

TRIALOGUE

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**** ACTIVITIES OF THE TRILATERAL COMMISSION ****

CANADIAN COMMISSIONERS' MEETING -- On December 11, the Canadian members of the Trilateral Commission met in Ottawa to discuss their future contribution to the T.C.'s work. Seven of the eight members of the Canadian delegation attended the meeting, which lasted nearly eight hours. They were joined by noted economist A.F.W. Plumptre, who discussed current international monetary and trade matters with reference to the trilateral relationship. The Canadians also considered ways of improving the educative function of the T.C. as a means of both informing and influencing public opinion. The meeting was followed by a press conference, at which the nature and goals of the Trilateral Commission were spelled out for Canadians for the first time.

NEW YORK AREA MEETING -- In the first of several regional dinner meetings to be held by the North American Commission, a group of fourteen T.C. members and guests met in New York on the evening of December 13. Chairman Gerard C. Smith spoke briefly about the Trilateral Commission's efforts, and was followed by Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Richard L. Sneider, who assessed the impact of the current world energy crisis on the Far East, placing particular emphasis on Japan. Philip Trezise, the North American rapporteur of the newly created Trilateral Task Force on Trade, then offered his observations on a number of timely and important trade issues of interest to the trilateral countries. Those attending the meeting included the following members of the Trilateral Commission and its staff: I.W. Abel; Graham Allison; Robert R. Bowie; Zbigniew Brzezinski; William T. Coleman, Jr.; Richard N. Cooper; George S. Franklin; Thomas L. Hughes; William W. Scranton; and Gerard C. Smith. In addition, the following guests of the Commission were present: Porter McKeever, Associate of John D. Rockefeller, 3rd; Alfred C. Neal, President of the Committee for Economic Development; Richard L. Sneider, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for the Far East; and Philip Trezise, Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution.

TRADE AND LDC TASK FORCE MEETINGS -- The two newest Trilateral Task Forces held their first meetings in Washington on December 17 and 18. The Task Force on Trade, composed of Philip Trezise, Nobuhiko Ushiba and Guido Colonna di Paliano, and the Priorities Study Group on the Less Developed Countries, consisting of Richard Gardner, Akira Onishi and Max Kohnstamm, held their strategy sessions at the Brookings Institution. A joint meeting of the two groups was held the first day, with the participation of T.C. Chairmen Gerard C. Smith and Takeshi Watanabe, T.C. Director Zbigniew Brzezinski, and the three regional Secretaries, George S. Franklin, Tadashi Yamamoto and Wolfgang Hager. Political Task Force rapporteur Henry Owen also joined in the discussions, which centered largely on the implications of the current energy shortage in the trilateral countries for the reports to be written by the respective Task Forces. The two groups met separately on the second day to produce preliminary outlines of the reports and to agree on a schedule for further consultations. It was agreed that the study group on LDC's would limit its initial activities to selecting several key aspects of this vast subject for future study, and would consult with experts from both the trilateral countries and the developing countries themselves in order to ascertain the most promising areas of research. For its part, the Trade Task Force devised a working outline and a schedule with the aim of producing a carefully considered draft by early April.

A revised version of the draft would then be submitted to the Executive Committee in Brussels at the end of June. On the evening of the 18th, the participants in the two-day session met for dinner at the home of Chairman Smith, where they were joined by Robert S. McNamara, President of the World Bank. Mr. McNamara spoke revealingly and with great empathy about the plight of the developing countries in the current oil squeeze, and led a stimulating discussion about the role of the Trilateral Commission in publicizing the obligations which the nations of the advanced industrialized world owe the poor countries in the impending period of mutual economic decline. Finally, on December 19, a meeting of the Chairmen, the Director and the Secretaries was held to chart future T.C. plans, and there were consultations with John C. Campbell and others about the newly established Trilateral Task Force on Energy.

T.C. PRESS ROUND-UP -- Press coverage of T.C. activities continues to be good in all three regions. Among the latest samples is a lengthy article by Eduardo Lachica about the recent Executive Committee meeting held in Tokyo. The article appeared in English-language editions of the Japanese press and thoroughly covered the discussions that took place at the public sessions of the Tokyo meeting, including a review of the Political and Monetary Task Force reports. News of the meeting was also reported in The Japan Economic Journal. Italian readers were informed about the Commission in a long article by T.C. member Cesare Merlini which appeared in Il Sole - 24 Ore on November 6. Merlini not only described the long-range aims of the Trilateral Commission but also provided a detailed analysis of the current international system so as to highlight the importance of the trilateral concept.

** FOCUS **

News and Opinion on Recent Developments
in Trilateral Affairs

ENERGY

THE PERILS OF NON-COOPERATION -- As the effects of the substantial cutbacks in oil production by Arab producers began to be felt in the trilateral countries, with dire predictions of imminent recession in all three areas, efforts to implement a viable common energy policy failed to advance beyond the stage of proposals. A go-it-alone attitude prevailed and events tended to accentuate the forces of divisiveness within the trilateral relationship at the expense of the possible benefits of cohesion. After the nine members of the European Community affirmed their position on November 6, just one day after Arab spokesmen announced a further cutback of 5% for December, a U.S. diplomat was quoted by The New York Times as saying, "What they've done is just capitulate to the Arabs..." As the Japanese government faced a similar decision at the time of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's visit to Tokyo, it was reported in The New York Times that "Government spokesmen ... told Japanese newsmen that Mr. Kissinger showed little sympathy for the Japanese plight ... They suggested he told Premier Kakuei Tanaka that Japan's oil problem was not his concern." Meanwhile, attempts to effect an oil-sharing policy through the mechanism of the OECD met with failure. On November 20, the oil committee of the organization made no move to invoke a contingency oil-sharing plan which exists for the 18 European members of the OECD. Britain and France led the opposition to implementation of the plan, fearing that an oil-sharing operation in Europe would arouse Arab indignation.

MANY URGE COORDINATION -- In spite of the inability of the trilateral regions to agree on common action in the energy crisis, appeals for cooperation continued to be raised. Here are a few samples:

- The New York Times in an editorial on November 23 noted, "The lack of a coordinated energy policy among the Western allies has ... increased their vulnerability to the embargo, which the Arabs have employed skillfully to exacerbate the weakness and disunity among them."
- European parliamentarians at the Assembly of the West European Union urged that a common energy policy be applied at least within Europe. They formally called on their governments to forge a joint oil policy in response to the current crisis.
- A group of international business experts meeting at the 60th National Foreign Trade Convention in New York on November 13 added their weight to the cause of cooperation. They called for common solutions by the major oil-sharing countries, and heard a number of speakers, including Akio Morita of the Trilateral Commission, advocate wide-ranging agreements to coordinate national research, avoid destructive competition, discover new energy sources and eliminate waste in the use of existing raw materials.
- The Economist in its issue of November 24 did not mince words in emphasizing the interdependence of the trilateral areas in the current oil crunch. The journal stated, "If Japan is seriously hurt, the repercussions will be bad far and wide. They could be devastating for some. Even while Europeans and Americans are congratulating themselves on the unexpected disappearance of some Japanese competition (as they soon may be), they should be acutely worried about a possible forced recession in the world's largest and fastest growing market for raw materials, and less large but also fastest growing market for manufactures." A week earlier, The Economist observed pungently, "If Japan is sliding into a phase of no-growth, the dangers of a world recession in 1974 have become much worse."
- T.C. Member George Ball advocated trilateral sharing of oil. Writing in the 'Op-Ed' page of The New York Times on November 30, Ball observed that "people in Europe and Japan consider themselves bystanders who are suffering the consequences of an American policy they had no part in making and about which many have serious reservations.... What is needed is an offer to pool our oil resources along with those of the other principal consuming nations."
- Noted oil expert Walter Levy recently recommended a contingency system for stockpiling, rationing and equitably sharing oil imports among all members of a coalition comprised of the U.S., Europe and Japan. He added that a program for optimum exploration, development and diversification of supplies should also be undertaken, "in the light of this mutual interdependence."
- Geneva-based economist Ken Mathysen-Gerst, President of Capital International, drew attention to recessionary tendencies, stating, "... for the first time in recent history North America, Europe and Japan are moving down together. Draw your own conclusions."

- Finally, Secretary of State Kissinger on December 13 proposed "that the nations of Europe, North America and Japan establish an energy action group of senior and prestigious individuals with a mandate to develop within three months an initial action program for collaboration in all areas of the energy problem."
- Initial reactions to the Kissinger proposal, however, proved mixed. In Europe, Le Monde called attention to efforts by the French government to convene a conference between Europeans and the Middle Eastern oil-producing countries, and remarked that in the Kissinger proposal, "the producer countries would be involved to discuss questions of common interest but would be excluded from all the rest." In comparing the French and American proposals, the paper concluded, "it will doubtlessly be difficult to square the two projects."

POLITICAL RELATIONS

TOWARDS A TRILATERAL DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES -- As the nations of the European Community moved towards agreement on a definition of European identity and a document on U.S.-European relations, the Japanese government reaffirmed its desire to be associated with the U.S. and the EC in formulating a joint declaration of principles for the advanced developed nations. The Japan Times on November 15 quoted Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ohira as asserting that, on his visit to Japan; "Dr. Kissinger expressed the U.S. wish to have Japan's participation in the attempt to formulate such a declaration in some way or other." According to reports appearing in the Japanese press, the U.S. continues to maintain this position in spite of European, particularly French, coolness to Japan's association and stated preference for a bilateral agreement between the EC and Japan, without U.S. adherence.

Washington

TRILATERAL COOPERATION

The following article by Robert R. Bowie of the Trilateral Commission, which appeared in the Christian Science Monitor on October 31, is such an eloquent statement of the need for trilateral cooperation in many areas that it is worth reprinting in full:

Trilateral cooperation

By Robert R. Bowie

In the Middle East crisis, the spotlight has been on the Arabs and Israel, the United States, and the U.S.S.R. They are, of course, the main protagonists. Their actions and interactions will largely determine whether the region achieves a stable peace or suffers continuing hostility and warfare.

Yet the vital interests of others, especially those of Western Europe and Japan, are also deeply involved. And the handling of the crisis is bound to affect U.S. relations with them.

Japan and Western Europe are far more dependent than the U.S. on Middle East oil. U.S. imports of crude from the area are now only about 7 percent of its total needs, though rising rapidly. Japan, which lacks domestic oil, obtains over 90 percent of its supply from Middle East sources. Western Europe is only a little better off, and also depends heavily on Middle East oil. For both, continuing access to such oil is a matter of life and death for their economies.

Yet the U.S. policy in the Middle East has virtually ignored Japanese or European views. Its one-sided support for Israel, which has antagonized the Arabs and prompted recent oil cutbacks, is strictly unilateral. While Japan and Western Europe would back Israel's right to secure existence, both favor a more even-handed policy which also recognizes Arab interests.

The allies have apparently not even been consulted in the current crisis. The U.S. did not discuss with them its decision for heavy resupply of arms to Israel, some from Western Europe. It has not kept them abreast of its dealings with the U.S.S.R. Nor did it even notify them in advance of the sudden worldwide alert of U.S. forces a week ago.

Inevitably such conduct severely strains the relationship. America's allies have naturally sought to avoid being identified with unilateral U.S. actions which they feel disregard their interests. And the U.S. has added insult to injury by denouncing them for "separating" themselves from U.S. policies and actions during the crisis. This breakdown in relations is bad in its own right. But the implications are more serious and far-reaching.

Oil and the Middle East are only one example of a pervasive reality. Interdependence among Western Europe, Japan, and the U.S. is a fact of life — in monetary policy, trade, resources, environment, and relations with the developing nations and the Communist states. They can assure their well-being and security only if they work together to cope with these massive problems. Trilateral cooperation is a necessary precondition for moving toward any solid structure of global order and peace.

But achieving such collaboration will require overcoming serious difficulties. A major one is the U.S. trend toward unilateralism, displayed in the Middle East crisis. Neither Japan nor Western Europe is content with U.S. hegemony or unilateral action. They will expect to be treated more like partners in the future.

Yet at present neither is ready to fulfill the role. Western Europe is not yet unified or able to act as an entity in many fields. And Japan is still seeking to clarify its role in the world. Moreover, both are uncertain about the United States and its priorities. They are concerned by Nixon's stress on superpower relations and by the tendency toward unilateralism.

Together these factors create distrust and tensions which severely impede cooperation. Overcoming these obstacles is the prerequisite for the joint action essential for coping with the many common problems.

* * *

Obviously only governments can ultimately initiate and carry on the necessary consultation and coordination of policy. But there is also a role for private efforts to generate a wider awareness of common needs and to propose common approaches and solutions for specific issues.

That is the premise of the Trilateral Commission, which has just been formed by groups of leading private citizens from Western Europe, Japan, and North America, and which held its first meeting in Tokyo last week. The commission will seek to promote "the habit of working together on problems of mutual concern, to seek to obtain a shared understanding of these complex problems, and to devise and disseminate proposals of general benefit."

While the aim is to foster cooperation among the three advanced regions, it is recognized that they cannot cope with many of the problems alone. They will have to take account of the interests of other nations and regions and often will have to work within wider international agencies, such as the GATT, International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and its affiliates, etc. But coordinated effort by the advanced nations will frequently be the key to initiatives or effective action. And on many issues their divergence would block constructive solutions.

The aims of the commission are clearly ambitious. But they seem to me in line with urgent needs. Hopefully its work can contribute to developing a better climate for meeting those needs.

[Robert Bowie]

from the
"Christian Science
Monitor"

** WHO'S WHO IN THE T.C. **

The rapporteurs of the Trilateral Priorities Study Group on Less Developed Countries are:

RICHARD N. GARDNER Born 9 July 1927, New York City; A.B. magna cum laude, Harvard, 1948; LL.B. Yale, 1951; Ph.D. Oxford, 1954 (Rhodes Scholar, 1951-53); correspondent with U.P. and A.P., 1946-48; Teaching Fellow in International Legal Studies, Harvard Law School, 1953-54; with Coudert Brothers, New York, 1954-57; Associate Professor of Law, Columbia University, 1957-60; Professor, 1960-61 and 1965-66; Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations, 1961-65; Senior Adviser to U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. since 1965; currently Henry L. Moses Professor of Law and International Relations, Columbia University; author of Sterling-Dollar Diplomacy (1956), In Pursuit of World Order (1964), The Global Partnership (1968), and other books and articles on questions of law, foreign policy and economic development.

MAX KOHNSTAMM ... Born 22 May 1914, Amsterdam; educated in Modern History at Amsterdam University; Fellow, American University, Washington, D.C.; Private Secretary to Queen Wilhelmina, 1945-48; with the Netherlands Foreign Office, 1948-52, serving as Head of the German Bureau and as Director of European Affairs; Vice President, Netherlands Schuman Plan delegation, 1950; Secretary to the High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Commission, 1952-56; Vice President, Action Committee for the United States of Europe since 1956; President, European Community Institute for University Studies, Brussels, since 1959; recently named the President of the new European University in Florence; European Chairman of the Trilateral Commission; co-editor of A Nation Writ Large? Foreign Policy Problems Before the European Community.

AKIRA ONISHI ... Born 5 January 1929; graduated Keio University, Department of Economics; M.A., 1958; Ph.D., 1963; studied as a Special Student, Rangoon University; has served as Assistant Professor of Economics, Chuo University, and more recently as Professor of Economics, Soka University; has also served on the staff of the International Labor Organization in Geneva; currently Chief Economist and Project Manager of the International Development Center of Japan, Professor at Soka University, and Lecturer in Development Economics at Tokyo University.

The rapporteurs of the Trilateral Energy Task Force are:

JOHN C. CAMPBELL ... Born 8 October 1911, New York City; A.B. Harvard, 1933; M.A., 1936; Ph.D., 1940; Specialist in Eastern Europe, U.S. State Dept., 1942-46; Secretary of the US delegation and Political Adviser at the Council of Foreign Ministers and at the Paris Peace Conference, 1946; Political Adviser, US delegation to the Danube Conference, 1948; Officer in charge of Balkan Affairs, member of the Policy Planning Staff, State Department, 1949-55; Director of Policy Studies and Senior Research Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations since 1955; Consultant and Adviser to the State Department since 1963; Member of the Policy Planning Council, 1967-68; author of numerous books and articles on U.S. foreign policy, Eastern Europe, and the Middle East.

WOLFGANG HAGER ... Born 1940; studied at the Universities of Freiburg, Stockholm, Uppsala, Gothenburg, and Pennsylvania; Research Assistant, Foreign Policy Research Institute, University of Pennsylvania; Staff aide to EC Commissioner Dahrendorf; currently Director of Studies, European Community Institute for University Studies, Brussels, and European Secretary of the Trilateral Commission.

SHINICHI KONDO ... Born 1910; graduated from Tokyo University, 1934; entered the Japanese Foreign Office, 1939; served as Consul in New York City, 1941; held a variety of posts in the Foreign Ministry, 1941-61; appointed Ambassador to Denmark, 1961; with the Japanese delegation to the United Nations, 1965; appointed Deputy Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1967; Ambassador to Canada, 1969-72.

PIERRE URI ... Born 20 November 1911, Paris; studied at the Ecole Normale Supérieure, the Faculté de Droit de Paris, and Princeton University; Professor, 1936-40; Chief of Staff at the Institut de Science Economique Appliquée, 1944-47; Economic and Financial Adviser at the Commissariat Général du Plan, 1947-52; Professor at the Ecole Nationale d'Administration, 1947-51; Director of the European Coal and Steel Community, 1952-59; Director for Europe and Adviser to Lehman Brothers; Adviser on Studies for the Atlantic Institute, Paris, since 1962; Associate Professor, University of Paris-IX-Dauphine since 1969; author of numerous books, articles and reports on international economic problems.

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- *Saburo Okita, *President, Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund*
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- Eiji Toyoda, *President, Toyota Motor Company, Ltd.*
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- Kizo Yasui, *Chairman, Toray Industries, Inc.*

*Executive Committee

The Trilateral Commission was formed in 1973 by private citizens of Western Europe, Japan, and North America to foster closer cooperation among these three regions on common problems. It seeks to improve public understanding of such problems, to support proposals for handling them jointly, and to nurture habits and practices of working together among these regions.

THE TRILATERAL COMMISSION
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