Before entering the Foreign Service, Mr. Matlock worked as an editor and translator on the Current Digest of the Soviet Press (1952-53). He then joined the faculty of Dartmouth College as an Instructor in Russian language and literature.

In 1956, Mr. Matlock joined the U.S. Department of State as a Foreign Service Officer and was initially assigned as a research analyst on Soviet Affairs. Subsequent assignments included Vienna, Austria (1958-60); Munich, Germany (1960-61); Moscow, USSR (1961-63); and Accra, Ghana (1963-66). In 1967 he was named Principal Officer of the American Consulate on Zanzibar, now Tanzania, and in 1969 he was transferred to the American Embassy in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, as Deputy Chief of Mission. He was selected as a member of the Department of State's Senior Seminar in Foreign Policy for its 1970-71 session. He assumed the position of Country Director for Soviet Affairs in June 1971 and in May 1972 accompanied President Nixon on his visit to the USSR. In January 1973, Mr. Matlock was named Director of the Office of Soviet Affairs. He was assigned to his present position as Minister-Counselor at the American Embassy Moscow, USSR, in August 1974.

Mr. Matlock's publishing achievements include being compiler and editor of Index to the Collected Works of J. V. Stalin, Washington, 1955, and the author of articles and book reviews in the American Slavic and East European Review, Russian Review, Saturday Review, and New Republic.

Mr. Matlock speaks French, German, Russian, and Swahili.

ALFRED L. ATHERTON, JR.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY
FOR
NEAR EASTERN AND SOUTH ASIAN AFFAIRS

Roy Atherton was sworn in as Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs in April 1974. Mr. Atherton had served since 1965 in the Bureau for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs in various positions dealing with the Middle East and most recently as Deputy Assistant Secretary.

Mr. Atherton was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania in 1921, but lived most of his life prior to entering the Foreign Service in Springfield, Massachusetts. He received both his B.S. and M.A. degrees in history from Harvard University. During World War II, he served as an artillery officer with the United States Army in the European Theater.

Mr. Atherton was appointed to the United States Foreign Service in 1947 at which time he served in the American Consulate General in Stuttgart, Germany. During his early Foreign Service career, Mr. Atherton completed diplomatic assignments in Stuttgart, Bonn, Damascus, and Aleppo, Syria. He returned to Washington in 1958 and in 1961 was detailed to the University of California for advanced economic studies. His most recent overseas assignment was at the United States Consulate General in Calcutta, India.

Mr. Atherton is married to the former Betty Wylie, and they have one daughter and two sons.

JOHN E. REINHARDT
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS

John E. Reinhardt was serving as Ambassador to Nigeria at the time of his appointment as Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs. Following his entry into government service in 1956, Ambassador Reinhardt held a succession of USIA posts in the Far East, Pacific, and Middle East -- Manila, Kyoto, Tokyo, and Tehran. He was named Deputy Assistant Director of USIA for the Far East in 1966, in 1968, he became Assistant Director for Africa. In 1970, he was named Assistant Director for East Asia and Pacific. He served in that position until he became Ambassador to Nigeria in 1971.

Born on March 8, 1920, Ambassador Reinhardt was educated at Knoxville College (AB, 1939), the University of Chicago, and the University of Wisconsin (PhD, 1950). He taught at Knoxville and North Carolina State Teachers College before entering the Army in 1942. During the war, he served overseas as a Lieutenant. From 1950-56, Ambassador Reinhardt was Professor of English at Virginia State College. *English*

In 1971, Ambassador Reinhardt was recipient of the Career Service Award presented annually to ten outstanding civil servants by the National Civil Service League. He has served as First Vice President of the American Foreign Service Association. In 1973, Ambassador Reinhardt was honored by the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy with the presentation of the Edward R. Murrow Award for outstanding accomplishments in the field of public diplomacy. *10 top civil servants*

He is married to the former Carolyn Daves. When in the United States, Ambassador and Mrs. Reinhardt reside in Bethesda. They have three daughters, Sharman (Mrs. Neil S. Lancefield), Alice (Mrs. Robert Jeffers), and Carolyn Cecile.

JAMES A. PLACKE

DIRECTOR
OFFICE OF FOOD POLICY AND PROGRAMS
BUREAU OF ECONOMIC AND BUSINESS AFFAIRS

Mr. Placke was born in Grand Island, Nebraska in 1935. He received his B.S. in Business Administration in 1957 and an M.A. in Economics in 1959 from the University of Nebraska.

Mr. Placke entered the Foreign Service in September, 1958. After initial training, Mr. Placke was assigned to the economic section of the American Embassy at Baghdad, Iraq where he served until 1961. This was followed by service at Frankfurt, Germany and in the Department of State in Washington.

In 1966, after completing intensive training in Arabic language and area studies at Beirut, Lebanon, Mr. Placke was assigned to the American Embassy at Kuwait as economic officer. He served until reassignment to the Embassy at Tripoli, Libya in a similar capacity in 1969. His work on petroleum and financial matters during these assignments were recognized in his receiving the State Department's Meritorious Honor Award in 1969 and again in 1971.

Upon reassignment to Washington in 1971, Mr. Placke served for over two years in the inspection corps of the Foreign Service where he reviewed internal operations of the State Department. He assumed his present responsibilities as Director of the Office of Food Policy and Programs in February 1974. In this capacity, Mr. Placke was a member of the United States delegation to the World Food Conference held in Rome in November 1974.

Mr. Placke is married to the former Mary Shea of Northampton, Massachusetts. They have three children.

-concerned in petroleum affairs as well

WILLIAM D. BLAIR, JR.

DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS

- under Reinhardt
for development
of forums

Mr. Blair has worked in Public Affairs at the Department of State since 1959. He was appointed Director of the Office of Media Services in 1962 and remained in that position until becoming Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs in February 1970.

Prior to joining the Department of State Mr. Blair was a newspaper and magazine correspondent principally abroad. He served as a London Correspondent, Chief of the Bonn Bureau, and Chief of the Paris Bureau of Newsweek from 1953 to 1959. During this period, temporary assignments took him to the Near East during the Suez crisis of 1956 and to Algeria, Yugoslavia, Spain and Morocco. From 1949 to 1953 Mr. Blair was a staff correspondent of the Baltimore Sun newspapers here and abroad, and was sent as a war correspondent to Korea in 1950, immediately following the outbreak of hostilities. In 1951 he served as Roving Correspondent in Europe for the same newspapers, reporting cold-war developments in Germany, Austria, Italy and France. He joined Newsweek as Assistant Editor for International Affairs in 1953 and returned to Europe later in the year to join the Bureau at London.

Mr. Blair was on active duty with the Marine Corps Reserve in 1945-46, and was an honors graduate of Princeton University in 1949. He was born in Charlotte, North Carolina.

need cultural historian

can't interpret in terms of ideology every time

not all perfect in USSR - things not stable - their policies change too

promote democracy by example, not name calling -

can't deal with Soviets completely separately like this discussion - should involve in peace keeping in mid-East etc.

Use UN more -

assume good intentions about regardless of real beliefs

I. THE FUTURE OF SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS

1. What do you see as the meaning of "detente" with the Soviet Union? - accommodation now to cooperation more + more
(Regardless of failings, alternative is worse)

2. How would you describe the results of detente ... for the Soviet Union? ... the United States? Has one country benefitted more than the other? If you think one country has benefitted more, in what ways has this been the case? Relieved cold war allowed face saving allowed continued talks etc.
concentrate on positive aspects + go forward from there. People + things change - not dealing with same country 10 years - people change it

3. Do you think we should sell American grain, technology, and other products to the Soviet Union? If you do think we should trade with the Soviet Union, yes

a. should our terms be a strictly business exchange of goods for cash; mostly cash

b. should we allow the Soviet Union to buy from us on credit (bearing in mind that credit may lead to larger sales); not so much credit as to lead to conflict between or at home save credit for 3rd world + 4th

c. should commercial agreements be reached only on their own merits or should we seek to use commercial incentives to affect Soviet political behavior -- e.g., regarding human rights or Soviet activities in situations such as Angola? maybe some central agreements
no, unless can be done indirectly - can't tell others how to behave

II. THE UNITED STATES AND THE THIRD WORLD, AND THE MANNER IN WHICH THIS COUNTRY SHOULD REACT TO THE INTERESTS, NEEDS, AND DEMANDS OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

1. Most developing countries assert that the terms of present international economic arrangements discriminate against them. Principally, they complain about the low prices they receive for the commodities they sell to the industrialized countries, claiming this impedes their economic development. The producers of copper, bauxite, coffee, and other commodities are trying to follow the example of the oil producing countries, banding together to raise their prices. American business and labor, on the other hand, are increasingly concerned about not only the rising cost of raw materials but also the challenge posed by low-priced manufactured imports from the underdeveloped countries. Since this country needs the minerals and commodities the underdeveloped countries can supply, and they need the markets, technology and financing we can supply, on what terms would you try to arrange a mutually acceptable long-term economic relationship?

2. Among the underdeveloped countries, some appear able to become self-supporting with a limited amount of aid while others require continuing aid for the sheer survival of their populations. Given that American resources, though large, are limited:

a. Should we allocate our foreign aid only to countries likely to become self-supporting even if it means other people in some other countries might starve? Or,

b. Should we give our aid on the basis of need, even if those receiving it have no prospect of becoming self-supporting?

c. Should we condition our assistance on other nations' performance in reducing their population growth or reforming their agricultural systems to increase food production?

III. THE ROLE OF VALUES IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

1. Since most of the countries of the world have authoritarian regimes, what standards should we set ourselves in dealing with such countries? For example:

a. To what extent should the United States make respect for human rights within a country a requisite for dealing with it? Or, should we avoid becoming involved in the internal affairs of other countries?

b. Should we reject as allies those countries with whose political systems or social policies we disagree?

c. Should we deny foreign aid to countries that violate our moral principles or that adopt political or economic systems different from ours?

d. Should the United States support a dictatorial regime if the alternative to U.S. support would be expansion of communist power in the area?

2. In general, there are two kinds of intelligence activities in which a country engages. One kind involves gathering and analyzing information, which includes

spying; the other kind of intelligence activity can include secret efforts to influence what happens in other countries, sometimes by helping one side with money or with arms.

a. Should this country engage in either kind of activity?

b. Is there a limit to what we should do if we engage in either kind of activity? What is that limit?

3. Should the United States sell arms to foreign countries? If we should, what restrictions, if any, do you favor -- in terms of types of weapons, the countries we sell them to, the amount of arms we sell?

Soviet-American

	<u>Will attend April 8th</u>	<u>April 8th Substitute</u>
✓ Moderator - Dr. Howard Swearer President Carleton College	X	
Rapporteur - Dr. Norma Noonan Professor and Chairperson Department of Political Science Augsburg College		Geri Mills
<u>Panelists:</u>		
✓ Helene Borg League of Women Voters of Minnesota	X	
Tom Burke President Seaway Port Authority of Duluth	X	
✓ Rosemary Davis Commissioner State Ethics Commission	X	
Eriks Dundurs Chairman Captive Nations Committee of Minnesota		- Ivars J. Krafts
✓ Burton Genis Assistant Manager Amalgamated Clothing Workers, AFL-CIO	X	
Rabbi Arnold M. Goodman President Minnesota Rabbinical Association	X	- Moshe Lippman Hamilton
✓ Ralph Keyes Executive Director Association of Minnesota Counties	X	
Fred T. Lanners President Economics Laboratory, Inc.		- Kristie Greve
✓ Frank C. Momsen Adjutant Minnesota American Legion	X	
E. E. Strickland Vice President, Corporate Development Control Data Corporation		No substitute
Bill Wettergren Executive Secretary Minnesota School Boards Association		- James Jacobs

✓ George Ann
Channel II

- 9 -

WORLD FOOD PROBLEM

- ✓ Will world population outrun the food supply?
 - ✓ Should Americans eat less so that others can eat more?
 - ✓ How can we best help the hungrier nations?
 - ✓ Is it right to wield U.S. "agripower" as a foreign policy weapon?
-
-

FACTS ABOUT FOOD

Sources. *Plants* supply 90 percent of human calorie intake (food energy), chiefly through *cereal grains* — wheat, rice and the coarse grains: corn (maize), barley, sorghum, oats, rye; *grain legumes*—peas, beans, lentils; *oilseeds*—soybeans, peanuts, cottonseed, sunflower seed, safflower seed, etc. *Animals* supply 10 percent through *meat and meat by-products*—chiefly beef and veal, pork, poultry, mutton and lamb, eggs, milk, other dairy products—and *seafood and by-products* — fish, shellfish, fish meal.

The *proteins* essential to healthy human growth are scarcest in cereal grains, most abundant in animal products. But to yield 1 lb. meat, cattle and sheep consume 6-7 lbs. of feed grain; hogs, 4 lbs.; poultry, 2-3 lbs. Current nutrition research focuses on protein-rich plants suitable for cultivation in poorest, mostly tropical, countries—e.g. cottonseed, new types of sorghum, millet, corn, etc.



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minneapolis, mn 55480
(612) 373-3724

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Your Invitation

MINNESOTA FOREIGN POLICY FORUM

A chance for Minnesotans
to be heard by senior
U.S. Department of State
foreign policy makers



Wednesday, April 28, 1976
9:00 a.m.

Holiday Inn Downtown
1313 Nicollet Avenue
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Sponsored by:

The World Affairs Center, Continuing Education and
Extension, University of Minnesota
The Upper Midwest Council

In Cooperation with:

The United States Department of State

PUBLIC OPINION AND FOREIGN POLICY

No nation can conduct an effective and coherent foreign policy without the support of public opinion, and in no other country does public opinion play as important a role in the formulation of foreign policy as in our American democracy. Public opinion sets the bounds within which policy makers operate.

In order to gain a better awareness of foreign policy opinion, the U.S. Department of State has helped organize a series of public forums in Pittsburgh, Portland, San Francisco, Milwaukee and the Twin Cities.

FORMAT

The Minnesota Foreign Policy Forum, which is open to the public, will center around discussion groups on four different topics. The panelists represent a wide variety of opinion.

Senior-level policy makers in the Department of State will be listeners. They are not here to lecture, but to actively listen. The workshop discussions, scheduled concurrently for three hours, are the heart of the Forum. Panelists will initiate the discussion. At various points the audience will be invited to comment. The luncheon is provided only as a convenience; there will be no program. At the concluding session, the State Department officials will report to the panels and audience their analysis of what they heard during the day.

PUBLIC TV

There will be a program the evening of April 28th from 7:00 to 8:00 p.m. over Channel 2 and its Minnesota affiliates. The Department officials will discuss these issues with some of the Forum participants.

DISCUSSION AGENDA

The topics will be as follows:

- Panel I. What kind of relationship do Americans want with the Soviet Union?
- Panel II. How should the United States respond to the political and economic challenges of the Third World?
- Panel III. What is the relationship between morality and foreign policy? What values should our policy reflect?
- Panel IV. What is the relationship between agriculture and foreign policy?

Space in this brochure permits only one detailed outline—Agriculture and Foreign Policy. The questions for this panel are:

1. How should the international community protect itself against a severe global short-fall?
2. What relative weight should be assigned in various uses of food aid: humanitarian? market development? development assistance? political purposes?
3. What policy measures should the United States adopt to liberalize international agricultural trade? What concessions should we seek from other countries? Which countries? What concessions should we be prepared to offer in return, and as necessary?

The style and form of the other three topics are similar.

Ms. Helene Borg
League of Women Voters
P.O. Box 5
Mound, Minn. 55364



PARTICIPANTS

From the Department of State:

Alfred L. Atherton, Jr. (Third World Workshop)
Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of Near Eastern
and South Asian Affairs.

Charles W. Bray III, Deputy Assistant Secretary for
Public Affairs.

Ambassador Joseph A. Greenwald (Food Workshop)
Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of Economic and
Business Affairs.

William H. Luers (Values Workshop) Deputy Assistant
Secretary of State, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs.

John E. Reinhardt, Assistant Secretary for Public
Affairs.

Department participant for Soviet-American Relations
Workshop to be named.

From Minnesota:

Gladys Brooks (moderator, Third World) Vice Chair-
man, Board of Directors, The World Affairs Center.

James L. Hetland, Jr. (moderator, Food) Vice Presi-
dent, Urban Development Department, First National
Bank of Minneapolis.

William Hueg (rapporteur, Food) Deputy Vice Presi-
dent and Dean, Institute of Agriculture, Forestry and
Economics, University of Minnesota.

Leonard LaShomb (moderator, Values) Executive
Vice President, Minnesota AFL-CIO.

Bruce K. MacLaury (general chairman of Forum)
President, Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis;
Chairman, Upper Midwest Council.

Charles McLaughlin (rapporteur, Values) Professor,
Political Science, University of Minnesota.

Norma Noonan (rapporteur, Soviet-American Rela-
tions) Professor and Chairperson, Political Science
Department, Augsburg College.

Barbara Stuhler (rapporteur, Third World) Associate
Dean, Continuing Education and Extension, Univer-
sity of Minnesota.

Howard Swearer (moderator, Soviet-American Rela-
tions) President, Carleton College.

PROGRAM

8:30 a.m.	Registration and coffee (<i>Forum Foyer</i>)
9-9:20	Plenary Session (<i>Forum Room</i>) Purpose of Day Introduction of Department Guests
9:30-11:50	Issue Workshops in Concurrent Sessions SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS THE THIRD WORLD THE ROLE OF VALUES FOOD AND FOREIGN POLICY
12-1:15 p.m.	Lunch (<i>Forum Room</i>)
1:30-2:30	Continuation of Workshop Sessions
2:45-4:30	Plenary Session (<i>Forum Room</i>) Workshop reports Department responses Summary

FORUM PARTICULARS

The all-day conference will be held at the
Holiday Inn Downtown, 1313 Nicollet Ave-
nue, Minneapolis, on April 28, 1976. There
will be no fee for the conference; the charge
for luncheon and coffee service is \$8.50.
Individuals who do not wish to attend the
luncheon may attend the sessions for a charge
of \$2.50 to cover coffee and materials.

In either case, the attached form should be
returned to the Upper Midwest Council by
Monday noon, April 26th, marked appropri-
ately. Your name tag and luncheon ticket will
be at the registration desk. Seating is limited
in the workshops.

ROLE OF AUDIENCE

The public is invited. The audience will be
called upon for spoken comments during the
discussions and will be invited to fill out a
questionnaire answering key questions and
asking for opinions, which will be forwarded
to the Department for review.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

William Rogers, Director
World Affairs Center (373-3709)

George Thiss, Executive Director
Upper Midwest Council (373-3724)



This is a University Continuing Education and
Extension Bicentennial event.

MINNESOTA FOREIGN POLICY FORUM

Name(s) _____

Affiliation _____

Address _____

Enclosed is \$ _____ (\$8.50 per person)
in full payment for luncheon and coffee service.
Will attend meeting, but not luncheon. Enclosed
is \$ _____ (\$2.50 per person) for coffee and
materials.

The workshop I wish to attend is:

____ Soviet-American Relations

____ The Role of Values

____ The Third World

____ Food and Foreign Policy

Mail to : Upper Midwest Council
Federal Reserve Bank Bldg.
Minneapolis, MN 55480

Please make check payable to the
Upper Midwest Council.

upper midwest council

federal reserve bank building
minneapolis, minnesota 55480
telephone (612) 373-3724

May 5, 1976

To: Ms. Helene Borg
Foreign Policy Forum Panelist

From: George ~~Thiss~~ ^{Thiss} and Bill Rogers

Thank you so very much for your contribution as a panelist to the success of the Forum.

In our final evaluation many of us felt the panelists made the Forum unique and a success because of the wide variety of backgrounds represented and the quality of the comments given. Also, the State Department was impressed at the cross section of points of view assembled at the Forum. It is seldom possible to bring together leaders in so many different fields to concentrate on foreign policy questions.

We appreciate so much your commitment and involvement and hope if you have any comments about the Forum or future follow-up activities you will get in touch with either of us.

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LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA, ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102

May 10, 1976

Ruth J. Hinerfeld
LWV of the United States
1730 M Street, NW
Washington, DC 20036

Dear Ruth:

I am addressing this to you, but maybe it should go to Mary Locke. Jerry Jenkins gave me your letter and asked me to write you about our Minneapolis Foreign Policy Forum.

In addition to the planning sessions we had a warm-up session. Most of the panelists gathered and an hour of discussion took place. The sponsors of the Forum reasoned that the first hour of a discussion is devoted to getting acquainted and feeling your way, so they wanted that out of the way before the main session. I was in the Soviet-American group and they needed no warm-up time. There was much cynicism and suspicion of the State Department. Many thought they, as citizens, knew nothing of what our policy is and, therefore, could not comment on it. Several thought it is based strictly on the economic interests of the few, or else it makes no sense. And that took care of that hour.

Enclosed is the agenda. In addition to the State Department officials listed, there were at least three more in attendance. Apparently there was a lot of variation in the participation of these officials. Matlock was asked to respond frequently and volunteered besides. In my opinion he was not interested in what we were saying, except to conclude that they must do a better job of telling us what they are doing. I do not think he was looking for suggestions. However, I am told others said nothing during the discussion and seemed sincerely interested in the comments of the participants.

The Minneapolis Forum had a more varied group in attendance than the other cities. All ages, different economic levels, many organizations represented and everyone participated. In fact, in the Soviet group there was too much participation. Some of the panel never had a chance to comment. The audience could have filled all the time available. The panel of eleven was probably too large. The moderators had been urged to encourage audience participation and they got it. Most panelists had done their homework and could have contributed more. However, the comments from the audience were well thought out and most speakers spoke from notes with many references to statements already made. I think it was significant that the United Nations was almost completely ignored. There was no mention of it by the Soviet-American panel. The time passed quickly with people still waiting to speak at the end of the afternoon. Many had left the hotel at noon to find a cheaper place to eat lunch, but they returned.



LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA, ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102

I am enclosing the results of the telephone poll (devised by a consultant to the State Department), the responses of League members at the State LWV Council to the Public Opinion Survey (including totals and some sample answers to essay questions), the evaluation sheet for the Forum, the brochure and a newspaper column and editorial. The column is an accurate summary. I might emphasize the concern expressed to consider human rights. This came out in every panel. I am told the Values panel was the least satisfying (too much time was spent defining terms) and that the Soviet one was the best. The surprise was the lack of interest in discussing arms limitation. Matlock tried to interject it, but got no response.

The morning following the Forum, most of the State Department officials met with the directors of the Upper Midwest Council and the World Affairs Center and some of the participants in the Forum. A representative of the Charles F. Kettering Foundation attended, because they have provided some funding and have followed the forums in each city. He thought the Portland meeting the best organized, because they held to a tighter format. It was also the best attended. This morning meeting was for evaluation and to decide if there should be any follow-up activities. The State Department will send a written report in a few weeks. When this is received, additional plans will be made. It seems very likely that there will be a follow-up meeting. I will keep you informed. If you have any questions, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Helene

Helene L. Borg, Action Chairman





DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

May 18, 1976

Dear Ms. Borg:

I very much appreciated your willingness to participate in the April 28 Minnesota Foreign Policy Forum.

As a panelist, you contributed considerably to eliciting local views on foreign policy issues which, as you know, are of great interest to our senior officials.

If you have any suggestions as to how we might make this type of meeting even more useful in the future, I hope you will not hesitate to let me know.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "John E. Reinhardt". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "J" and "R".

John E. Reinhardt
Assistant Secretary
for Public Affairs

Ms. Helene Borg,
P.O. Box 5,
Mound, Minnesota.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

June 24, 1976

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TO : The Secretary

FROM : NEA - Alfred L. Atherton, Jr. *ALA/leg*
PA - John E. Reinhardt *PH/ul*
EUR/SOV - Jack F. Matlock, Jr. *JFM/ul*
EB/ORF/OFP - James A. Placke

Principal Findings
from
Minneapolis "Town Meeting" on Foreign Policy

On April 28, we participated in the "Minnesota Foreign Policy Forum." Held in Minneapolis, it was the fourth "town meeting" at which the Department has been listening to the public's views on fundamental aspects of foreign policy. Two days later, a meeting was held in Milwaukee, completing the series that began last February in Pittsburgh and continued in Portland and San Francisco.

The Minneapolis meeting was attended by representatives from a broad spectrum of organizations and interests in the twin cities area. It was sponsored by the Upper Midwest Council and the World Affairs Center of the University of Minnesota. They also sponsored a foreign-policy poll of Minnesotans and arranged a one-hour broadcast on public television at which panelists addressed questions to us. This memorandum summarizes what we consider the principal points emerging from these diverse sources of public opinion.

The "town meeting" considered the following issues: (1) U.S.-Soviet relations; (2) U.S. relations with the developing countries; (3) the role of values in foreign policy; (4) food and foreign policy. The first three topics duplicate those considered in earlier meetings; the last one was introduced by the sponsors of both midwestern meetings as being of special interest to that part of the country.

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- 2 -

Basic Impressions

If one point struck home as a result of repeated questioning and comments, it is that a successful foreign policy begins at home -- in the domestic support engendered by a sense of shared values between policy-makers and public. Repeatedly, we were questioned as to how citizens could communicate their policy preferences to the Department and how they could learn more about the premises and objectives of Department policies.

A concern with improved communication is likely to be an indicator of dissatisfaction with the current state of affairs as much as a request for more information. It is our perception that many citizens are (a) uninformed about Department efforts and programs; (b) distressed at what they perceive as the failure to uphold American ideals as an integral part of this country's foreign policy. Specifically, we heard the same desire expressed in all of the sessions -- efforts to foster human rights throughout the world should be a more pronounced concern of American foreign policy.

I. U.S.-Soviet Relations

Mixed feelings regarding our relations with the Soviet Union was the hallmark of this session. Underpinning the discussion was the implicit assumption we must continue to negotiate with the Soviet Union and continue our efforts to improve and stabilize U.S.-Soviet relations. Certainly, nobody at this session advocated the cessation of discussions and negotiations.

But, overlaying the implicitly accepted premise that the United States could not avoid negotiating with the Soviet Union were explicitly expressed concerns and questions: Were we militarily strong enough? How strong was enough? What were our long-range policy objectives vis-a-vis the Russians? What had our negotiations achieved thus far? Were we "giving away" too much -- and for what end?

In essence, the discussion revealed again what has been reported from earlier meetings -- that the public does not have an understanding of the premises and

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- 3 -

objectives of our policy toward the Soviet Union. Despite your efforts, our aims in this policy area have not been communicated successfully. This incomprehension results in a blend of puzzlement and frustration.

The puzzlement showed itself in the inconclusive discussion of detente. Some wondered whether it was a synonym for "coexistence" or represented a genuine departure from earlier policy. In any event, most were dubious as to whether tangible achievements could be attributed to detente.

The frustration showed itself in the many expressions of feeling that this country has been showing insufficient initiative on the world stage and has principally been responding to Soviet ploys. Another basic area of dissatisfaction was revealed by the many expressions of belief that the United States was insufficiently concerned with the protection and promotion of human rights as a prominent and permanent aspect of our policy.

Blended with the desire to do something about human rights was the realization that, often, not much could be done. Thus, one session participant reiterated his distress that the United States had apparently abandoned the countries overrun by the Soviet Union, specifically the Baltic states. He exemplified a pervasive feeling that at least the United States should be speaking up for human rights. Even if we had to acquiesce to situations, we should not be silent.

Comparable ambivalence was shown in the discussion of trade with the Soviet Union. Some advocated making human-rights considerations within the Soviet Union a basis for trade negotiations. Most felt this was not feasible and that trade had to be conducted in terms of the more immediate interests of the United States.

These ambivalent sentiments were echoed in the poll of the general Minnesota public. Sixty-one percent of the respondents agreed with the statement, "We cannot trust the Russians." But, only 19 percent were outrightly opposed to trade with the Soviet Union.

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- 4 -

The poll respondents also appeared to feel differently about our general relations with the Soviet Union than they did about the specific consequences of detente. The poll asked, "Do you feel relations between the United States and Russia are improving, getting worse, or are about the same as they have been?" The responses were: improving, 32 percent; about the same, 50 percent; getting worse, 13 percent; no opinion, 5 percent.

Yet, asked whether the United States or the U.S.S.R. has benefitted more from detente, greater benefit was attributed to the U.S.S.R. by 42 percent, to the United States by 2 percent, to both equally by 41 percent; no opinion was offered by 14 percent.

(In the Milwaukee-area poll, the responses showed the same pattern. There, the assessment of current relations between the United States and the U.S.S.R. was: improving, 27 percent; same, 44 percent; worse, 16 percent; no opinion, 13 percent. Yet, in the assessment of detente, greater benefit was attributed to Russia by 38 percent; to the United States by 4 percent; to both equally, by 31 percent. No opinion was offered by 23 percent. Both these questions were also asked in Portland and San Francisco, which also showed the same pattern of responses.)

Perhaps the implication of these seemingly contradictory responses is that the American public reacts to the Soviet Union in the same way that individuals do to an indissoluble, but uneasy, relationship. Specific, disturbing aspects of the relationship receive intense, critical attention when peaceful -- though abrasive -- coexistence comes to be taken for granted.

II. U.S. Relations with Developing Countries

On this subject, feelings were deep and diverse. Nevertheless, the discussants agreed on at least two basic points: It is the responsibility of the world's rich nations to help the world's poor nations raise their living standards. Furthermore, this country should be devoting a greater proportion of its economic resources to this effort.

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- 5 -

What, in general, should be done was more easily agreed upon than how, specifically, it should be done. The respondents disagreed on the types of aid that should be offered, though many suggested that military aid should be minimized, if not eliminated. There was disagreement on the kind of projects for which aid should be made available, though many were concerned that such projects should serve the broad needs of the general population rather than the personal desires of the highly placed. There was disagreement on the conditions that should be imposed in exchange for aid, though there was general agreement that political compliance with the United States should not be a condition of aid.

There was also disagreement on the role that recipient countries should play in determining the kind of aid they would receive and how they would utilize it. A number of participants who had been born, or had worked, in underdeveloped countries pointed out that what might appear to contributing countries as good intentions and appropriate conditions were not, necessarily, perceived in the same light by recipient countries. This suggested the importance of consulting with recipients, rather than imposing programs on them.

It was also pointed out, however, that if recipient countries have a significant role in determining how aid is utilized, there was a likelihood that, in at least some countries, the aid would be used to serve the few rather than the many. What role was the United States to play in those circumstances?

If there was little agreement on the control the United States should exercise over how aid was employed, neither was there agreement on the role that multinational corporations have played in underdeveloped host countries. Some participants were highly critical; but multinational corporations had more defenders here than in comparable sessions at earlier meetings. They felt these companies often were not given the credit due them for the investments they made in local economies, including the training of previously unskilled workers. Several pointed out that one criterion for evaluating the performance of multinationals was whether they adhered to the standards that would be required of them in their home countries.

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- 6 -

If there was little agreement on how to provide aid, there was little more agreement on why it should be provided. Aid was advocated for reasons running the gamut from selfishness to selflessness. When some noted that the basic reason for providing aid was self-interest, some others pointed out that this seemingly hard-headed rationale actually begged the question, by not defining self-interest.

As was found in previous town-meeting cities, the session participants were much more sympathetic to the problems and sensibilities of underdeveloped countries than were many poll respondents. Thus, when poll respondents were asked if they agreed or disagreed with the claim of underdeveloped countries that the industrialized countries, including the United States, have not paid a fair price for raw materials, 31 percent agreed while 46 percent disagreed and 23 percent had no opinion.

Asked to respond to the statement, "The United States should give aid only to those foreign countries that will help us do the things we want to do in the world," the respondents divided exactly, with 47 percent agreeing and the same percentage disagreeing. Six percent offered no opinion.

However, since these questions were asked of the general public rather than a group with a specialized interest, we are inclined to consider that these responses represent a rather high degree of awareness and concern. Certainly, a marked lack of isolationist sentiment is shown in the response to this statement: "This country would be better off if we stayed home and did not concern ourselves with problems in other parts of the world." While 28 percent agreed, 67 percent disagreed. And only 5 percent, it should be added, offered no opinion.

III. The Role of Values in Foreign Policy

The basic issue probed in this session might be summed up as follows: To what extent must the United States, in its relationships with other countries, cooperate with countries whose internal policies are incompatible with

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- 7 -

the Bill of Rights or the Declaration of Independence? Or, put another way: How do we reconcile a recognition that we cannot make over the world in our image with a continuing effort to maintain and project our image as a country sincerely concerned with the protection and extension of human rights?

The participants felt we sell our ideals short. Despite the compromises required in conducting foreign affairs, we need to make human rights a central concern of our foreign policy. One frequently cited example of how we ignore our professed values is the contradictory role we play in preaching peace and yet functioning as a massive purveyor of arms.

Though it was agreed that the United States should not seek to impose its ideals, even if it could, it was felt that this country should attempt to foster them through persuasive efforts and the influence of example. Too often and too readily, it was felt, we have settled for the expedient alternative.

One person's expediency is often another's hard-headed compromise. Actions that some participants deemed a sell-out of American ideals others saw as an attempt to secure the best terms in a necessary bargain.

Not every participant saw the same ambiguities in the same situation. But, overall, they did recognize the enormous difficulty of trying to apply moral criteria to the inevitable ambiguities of foreign policy making. What they basically expressed was a deep desire that policy-makers wrestle with these moral considerations more vigorously -- and more visibly.

The poll offered some interesting insights into how Minnesotans distinguished between the world as they wished it to be and the actions they would support in pursuit of these goals.

Asked to assign priority to a list of foreign-policy objectives, 74 percent of the respondents deemed it "very important" to "stop the spread of communism" and 57 percent deemed it "very important" to "stop the spread of dictatorships."

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- 8 -

But, a majority of the respondents were unwilling to support active efforts to block or overthrow such regimes, as indicated by the responses to the following questions:

"Do you think the U.S. should, or should not, secretly help a group that is fighting another group backed by Communist countries?"

Should	32%
Should not	60%
Don't know	8%

"Do you think the U.S. should, or should not, secretly help a group that wants to overthrow a Communist government?"

Should	36%
Should not	56%
Don't know	8%

"Do you think the U.S. should, or should not, secretly help others to overthrow a dictatorship unfriendly to this country?"

Should	35%
Should not	57%
Don't know	8%

IV. Food and Foreign Policy

Agriculture is the most important "industry" in Minnesota and this session was notable for the breadth and detail of the discussion. Nevertheless, most of the participants in this session, despite their concern with the politics of food, were not aware of our current programs. This is an aspect of the broader communication problem that has already been mentioned.

The participants agreed that a domestic food policy must be an integral part of an international food policy. There was a good deal less agreement on the specifics of domestic food policy, such as programs for feeding needy Americans and the overall role that government should play in devising and managing food programs.

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- 9 -

A number of participants stressed that producers need to distinguish between the government's past role in agriculture, which was principally to cope with surpluses, and its future role, which must be to manage reserves. They called for an active exchange of ideas between government and the various sectors of the agricultural economy in order to set up an effective reserve program. What was needed, it was generally agreed, was a system that used grain reserves to offset shortfalls of production but prevented such reserves from functioning to discourage production.

In considering the principles that should govern food aid abroad, the participants agreed on two basic principles: The United States should not impose long-term conditions before offering aid to cope with short-term emergencies, such as threatened famines arising from natural disasters. However, as part of an aid program for coping with recurrent, long-term emergencies, aid should be linked to efforts that will promote self-sufficiency.

While the participants approved of tying long-term aid to efforts at self-development, they agreed it was undesirable to link food policy to political objectives. Not only did they have moral objections to using food as a "weapon," it was also considered an ineffective means of trying to influence political events.

However, there was agreement that the promise of inevitability has the power to influence policy among potential recipients. Therefore, aid could -- and should -- be tied to energetic efforts by recipient countries to build and strengthen their own capacity to produce food.

The poll showed that the general public in Minnesota was less aware of the immediacy of the international food problem than were conference participants. A poll question asked, "Do you think a critical world food shortage is very likely, fairly likely, or not too likely in the next 10 or 15 years?" The responses were: very likely, 34 percent; fairly likely, 31 percent; not too likely, 33 percent; don't know, 2 percent.

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- 10 -

The poll also indicated that visible efforts at self-help by recipient countries would probably be an important factor in winning and holding American popular support for food aid abroad.

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September 22, 1976

To: Attendees at Minnesota Foreign Policy Forum on April 28

From: William C. Rogers, Director, World Affairs Center, University of Minnesota
George Thiss, Executive Director, Upper Midwest Council

As a follow-up to the Minnesota Foreign Policy Forum, we invite you to be with us on October 21 to share ideas on a very important subject with Rudy V. Fimbres, Special Assistant to the Director of the Office of Humanitarian Affairs, U.S. Department of State. His topic will be "Human Rights and Foreign Policy." Mr. Fimbres just moved to his present position from his post as Deputy Office Director for Bolivia and Chile. This experience gave him first-hand knowledge of implementing policy in a human rights framework.

The meeting will be:

October 21, 1976

9:00 a.m. - 12 noon

8:30 coffee and registration (no charge)

Cotillion Room
Sheraton Ritz Hotel
315 Nicollet Mall, Minneapolis

As you know, many contradictions emerged in the April Forum on the subject of human rights. Mr. Fimbres will discuss the dilemmas and operational problems in incorporating a human rights dimension in foreign policy. Following his opening remarks, a panel with Rosemary Davis, Commissioner, State Ethics Commission, and David Weissbrodt, Associate Professor of Law, University of Minnesota, will direct questions to Mr. Fimbres. Mr. Fimbres will then take questions from the audience. Bruce MacLaury, President, Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis, who served as moderator for the April 28th Forum, will open the meeting.

We've enclosed a report issued by the State Department participants to Secretary Kissinger as a result of the April 28th Forum you attended. We believe you will find it of interest and, most importantly, it shows these leaders did communicate to the Secretary. Also enclosed is an article which appeared last week on the front page of the New York Times referencing the "town meetings."

Please RSVP (373-3724) if you are able to attend and notify others you believe would be interested.

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THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1976

Kissinger Aides Find Americans Distrust Policy

By LESLIE H. GELB

Special to The New York Times

four issues: Soviet-American relations, relations with the developing countries, the role of values in policy and policy objectives. In some places, food policy was discussed as well.

The idea for these missions came from the Public Affairs Bureau of the State Department. They were intended to complement Mr. Kissinger's own speech-making tours, in which he has been defending his policy directly in local communities.

The reports of his aides indicated that



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