

# COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.

Meeting in honor of

THE HONORABLE EDWARD M. KENNEDY  
U. S. Senator, Massachusetts

U. S.-EUROPE: REFLECTIONS FROM A TRIP TO THE SOVIET UNION

Monday, April 29, 1974  
5:30-7:00 pm

Marshall D. Shulman  
Director, Russian Institute, Columbia University  
Presiding

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Robert Hunter

Assistant to  
Senator Kennedy

Patricia K. Lawford

Colette Shulman

Columbia University

Jean Smith

Eric M. Warburg

E. M. Warburg Pincus & Co.

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AS A COURTESY TO THE SPEAKER  
MEMBERS ARE REQUESTED TO REMAIN UNTIL THE TERMINATION OF THE SESSION  
THE MEETING WILL END PROMPTLY AT 7:00 PM

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## Members and Staff of the Council

Elie Abel  
Rene Albrecht-Carrie  
Robert J. Alexander  
James B. Alley  
Alexander Allport  
Arthur G. Altschul  
Frank Altschul

Harding F. Bancroft  
Whitman Bassow  
Philip Bastedo  
Peter A. Bator  
David Beim  
Abraham L. Bienstock  
John P. Birkelund  
Joseph E. Black

COCKTAILS: 7:00-7:30 PM

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*To encourage a discussion atmosphere most conducive to forthright expression, it is a rule of the Council that participants will not subsequently attribute to other participants facts or opinions that are asserted in the course of a Council meeting, nor identify the source as having been a Council meeting.*

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Roger M. Blough  
 Roy Blough  
 John A. Blum  
 Norbert A. Bogdan  
 William Bradley  
 John Z. Bowers  
 Henry C. Breck  
 Lorna Brennan  
 Mitchell Brock  
 George A. Brownell  
 Elizabeth Bryant  
 Zbigniew Brzezinski  
 Paul W. Bucha  
 Susan Bucher  
 McGeorge Bundy  
 Mary Burak  
 William A. M. Burden  
 James M. Burns  
 Patrick Owen Burns  
 Donald F. Bush

Louis W. Cabot  
 John C. Campbell  
 Miriam Camps  
 Cass Canfield  
 Andrew G. Carey  
 John Carey  
 John M. Cates, Jr.  
 Jerome B. Cohen  
 William Cary  
 Sydney M. Cone, III  
 Howard A. Cook  
 Nicholas J. Coolidge  
 Gregory B. Craig  
 Winthrop Murray Crane  
 Robert D. Crassweller  
 Robert L. Cummings  
 Peter Cusick

Ralph K. Davidson  
 Daniel P. Davison  
 Peter Dawkins  
 Jose de Cubas  
 Charles S. Dennison  
 Henry P. deVries  
 Rimmer de Vries  
 John Diebold  
 Douglas Dillon  
 J. Richardson Dilworth  
 Bitu Dobo  
 Theodore Draper  
 David Dubinsky  
 James H. Duffy  
 Angier Biddle Duke  
 Ralph A. Dungan  
 William Dietel

Julius C. C. Edelstein  
 Donald H. Elliott  
 Osborn Elliott  
 Irving M. Engel

Douglas Fairbanks  
 Thomas K. Finletter  
 Paul B. Finney  
 Nevil Ford  
 Doris Forest  
 Michael V. Forrestal  
 Donald T. Fox  
 Joseph C. Fox  
 George S. Franklin  
 John French  
 David M. Freudenthal  
 Henry J. Friendly  
 Alton Frye  
 William R. Frye  
 Otto Fuerbringer

Richard N. Gardner  
 Albert H. Garretson  
 Lloyd K. Garrison  
 George Garvy  
 Richard L. Gelb  
 Henry R. Geyelin  
 S. Hazard Gillespie  
 Roswell L. Gilpatric  
 David Ginsberg  
 Jon D. Glassman  
 Harrison J. Goldin  
 James Goldsborough  
 Leland M. Goodrich  
 Maurice F. Granville  
 James R. Greene  
 Joseph N. Greene, Jr.  
 James L. Greenfield  
 Thomas Griffith  
 Peter Grimm  
 Peter Grose  
 Murray I. Gurfein  
 Judith Gustafson

Thomas A. Halsted  
 Fowler Hamilton  
 Broderick Haskell  
 Rita E. Hauser  
 Samuel P. Hayes  
 Harold H. Healy, Jr.  
 Donald Heath  
 Robert C. Helander  
 John M. Hennessy  
 William Rogers Herod

Paul M. Herzog  
 Keith Highet  
 James T. Hill, Jr.  
 Frances P. Himelfarb  
 Harold K. Hochschild  
 Robert L. Hoguet  
 Alan W. Horton  
 Thomas L. Hughes  
 J. C. Hurewitz  
 Henry B. Hyde

Elmore Jackson  
 Jackie Jackson  
 William E. Jackson  
 John K. Jessup  
 William H. Johnstone  
 Peter L. Jones  
 Milena Jovanovitch  
 Thomas A. Julian

Carol Kahn  
 Andrew M. Kamarck  
 Peter H. Kaminer  
 Allen H. Kassof  
 Edward L. Keenan  
 Maximilian W. Kempner  
 Roger Kennedy  
 Robert L. Kleiman  
 John H. Knowles  
 Winthrop Knowlton

Henry R. Labouisse  
 Dan Lacy  
 Kermit Lansner  
 Ivo J. Lederer  
 Orin Lehman  
 Hal Lehrman  
 James G. Leonard  
 Norbert G. Leroy

Thomas H. Lipscomb  
 Edwin A. Locke, Jr.  
 Andreas F. Lowenfeld

Isador Lubin  
 E. Hugh Luckey

John J. McCloy  
 Joseph M. McDaniel, Jr.  
 Porter McKeever  
 Robert M. McKinney  
 Robert L. McNeill

John Macomber  
 August Maffry  
 Bayless Manning  
 Donna Manning  
 Gerald M. Mayer, Jr.  
 Herman A. Metzger  
 Leo Model  
 Sherwood G. Moe  
 Parker G. Montgomery  
 John M. Montias  
 Grinnell Morris  
 David A. Morse  
 Forrest D. Murden  
 J. Morden Murphy  
 Martha T. Muse

Merlin E. Nelson  
 Andre W. G. Newburg  
 Thomas S. Nichols  
 Matthew Nimetz

Alfred Ogden  
 Cecil J. Olmstead

John H. Page  
 John G. Palfrey  
 Peggy Papadakis  
 Herbert Passin  
 Roland A. Paul  
 Samuel B. Payne  
 Kathryn C. Pelgrift  
 Gustav H. Petersen  
 Nicholas Philip  
 Andrew J. Pierre  
 Lionel I. Pincus  
 Robert S. Potter

Isidor I. Rabi  
 Jay B. L. Reeves  
 Whitelaw Reid  
 Nicholas A. Rey  
 Arthur B. Richardson  
 Richard W. Richardson  
 Harold Riegelman  
 Donald G. Robbins, Jr.  
 Thomas W. Robinson  
 David Rockefeller  
 Robert V. Roosa  
 Ruth A. Roosa  
 Oren Root  
 Daniel Rose  
 Frederick P. Rose  
 T. W. Russell, Jr.

Mildred Sage  
Harrison E. Salisbury  
Richard E. Salomon  
Charles E. Saltzman  
Nathaniel Samuels  
Howland Sargeant  
John E. Sawyer  
Oscar Schachter  
Orville H. Schell  
A. Arthur Schiller  
Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.  
Harry Schwartz  
Barbara Schwarz  
John Scott  
Frederick C. Seibold, Jr.  
Isaac Shapiro  
Herbert Shayne  
James R. Sheffield  
Eleanor Sheldon  
Leonard Silk  
Robert Silvers  
Albert G. Sims  
John Slawson  
David S. Smith  
Gaddis Smith  
Peter Solbert  
Theodore C. Sorensen  
Kenneth M. Spang  
Stephen H. Stackpole  
James H. Stebbins  
Richard Stebbins  
Ronald Steel  
Charles R. Stevens  
George D. Stoddard  
Jeremy J. Stone  
Jerome A. Straka  
R. Peter Straus  
Ralph I. Straus  
Donald B. Straus  
Francis X. Sutton  
John Temple Swing

Phillips Talbot  
George K. Tanham  
Arthur R. Taylor  
Michael S. Teitelbaum  
Maurice Tempelman  
Evan Thomas  
Kenneth W. Thompson  
Seymour Topping  
Edward Townsend  
James F. Trees  
Edward Hallan Tuck  
John Turkevich

Richard Ullman  
Richard P. Urfer

Henry P. Van Dusen

John Watts  
Bethuel M. Webster  
Kenneth Wernimont  
Nils Y. Wessell

Taggart Whipple  
Jennifer Whitaker  
Frank X. White  
Walter Wilds  
Fay Willey  
Richard Winslow  
Robert C. Wood  
Knight Woolley  
Walter B. Wriston

Charles W. Yost  
Edgar B. Young  
John M. Young

Zenaida R. Zapanta

*Camille start a CFR file*

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.

THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 TEL. (212) 535-3300 CABLE: COUNFOREL, NEW YORK

May 17, 1974

Nominating  
Committee

- HEDLEY DONOVAN  
Chairman
- DAVID E. BELL
- GREGORY B. CRAIG
- DOUGLAS DILLON
- DORIS KEARNS
- R. HEATH LARRY
- HENRY LOOMIS
- C. PETER McCOLOUGH
- DONALD F. McHENRY
- ALFRED C. NEAL
- GEORGE R. PACKARD
- CYRUS R. VANCE
- CARROLL L. WILSON

Dear Council Member:

In this year's election for the Council's Board of Directors, there are eight vacancies to be filled. The Nominating Committee is charged by the by-laws to nominate 12 candidates for the eight positions. The Committee is grateful to the many Council members who in response to the Committee's general solicitation suggested candidates. After considering more than 75 names suggested by Council members the Committee has nominated the following 12 persons, each of whom has indicated willingness to serve if elected. As charged by the Council's by-laws, in preparing its slate the Committee gave particular attention to the "need for diversity with regard to age, sex, race, geographical representation and professional background".

*Done*

- ✓ Robert O. Anderson
- ✓ Charles F. Barber
- ✓ C. Fred Bergsten
- ✓ William A. M. Burden
- ✓ George Franklin
- ✓ Edward K. Hamilton
- ✓ Harry C. Mc Pherson, Jr.
- ✓ Peter G. Peterson
- ✓ Elliot L. Richardson
- ✓ Marshall D. Shulman
- ✓ Arthur R. Taylor
- ✓ Franklin Hall Williams

Biographical data on each of the Committee's nominees is enclosed for your information.

The mail ballot to be mailed in early June will carry these 12 names. The Council's by-laws also provide that the ballot shall contain in addition the name of any member who is nominated by petition supported by the signature of 10 or more members. There is no prescribed petition form; any member who wishes to initiate or support a petition to nominate a particular member not on the above list may do so by writing a letter to that effect to the Council at the above address, attention John Temple Swing, Esq., Vice President and Secretary. Any questions concerning election procedures should also be referred to Mr. Swing.

Letters initiating or supporting nominating petitions must be received at the Harold Pratt House not later than the close of business on May 31st since it is planned that ballots will be mailed out to all members on or before June 7th and the last date for voting in the election will be July 1st.

Sincerely,



Hedley Donovan  
Chairman, Nominating Committee

## BIOGRAPHIES OF NOMINEES

ROBERT O. ANDERSON. Born, 1917. B.A., University of Chicago, 1939. American Mineral Spirits Co., 1939-41; Malco Refineries, Inc., now Hondo Oil and Gas Co., 1941-63; President, 1963-65, Atlantic Richfield Co., Chairman of Board, 1965 to present; owner, President, Lincoln County Livestock Co.; Chairman, Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies; Vice Chairman of Board, John F. Kennedy Center for Performing Arts, Washington. Office: Los Angeles.

Member of the Council on Foreign Relations since 1970.

CHARLES F. BARBER. Born, 1917. B.S., Northwestern, 1939, LL.B., Harvard, 1942, B. Phil., Oxford, 1948. Associate, Covington & Burling, 1948-54; Assistant Solicitor General U.S., 1954-56; general counsel, American Smelting & Refining Co., 1956-63, Vice President, 1959-63, Executive Vice President, 1963-69, President, 1969-71, Chairman, 1971 to present. Office: New York City.

Member of the Council on Foreign Relations since 1956.

C. FRED BERGSTEN. Born, 1941. A.B., Central Methodist College, M.A., M.A. L.D., Ph.D., Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. Department of State, Assistant Chief, International Payments Division, 1963-67; Visiting Fellow at Council on Foreign Relations, 1967-68; Assistant for International Economic Affairs, National Security Council, 1969-71; Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution, 1971 to present. Office: Washington, D. C.

Member of the Council on Foreign Relations since 1968.

WILLIAM A. M. BURDEN. Born, 1906. A.B., Harvard, 1927. Special Aviation Assistant to Secretary of Commerce, 1942-43; Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Air, 1943-47; aviation consultant, Smith Barney & Co. Inc., 1947-49; partner, William A. M. Burden & Company, 1949 to present; Special Assistant for Research and Development to Secretary of the Air Force, 1950-52; U.S. Ambassador to Belgium, 1959-61. Office: New York City.

Member of the Council on Foreign Relations since 1936, Director since 1945.

GEORGE S. FRANKLIN. Born, 1913. A. B., Harvard, 1936; LL. B., Yale, 1939. Assistant to Nelson Rockefeller, 1940; Division of World Trade Intelligence, Department of State, 1941-44; Council on Foreign Relations, 1945-71, Executive Director, 1953-71; Secretary (N.A.), Trilateral Commission, 1972 to present. Office: New York City.

Member of the Council on Foreign Relations since 1947, Director since 1972.

EDWARD K. HAMILTON. Born, 1939. B. A., Minnesota, 1960. Member and Senior Member, National Security Council Staff, 1965-68; Executive Director and Staff Director, Commission on International Development, 1968-69; Vice President and Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution, 1969-70; Director, Bureau of the Budget, City of New York, 1970-71; Deputy Mayor, City of New York, 1971-73; President, Griffenhagen-Kroeger, Inc. (management consultant), 1974 to present; Visiting Professor, Stanford University Graduate School of Business, 1974 to present. Office: San Francisco.

Member of the Council on Foreign Relations since 1968.

HARRY C. MC PHERSON, JR. Born, 1929. B. A., University of the South, 1949; LL. B., University of Texas, 1956. General Counsel, Democratic Policy Committee, U. S. Senate, 1961-63; Deputy Under Secretary International Affairs, Dept. Army, 1963-64; Assistant Secretary State Educational and Cultural Affairs, 1964-65; Special Assistant and Counsel to President Johnson, 1965-66; Special Counsel to President Johnson, 1966-69; member, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; Vice Chairman, John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, Washington; partner, Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard & McPherson, 1969 to present, and Hughes, Hubbard & Reed, 1972 to present. Office: Washington, D. C.

Member of the Council on Foreign Relations since 1973.

PETER G. PETERSON. Born, 1926. B. S., Northwestern, 1947; M. B. A., Chicago, 1951. With Bell & Howell Co., 1958-70, Executive Vice President, 1958-61, President, 1961-63, President and Chief Executive Officer, 1963-68, Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer, 1968-70; Assistant for International Economic Affairs to the President of the United States, 1970-72; Secretary of Commerce, 1972; Ambassador and Personal Representative of the President of the United States, 1973; Chairman of the Board, Lehman Brothers, 1973 to present. Office: New York City.

Member of the Council on Foreign Relations since 1971, Director since 1973.

ELLIOT L. RICHARDSON. Born, 1920. A. B., Harvard, 1941, LL. B. 1947. Law clerk, Judge Learned Hand, 1947-48, Justice Felix Frankfurter, 1948-49; Assistant Secretary for Legislation, U. S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, 1957-59, Secretary of Department, 1970-72; U. S. Attorney for Massachusetts, 1959-61; Special Assistant to Attorney General of U. S., 1961; partner, Ropes & Gray, 1961-62, and 1963-64; Lieutenant Governor, State of Massachusetts, 1965-67; Attorney General of Massachusetts, 1967-69; Under Secretary of State, Department of State, 1969-70; Secretary of Defense, January 1973-May 1973; Attorney General of the U. S., May 1973-October 1973; Fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 1974 to present. Office: Washington, D. C.

Member of the Council on Foreign Relations since 1969.

MARSHALL D. SHULMAN. Born, 1916. A. B., University of Michigan, 1937, M. A., Columbia, 1948, PH. D., 1959. Information Officer, United States Mission to the United Nations, 1949-50; Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, 1950-53; Associate Director, Russian Research Center, Harvard, 1954-62, Lecturer, Department of Government, 1956-60, Research Associate, 1962-67; Professor of International Politics, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts, 1961-67; Professor of Government and Director, Russian Institute, Columbia, 1967 to present. Office: New York City.

Member of the Council on Foreign Relations since 1956, Director since 1972.

ARTHUR R. TAYLOR. Born, 1935. A. B., Brown University, 1957, M. A., 1961. Assistant Director of Admissions, Brown University Resident Fellow, and Assistant in Dept. of Political Sciences, 1957-61; First Boston Corporation, 1961-70, director, 1970; Vice President Finance, International Paper Co., 1970-71, Executive Vice President, 1971-72, director, member of executive committee, 1971-72; President and director of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc., 1972 to present. Office: New York City.

Member of the Council on Foreign Relations since 1968.

FRANKLIN HALL WILLIAMS. Born, 1917. A. B., Lincoln, 1941, J. D., Fordham, 1945. National Association for Advancement of Colored People, Assistant Special Counsel, 1945-50, West Coast Director, 1950-59; Assistant Attorney General of California, 1959-61; Director, African Regional Office of Peace Corps, 1963; U. S. Representative UNESCO, 1964-65; U. S. Ambassador to Ghana, 1965-68; Director, Urban Center, Columbia University, 1968-70; President, Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1970 to present. Office: New York City.

Member of the Council on Foreign Relations since 1969.

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.

58 EAST 68TH STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021



THE HONORABLE WALTER F. MONDALE  
OLD SENATE OFFICE BLDG.  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

file CFR

United States Senate

MEMORANDUM

*David*

Senators —

I recommend you  
stay out of intra-CFR  
politics, and not respond,

D. AARON

✓ agree . — disagree

*agree*

Dave

# COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.

THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE 58 EAST 68TH STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 TEL. (212) 535-3300 CABLE: COUNFOREL, NEW YORK

## Nominating Committee

HEDLEY DONOVAN  
Chairman

DAVID E. BELL  
GREGORY B. CRAIG  
DOUGLAS DILLON  
DORIS KEARNS  
R. HEATH LARRY  
HENRY LOOMIS  
C. PETER McCOLOUGH  
DONALD F. McHENRY  
ALFRED C. NEAL  
GEORGE R. PACKARD  
CYRUS R. VANCE  
CARROLL L. WILSON

March 14, 1974

Dear Council Member:

The next election for members of the Board of Directors of the Council will be on July 1. The Nominating Committee (which is composed of the five Board members and eight additional Council members listed above) is charged with the task of nominating a slate of twelve candidates for the eight vacancies that are to be filled; additional names may be added to the ballot by a petition process, I am writing to you on behalf of the Committee to ask for any suggestions that you may have of Council members who should in your judgment be considered by the Committee as it develops its slate of candidates.

As you know, the terms of eight of the Council's twenty-four directors expire in each year. In the fall of 1974, the current terms of the following persons will end: William P. Bundy, William A. M. Burden, George S. Franklin, Joseph E. Johnson, Henry R. Labouisse, Bill D. Moyers, Peter G. Peterson, and Marshall D. Shulman. Henry R. Labouisse will be ineligible for renomination or reelection pursuant to the Seniority Retirement By-Law. Since the Nominating Committee is charged by the by-laws to nominate a slate of candidates half again as large as the number of vacancies to be filled, the Committee will develop a slate of twelve candidates for these eight positions.

In making its nominations, the Committee is charged to keep in mind the need for diversity on the Board with regard to age, sex, race, geographical representation and professional background. Voting of the membership at the July election will be by mail ballot; as was the case last year, members will be asked to mark their ballots for as many candidates as there are vacancies on the Board to be filled.

If you wish to suggest the name of a Council member whom you

believe the Committee should consider as a possible nominee, please complete and return the enclosed suggestion form. If you have more than one suggestion, please use a separate form for each. In order for a suggestion to be considered by the Committee, it must be received at the Harold Pratt House no later than Monday, April 1st.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Hedley Donovan".

Hedley Donovan  
Chairman,  
Nominating Committee

enclosure

NOTE

Since the attached form as completed will be xeroxed and distributed to each member of the Nominating Committee, please fill it in by typewriter. This form may be duplicated if you have more than one name to suggest.

Your suggestions should be mailed to the Council on Foreign Relations, 58 East 68th Street, New York, New York 10021, ATTN: Nominating Committee. Suggestions must be received no later than Monday, April 1, 1974.

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.  
58 East 68th Street, New York, N. Y. 10021

TO the Nominating Committee:

I recommend that, as the Committee selects nominees as candidates for election to the Board, the name of \_\_\_\_\_ be considered.

Approximate Age:

City of Principal Business Address:

Present Occupation:

Former Relevant Positions or Experience  
such as Government Service:

Areas of Special Competence  
or Expertise:

Honors, Awards, Publications  
and other Relevant Data:

A general statement, if you wish,  
as to this person's qualifications  
to be a Director of the Council:

Signed \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.

*file*

THE HAROLD PRATT HOUSE | 58 EAST 68TH STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 | TEL. (212) 535-3300 | CABLE: COUNFOREL, NEW YORK

BAYLESS MANNING  
*President*

*David*  
*280-1754 Columbia*  
*Dick Gardner*

July 2, 1974

*012-280-2642*

Dear Council Member:

At the meeting for the Annual Election of Directors of the Council on July 1, Messrs. Robert O. Anderson, George S. Franklin, Edward K. Hamilton, Harry C. McPherson, Jr., Peter G. Peterson, Elliot L. Richardson, Marshall D. Shulman, and Franklin Hall Williams were elected for three-year terms, commencing September 1, 1974.

Sincerely,

*Bayless Manning*

BM/jg

*017*  
*3232*



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