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United Nations Association of the United States of America,  
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# United Nations Association of the United States of America

300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017 212 697 3232

## MINUTES

### SECOND MEETING OF NOMINATING COMMITTEE

Monday, November 19, 1984

UNA CONFERENCE ROOM - NEW YORK CITY

WILLIAM J. VANDEN HEUVEL - CHAIRMAN

Present: Cecile Fox, Felice Gaer, Rose Walker, Mary Jane Patterson

Staff: Edward Luck, Daniel Burton, Robert Ratner, Carol Christian

The Nominating Committee met for the second time on November 19, 1984, and considered new nominees for the UNA-USA Board of Directors in relation to the number of positions open. The committee first reexamined the list of the new nominees that were regarded as priority candidates. It selected 21 new candidates as people we would like to involve in the Board of Directors; of these 21 people, 14 have already agreed to serve and four people are from a supplementary list of nominees. The Committee also agreed to reserve two places for younger candidates. Of the original list of new nominees, it was decided to reserve judgment on three candidates.

The Committee also considered the list of current directors who are eligible for renomination and who were initially considered as priority candidates. Of these 39 directors, it decided to renominate 31, to elevate 7 to the National Council and to reserve judgment on 1.

The Committee also reviewed the 13 directors who were singled out for special consideration at our first meeting. It was decided to renominate 9 of them to the Board and to elevate 4 to the National Council. Finally, the Committee examined the members of the National Council to see if any of them should be brought back on to the Board, however it was decided not to bring anyone on the National Council back onto the Board.

At present there are 69 available positions; 40 renominations; 1 renomination to be reconsidered; 23 new nominees (including youth nominees); and 3 new nominees to be reconsidered (See attached lists). At our next and last meeting, which will be held in early February, we will review the new nominees for the Board of Directors. These nominees will have been contacted beforehand to determine their willingness to serve. We will also consider any final nominations for the Board at this next meeting.

Our next meeting will be held on February 11, 1985 from 10:30 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. at UNA Headquarters (300 East 42nd Street, New York City). At this meeting, we will complete our nominations for the UNA Board of Directors and National Council, and nominate the officers of the Association -- Chairman, Chairman of the Board of Governors, Vice-Chairman and Secretary.

*please  
not*



# United Nations Association of the United States of America

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## Renominate (40)

## Elevate to National Council<sup>+</sup>

Charles Barber	Mary Jane Patterson	Frank Bauman
Jean Benjamin	John Petty	Carolyn Shaw Bell
John Bierwirth	Sarah Goddard Power	Francis Dale
Ruth Bishop	Nicholas Robinson	(Thomas Farmer)*
Stephen Boyd	Robert Ryan	Charles MacCormack
R. Carroll Cannon	Jack Sheinkman	Irwin Metzger
B.C. Christenson	Dick Sloos	Abe Raskin
Sybil Craig	Helmut Sonnenfeld	Danny Weiss
Don Cameron	Fletcher Thorne-Thomsen	(Kenneth Burroughs)*
Arthur Downey	Leonard Vernon	Samuel de Palma
William Eberle	William Woodside	Robert Nathan
Col. Thomas Fisher, II	Christine Beshar	William Ruder
Douglas Fraser	Ruth Steinkraus Cohen	Joseph M. Segal
Mary Hall	William Korey	
Harold Jacobson	Christopher Phillips	
Jerome Jacobson	Jean Picker	
Clarice Kaufman	Albert Shanker	
Henry Kaufman	Sidney Willner	
(Helen Muller)*	Edward Winn	
Mary Lou Nelson	Michael Witunski	
Dean Russell Palmer		

\*Review

<sup>+</sup>At our first meeting, it was decided to elevate Norman Cousins, David Dull, Joseph Nye, Stanely Ruttenberg and Raymond Vernon to the National Council.



## United Nations Association of the United States of America

300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017 212 697 3232

### New Nominees

Roger Blunt

Buntzie Churchill\*

Charles Di Bona

Ms. Frankie J. Gillette\*

James A. Joseph

David Lenefsky\*

John McGillicuddy\*

William Milliken\*

James Olson\*

Glendora Putnam\*

Robert Ray\*

Sam Segnar\*

Sheldon Stahl\*

Stuart Symington\*

Paul Tsongas

Andrew Young\*

Esther Coopersmith

Robert Smylie\*

William Hyland

Michael Alexander\*

Walter O'Conner

(Youth Nominee)

(Youth Nominee)

### Potential Nominees

Donald Farber

James Leonard

J. Wayne Reitz\*



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# UNA- USA

THE UNITED NATIONS  
ASSOCIATION OF  
THE UNITED STATES  
OF AMERICA

ANNUAL REPORT  
1983

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At a time of global insecurity  
and economic uncertainty, when  
international institutions face a  
crisis of confidence at the very  
time they are most needed...

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# UNA- USA

THE UNITED NATIONS  
ASSOCIATION OF  
THE UNITED STATES  
OF AMERICA

ANNUAL REPORT  
1983

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...it is the mission of  
UNA-USA to contribute to the  
strengthening of multilateral  
mechanisms and to encourage  
US leadership in solving global  
problems.

*Chairman of the Association*  
Elliot L. Richardson  
*Chairman, Board of Governors*  
Orville L. Freeman  
*Chairman, National Council*  
Cyrus R. Vance

*Vice Chairmen*  
Ruth J. Hinerfeld  
Past President,  
League of Women Voters, USA  
Harry W. Knight  
Chairman, Hillsboro Associates, Inc.  
Estelle Linzer  
Southern New York State Division,  
UNA-USA  
Jean Picker  
US Representative, UN Commission  
for Social Development (1969-1977)  
Richard J. Schmeelk  
Executive Managing Director,  
Salomon Brothers Inc  
Brent Scowcroft  
Vice Chairman,  
Kissinger Associates, Inc.

*Secretary*  
William J. vanden Heuvel  
Partner—Stroock & Stroock & Lavan

*Treasurer*  
John R. Petty  
Chairman, Marine Midland Bank NA  
*Chairman, Finance and Budget Committee*  
Ivan Selin  
Chairman,  
American Management Systems, Inc.

*Chairman, Corporate Council for  
International Policy*  
William S. Woodside  
Chairman, American Can Company

*Chairman, Economic Policy Council*  
Robert O. Anderson  
Chairman of the Board,  
Atlantic Richfield Company

*Chairman, Policy Studies Committee*  
Robert V. Roosa  
Partner—  
Brown Brothers Harriman & Company

*Chairman, East Asian Programs*  
William W. Scranton

*Chairman,  
Soviet-American Parallel Studies Program*  
Walter J. Stoessel, Jr.  
Former Deputy Secretary of State

*Chairman, Advisory Group, Multilateral  
Issues and Institutions Project*  
Matthew Nimetz  
Former Under Secretary of State

*Chairman, WFUNA Committee*  
Christopher H. Phillips  
President, The National Council for  
US-China Trade

A dynamic organization springs  
from dedicated leaders who  
volunteer their time, energy,  
and ideas.



*Orville L. Freeman and Cyrus  
R. Vance with UN Secretary-General  
Javier Pérez de Cuéllar.*



*Elliot L. Richardson.*



*Donald F. McHenry and William W. Scranton.*



*Ruth J. Hinerfeld.*



*Robert O. Anderson talks with John R. Petty.*



*Brent Scowcroft with Secretary of State George P. Shultz.*



*R. Carroll Cannon and Estelle Linzer.*



*UNA-USA wishes to thank Arthur Ross, of the Board of Governors, whose generous contribution made possible the publication of this Annual Report.*



*Jean Picker with Richard N. Gardner*

#### *Governors*

Jean Benjamin  
 John C. Bierwirth  
 Chairman, Grumman Corporation  
 R. Carroll Cannon  
 Chairman, Council of Chapter and Division Presidents  
 Sybil Craig  
 Rochester Chapter, UNA-USA  
 Arthur T. Downey  
 Partner—  
 Sutherland, Asbill & Brennan  
 Patricia K. Di Giorgio  
 President, San Francisco Chapter, UNA-USA  
 Mary Hall  
 St. Louis Chapter, UNA-USA  
 Dr. Armand Hammer  
 Chairman,  
 Occidental Petroleum Corporation  
 Ulrich Haynes, Jr.  
 Vice President,  
 International Business Planning,  
 Cummins Engine Co.  
 Jerome Jacobson  
 Vice Chairman,  
 Burroughs Corporation  
 Robert I. Lipp  
 President, Chemical Bank  
 Leo Nevas  
 Vice President,  
 International League for Human Rights  
 Russell E. Palmer  
 Dean, The Wharton School  
 The University of Pennsylvania  
 Arthur Ross  
 Vice Chairman and Managing Director,  
 Central National Corporation  
 Rabbi Alexander Schindler  
 President, Union of American  
 Hebrew Congregations  
 Edith B. Segall  
 Chairman,  
 Conference of UN Representatives  
 Jack Sheinkman  
 Secretary-Treasurer, Amalgamated  
 Clothing and Textile Workers Union,  
 AFL-CIO  
 Helmut Sonnenfeldt  
 Guest Scholar,  
 The Brookings Institution  
 Leonard Vernon  
 Pacific Chapter, UNA-USA  
 Franklin H. Williams  
 President, Phelps-Stokes Fund  
 Michael Witunski  
 Staff Vice President,  
 McDonnell Douglas Corporation



*Eleanor Roosevelt and Robert S. Benjamin each served as Chairman of the Board of the United Nations Association in its formative years.*

With roots in a bipartisan citizens' movement, UNA-USA stands for continuity in American foreign policy.

UNA-USA traces its origins to two organizations dedicated to enhancing the US role in and commitment to international organizations: the American Association for the United Nations (AAUN) and the United States Committee for the United Nations. The two organizations merged in 1964, bringing together the AAUN's local chapters and the US Committee's affiliated voluntary associations. The merger gave reality to UNA Founding Chairman Robert S. Benjamin's vision that active citizen involvement was essential to constructive US participation in the affairs of the global community.

Over the years, UNA-USA has attracted thousands of new members at the grass-roots level through its chapters and has reached millions of citizens through its Council of Organizations. At the same time, the Association has combined this nationwide network with an increasingly influential policy research program. This dual dedication to broad public outreach and high-quality policy analysis, focusing on global problems and multilateral institutions, is unique.

Republican and Democratic administrations have repeatedly expressed their appreciation to UNA-USA for confronting the challenges posed by an increasingly complex international system. Senior policy-makers have recognized UNA's important contribution to a thoughtful examination of how the United States can best play an active role in multilateral institutions.

*Excerpt from a message by President Ronald Reagan to participants in the annual United Nations Day activities.*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

I wish to congratulate the United Nations Association of the United States for its excellent informational programs which contribute to a fuller understanding of international issues.

*Ronald Reagan*

# THE UNITED NATIONS: A STATEMENT OF SUPPORT

*The following statement on the importance of the United Nations in the conduct of U.S. foreign policy has been endorsed by 6 former U.S. Secretaries of State, 4 former National Security Advisers and 7 former Permanent Representatives to the U.N.:*

*"The United Nations is an important instrumentality in the conduct of American foreign policy. Our experience, both in our public and private roles, has brought this home to us.*

*The United Nations provides this country with a forum for protecting and promoting our own interests as well as for seeking solutions to problems we share with other countries.*

*It is appropriate as well that this country should be the site of the United Nations, given the vision that has guided us as a nation and given the role we play, on all levels, in the world today.*

*We all recognize the shortcomings of the United Nations, but we live in a very imperfect and increasingly dangerous world and we must make the best use possible of whatever means we have for managing the problems that beset us."*

**GEORGE W. BALL**  
Permanent Representative to the UN - 1968

**ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI**  
National Security Adviser - 1977-1981

**McGEORGE BUNDY**  
National Security Adviser - 1961-1966

**ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG**  
Permanent Representative to the UN - 1965-1968

**ALEXANDER M. HAIG**  
Secretary of State - 1981-1982

**HENRY A. KISSINGER\***  
Secretary of State - 1973-1977  
National Security Adviser - 1969-1974

**DONALD F. McHENRY**  
Permanent Representative to the UN - 1979-1981

**DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN**  
Permanent Representative to the UN - 1975-1976

**EDMUND S. MUSKIE**  
Secretary of State - 1980-1981

**WILLIAM P. ROGERS**  
Secretary of State - 1969-1973

**DEAN RUSK**  
Secretary of State - 1961-1969

**JOHN A. SCALI**  
Permanent Representative to the UN-1973-1975

**BRENT SCOWCROFT**  
National Security Adviser - 1975-1977

**WILLIAM W. SCRANTON**  
Permanent Representative to the UN-1976-1977

**CYRUS R. VANCE**  
Secretary of State - 1977-1980

**ANDREW YOUNG**  
Permanent Representative to the UN-1977-1979

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A private, nonpartisan, nonprofit organization

**ELLIOT L. RICHARDSON**  
Chairman of the Association

**ORVILLE L. FREEMAN**  
Chairman of the Board of Governors

For more information about the United Nations, write:

UNA-USA  
Box 38  
300 East 42nd Street  
New York, New York 10017  
(212) 697-3232

\* Counted as serving  
in both positions

*In a statement published in The New York Times on October 2, 1983, leading American policymakers expressed their common view on US policy toward the United Nations.*





*Robert M. Ratner, President through June 1984; President Emeritus effective July 1984.*

UNA-USA has responded to the dramatic changes in the international system by developing new substantive programs and consolidating the link between National Headquarters and the local chapters. As a result of the 1983 restructuring effort, the Association can concentrate the expertise of its professional staff and the experience of its lay leadership on critical problems facing the international community.

I am proud to have been a part of UNA-USA for the past twenty years, the past seven years as its President. I intend to continue working for the Association to ensure its financial base in the years ahead. As the presidency of UNA passes to Edward C. Luck, a dynamic member of the UNA family for the past decade and a recognized expert in international affairs, I am convinced that the Association will be able to meet the many challenges before it.

1983 saw fuller integration of UNA-USA's activities and the streamlining of its operations under a new plan adopted by the Board of Governors. Aimed at insuring the Association's programmatic success and financial integrity, the revised structure is based on a four-part program of action.

## **1 THE MULTILATERAL PROJECT**

This new core program of UNA-USA draws on the organization's two greatest strengths. The first is its capacity for objective policy analysis of issues of global concern. The second is its ability to mobilize an influential segment of the American public in support of appropriate multilateral alternatives.

The program will focus the attention of policymakers, scholars, and the public on key multilateral issues such as nonproliferation, arms control, and the containment of local conflicts. It will make a balanced assessment of the component parts of the United Nations system to determine which are effective, which are not, and how they can be improved. It will suggest innovative approaches to managing international issues and institutions, as well as putting forward recommendations for how the United States can exercise a stronger leadership role in bringing about constructive change.

## 2 POLICY STUDIES

UNA-USA's Parallel Studies Programs with the Soviet Union, Japan, and the People's Republic of China involve highly placed individuals in these countries in discussions of security and arms control issues, trends in the global economy, and the roles of regional and global organizations. Through joint and parallel policy-oriented publications, these discussions have had a direct input at the very highest levels in Washington, Moscow, Tokyo, and Peking.

In the United States, a series of meetings throughout the country based on the Parallel Studies Programs contributes to informed public dialogue on major foreign policy issues.

## 3 ECONOMIC POLICY COUNCIL

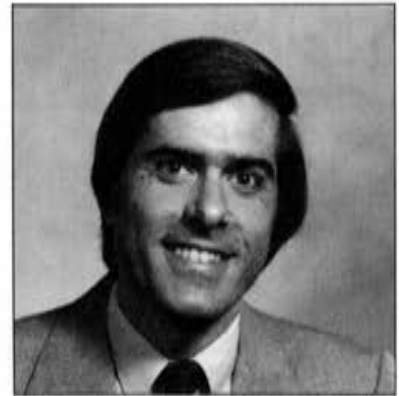
In order to enhance understanding of the evolving world economy and the US role in it, the Economic Policy Council (EPC) conducts panel studies on important international economic issues affecting long-term US relationships with both developed and developing countries. The EPC is the only major forum where labor, management, and representatives of the public sector work together in seeking solutions to critical problems such as employment, energy supply, terms of trade, the role of international financial institutions, and many others.

The reports and books produced by the Economic Policy Council are given serious attention at the highest levels of the US government, the United Nations, and various international economic institutions.

## 4 THE NATIONAL NETWORK

UNA-USA is represented in many hundreds of communities across the United States through its 175 chapters, the local units of its 130 affiliated national organizations, and over 1,000 UN Day committees. UNA also reaches over 55,000 students each year through Model UN conferences held in virtually every state of the Union.

The United Nations Association is in the forefront of foreign affairs organizations committed to the goal of involving citizens in the foreign policy process at both the grass-roots and national levels.

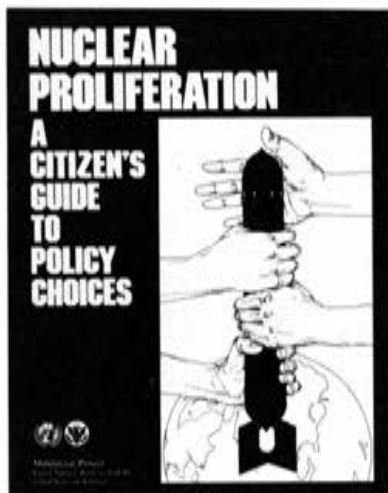


*Edward C. Luck, Executive Vice President through June 1984; President effective July 1984.*

As UNA-USA faces the challenges ahead, it has a tremendous opportunity to make a difference. As a constructive critic, the Association will project a pragmatic message about the United Nations. Reaching out to those who are disillusioned about the possibilities for multilateral cooperation, UNA will spur a search for innovative ways for the United States and the international community to respond to the tough choices before them.

UNA is fortunate that Robert M. Ratner has built up a deep reservoir of highly capable lay leaders and staff, who are ready to meet these challenges. With its 1983 restructuring, the Association is in a position to do more with less, practicing fiscal restraint and integrating its field and research programs even as it enhances its reputation as one of America's most influential foreign policy organizations.





*This resource book on nonproliferation was used extensively by the participants in UNA's new annual study project on multilateral issues.*

*The Advisory Group  
for Multilateral Studies*

Matthew Nimetz, Chairman  
Lincoln P. Bloomfield  
Sybil S. Craig  
Richard N. Gardner  
Catherine Gwin  
J. Bryan Hehir  
Robert D. Hormats  
Harold K. Jacobson  
Monroe Leigh  
Frank E. Loy  
Jessica Tuchman Mathews  
Charles William Maynes  
Donald F. McHenry  
William S. Norman  
Harvey Picker  
J. Stanley Pottinger  
Edward G. Sanders  
Joan Spero  
Larry N. Stern  
William J. vanden Heuvel

This newest of UNA-USA programs trains an objective eye on international institutions in order to ask: what is working and what is not?

## 1 THE MULTILATERAL PROJECT

Growing complexity and interdependence are now familiar hallmarks of contemporary international relations. Yet the international system so far has been unable to manage the myriad global problems that disrupt international life—violent interstate conflict, the growth of nuclear arsenals, economic instability and growing debt burdens, food shortages, refugee flows, environmental decay, and population growth.

The Multilateral Project is designed to stimulate policymakers and the public to consider the often-overlooked multilateral option as a way to manage peacefully this new global complexity. The program, launched in mid-1983, is undertaking policy-oriented studies, public education projects, media programs, and meetings with congressional and administration leaders to consider the advantages and disadvantages of multilateral approaches to global problems.

### **The Annual Study Project for 1984 Nuclear Proliferation: The International Community's Response**

Each year, the program undertakes a national study involving local UNA groups throughout the country. In 1983-84, the topic is nuclear nonproliferation and ways of enhancing the role of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in slowing the spread of nuclear weapons. A background resource book (*Nuclear Proliferation: A Citizen's Guide to Policy Choices*) has been prepared for the use of the participants.

The Advisory Group, chaired by Matthew Nimetz, former Under Secretary of State and Partner, Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison, is cooperating with local UNA chapters to develop options for strengthening the critically important nonproliferation regime.

Each year, the final report will be presented to top administration officials, congressional representatives, the United Nations Secretariat, and relevant UN agencies by the members of UNA's Executive Council, headed by Elliot L. Richardson, Chairman of the Association.



*Matthew Nimetz, Chairman of The Advisory Group for Multilateral Studies, with Elliot L. Richardson, Chairman of the Multilateral Project's Executive Council.*

## Ongoing Studies

In addition to the annual study topic, the Multilateral Project will conduct long-term studies in two areas of particular interest to the US Congress and the public:

**UN finance and management.** Discontent with the size of the UN budget and bureaucracy, its personnel policies, and its program priorities has prompted increasingly strident criticism of the United Nations in the United States. Yet there has been little objective study of how the United Nations conducts its business. Through the Multilateral Project, UNA will begin an in-depth inquiry into UN administration and budget matters within the Secretariat and the specialized agencies.

**Local conflicts and total war.** Today's concern over the prospect of nuclear confrontation between the superpowers has not been accompanied by fresh thinking about ways to contain local conflicts to eliminate the possibility of escalation into global confrontation. Even less thought has been given to the role of international institutions in the effort to prevent, insulate, and resolve local conflicts. This critical area of study will be the focus of the Multilateral Project's second long-term inquiry.

*The Multilateral Project  
Executive Council*

*Elliot L. Richardson  
Chairman of the Association*

*Robert O. Anderson  
Chairman of the  
Economic Policy Council*

*R. Carroll Cannon  
Chairman of the Council of  
Chapter and Division Presidents*

*Orville L. Freeman  
Chairman of the Board of Governors*

*Matthew Nimetz  
Chairman of the Advisory Group for  
Multilateral Studies*

*Joseph S. Nye, Jr.  
Member of the Policy Studies Committee*

*Edith Segall  
Chairman of the Council of  
UN Representatives and  
Member of the Board of Governors*

*Cyrus R. Vance  
Chairman of the National Council*



*Robert V. Roosa, Chairman of  
UNA-USA's Policy Studies  
Committee.*

Through UNA-USA's unique series of dialogues with Soviet, Chinese, and Japanese organizations, ways are being found to bridge the different perspectives of the world's most powerful countries.

## **2** POLICY STUDIES

International problem-solving begins with an understanding of the power relationships among the major international actors. It also includes an examination of key economic security and arms control issues that affect both large and small countries.

A unique series of Parallel Studies Programs with the USSR, Japan, and the People's Republic of China provides an invaluable opportunity to explore the multilateral dimensions of key issues on these countries' agendas. Given UNA's access to high-level policymakers in Washington, such off-the-record discussions have on numerous occasions served to facilitate progress on contentious issues.

Another UNA-USA Policy Studies Program, "Multilateral Approaches to Arms Control," served to encourage a frank reexamination of the international community's handling of disarmament negotiations. Smaller meetings involving UN diplomats and former policymakers have provided a forum for airing different approaches to international problems and a mechanism through which alternatives can be broached.

Outreach programs seek to combine the expertise of American participants with local talents in order to develop a citizenry more fully informed on the choices facing US policymakers.

## **THE PARALLEL STUDIES PROGRAM WITH THE SOVIET UNION**

UNA's Soviet-American Parallel Studies Program, founded in 1968, is one of the longest-running and most influential private channels of communication between the superpowers. It has been the source for many new initiatives in arms control and economic relations, as well as a channel for clarifying the points of difference between the two superpowers. Meetings of the two panels have focused on issues ranging from concepts of strategic stability, nuclear nonproliferation, and weapons in outer space to bilat-

### *Policy Studies Committee*

Robert V. Roosa, Chairman

Christine Beshar

Harlan Cleveland

Gaylord Freeman

Ernest E. Gross

John Hazard

Elmore Jackson

Joseph E. Johnson

Harry Knight

Porter McKeever

Joseph S. Nye, Jr.

John B. Oakes

Jean Picker

Robert A. Scalapino

Joseph E. Slater

Gillian M. Sorensen

Phillips Talbot

Dolores Wharton



*Ambassador Walter J. Stoessel, Jr., Chairman of UNA's Parallel Studies Program with the Soviet Union, and Ambassador Elliot L. Richardson talking with Georgy A. Arbatov, Director of the USSR's Institute on US and Canadian Studies and Chairman of the Soviet delegation to the January 1983 Moscow meeting on security and arms control.*

eral and global economic problems. An intensive series of US panel meetings and background papers ensures that the American participants are thoroughly prepared to discuss these complex issues.

Two meetings were held in Moscow in 1983: one on bilateral and global economic problems and the other on arms control and security issues. In recent years, the discussions have had an increasingly "global" character, focusing on such themes as the interrelationship between the security policies and arms control objectives of each side or the impact of domestic economic policies on international stability.

The Chairman of the American panel is Walter J. Stoessel, Jr., formerly Deputy Secretary of State and Ambassador to the USSR, Poland, and the Federal Republic of Germany. The Economic Subpanel is chaired by Robert V. Roosa, partner at Brown Brothers Harriman & Company. The American side is composed entirely of private individuals, many of whom have served at high levels in the US government.

Most of the Soviet participants are from the research institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences, government ministries, or the Communist Party's Central Committee Staff.

With the suspension of many government-to-government negotiations, including those on strategic and intermediate nuclear weapons, UNA's nongovernmental channel plays a critical role in keeping channels of communication open for both sides.

## THE MAJOR POWERS IN EAST ASIA PROGRAM

Security, political, and economic decisions made in Washington, Tokyo, and Peking are critical determinants of international stability in East Asia. For this reason, the series of UNA-sponsored exchanges can make a meaningful contribution to expanding the potential for bilateral and multilateral cooperation in resolving global problems.

The next round of bilateral US-Japanese and US-Chinese meetings on key security and economic issues will culminate in an unprecedented trilateral Japanese-Chinese-American conference. To be chaired by Governor William W. Scranton, this conference will be devoted to a discussion of political and security relations among the major powers in the region.

Walter J. Stoessel, Jr.  
Chairman  
of the US Parallel Studies Program  
with the Soviet Union

### *Economics Panel*

Robert V. Roosa  
Panel Chairman

William Diebold, Jr.  
Arthur T. Downey  
James H. Giffen  
Ray A. Goldberg  
Marshall I. Goldman  
Donald W. Green  
John P. Hardt  
Jerome Jacobson  
Juanita Kreps  
Richard D. Lombard  
Mark K. Maged  
Claudine B. Malone  
John R. Petty  
Paula Stern  
Alexander B. Trowbridge

### *Arms Control/Security Panel*

Walter J. Stoessel, Jr.  
Panel Chairman

William Beecher  
Lincoln P. Bloomfield  
Harold Brown  
Barry E. Carter  
Gen. Russell E. Dougherty  
Richard N. Gardner  
Vernon Jordan  
Robert Kleiman  
Vice Adm. Gerald E. Miller  
Joseph S. Nye, Jr.  
Stanley R. Resor  
Olin C. Robison  
Ruth A. Roosa  
Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft  
Ivan Selin  
Helmut Sonnenfeldt





*Governor William W. Scranton, overall Chairman of UNA's program, "The Major Powers in East Asia."*

*Ambassador Richard L. Sneider, Chairman of the Parallel Studies Program with Japan, cochairs a meeting of the American and Japanese panels with Ambassador Shizuo Saito, formerly Japan's Ambassador to the United Nations and now head of the Asia Pacific Association, UNA's counterpart panel in Japan.*

*Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft, Chairman of UNA's Parallel Studies Program with China, in conversation with Chinese Defense Minister Zhang Aiping during a recent joint meeting in Peking.*

## Japanese-American Parallel Studies Program

In 1983, the US-Japanese Parallel Studies Program published an influential report on bilateral security issues, *The Japanese-American Alliance: A Framework for the Future*. The report was hailed by US Secretary of State George P. Shultz for its impressive "scholarship and analysis...[and] well-conceived conclusions and recommendations." Congressman Samuel S. Stratton, a member of the panel, presented the report to Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone.

Outreach programs involving prominent members of the UNA group and Japanese government representatives were held in Rochester and Minneapolis. These well-attended sessions brought the conclusions of the study to community leaders, educators, journalists, and local UNA chapters.

## Chinese-American Parallel Studies Program

The Chinese-American Parallel Studies Program adds a significant new dimension to UNA's program of bilateral dialogues. Headed by Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft, the American panel held meetings in China and the United States with the Beijing Institute for International Strategic Studies, representatives of other foreign affairs institutes, and high-level officials from the Defense Ministry, the Foreign Ministry, and the People's Liberation Army. Close contacts with the Chinese Mission to the United Nations have provided a continuous exchange of views on a variety of key questions.



# UNA-USA's Economic Policy Council unites American business and labor in a constructive search for joint solutions to new international economic challenges.



*Robert O. Anderson, Chairman of UNA's Economic Policy Council and Chairman, Atlantic Richfield Company, and EPC member Douglas Fraser, President Emeritus, International Union-United Auto Workers.*

## 3 THE ECONOMIC POLICY COUNCIL

The Economic Policy Council (EPC) was created in 1976 in response to the turbulent international economic scene of the early 1970's. Its mission is to orchestrate a systematic and constructive involvement by the American private sector in international economic problems. The EPC has over one hundred members, whose voluntary contributions, along with foundation grants, provide the funding for the Council's operations. The EPC is committed to representing the views of both management and labor, and it works in close cooperation with economists and other professionals to analyze international economic problems facing the United States and to develop policy recommendations.

Each year, the EPC divides into three panels that study critical international economic issues. The results of these panel studies are then published and presented to officials in the US government, the United Nations, and other international organizations.

The Economic Policy Council is one of the most innovative labor and management groups working in the area of international economic policy. Given the intensity of the domestic policy debates and the seriousness of global economic problems, the accumulated expertise of the EPC will continue to play a crucial role in the policy arena in the years ahead.

### *EPC Chairman*

*Robert O. Anderson  
Chairman of the Board  
Atlantic Richfield Company*

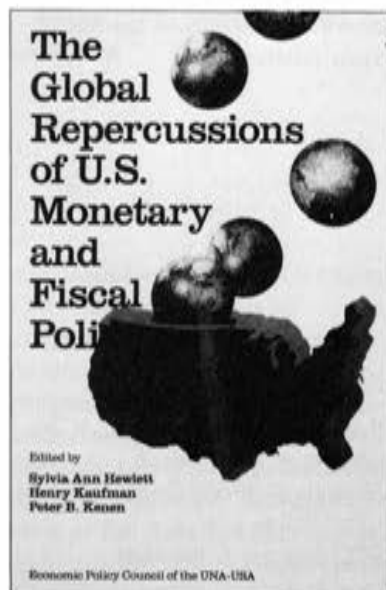
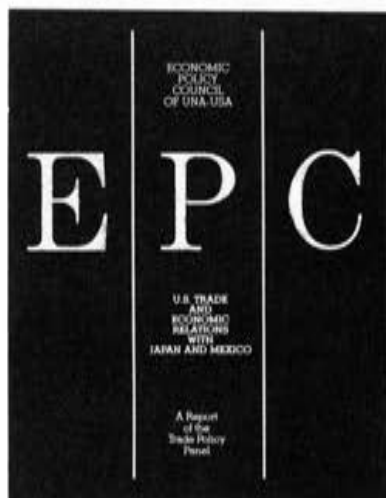
### *EPC Steering Committee*

*Charles F. Barber  
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*Henry Kaufman  
Executive Director and  
Member of the Executive  
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*Ray Marshall  
Bernard Rapoport Professor of  
Economic and Public Affairs  
University of Texas at Austin  
Former Secretary of Labor*

*Jack Sheinkman  
Secretary-Treasurer  
Amalgamated Clothing and  
Textile Workers Union,  
AFL-CIO*



## **The Productivity Problem: U.S. Labor-Management Relations**

Productivity has become an issue of global concern. However, the key role that labor-management relations play in productivity has often been neglected. Thus, EPC's Productivity Panel, cochaired by Ray Marshall (former US Secretary of Labor) and Richard Schubert (President, American Red Cross), has concentrated on the impact of industrial-relations and worker-participation programs on productivity. In the final report, issued in 1983, case studies served to illustrate a generic quality-of-work-life and productivity model for the US firm.

## **U.S. Trade and Economic Relations with Japan and Mexico**

US trade with Japan and Mexico reflects two critical and contrasting patterns of economic relations. The 1983 report of the panel, cochaired by Robert Ingersoll (former US Ambassador to Japan) and Lynn Williams (President, United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO-CLC) sheds light on the trade difficulties that the United States is experiencing with these two countries and the significance that these problems have for broader US trade concerns.

## **The Global Repercussions of U.S. Monetary and Fiscal Policy**

The lack of congruence between US monetary and fiscal policy over the last few years has produced extensive international and domestic economic dislocations. This panel, cochaired by Henry Kaufman (Executive Director and Member of the Executive Committee, Salomon Brothers Inc) and Peter Kenen (Walker Professor of Economics and International Finance, Princeton University) is reviewing the policy implications of international economic linkages to determine the extent to which domestic US macroeconomic policies should take into account international developments. The final report and a book of analytic essays will be released in September 1984.

## New Projects

The EPC launched two new panel studies during 1983 as part of its world employment project. "Jobs in the 1980's," cochaired by John Filer (Chairman of Aetna Life and Casualty Company) and Douglas Fraser (President Emeritus of the International Union-United Auto Workers, AFL-CIO) will examine the changing structures of jobs in the United States and other industrial nations. "Parents and Work: Family Policy in Comparative Perspective," cochaired by Alice Ilchman (President of Sarah Lawrence College) and John Sweeney (International President of the Service Employees International Union, AFL-CIO), will examine international employment disparities and the increasing tension between work and family life in order to compare how different societies are handling these problems.

## Plenary Session (1983)

Each year, the EPC holds a Plenary Session at which Council members interact with US cabinet-level officials, legislators, and leaders of multilateral international institutions. Recent speakers have included President of the World Bank A.W. Clausen, US Trade Representative William E. Brock, Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger, Secretary of Commerce Malcolm Baldrige, Under Secretary of the Treasury for Monetary Affairs Beryl W. Sprinkel, and several US senators and representatives.

The October 1983 Plenary was initiated with a dinner on Capitol Hill, where the Council released two studies and met with key congressional and administration figures. This was followed by a full-day session at which the Council was addressed by President Emeritus of the International Union-United Auto Workers Douglas Fraser, Executive Director of Salomon Brothers Henry Kaufman, Chairman of Atlantic Richfield Robert O. Anderson, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers Martin Feldstein, and others. The Plenary concluded with a dinner at the International Monetary Fund, where the Council met with the Fund's Managing Director, Jacques de Larosière.



*Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund Jacques de Larosière addressing the 1983 EPC Plenary.*



*Henry Kaufman and Katherine Graham, both EPC members, talking with Martin Feldstein, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers.*





*R. Carroll Cannon of San Diego  
with Edward Winn of Dallas.*

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and Division Presidents  
(CCDP)  
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(UNA of Greater Oklahoma City,  
Southwestern Division)

Edward Winn  
(Dallas Chapter)

Among US nongovernmental organizations concerned with international affairs, UNA-USA is the only one with outreach into every part of the country.

## 4 THE NATIONAL NETWORK

UNA-USA's 23,000 members are organized into chapters and divisions that are the focal points in 175 communities for activities related to international issues. In 1983, for example:

■ The Iowa Division undertook a series of public forums in nine locations throughout the state focusing on "The United Nations on Trial in a Nuclear World."

■ In Florida, the UNA Division cosponsored with Florida State University a major conference entitled "The UN and the Americas Toward the Year 2000."

■ Many chapters and divisions provided special assistance to Model UN programs.

■ Chapters in Boston and Washington, DC sponsored career forums for students attending universities in the area.

Thirty chapters participated in a national study devoted to the examination of US options in international organizations. Their conclusions were brought together and published in a report entitled *Shaping the Global Agenda: Priorities for US Policy in International Organizations*.

## Council of Organizations

UNA-USA's Council of Organizations, encompassing over 130 national voluntary associations, represents a broad spectrum of American citizens' interests. It includes religious, educational, human rights, arms control, labor, environmental, population, health, and women's and men's organizations with a combined membership of millions. By supplying affiliated organizations with information, materials, and program guidance, UNA brings education on these issues to their members.

Among the outstanding programs arranged by UNA for cooperating organizations is the annual "Lions Day at the United Nations." In March 1983, District Governors of Lions Clubs from all over the world came to a full-day seminar in which the Secretary-General, high-level UN officials, and ambassadors from UN member nations participated. The League of

Women Voters of the United States worked closely with UNA on the local level during its 1983 study program on national security. The National Education Association became the co-publisher with UNA of *A Teacher's Guide to Model United Nations*.

### **Conference of UN Representatives**

UNA-USA's Conference of UN Representatives consists of United Nations Observers appointed by national organizations. Briefings arranged by the Conference of UN Representatives give members the opportunity to formulate their views of issues on the UN agenda and to present them to their own organizations and to US and UN officials.

### **Council of Washington Representatives on the UN**

UNA-USA's Council of Washington Representatives on the UN brings together representatives of Washington-based members of the Council of Organizations. In frequent meetings, US action as it affects the United Nations is explained by high-level government and UN officials. Programs during 1983 featured Charles van Doren on nuclear proliferation, Adly Abdul-Maguid on third world development, Senator Charles H. Percy on arms control, and Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs Gregory J. Newell on US-UN relations.

## **THE MULTILATERAL PROJECT, POLICY STUDIES, AND ECONOMIC POLICY COUNCIL IN THE FIELD**

Combining the resources of all of its programs, UNA-USA seeks to frame the issues of the day for Americans all over the country.

### **EPC**

The Economic Policy Council, through its annual Plenary Session in Washington and outreach programs in cities as diverse as Houston and Chicago, brings to the American public a greater understanding of the complex economic forces at work in the world.

### **Policy Studies**

UNA-USA's Policy Studies Program has sponsored forums in Rochester and Minneapolis focusing on US and Japanese strategic interests in Asia, and has brought top Soviet officials to Florida for meetings on bilateral and global economic relations.

### **Multilateral Project**

Over thirty UNA-USA chapters, together with the Conference of UN Representatives and the Council of Washington Representatives on the UN, are participating in a national study of nuclear proliferation as part of the Association's new Multilateral Project. The program involves hundreds of participants across the country.



*Edith B. Segall  
Chairman, Conference of UN  
Representatives.*



*Marylou Righini  
Chairman, Council of  
Washington Representatives on  
the UN.*

*New York City Mayor Edward I. Koch before a Houston audience gathered for an EPC-sponsored program.*



*Viola Purvis of the Greater Orlando Chapter greets Georgy Skorov, a long-time Soviet participant in UNA's Parallel Studies Program with the USSR.*



*Ambassador James F. Leonard, Chairman, with committee members Harold K. Jacobson and Barry Carter at a Substantive Issues Committee meeting of the UNA Convention.*



## UNA-USA's 1983 NATIONAL CONVENTION

Representatives of UNA-USA's entire constituency gathered at Marymount College in Tarrytown, New York in May 1983 to review the three years since the last Convention and to set UNA's course for the future.

Convention delegates, representing UNA's chapters, divisions, affiliated organizations, Board of Directors, and National Council, held three days of substantive meetings at Tarrytown and the fourth at a full-day seminar at the United Nations. Swedish Under Secretary of State Inga Thorsson gave the keynote address. Under the chairmanship of Ambassador James F. Leonard, the delegates debated statements on three substantive issues: the arms race, US participation in the United Nations, and the Law of the Sea. A Model UN Security Council session was especially developed for Convention participants. Outstanding speakers, such as Elliot L. Richardson, Orville L. Freeman, Richard N. Gardner, Jonathan B. Bingham, and David O. Beim, added much to the success of the National Convention.

A reception at the United States Mission to the United Nations, hosted by Ambassador Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, the US Permanent Representative to the United Nations, ended the Convention delegates' stay in New York.

The next National Convention will be held in April 1985. To commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, a National Convocation at the United Nations will be held just prior to the opening of the Convention itself.



*Former Senator Warren G. Magnuson and Dr. Brewster Denny cochairing a session of the Seattle, Washington study group on nuclear proliferation.*



*Delegates wait their turn to address a plenary session of the 1983 Convention.*



**ARMS CONTROL:  
THE MULTILATERAL  
ALTERNATIVE**

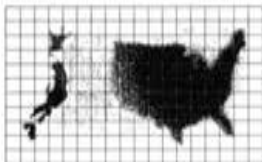
EDITED BY  
EDWARD C. LUCK

A UNA-USA BOOK

**THE US, THE UN,  
AND THE  
MANAGEMENT OF  
GLOBAL CHANGE**

EDITED BY  
TOBY TRISTER GATI

A UNA-USA BOOK



**THE  
JAPANESE-AMERICAN  
ALLIANCE:**  
A FRAMEWORK FOR THE FUTURE

**SHAPING THE  
GLOBAL AGENDA:**

Priorities for US Policy  
In International Organizations

A report by the United Nations Association  
of the United States of America, its Chapters  
and affiliated organizations, published  
as part of its Program on Multilateral Issues  
and Institutions.

UNA-USA reaches scholars, students, policymakers, diplomats, editors and journalists, community leaders, and concerned citizens through a wide range of published materials.

**UNA-USA Books: New Titles**

In 1983, the UNA-USA Policy Studies Book Series, published by New York University Press, brought out the fifth and sixth volumes in the series. Each book in the series is derived from ongoing UNA-USA studies programs and contains in-depth analyses of the problems under study.

*Arms Control: The Multilateral Alternative*, edited by Edward C. Luck, provides the first comprehensive examination of the problems facing the international community in dealing with the nuclear and conventional arms buildup.

*The US, the UN, and the Management of Global Change*, edited by Toby Trister Gati, provides the first critical examination of US policy in international organizations since the Reagan Administration assumed office. Already in its second printing, the book is used extensively in colleges and universities throughout the country.

Past titles in the UNA series have included:

*The Future of US-China Relations*, edited by John Bryan Starr, 1981, 270 pp.

*The Politics of Human Rights*, edited by Paula R. Newberg, 1981, 287 pp.

*Disaster Assistance: Appraisal, Reform and New Approaches*, edited by Lynn H. Stephens and Stephen J. Green, 1979, 336 pp.

*The New International Economic Order: A US Response*, edited by David B.H. Denoon, 1979, 346 pp.

**Policy Research Reports: New Titles**

*The Japanese-American Alliance: A Framework for the Future*, Chairmen: Richard L. Sneider and Michitoshi Takahashi, 1983, 48 pp.

*U.S. Trade and Economic Relations with Japan and Mexico*, Chairmen: Robert S. Ingersoll and Lynn R. Williams, 1983, 136 pp.

*The Productivity Problem: U.S. Labor-Management Relations*, Chairmen: Ray Marshall and Richard F. Schubert, 1983, 226 pp.

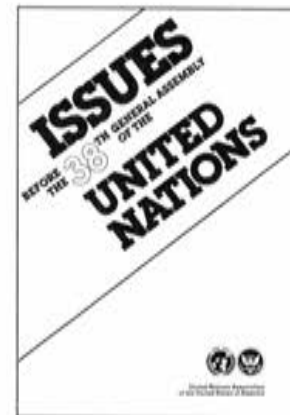
*Shaping the Global Agenda: Priorities for US Policy in International Organizations*, 1983, 44 pp.

## Issues Before the 38th General Assembly of the United Nations

UNA's annual book *Issues Before the General Assembly of the United Nations* is an essential reference manual for UN-based diplomats and journalists, as well as scholars in the United States and abroad. The book is at once a global political survey and a guide to the complex agenda of the United Nations.

The 164-page 1983 volume sold over 9,000 copies in paperback. It was ordered by the UN missions of more than 50 countries; was suggested or required reading in courses at approximately 100 colleges and universities; and served as the basic briefing book for Model United Nations conferences around the country.

For the fifth consecutive year, the Editor of the 1983 *Issues* book was Professor Donald J. Puchala of the University of South Carolina's Institute for International Studies. Twenty-nine authors contributed to the volume, which is published in both softcover and hardcover editions.



## The Inter Dependent

*The Inter Dependent* does trend-spotting reporting and news analysis on a wide range of global issues. The bimonthly newspaper, in tabloid format, had a typical circulation of 24,000 in 1983. The March/April issue, which reached 82,000 readers, featured a four-page supplement on the World Bank and was distributed to the list of The Experiment in International Living as part of a cooperative venture.

The paper regularly features exclusive interviews with key international figures. In 1983, these included UN Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, Senator Nancy L. Kassebaum, J. Bryan Hehir of the US Catholic Conference, Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft, World Bank President A.W. Clausen, and Princeton economist Peter B. Kenen.



## Washington Weekly Report

The Washington Office publishes the *Washington Weekly Report*, which reviews current developments in Congress affecting the United Nations system and multilateral institutions in general. Featuring special issues, legislative updates, and ongoing analyses of congressional and administration policymaking on US participation in the United Nations, the publication is widely read in the private sector, in Congress, in the executive branch, in embassies, and at the United Nations. In addition, the *Washington Weekly Report* is indispensable to keeping the UNA chapter and national organization network abreast of developments that affect policymaking.

The *Weekly Report* marked its ninth year of publication in 1983, covering such issues as foreign aid legislation and UN funding, the administration's internal debate over the Law of the Sea Treaty, funding the International Monetary Fund, and the US contribution to the seventh replenishment of the International Development Association.



UNA-USA is widely recognized by the international educational community as an invaluable source of information for teaching about the United Nations.

### **Global Education, Model UNs, and Youth**

One of UNA-USA's major concerns is outreach to educators and students. In collaboration with the National Education Association, UNA expanded the series of publications aimed at bringing UN issues into the classroom with *A Teacher's Guide to Model United Nations*. Past publications in the series have included *ABCs of the UN*, *Teaching About the United Nations*, and *Partnerships in Meeting Basic Needs*. All chapters work closely with school administrators and teachers, many of whom are UNA members.

### **Model UN Survival Kit**

UNA's Model UN Survival Kit, produced by UNA's Model UN & Youth Department, contains materials essential for participation in Model UN conferences. The centerpiece of the kit is the *Guide to Delegate Preparation*. Updated annually, the *Guide* gives the background of the issues being discussed at the United Nations, as well as a voting record on the General Assembly's major resolutions. A complete bibliography of resources for further research and an introduction for first-time delegates is included. In addition to the *Guide*, the Survival Kit contains a copy of UNA's publication *Issues Before the General Assembly of the United Nations*, plus basic UN information.

*Former US Deputy Representative on the Security Council Richard W. Petree addressing the National High School Model UN meeting in the UN General Assembly Hall.*



## UNA Chapter Manual

In its guide for chapter operations, the Field Department of UNA provides information on programming activities, press contacts, congressional relations, community outreach, and fund raising. The manual has proved to be a very useful tool for establishing new UNA chapters and for stimulating community activities of existing chapters.

## Fact Sheets

UNA disseminates objective information on UN-related matters and international affairs for chapters and divisions, affiliated organizations, educators, and student groups through a series of short one- or two-page papers outlining the role of the United Nations on a particular topic. In addition to recent fact sheets on arms control, the environment, and the Year of the Aging, UNA in 1983 published three new fact sheets, on the UN and human rights, the International Decade for Women, and the United Nations World Communications Year.

Two of the more popular fact sheets, on UN structure and US contributions to the UN, were updated, with new information provided on each topic.

UNA-USA brings accurate information to the American public, policymakers, and the media on the many difficult issues that make up today's complex international agenda.

## The Washington Office

UNA-USA maintains a high profile in Washington through information programs carried out by its Washington Office. The Office is a resource for and liaison with administration and congressional staff, national organizations based in the capital, and UNA chapters around the country. While UNA is not a lobbying organization (it is incorporated under Chapter 501 (c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code), the Washington Office monitors and analyzes developments that affect US policy toward multilateral institutions. This information is published in a newsletter, *Washington Weekly Report*, and disseminated through special events such as speaker programs and briefings.



*UNA-USA regularly produces fact sheets on timely global topics for wide distribution among the US public and press.*





*Edward J. Derwinski, Counselor of the Department of State, chats with Senator Paul Laxalt of Nevada at a UNA reception. The 1983 event, organized by the UNA Washington Office, honored Derwinski for his years of support for the humanitarian work of the United Nations while a Congressman from Illinois.*

A principal activity of the Washington Office is an ongoing series of congressional briefings featuring discussions by administration or UN officials of specific UN programs and US participation in them. These breakfast or luncheon events, cosponsored by the Stanley Foundation of Muscatine, Iowa, are well attended by members of Congress and their staffs as well as by State Department personnel. Guest speakers in 1983 included Olara Otunnu, Uganda's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, UN Under-Secretary-General William B. Buffum, and *Washington Post* UN correspondent Michael J. Berlin.

### **The Public Information Service**

UNA's Public Information Service answers inquiries on the United Nations from the public and press, and provides background material on UN-related topics. One of its most important activities is the Editors' Seminar at the United Nations, held annually on the day before and the day of the opening of the regular session of the UN General Assembly. In 1983, at the ninth annual seminar, close to eighty editors, editorial writers, and broadcasters participated in the sessions. They met with UN Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar and US Ambassador to the United Nations Jeane J. Kirkpatrick and were then briefed by Under-Secretary-General Brian Urquhart, West German Ambassador to the United Nations Guenther van Well, Executive Director of the United Nations Fund for Population Activities Rafael Salas, and other high-ranking members of the international community.



*William S. Woodside, Chairman, UNA Corporate Council for International Policy; Chairman, American Can Company.*

## **The Corporate Council for International Policy (CCIP) monitors global trends for America's business leaders.**

### **CCIP—Corporate Leaders In Support Of UNA**

The Corporate Council for International Policy offers business leaders an overview of the range of programs and panels that emanate from UNA. In addition to keeping members abreast of the Association's work, the CCIP keeps its members up-to-date on issues affecting national and international business. One-page bulletins that synthesize longer policy reports produced by the research units of UNA are distributed on a regular basis to CCIP members with complete reports made available to those who want further details on the issues. Bulletins and meetings also cover timely issues of direct concern to the corporate membership. CCIP members and

guests also regularly meet with national and international leaders for off-the-record discussions. Members host CCIP's dinner and luncheon meetings of approximately 25 corporate leaders.

CCIP members both draw on and support the UNA. Support for UNA's policy research work comes from an annual membership contribution.

Topics and speakers for the series in 1983 included:

*The Situation in Afghanistan:* Diego Cordovez, UN Under-Secretary-General and the Secretary-General's personal negotiator for Afghanistan.

Host: William Woodside, Chairman, American Can Company.

*Farm Policy Linkages to the International Marketplace:* John R. Block, Secretary of Agriculture.

Host: Michel Marks, Chairman, New York Mercantile Exchange.

*International Telecommunications:* Richard R. Colino, Director General, International Telecommunications Satellite Organization, INTELSAT.

Host: Irving Goldstein, President, Comsat.

*The Japanese-American Alliance:* Richard L. Sneider, former Ambassador to Korea and Chairman of the UNA Parallel Studies Program with Japan.

Host: William Woodside, Chairman, American Can Company.

*Labor-Management Relations—Key to Increased Productivity:* Ray Marshall, former Secretary of Labor, Cochairman of UNA's Panel on Productivity.

Host: John Bierwirth, Chairman, Grumman Corporation.

*The MX Commission and Arms Control:* Brent Scowcroft, Chairman, President's Commission on Strategic Forces, and Chairman of UNA's Parallel Studies Program with China.

Host: Ivan Selin, Chairman of the Board, American Management Systems, Inc.

*US-Mexico Trade Relations:* Guy F. Erb, Chairman, US-Mexico Policy Committee.

Host: Paul Henson, Chairman, United Telecommunications.

*The US Role in Central America:* John Silber, member, The President's National Bipartisan Commission on Central America.

Host: Sam F. Segnar, Chairman and CEO, Internorth, Inc.

*US-Soviet Relations—Defense:* Helmut Sonnenfeldt, Guest Scholar, Brookings Institution.

Host: Charles G. Steele, Chairman and CEO, Deloitte Haskins & Sells.

*Economics and US-Soviet Relations:* James H. Giffen, Corporate Vice President, Armco Inc., and American Chairman at the meeting of the UNA US-Soviet Parallel Studies meeting in Moscow (March 1983).

Host: John R. Petty, Chairman, Marine Midland Bank NA.

*The Corporate Council  
for International Policy (CCIP)*

William S. Woodside, Chairman

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UN DAY CHAIRMEN,  
BY APPOINTMENT OF THE  
PRESIDENT OF THE USA



1983  
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*President, AT&T*



1984  
**Theodore A. Burtis**  
*Chairman, Sun Company, Inc.*

UNA-USA sponsors special events to bring the work of the United Nations to the attention of the public.

### THE NATIONAL UN DAY PROGRAM

Beginning with President Truman, each President of the United States has issued a Proclamation in observance of UN Day (October 24), the day the United Nations Charter came into force in 1945. To head the national observance, the President annually appoints a National UN Day Chairman, who, with the help of a National UN Day Committee, sees to it that the national UN Day program is carried out effectively. UNA supervises the nationwide program and supplies the necessary services and materials to assure its success.

In 1983, the President appointed William Ellinghaus, President of American Telephone and Telegraph Company, as National UN Day Chairman. In his report to the President, Mr. Ellinghaus noted that UN Day activities expressed "educated public concern for the principles of the UN and for America's participation in its programs."

In 1984 President Reagan appointed Theodore A. Burtis, Chairman of the Sun Company, Inc., as National UN Day Chairman.

### United Nations Ball

The Twenty-fifth Annual UN Ball was held in New York on October 14 in honor of the Secretary-General and the permanent representatives of UN member nations. Hamish Maxwell, President of Philip Morris International, was chairman of the event.

### UN Day Concert and Dinner

The annual UN Day Concert and Dinner in Washington was held on October 29 under the patronage of the President and Mrs. Reagan and of the Vice President and Mrs. Bush, with Secretary of State George P. Shultz serving as co-host along with the General Chairman, Thornton F. Bradshaw, Chairman of the RCA Corporation.

Honoring the heads of diplomatic missions accredited to the United States and saluting World Communications Year, the 1983 concert at the Kennedy Center in Washington was addressed by the Secretary of State and featured Ella Fitzgerald and the Paul Smith Trio. At a dinner-dance following the concert, the Vice President spoke to the 1,400 guests assembled at the Washington Hilton Hotel.



*UN ambassadors from all over the world attended the Twenty-fifth Annual UN Ball.*

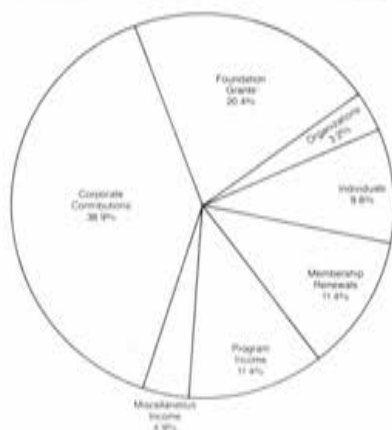


*Vice President George Bush addressed the 1983 UN Day dinner-dance in Washington, DC.*



*Ella Fitzgerald speaks with Vice President Bush after performing at the UN Day Concert at the Kennedy Center.*





**1983 Budget: \$3.2 million**

## UNA-USA sources of income

UNA's ambitious national program is supported by corporations, foundations, membership dues, and private contributions. Contributions to UNA-USA are tax-deductible.

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 Marine Midland Bank NA, Inc.  
 MCA Inc.  
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Mobil Oil Corporation  
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 International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace & Agricultural Implement Workers of America (UAW)  
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\*In order to respect the confidentiality of individual donors, personal contributions are not listed separately. The generosity of thousands of individuals has been critical to the financial and programmatic success of the Association over the year.



# UNA-USA, INC.

## FINANCIAL HIGHLIGHTS

Year Ended December 31, 1983\*

	Unrestricted	Restricted	Total	James S. McDonnell Permanent Reserve Fund
Financial Position:				
Total Assets	\$ 800,800	\$ 80,200	\$ 881,000	\$ 291,800
Total Liabilities	841,300	80,200	921,500	—
Fund Balance (Deficit)	(40,500)	—	(40,500)	291,800
General Support and Revenue:				
Contributions	698,500	728,300	1,426,800	—
Annual Special Events, Net	576,800	—	576,800	—
Membership Dues and Other	593,600	—	593,600	53,400
Transfer from James S. McDonnell Permanent Reserve Fund	845,600	—	845,600	(845,600)
	2,714,500	728,300	3,442,800	(792,200)
Expenses:				
Program Expenses	1,225,300	728,300	1,953,600	—
Supporting Expenses:				
Management and General Membership	506,900	—	506,900	—
Development and Fund Raising	554,300	—	554,300	—
Loss on Sale of Securities	—	—	—	53,300
	2,286,500	728,300	3,014,800	53,300
Excess of Income (Deficit) Over General Support and Revenue	428,000	—	428,000	(845,500)
Fund Balance (Deficit), Beginning of Year	(468,500)	—	(468,500)	1,137,300
Fund Balance (Deficit), End of Year	\$ (40,500)	—	\$ (40,500)	\$ 291,800

\*The complete financial statements with the report of Arthur Young, Certified Public Accountants, are available upon request.

Robert M. Ratner receiving the Touche-Ross "New Perspectives Award" for UNA's innovative approach to international problems from Russell E. Palmer, former Managing Partner and CEO of Touche Ross International.



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# United Nations Association of the United States of America

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(in addition to the Officers, Committee Chairmen, and Governors listed on pages 2-3)

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UNITED NATIONS HUMAN



NATIONEN MENSCHENRECHTE

FIRST DAY OF ISSUE - WFUNA CACHET  
World Federation of United Nations Associations

*Artwork by Swiss artist Hans Erni contributed to the WFUNA philately program.*

## "We the peoples of the United Nations..."

### World Federation of United Nations Associations (WFUNA)

UNA-USA is one of sixty-three national UN Associations that are affiliated with the World Federation of United Nations Associations (WFUNA). WFUNA, as an international nongovernmental organization in consultative status with the UN's Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), is UNA's door to the United Nations system. Through WFUNA, UNA can place items on the agenda of ECOSOC, thereby giving the Association a voice in that body.

UNA's Convention delegates, aware that WFUNA constitutes a "people's movement for the United Nations," voted in 1983 to allocate \$2 of each member's dues to help meet UNA-USA's assessed annual dues to WFUNA.

A UNA-USA delegation, headed by President-elect Edward C. Luck, participated in the 1983 WFUNA Plenary Assembly held in October in Geneva. A UNA paper on "The Role and Future of the United Nations" was submitted to a WFUNA Symposium on the Future of the UN held concurrently with the Plenary.

One of WFUNA's most successful fund-raising and educational efforts is its philatelic program. The world's most outstanding artists contribute designs for cachets to accompany UN stamps on the first day of issue. Hans Erni, noted Swiss painter, designed the cachet for the human rights stamp, commemorating the Thirty-fifth Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In the past, such noted artists as Salvador Dali, Joan Miro, Alexander Calder, and Andy Warhol have contributed their talents to First Day of Issue cachets issued by WFUNA.



The United Nations Association of the United States of America  
300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017  
(212) 697-3232



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# United Nations Association of the United States of America



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January 7, 1985

## MEMORANDUM

TO: Board of Governors

FROM: Edward C. Luck, President

SUBJECT: 1985 Meeting Dates and Minutes of November Meeting

Please note on the enclosed reply card which dates for 1985 Governors' meetings would be feasible for you. As in 1984, they will be held from 1:00 to 4:00 p.m. in our conference room. We are planning to hold meetings in March, June, October, and possibly December.

We would very much like to increase the average attendance at each of these meetings and hope that the use of this reply card will help by providing you a wider choice of dates. The December meeting, if it is held, will take place early in the morning just prior to the convening of the annual Board of Directors meeting. In this way, we hope to be able to increase attendance at the Directors meeting as well.

Also enclosed are draft minutes from the last Governors meeting on November 19th. Please let us know if you would suggest any changes.

Thanks very much for your cooperation and we are looking forward to working with you in what promises to be an exciting new year.

Vice President  
 Policy Studies  
 Toby Trister Gati

Vice President  
 Economic Studies  
 Sylvia Ann Hewlett

Vice President  
 Multilateral Studies  
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Assistant Treasurer  
 and Controller  
 Louis J. Provenzale

• President Emeritus Robert M. Ratner •

DRAFT MINUTES  
UNA BOARD OF GOVERNORS MEETING  
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1984  
1:00 to 4:00 p.m.

UNA CONFERENCE ROOM - 8th FLOOR

ELLIOT L. RICHARDSON - PRESIDING  
(For ORVILLE L. FREEMAN, CHAIRMAN)

Present: John C. Bierwirth, R. Carroll Cannon, Arthur T. Downey,  
Mary Hall, Harry W. Knight, Edward C. Luck, Leo Nevas,  
Jean Picker, Richard J. Schmeelk, Edith B. Segall,  
Ivan Selin, William vanden Heuvel.

Staff: Daniel F. Burton, Kevin Canavan, Peggy S. Carlin, Frederic  
Eckhard, Peter Fromuth, Toby Trister Gati, Louis Provenza,  
Robert M. Ratner, Richard B. Wiener, Patricia Wilber.

AGENDA ITEM I, MINUTES OF THE MEETING HELD ON SEPTEMBER 17th, 1984

The Chairman opened the meeting at 1:20 p.m. and called on the Secretary, William J. vanden Heuvel, to present the Minutes of the meeting held on September 17th. There being no changes or corrections, a motion was made, seconded, and approved to accept the Minutes.

The Chairman commented on UNA's very busy publishing season. In the last two months UNA has published 1) Ann Florini's briefing book, On the Front Lines: The United Nations' Role in Preventing and Containing Conflict; 2) UNA's first Annual Report; 3) a book edited by Henry Kaufman, Peter Kenen, and Sylvia Hewlett on The Global Repercussions of U.S. Monetary and Fiscal Policy; 4) a companion EPC panel report on the same subject; 5) Issues Before the 39th General Assembly; 6) an issue of The Inter Dependent; and 7) the report of the UNA/Brookings conference.

AGENDA ITEM II, UNA-USA'S MESSAGE

The Chairman pointed out that the Board had reviewed a statement, drafted by Ed Luck, at the meeting in September. The statement concerns UNA's general political posture in the US debate about the UN and is intended to clarify the overall message which the Association should convey regarding the UN and US relations with it. In general, the Board had been supportive of the statement but had asked that it be revised for further discussion at this session and for presentation to the Board of Directors in December. He then called on Ed Luck to comment on the revisions.

Mr. Luck explained that a statement about the utility of multilateral institutions and the need for US leadership in strengthening them has been added on page 1, in response to suggestions at the September meeting. Several Board members had recommended that the statement explain more fully

what UNA is trying to do, and this has been added. The discussion about why UNA needed a clearer message has been taken out, since that was not intended for wider audiences. He noted that the message has appeal to a mainstream audience. It will be sent to the Board of Directors before the December meeting.

After a discussion of possible minor revisions in the statement, it was agreed that Mr. Luck should prepare a final draft for submission to the Board of Directors.

#### AGENDA ITEM III, UNA-USA'S POSITION ON UNESCO

The Chairman noted that, by the end of next month, the United States must decide whether there has been sufficient change within UNESCO to justify remaining in the agency or whether the US will carry out its withdrawal as planned. Board member Arthur Ross is a member of the UNESCO Advisory Committee. Since UNA will no doubt be called upon to state its views on the situation, the Chairman called on Peter Fromuth to update the Board on how UNESCO has responded to various UNA recommendations made in May.

Mr. Fromuth summarized his memo about UNESCO, which is attached. He expressed the feeling that progress has been made on about half of the recommendations. He noted that some people in the State Department or on the monitoring panel feel that it is a good beginning. Nevertheless, a US withdrawal seems likely.

After a discussion of the matter, most Board members felt that the US should postpone its withdrawal for one year, if its allies would take a unified position under which they would stay or leave as a group at the end of 1985 depending on how much progress had been made. The Board agreed to take this position publicly if, after the staff had made soundings with the US Administration, it was clear that there was still some possibility of a postponement and the final decision to withdraw had not already been made.

#### AGENDA ITEM IV, REPORT FROM R. CARROLL CANNON ON THE STATE OF THE FIELD PROGRAM

The Chairman called on Carroll Cannon to comment on his tour of UNA chapters and divisions around the country. (A report is attached.)

Dr. Cannon said that the tour has been a very encouraging and rewarding experience. Much of the UNA leadership in the field is high quality but many of these people are involved in a number of things and UNA is not always on the top of the list. UNA in the field is moving forward, especially where there are state or regional organizations. If there was a skilled volunteer group in the field, it would be possible to have significant political impact in many states. Our constituents, moreover, need to be in touch with each other. When his trip is over in December, noted Dr. Cannon, he will send a summary of the tour to all the chapters with information about the activities of local and regional groups.

In the discussion that followed, it was pointed out that field involvement in the Multilateral Project was very successful. This has resulted in greater visibility in the communities.

Kevin Canavan reported that a survey was being done by the national office asking chapters to identify the most effective educational programs they have held. They are also being asked if they will be participating in the Multilateral Project study this year. Of the returns to date, most chapters indicated they will participate in the study again this year.

The Chairman expressed UNA's deep appreciation to Dr. and Mrs. Cannon for this major undertaking and for their strong dedication to the organization.

#### AGENDA ITEM V, REVIEW OF DRAFT 1985 BUDGET

A draft budget for 1985 had been distributed to the Board prior to the meeting. The Chairman noted that the Finance and Budget Committee, under Ivan Selin's chairmanship, met and discussed the draft budget in detail several weeks ago. After discussion today, it will be submitted to the Board of Directors in December for final approval. He then called on Mr. Luck and Dr. Selin to comment on it.

Mr. Luck explained that the overall figure for 1985 was below the average income of the Association for the last five years. There will be no major program cuts, but the staff will be allowed to shrink somewhat due to natural attrition and there will be only a modest amount available for raises.

He also announced that a member of the Board has offered to pay off the outstanding bills of the Association (\$250,000) providing UNA accepts two conditions: 1) the Association must remain current in the payment of its bills (30 - 60 days) and 2) the Association will not operate under a deficit for two years in succession.

Dr. Selin noted that the decision was made to budget only what was conservatively expected to be raised, except for the Multilateral Project, which is a new program and has a number of foundation proposals pending. He stated that it was time for UNA to achieve financial credibility and that this budget would be an important step in that direction.

After a brief discussion, a motion was made, seconded and approved to accept the budget as submitted. The Chairman, Dr. Selin and Mr. Luck joined in an expression of deep gratitude to the anonymous donor of the \$250,000 grant to the Association and pledged to meet the terms of the grant.

#### A. Fundraising Strategies for 1985

The Chairman then called on Robert Ratner to comment on the corporate and bequests campaigns.

Mr. Ratner said that the bequests campaign was moving along. Some individual contributors in the area are being personally contacted. He is trying to show that the Multilateral Project is the program that really needs funding right now and perhaps they will earmark funds for it.

The corporate campaign is just getting started. As a first step, John Petty has recruited several Board members to join this effort. A chairman

is needed for the campaign and Ted Turner will be asked to consider taking it on.

Mr. Ratner also noted that proposals have gone to Exxon and IBM and that both he and Mr. Luck are in contact with them.

#### B. Alternative Quarters for the National Office

As briefly discussed at the last Board meeting, UNA's lease will expire at the end of 1986. The Chairman reported that a number of possibilities are under consideration. Several foreign policy organizations have expressed interest in the idea of sharing space with UNA. Some board members should get together to look at this matter.

Mr. Wiener explained that UNA now pays \$14.00 per square foot. Most locations in the area are getting about \$30.00 per square foot. He has looked at property on 34th Street which is about \$18.50 per square foot but it will take over \$100,000 to convert it into usable office space.

Mr. Luck indicated that it has been helpful for the organization to be located near the United Nations.

A board member expressed some reservations about linking up with another foreign policy organization.

#### AGENDA ITEM VI, REVIEW OF OTHER MAJOR PROGRAMS

Due to a lack of time, the Chairman requested that this agenda item be passed over.

#### AGENDA ITEM VII, OTHER BUSINESS

A. The Chairman reminded the members that the Annual Board of Directors meeting will be held on Monday, December 3rd, at the United Engineering Center.

B. Mrs. Carlin noted that the UNA convention will start on April 29th and run through May 1st.

The Chairman adjourned the meeting at 4:00 p.m.



UNA-USA  
Interoffice Communication

TO: Ed Luck

DATE: November 18, 1984

FROM: Peter Fromuth

APPROVED:

SUBJECT: UNA's Proposals and UNESCO's Performance:  
A Preliminary Balance Sheet

In our testimony on May 2nd, we called upon UNESCO to consider measures it could usefully adopt this year and others for implementation over the longer term.

I. Actions taken on UNA's proposals for UNESCO reform by the end of 1984.

- A. We suggested that an extraordinary session of the General Conference be convened in late summer to deal with the crisis in a plenary forum. This would have required a mandate by the Executive Board acting on a proposal by one or more member states. This did not occur, and to my knowledge, no such proposal was put forward by the US or any other member. The feeling among US UNESCO observers I queried on this last May was that the shortness of time made such a proposition unrealistic.
1. Although no Conference was held, some of the substantive steps we hoped it might take have emerged over the summer and from the recent Executive Board meeting.
  - a. Specifically we asked for an Executive Board Commission to draft a plan for streamlining the Secretariat, based on an investigation of: personnel practices and recruitment; concentration of authority; cooperation between sectors; and coordination with the activities of other UN bodies. Sources at the State Department and at the US Monitoring Panel think the work of the GAO, an in-house study on the "Critical Analysis of the Program" (which was sharply critical of UNESCO management), and the work of the Board's Temporary Committee have identified the problems and the necessary reforms. US officials have commended the actions taken at the recently concluded Board meeting as a "good beginning" toward management reform, although they regret that Director General M'bow rejected 5 additional proposals put forward by the US that would have implemented further changes.
  - b. We also hoped to see an increase in the Board's oversight role, especially on the implementation of programs. This is underway, if only because the US withdrawal notice has intensified the member states' interest in fulfilling their neglected role as the Organization's real governors. On specific actions to institutionalize greater oversight, the scorecard is as follows:
    - 1) Procedures have been established enabling Board members to exert greater control over program content, and greater choice between programs by attaching priorities to individual elements of the draft program and budget presented by the Director General.

- 2) Assistant Directors General --the program executors-- appeared before the Board this autumn for detailed question and answer sessions. This is expected to continue.
- 3) A US proposal for more frequent and longer private sessions of the Board, for the purpose of examining a broad range of sensitive administrative matters, failed.
- 4) Another unsuccessful US proposal was for the establishment of improved access to information on UNESCO's day-to-day operations so as to permit an expanded role for delegates in routine management decisions.

2. UNA also called upon the Executive Board to recommend zero budget growth for the 1986/87 budget biennium. It did this on October 22. Sources at the Monitoring Panel indicate that M'bow's lobbying of reluctant delegates from the Third World was instrumental in bringing this about.

## II. Actions taken on measures which UNA suggested UNESCO consider over the longer term.

- A. We urged that a way be found to increase major donor influence in budget planning and program expenditure to correct skewed power relationships underlying budgetary debates. US efforts to bring this about by statutory changes failed. The two proposals prepared by the American delegation --requiring budget resolutions to be supported by members representing 51% of budgetary resources or, alternatively, requiring the support of 85% of the Board, were both withdrawn in response to heavy pressure from the Europeans.
- B. UNA also suggested that the Board act to set guidelines that would limit the scope of political debates during General Conferences and that would strengthen existing prohibitions on challenges to the rights of any member. No action was taken in this area.
- C. Another proposal was to increase the Board's ability to conduct effective oversight, by increased delegation of authority, limits on membership growth, or outright reduction in membership. At its September/October meeting the Executive Board put a ceiling on membership at the current size, which is 51. Though no specific delegations of authority occurred, it agreed in general to entrust more responsibilities to special committees, a device which can be used to seek consensus solutions to prickly issues or, alternatively, to bottle them up.
- D. Significant progress occurred on the proposal pushed by UNA, in common with the Western Group, for greater emphasis on those programs attracting the highest level of international support, and deemphasis on those which are the most controversial.
  1. For the first time in many years the Board's guidance to the Director General includes no reference to the NIEO, or to support the liberation groups. They are therefore a non-priority for budgetary decisions by the Director General in 1986/87.

2. Among the decisions adopted by the Board is an instruction to the Director General to "give particular attention to the activities which have been shown to have a high degree of urgency, usefulness and support." A similar recommendation is made to the General Conference.
  3. On Major Program 13, which deals with disarmament, peace and human rights, the Board has called for a panel of advisors to examine the existing program with a view to shaping the program for 1986/87 so that it would command the "broadest possible support." Both the State Department and the Europeans see this as a foot in the door which could result in major changes.
  4. On Major Program 3, Communication, M'bow has written a letter to Leonard Sussman which appears to bar UNESCO sponsorship of meetings on working conditions or safety of journalists, unless these are requested by "all parties concerned", including Western press groups.
- E. Finally, we asked that UNESCO redress any personnel imbalance at senior levels. Progress appears to have been made. Among the 11 weakest contributing member states, three are over-represented - the UK, France and Spain; one remains seriously under-represented - Japan; the US is slightly under and the rest - 7 countries - are all at their "desirable range." The GAO report noted that since December 31st 1983 major improvements have occurred in the equity, under standards set by the General Conference, of member states' representation in the secretariat. It further noted that "each of the (regional) groups also share a fairly equitable number of high-level posts as a percentage of the total."



## United Nations Association of the United States of America

300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017 212 697 3232

November 1, 1984

TO: Board of Governors, UNA-USA

FROM: Carroll Cannon, Chairman of CCDP

RE: Our Tour of UNA-USA's Field Program, 1983:  
Observations, Reflections and Assumptions

### I. Extent and Nature of Our Tour

During October and November of 1983, Nona (my wife) and I visited most of the UNA-USA Divisions and Chapters on the West Coast and Arizona. The effort seemed to be fruitful. Hence, on August 5th of this year, we began a visiting program that has taken us to more than thirty states and most of the remaining Divisions and Chapters in the United States. Our tour will be concluded when we visit the Chapter in El Paso, Texas, December 18th.

Activities have ranged from a breakfast or lunch conference with one person to revive or encourage the beginning of a chapter, to a two day state-wide Annual Conference, followed by several days visiting individual chapters throughout the state. Also included were a three-hour radio talk show on one of America's most popular programs, meetings with boards, membership, guests and friends, high school and college students, college faculty, civic clubs, mayors and governors, media and critics.

We have seen the many faces of UNA in the field, experienced its people and shared their homes, their offices, their successes and their disappointments. In some places, we were there long enough to understand, in others the time was too short to really know.

The attached memo sent to Chapter and Division Presidents early in 1984 gives a sense of purpose and activities.

### II. Conclusions and Recommendations

I am in basic agreement with the September 17th, confidential paper on "Rebuilding the Field..." that was distributed to the Board of Governors. I have some additional suggestions.

1. The National Office must give greater attention to field development and operation. The loss of staff concerned with the field has contributed to its weakened condition.
2. A combination and coordination of staff, volunteer field consultants and volunteer Board members will bring needed leadership and professional guidance to the Field. However, an additional staff person is essential to the effective functioning of this plan.

3. The organization of the field needs attention. The Division and regional arrangement must be strengthened if the Field program is to increase its effectiveness in:

- leadership development
- government relations at the state and national levels
- outreach
- program
- education
- fundraising

Note: The Field program is strongest when there is effective Division structures.

4. Annual or biannual Divisional conferences should be encouraged. Development teams composed of staff-volunteers-Board members should be an integral part of the program.

5. An immediate past member of the Steering Committee may be selected by the Steering Committee to serve as coordinator of the Volunteer Field Consultants in cooperation with the National Office.

6. U.S. citizens are largely unaware of the interrelated nature of life today on planet earth. It seems urgent that:

- (1) Our MUN program in schools needs to be supported by a broad program in global education. State education must support the world view, curricula need appropriate modification, and teacher certification updated; and
- (2) our Multilateral Program needs the support of a broad adult educational program.

Note: These are long range goals that need initial foundation funding. In the long run, tax money and fees for adult education programs should bear the cost. Multilateral organizations have little future where the educational systems are in a large measure void of a valid world view.

7. Funding. Serious thought and study needs to be given to the possibility of funding for a broad adult education program involving volunteers.

8. The field is much in need of a communication tool that deals both with field development and substantive matters. The Inter Dependent speaks to the latter. However, members in the Field are wondering what has happened to the paper.

Note: The Steering Committee is hopeful of producing a field directory and a periodic newsletter. There is much interest in both among the chapters.

9. UNA/UNICEF relations in the field need careful attention.



### III. A Final Note

1. UNA-USA membership includes some of this country's finest, most capable, best educated and thoroughly dedicated citizens. These people are UNA's strength in the Field.
2. UNA members are too few and diminishing in most areas. We mostly represent the senior citizens, Caucasian, middle and upper middle socioeconomic bracket, Democrats, and well educated only.
3. Some very exciting and encouraging things are taking place in selected areas in the Field. We need to encourage and support the spread of the new spirit and renewed determination.

UNA-USA

October 31, 1984

Leo Nevas, Esq.  
241 East State Street  
Westport, CT 06880

Dear Leo:

Last night I was with the new Israeli Ambassdor to the United Nations, Binyamin Netanyahu. He spoke to a meeting of the Presidents' Conference and was great. He is really quite remarkable. If the UNA-USA people have not had an opportunity to come to know him, you really ought to push for some way of introducing him to this wider group at the United Nations.

He spoke about the U.N. Last night. He appears to be open, positive and articulate. He is a graduate of M.I.T., particularly knowledgable in the realm of international terrorism. IN a word, he is an exemplar of the best which the Israeli Foreign Service has to offer.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

bcc: Al Vorspan

Al, we must find a way of introducing him to a major segment of our constituency...the guy is really good!

Chairman of the Association  
Elliot L. Richardson  
Chairman, Board of Governors  
Orville L. Freeman  
Chairman, National Council  
Cyrus R. Vance  
Vice Chairmen  
Ruth J. Hinerfeld  
Past President, League of Women Voters, USA

Harry W. Knight  
Chairman, Hillsboro Associates, Inc.  
Estelle Linzer  
Southern New York State Division, UNA

Jean Picker  
US Representative, UN Commission  
for Social Development (1969-1977)

Richard J. Schmeelk  
Executive Managing Director,  
Salomon Brothers Inc.

Brent Scowcroft  
Vice Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.  
Secretary

William J. vanden Heuvel  
Partner—Stroock & Stroock & Lavan  
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John R. Petty  
Chairman, Marine Midland Bank, N.A.  
Chairman, Finance & Budget Committee  
Ivan Selin  
Chairman, American Management Systems, Inc.  
Chairman, Corporate Council for  
International Policy

William S. Woodside  
Chairman, American Can Company  
Chairman, Economic Policy Council

Robert O. Anderson  
Chairman of the Board,  
Atlantic Richfield Company  
Chairman, Policy Studies Committee

Robert V. Roosa  
Partner—Brown Brothers Harriman & Co.  
Chairman, East Asian Programs  
William W. Scranton  
Chairman, Soviet Parallel Studies Program

Walter J. Stoessel, Jr.  
Former Deputy Secretary of State  
Chairman, Advisory Group  
Multilateral Issues & Institutions Program

Matthew Nimetz  
Former Under-Secretary of State

Chairman, WFUNA Committee  
Christopher H. Phillips  
President, The National Council for  
US-China Trade

Governors  
Jean Benjamin  
John C. Bierwirth  
Chairman, Grumman Corporation

R. Carroll Cannon  
Chairman, Council of Chapter &  
Division Presidents  
Sybil Craig  
Rochester Chapter, UNA

Arthur T. Downey  
Partner—Sutherland, Asbill & Brennan  
Patricia K. Di Giorgio  
President, San Francisco Chapter, UNA

Mary Hall  
St. Louis Chapter, UNA  
Dr. Armand Hammer  
Chairman, Occidental Petroleum Corporation

Ulrich Haynes, Jr.  
Vice President, International Business Planning  
Cummins Engine Co.  
Jerome Jacobson  
Vice Chairman, Burroughs Corporation

Robert I. Lipp  
President, Chemical Bank  
Leo Nevas  
Vice President, International League for  
Human Rights

Russell E. Palmer  
Dean, The Wharton School  
The University of Pennsylvania  
Arthur Ross  
Vice Chairman & Managing Director  
Central National Corporation

Rabbi Alexander Schindler  
President, Union of American Hebrew  
Congregations  
Edith B. Segall  
Chairman, Conference of UN Representatives

Jacob Sheinkman  
Secretary-Treasurer, Amalgamated Clothing  
& Textile Workers Union, AFL-CIO

Helmut Sonnenfeldt  
Guest Scholar, The Brookings Institution  
Leonard Vernon  
Pacific Chapter, UNA

Franklin H. Williams  
President, Phelps-Stokes Fund  
Michael Witunski  
Staff Vice President, McDonnell Douglas Corp.

# United Nations Association of the United States of America



300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017

212-697-3232

Cable: UNASAMER

President  
Edward C. Luck  
Senior Vice President  
Peggy Sanford Conlin

Founding Chairman  
Robert S. Benjamin  
1909-1979

Chairman Emeritus  
James S. McDonnell  
1899-1980

Honorary Chairman  
Arthur J. Goldberg

National Chairman, UN Day 1984  
(By appointment of  
the President of the U.S.A.)  
Theodore A. Burtis, Chairman  
Sun Company, Inc.

August 30, 1984

## MEMORANDUM

TO: Board of Governors

FROM: Orville Freeman, Chairman

SUBJECT: Meeting on September 17th to chart the future course  
of the Association

On September 17th, we will hold an unusually important meeting, with an agenda reaching far beyond a quarterly review of the program and financial activities of the Association. The format will be less structured than has been customary, to permit a free-flowing discussion among Board members on several of the central issues facing the Association.

Enclosed are three thoughtful and provocative memoranda, prepared by the staff, which will serve as the basis for discussion and action at this session. They outline possible targets, strategies, and plans of action for dealing with three critical problems:

- 1) clarifying our message;
- 2) rebuilding our field constituencies; and
- 3) improving our financial situation.

These memoranda are designed to stimulate our discussion, rather than to provide definitive answers to the chief challenges before us. It will be our responsibility, as Board members, to make critical choices about issues raised in these memoranda, to adopt a strategic plan for moving forward, and to do whatever we can to help implement the decisions we make on September 17th.

Also enclosed are:

- 1) an outline of a new development campaign, prepared by Bob Ratner; and
- 2) summaries of the fine work performed by our major program divisions since our last Board meeting.

Bob will present his fundraising ideas, for your reaction, and key staff members will be on hand to answer any questions you might have about the program activities. In particular, we will want to review the impact of the first annual study of the Multilateral Issues and Institutions project, devoted to nuclear non-proliferation and the IAEA, and the plans for the upcoming nationwide study of

Vice President  
Policy Studies  
Toby Trister Gati

Vice President  
Economic Studies  
Sylvia Ann Hewlett

Vice President  
Multilateral Studies  
Frederic Eckhard

Vice President  
Financial Development  
Richard B. Wiener

Assistant Treasurer  
and Controller  
Louis J. Provenziale

• President Emeritus Robert M. Ratner •

UN efforts at preventing, containing, and resolving international conflicts.

Please indicate on the enclosed reply card whether you can attend this important session to be held from 1:00 to 4:00 p.m. at the UNA offices on the eighth floor of 300 East 42nd Street in New York City. A light lunch will be served. If you are unable to make it, please call me or Ed Luck, UNA's new President, with your comments on these memoranda.

Many thanks and we look forward to seeing you on September 17th.



## **United Nations Association of the United States of America**

300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017 212 697 3232

CONFIDENTIAL

For discussion and action  
by the Board of Governors,  
September 17, 1984

### **UNA-USA'S MESSAGE**

As the Association becomes more active and more vocal on UN-related issues, it needs to clarify its basic message to the American people about the UN system and the US role in it. Likewise, as the Association begins to build a stronger nationwide constituency, it needs a message that will be compelling to new members and organizations, particularly from the political mainstream. Diversity is one of the great strengths of UNA. The Association will never be, and should never be, bound by a rigid ideological conformity. But the organization needs to project greater coherence in its statements about the UN, particularly as the public debate about the world organization intensifies and the opportunities for UNA to make a difference expand. In membership recruitment, press relations, joint efforts with affiliated organizations, and interactions with Washington and UN officials, it is important that the leadership, members, and staff of the organization be able to describe what the Association stands for with some consistency.

The Multilateral Project gives UNA a vehicle for developing a coherent approach towards the problems of the UN and US relations with it, though all parts of the Association should contribute to this process. Too often, public discussion of the UN involves a debate between two overly simplistic schools of thought, neither of which offers a satisfactory alternative in terms of American or global objectives.



.One view reflects the idealism on which the UN was founded. It focuses on the world body's potential under the best possible international political conditions. In its simplest form, this perspective places the cause of internationalism before that of US national interests, seeing limits on national sovereignty as a prerequisite for the growth of effective multilateral institutions. While attractive in many ways, this perspective pays insufficient attention to the resurgence of nationalism around the world, to the polarization of east-west and north-south relations, and to the consequent erosion of the conditions necessary to make the initial vision of the UN a reality. In focusing on what the UN might have been, rather than what it has become, this perspective tries to make reality conform to its vision of what the world should be like, rather than adapting international institutions to cope with the tough realities of contemporary international relations.

.An opposing school of thought views international organizations from the perspective of narrow US nationalism, placing short-term US interests first and claiming that more often than not multilateralism has gotten in the way of the attainment of American objectives. The UN has performed some useful functional tasks, in this view, but should refrain from norm-setting and involvement in central security issues and questions of high politics. In speaking principally about what the UN cannot be or should not be, these critics seek to tame international organizations rather than to build them.

The first perspective has steadily lost popular appeal since the early postwar years, particularly since the influx of Third World countries into the UN and the rise of conservatism in the United States. The constituency for this viewpoint appears to be aging and it offers little appeal to younger generations. It is the voice of the past, not of the future. Moreover, this viewpoint has few followers in the UN community and even fewer prominent spokespeople in the United States. The second perspective, on the other hand, has been championed by several articulate US representatives to the UN, has considerable support in the administration and Congress, and has been popularized by the Heritage Foundation. But public opinion polls suggest that the American people as a whole have not

accepted this antithesis of multilateralism, even though the public recognizes that the world envisioned in the Charter is not the one we live in today. They are looking for ways to strengthen, not weaken, international institutions and for a realistic, but positive, vision of what the US can contribute to building a better world order.

Neither extreme in the public debate offers realistic guidelines for US relations with the UN or a constructive agenda to enhance the functioning of multilateral organizations. Both are guilty of trying to reinterpret reality to make it fit their ideological predispositions. Yet no compelling alternative viewpoint has been articulated between these two extremes. The case for sensible, moderate, and realistic policies has not been made in a way to capture the imagination of the American people. This effort would constitute an admirable challenge for UNA and a long-term target for the Multilateral Project.

It would be premature to attempt to lay out even an outline of what such a message would look and sound like, but public opinion polls give a sense of where to start. Numerous polls over the past two decades indicate that somewhere between 75% and 90% of the American people believe that the US should remain in the UN. Yet significantly more Americans believe that the UN is doing a "poor" job than a "good" job. In UNA's 1983 Roper poll, for example, 21% characterized the UN performance as "good," 37% as "poor," and 25% as "in between." Thus, apparently over half of the American people believe that the US should stay in the UN even though the organization, in their opinion, is not doing a good job. This view represents the mainstream of American thinking about the UN: they neither love it nor want to leave it.

These figures suggest that, if UNA wants to appeal to the majority of American people, it should assert that the US needs to stay in the UN in order to make it a more effective and fair organization. Moreover, it should

be underlined that UNA seeks to improve the UN, not defend it (except when it is unfairly demeaned by extreme groups like the Heritage Foundation). UNA's basic purpose is to identify ways of making the world organization work better and of strengthening the US role in it. According to the Roper poll, the public would like to see the UN be given more power to deal with problems of east-west relations, human rights, the environment, development, and preventing local conflicts. UNA should focus its substantive efforts on developing practical ideas for enhancing the UN role in these areas. This is difficult work, given the political constraints on the UN and its uneven track record, but the Association has made a good start on developing this pragmatic agenda. And, as an influential and activist organization, UNA will push hard for the necessary changes in the policies of the US and the UN.

UNA should see itself as a constructive critic of the UN system. As a mainstream, bipartisan organization, it should not be confused with those of the left or of the right which seek to use international organizations to further their particular political philosophies. The Association should not waiver in its commitment to the principles on which the UN was founded, even when the UN or its member states falter. The Association should not forget that it is the responsibility of the member states, especially the most powerful ones, to move the multilateral agenda forward, through deeds not just rhetoric. It is the responsibility of non-governmental organizations, moreover, to be their government's and the UN's conscience and to identify feasible steps for UN and governmental action.

At the same time, UNA should have both feet based firmly in reality, never substituting wishful thinking for hardheaded analysis. The Association should embrace a far-sighted vision of a better world, remembering at the same time that progress begins where the world is today and moves forward step-by-step. If UNA forgets this simple lesson, then it will never get to where it wants to be.



# United Nations Association of the United States of America

300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017 212 697 3232

CONFIDENTIAL

For discussion and action  
by the Board of Governors  
September 17, 1984

## Rebuilding the Field: Chapters, Divisions and the Council of Organizations

### Introduction

With the restructuring of UNA's national programs, it is time to consider how to strengthen the Association's major outreach constituencies: its membership, as represented through its Chapters and Divisions, and the Council of Organizations. The need for reexamination and action is critical. For if the general trend lines of the past ten years were to continue, UNA could become an organization without a constituency. Specifically, the membership of the Association, now at 20,952, has declined at the rate of approximately 1,000 members per year. Without a structured process for bringing in new members, UNA could well be without a constituency within fifteen years. An equally great concern is the quality and vitality of UNA's field constituencies.

Likewise, the Council of Organizations requires a plan of action. The Council has maintained its strength in terms of numbers and diversity. Yet more organizations representing Middle America are needed and some affiliated organizations need to be encouraged to send higher quality representatives to the UN. A continuation of the status quo would mean a slow but persistent erosion of the influence and credibility of the Conference of UN Representatives in New York and the Council of Washington Representatives on the UN.

This report offers a strategy; a blueprint for UNA to follow over the next three years to meet the challenge and rebuild its constituency. The proposals are modest, because of financial considerations, but taken as whole they promise to begin to turn the trend lines around and to foster a positive momentum in the field.

### Chapters and Divisions

UNA's membership has fallen from an all-time high of 55,000 in the early 1970's to 24,500 in 1980, to 20,952 at present. In the late 1960's a series of national membership recruitment drives caused our membership to rise significantly. In the past ten years, however, we have relied heavily on the Chapters to do local recruitment. The figures show this process to be of minimal value. The strength of the Chapters is more in retaining members, rather than bringing them into the organization in the first instance. With this in mind, the following actions are recommended.

#### Year I (1984-1985)

- Decision to initiate national recruitment efforts.
- Recruitment of former UNA members. An experiment in the fall of 1983 in which 4,400 former UNA members were contacted resulted in 511 rejoining the Association. The cost was \$1,072 and \$10,195 in income was generated.

A second effort, using a 1980 listing of 2,284 former members, brought in 32 memberships. The cost was \$510 and \$1,125 in revenue was generated.

There are approximately 4,000 additional former members (post 1980) UNA can contact and recruit. The cost would be approximately \$1,000 and would be more than recouped in membership dues.

- Trading membership lists. UNA regularly rents its membership list to other organizations. It is recommended that UNA carefully select organizations which have a constituency in which we are interested and trade lists. In the interest of cost, we would trade relatively small numbers (2,500). By targeting low numbers, we can determine the group's interest in UNA. If the returns are inadequate, we will move on to another organization. If the returns are good, we will expand recruitment with the organization.

The recommended first targets are the League of Women Voters and American Society for International Law.

The costs in Year I would be approximately \$1,500, most of which should be recouped with membership dues.

- Membership premium incentives. Special incentives are usually effective in recruitment efforts. UNA will offer to the new members one free copy of one of its major publications. For example, they could choose a copy of Issues Before the General Assembly, or an Economic Policy Council report, or a Policy Studies report.
- Membership target for Year I: Stabilization of membership at 21,000.

#### Year II (1985-1986)

- Continuation of recruitment of former members.
- Expansion of membership list trading efforts.
- Guidance to Chapters on organizing list trading in their local communities.
- Membership target for Year II: Increase in membership of 750 - 1,000.

#### Year III (1986-1987)

- Refinement of Year II efforts.
- Membership target: 2,000 new members.

#### Chapter Leadership

The leaders of UNA Chapters represent both a strength and weakness of the organization. Their years of involvement and strong commitment to UNA, coupled with a fundamental belief in the value of the UN, has caused many UNA Chapters to survive despite adverse circumstances. Nonetheless, there are fundamental problems which need to be addressed. Chief among these are:



- The generational problem: Many of the Chapter leaders lack the energy and creativity necessary to provide their communities with the programs that make for a strong Chapter.
- The entrenched leadership problem: Many Chapter leaders have held their positions for years. The results have been frustration on the part of interested newcomers and an inability for a Chapter to develop a dynamic work style necessary for keeping pace with the times.

These factors, along with several minor issues, have resulted in a quality of leadership which is, on the whole, less than what we should expect of UNA. Unless action is taken to alter this leadership pattern, efforts to bring in new members will not have the lasting effect hoped for.

Consequently, a series of actions are suggested. These include:

Year I (1984-1985)

- Volunteer Field Consultants. Greater use of the Steering Committee of the Council of Chapter and Division Presidents (CCDP) to provide guidance to Chapters.
- Pairing of UNA Directors. Enlisting some members of the UNA Board of Directors and EPC members to determine their willingness to work more closely with Chapters on a one-to-one basis.
- Greater Use of the Multilateral Project. This program has proven itself as a vehicle for bringing in high quality participants on the local level. This should be encouraged, with these participants becoming active members of local Chapters. On a side note, Chapters need to use the Multilateral Project more effectively as a fundraising tool.
- Election of Members to the CCDP Steering Committee. Efforts should be made to ensure that the nine new members represent the future of UNA, not the past.
- Leadership Training Recordings. The production of cassette recordings by the National Office would address such issues as leadership development, program development, and outreach.

Year II (1985-1986)

- Unification of Chapter By-laws. Many Chapter by-laws encourage the retention of power by a few people. A process of succession within the leadership could be established by unified by-laws nationwide.
- Regional Training Seminars. Such seminars, locally financed, could significantly increase the effectiveness of local leadership.

Year III (1986-1987)

- National Leadership Conference. Modeled after the 1981 Washington Leadership Conference, this program would focus on Chapter management and leadership development.

### Council of Organizations

As stated earlier, the Council of Organizations also requires a specific plan of action to enhance its effectiveness. With the cooperation of the Council's two subsidiary groups, the Conference of UN Representatives in New York and the Council of Washington Representatives on the UN, the following targets are recommended:

#### Year I (1984-1985)

- Addition of Specialized Groups to the Council. UNA should concentrate on the following targets:
  - professional associations
  - "think tanks"
  - foreign affairs groups not already affiliated with the Council
  - trade associations
  - minority groups
- Expansion of the Multilateral Project. Using the example of the approval by the National Board of the League of Women Voters to participate in the project, UNA should recruit additional organizations to serve as sponsors of the Multilateral Project.
- Closer Liaison with National Organizations' Headquarters. UNA should work to identify local leaders of Council affiliates to encourage cooperative action on the Multilateral Project.
- United Nations Seminars. Following the 1985 National Convention, UNA should coordinate UN seminars for selected organizations' Boards in an attempt to make such seminars annual events, as has been done with the annual Lions Day at the United Nations.

#### Year II (1985-1986)

- Training Seminars. Combining the local leadership of one or more organizations with local UNA leaders would lead to more cooperative programming on multilateral issues and provide for more effective outreach into new audiences. Funding for such seminars would be sought on the local level.
- Enhanced Representation at the UN. Through increased personal visits to organizations' headquarters, UNA can have a voice in the choosing of the organizations' representation at the UN. By involving more middle America organizations, UNA will add new blood to the Conference of UN Representatives and the Council of Washington Representatives on the UN.
- Selling the Multilateral Project to Organizations. This will continue as a priority and should be made easier as we are able to point to more co-sponsoring groups.

#### Year III (1986-1987)

- Increased Multilateral Project Programming. UNA would intensify its efforts to have organizations adopt the project as part of their overall program.

Local Councils of Organizations. Using the training seminars of the previous year as a base, UNA would coordinate the formation of local Councils of Organizations to work on the Multilateral Project.

1988 National Convention. In anticipation of the Convention, sponsor regional meetings to bring UNA's constituencies into discussions of Substantive Issues. Funding would be obtained locally through registration fees. Video-teleconferencing may be used for such conferences.

These plans of action are based on a realistic appraisal of UNA's financial and staff constraints. Obviously, there is far more that could be done under better financial circumstances. For example, if UNA invested approximately \$7,500 per year over the next three years in membership recruitment, there could be 30,000-35,000 members in UNA by 1987. Additionally, a staff person based on the West Coast could enhance Chapter activities and improve coordination with affiliated organizations. An additional \$10,000 per year in travel expenses would improve the quality of community programs and draw more organizations closer to UNA. However, given the realities of the current situation, the above plans are reasonable, economical and achievable.

#### Conclusion: Reaching Middle America

UNA needs to reach out to those Americans who believe in the importance and potential of multilateral institutions, but are justly critical of the UN's performance to date. In general, these people are not of the radical right or left. They are mainstream Americans; there are literally tens of millions of them, and they are the constituency UNA must reach.

In many ways, all of the suggestions in this report are designed to realign the nature of our constituency. It is important that we attempt to recruit members of the Jaycees, for example, as well as those associated with disarmament groups. UNA needs to draw to itself a constituency which is supportive of the ideals of the UN, cognizant of its shortcomings, and convinced of the important role the U.S. could and should play.

Consequently, it is recommended that UNA's recruitment efforts be directed toward those organizations which will bring us this new constituency. UNA must not abandon its past. But it must recognize that time has changed the international system, the functioning of the UN, and the attitudes of the American people. It is time for UNA to build for its future.



# United Nations Association of the United States of America

300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017 212 697 3232

CONFIDENTIAL

For discussion and action  
by the Board of Governors,  
September 17, 1984

## A FINANCIAL PLAN FOR THE ASSOCIATION

### Trend Lines in Income and Expenditures

In order to clarify UNA's financial position, it is important 1) to analyze the Association's performance in terms of income and outlays and 2) to chart the trend lines over the past five years. This will give us a sense of perspective in assessing our expectations for 1984 and our projections for the future. The following chart gives a picture of our financial experience from 1979 through 1983, with a comparison of budget projections and actual results for each of these years.<sup>1</sup>

Year	EXPENSES				INCOME			Actual Net Surplus or (Deficit)
	Budget	Actual	Difference	**	Budget	Actual	Difference	
1983	3,378,305	3,236,457	141,848		3,378,305	3,018,904*	(359,401)*	(217,553)*
1982	3,228,110	3,059,016	169,094		3,228,110	2,959,729	(268,381)	( 99,287)
1981	3,363,000	3,316,365	46,635		3,363,000	3,057,727	(305,273)	(258,638)
1980	2,925,190	3,354,072	(428,882)		2,925,190	3,405,626	480,436	51,554
1979	2,988,530	3,387,967	(399,437)		2,988,530	3,197,342	208,812	(190,625)

\*These figures do not include the \$500,000 transferred in 1983 from the James S. McDonnell Permanent Reserve Fund to the general fund.

\*\* Brackets ( ) indicate a negative result in terms of budget performance for the year.

The expenditures side of the chart shows that the Association for the past three years has consistently spent less than budget projections, with the savings in 1982 and 1983 amounting to almost 5% of outlays. UNA-USA outlays reached their

<sup>1</sup>To simplify the presentation, actual current dollar figures are used, which distorts the picture somewhat since there has been substantial inflation over this period, particularly from 1979 through 1981. Moreover, figures alone do not take into account such important factors as the political climate and the economic situation in the United States at any point in time. However, since there is no assurance these factors will be any more propitious in the future, our estimates and projections should be on the conservative side.

peak in 1979, and despite inflation have been lower ever since. (In current dollars, as presented here, the reductions appear incremental, but in constant dollars--taking inflation into account--the cutbacks have been dramatic.) This downward trend will continue in 1984. Expenditures for 1984 were budgeted at \$3.29 million, down \$88,000 from the 1983 budget. We expect that outlays this year will not be much over \$3.2 million, representing a savings of \$78-90,000.

The chart underlines that the Association's central financial problem has been shortfalls on the income side over the past three years, when we raised \$270 - \$360,000 less per year than anticipated in budget projections. Yet the level of income for the past three years was not substantially below that of earlier periods, other than the unusually good year of 1980. In fact, 1983 showed a slight increase over 1982, and 1984 is likely to be in the same range of between \$3 and 3.1 million. It is still too early to predict with any certainty the total income the Association will generate in 1984, particularly because so many foundations, corporations, and individuals make their giving decisions late in the year and it is too early to predict the outcome of the Washington event. It is quite possible, however, that our income shortfall for 1984 will be as much as \$200,000 below budget, particularly since the spring event produced a budget shortfall of \$114,000 even though it grossed \$343,000.

In summary, the organization has not only held the line on expenditures but in fact has reduced them significantly over the past five years. We will continue to emphasize fiscal restraint in developing the 1985 budget and beyond. We will continue to shift resources from administration and overhead to program purposes wherever possible in order to "do more with less." This will not only enhance our programmatic appeal to foundations, corporations, and individuals, but also should convince skeptics that the organization can practice austerity without abandoning its basic missions and programs.

Regarding income, there is a bright side, not only in the momentum of



our programs, but in the organization's consistent ability to attract more than \$3 million in income annually. Thus, we appear to have a steady base, but obviously we must be much more modest in our income projections, basing them more on actual trend lines than on our enthusiasm for the quality and impact of our programs. At this point, the Association has no choice but 1) to continue to economize in order to make the income and expenditure trend lines converge and then 2) to begin to build up steady surpluses of income over expenditures until the Association has a much firmer financial foundation.

#### Budget Target for 1985

It is too early in the year to begin to draw up a budget for 1985, but it would be useful to set a base level for 1985 expenditures. This target should be based on our fundraising track record, rather than on the apparent strengths or needs of our programs or on the expected appeal or potential of our new fundraising efforts. Over the past five years, the Association has averaged an annual income of a bit over \$3.1 million. We will therefore aim for a base 1985 budget of \$3.1 million, probably about \$100,000 less than actual expenditures in 1984 and almost \$200,000 less than budgeted for 1984. This will entail continued belt-tightening and a very high productivity level on the part of the staff, but no major cuts in programs or personnel, other than through attrition. After three years of cost-cutting, further reductions are bound to be painful, but it should be possible to reach the \$3.1 million target without undermining the basic nature of our program.

However, if additional unanticipated funds are raised--whether from foundations, individuals, or corporations--earmarked for specific programs, then modest additional outlays above the baseline budget will be considered after the funds are acquired. We remain optimistic about the possibility of obtaining major foundation grants for some of our programs, such as the Multilateral Project, but past experience has shown it to be wiser not to commit funds until they are raised.

### Financial Targets

At this point, our goal for 1984 is to end the year with a relatively small deficit of \$75-100,000. Because of uncertainty about income over the rest of the year, it is difficult to predict our year end totals. The deficit for the year could range anywhere between \$50-175,000, further aggravating our already substantial cash flow difficulties. There is still, of course, an outside chance of balancing the budget for the year.

The goal in 1985 will be to produce a surplus of at least \$100,000 and to reach similar surpluses for each of the next several years. These funds will be primarily dedicated to rebuilding the James S. McDonnell Permanent Reserve Fund, as a cushion against unforeseen setbacks ahead and to overcome the Association's chronic and debilitating cash flow problems.

### Funding Sources, Targets, and Restructuring

Attached (p.6) is a chart outlining the Association's income sources over the past five years. The chart shows steady income in several major categories, such as membership renewals, business and industry, and organizations, unions, individuals, and chapters. The two largest single income sources, foundations and special events, however, have shown significant variation over this period. Annual income from special events declined by about \$325,000 from 1979 to 1983 while income from foundations rose about \$265,000. Thus, the growth in foundation income has been more than offset by the decrease in special events funding.

The figures indicate that the organization has been able to attract a wide variety of financial supporters through multifaceted fundraising approaches. This has insured a steady base of support, but there is a pressing need to uncover new sources and to experiment with new fundraising techniques in addition to those which have worked over the years. (In this regard, attached is an outline of a new campaign being developed by Bob Ratner.) The Association has lost several very substantial individual contributors and we need to find one

or two major new individual sources of income.

The funding target for 1985 will be to raise \$3.2 million, to permit a \$100,000 surplus over a \$3.1 million budget. That income figure is almost \$100,000 less than projected for 1984. To raise this figure, the Association will need: to implement Bob Ratner's campaign described in the attached memo; to achieve some modest results from the bequest campaign that has just begun; to stem the decline in membership renewals; to see continued growth in the Corporate Council for International Policy; to maintain current income levels from special events; and to make additional appeals to foundations so that Policy Studies and the Economic Policy Council remain self-supporting and the Multilateral Project becomes self-supporting.

To make our fundraising efforts more cost effective and to establish a clearer division of labor among those engaged in fundraising, we are modestly restructuring our fundraising efforts. Ed Luck, Toby Gati, and the program heads will continue to focus their fundraising efforts on foundations. Bob Ratner will launch a new campaign, oversee the bequest effort and focus on major corporate contributions and individual gifts. Dick Wiener and Stan Raisen will oversee the special events and the Corporate Council for International Policy. (Carol Seifert has decided to leave UNA for a promising position elsewhere after having done a very credible job with the CCIP.) Under this new arrangement, we expect to be able to "do more with less" as has been possible in the program areas of the Association.

## TRENDS IN FUNDING SOURCES 1979-1983

Year	Total	Member- ship Renewals (Dues)	Rental Income	Conven- tion Income	Other Program Income	Organi- zations, Unions, Indi- viduals, Chapters	Business and Industry	Founda- tions	Special Events	JSMR Fund	UN Related Agencies	World Environ- ment Income
1983	3,018,904*	310,155	78,377	58,380	146,625	299,369	458,125	611,437	798,492	200,000*	57,144	--
1982	2,959,729	294,431	76,291	--	182,793	298,932	493,546	487,264	833,245	200,000	93,227	--
1981	3,057,727	306,726	--	--	170,224	330,242	336,420	339,550	1,022,320	200,000	121,700	230,545
1980	3,405,626	284,982	advertising 194,424	25,452	101,696	310,172	551,322	420,900	921,335	200,000	61,553	333,790
1979	3,197,342	301,094	107,160	--	109,923	297,678	461,551	346,023	1,126,360	200,000	20,325	227,228

\*This does not include the \$500,000 transferred from the McDonnell Fund to the general budget.



# **United Nations Association of the United States of America**

300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017 212 697 3232

For discussion and action  
by the Board of Governors  
September 17, 1984

PREPARED BY ROBERT M. RATNER

AUGUST 29, 1984

## DRAFT OF PLANS FOR SECURING INCREASED INCOME

In the course of recently restructuring the Association to establish its relevance to current economic and political realities, it became apparent that all of UNA's programs must have a "bottom-line" component -- a specific goal of accomplishment that it expected that program to achieve. With the success of our program over the last year, and the restructuring which the last year and a half has produced, UNA has been developing an image of an action-oriented organization.

In the course of blueprinting these changes, particularly in the establishment of the Multilateral Issues & Institutions Program, it became clear that our programs, even when only information and education oriented, have compiled an impressive list of concrete accomplishments over the past twenty years. By focusing on "bottom-line" targets, we will now be able to build on an excellent track record. Our image will include not only proven capacity for objective research and analysis and for information and education dissemination, but also for specific achievements in terms of policy action.

The following are a few achievements in this category over the last twenty years:



A SAMPLING OF UNA's ACHIEVEMENTS OVER THE YEARS

I. MULTILATERAL PROJECT

In 1983-84, a one-year nationwide study of the question of Nuclear Non-Proliferation and the role of the International Atomic Energy Agency, (IAEA), produced a report with concrete recommendations which themselves produced concrete results. A combination of work by community groups and blue-ribbon national panels provided the following:

- A) Attracted the serious interest of the highest level of policy makers in Washington and the United Nations.
- B) Vice President Bush, in discussing the report with UNA's leaders, commented with particular interest because the report reflects a national consensus on these issues vital to American security.
- C) United Nations Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar expressed similar sentiment and promised to take the report with him to Moscow and to his meetings with General Secretary Chernenko and Foreign Minister Gromyko.
- D) Senators Percy and Glenn held two and a half hours of nationally televised hearings on the report and pledged to introduce legislation based on its recommendations.
- E) State Department and Arms Control and Disarmament Agency officials identified a number of recommendations on which they plan to follow up and on which they requested UNA's further help.
- F) A principal recommendation of the report was the renewal of the London Suppliers Club, which the United States has now done.
- G) The IAEA is reassessing several of its safeguard provisions based on the report's recommendations.
- H) On February 1st, 1984, the Syracuse Post Standard wrote an editorial on the fact that the local UNA Chapter had established a community study group, enlisting leadership from the University and other elements of the city, on nuclear non-proliferation, and in the editorial urged Syracuse citizens to participate in that study group.
- I) On July 9th, the Washington Post had a story on its Editorial Page commending UNA's non-proliferation study and urging readers to send for it, even giving the address where it could be obtained.

(more such listings)

## II. UNA's POLICY STUDIES PROGRAM

### A) The Parallel Studies Program with the Soviet Union

1. This UNA program has provided a private, high-level channel for Soviet and American policymakers who are unwilling, for diplomatic or political reasons, to talk directly with each other.
  - : On the Soviet side, these have included contacts with Ministry of Foreign Affairs officials, Central Committee Department Heads, Institute Directors from the Soviet Academy of Sciences, and former Soviet Ambassadors to various arms control negotiations.
  - : On the US side, these have included meetings with policymakers in the Executive Branch and the State Department, including the chief US arms control negotiators, as well as the Secretary of Defense, the head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and their principal aides.
2. Despite the tension and lack of communication on an official level between the two countries, UNA-USA met in June with its Soviet counterpart in Moscow to hold detailed discussions on nuclear non-proliferation, weapons in outer space, and on ways to enhance the ability of multilateral organizations to contain local conflicts.
3. The two UNA groups were able to work on a plan for publishing two joint or parallel statements in 1985. One, on nuclear non-proliferation, is to be released prior to the Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference; the other, on the role of the UN in managing international crises, is to be issued for the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations next June.
4. At a time when it has proved impossible for either government to agree on an agenda for the proposed talks on anti-satellite systems planned for September, UNA has succeeded in beginning a substantive dialogue on the specific parameters for a future anti-satellite (ASAT) agreement, and the broader implications for the US-Soviet strategic balance should anti-satellite or anti-ballistic missile (ABM) systems be perfected by either side.
5. UNA's dialogue on the role of the US and the Soviet Union in the global economy remains the only ongoing effort to engage the Soviets in a productive discussion of the debt crisis in Eastern Europe and the third world, financial and credit links between the East and West, and the effect of rapid technological and industrial change in the domestic economy.
6. In the past years, UNA's Parallel Studies Program with the Soviet Union was instrumental in clearing the way for a bilateral treaty limiting underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, facilitating the negotiation of a bilateral environmental agreement, and in removing some of the problems in bilateral economic contacts.

B) The Parallel Studies Program with Japan

1. UNA-USA's joint study with the Asia Pacific Association of Japan has produced a report on bilateral security issues which was discussed in great detail by both governments. Indeed, it was subsequently used as a briefing book by the State Department for the Presidential Commission on the Conduct of United States-Japan Relations.

C) The Parallel Studies Program with the People's Republic of China

1. A UNA-USA delegation headed by Lt. General Brent Scowcroft was invited to the People's Republic of China one month before President Reagan's visit. Other participants were David Packard, Professor Robert Scalapino, and Ed Luck. Lt. General Scowcroft delivered a personal message to high officials of the PRC from President Reagan, and the group was able to hold serious discussions on political relations and security problems.
2. Lt. General Scowcroft and Professor Scalapino were invited to a White House luncheon upon returning from the PRC, and were able to brief President and Mrs. Reagan on their conversations with Chinese leaders.

III. UNA's ECONOMIC POLICY COUNCIL (EPC)

- A) The Administration changed its position towards increasing the quota of the IMF after our EPC Panel produced its report strongly urging doubling the United States contribution to the IMF and held high-level discussions with members of the Treasury Department and other economic officials before the World Bank-IMF meeting.
- B) The United States Labor Department has adopted the recommendations in EPC's Productivity Panel Report and is releasing a publication that will be distributed to thousands of companies, unions and other organizations throughout the United States.
- C) Following EPC's Report on US Trade and Economic Relations with Japan and Mexico in the fall of 1983, which report urged Japan to liberalize its capital market and investment programs, the Japanese Ministry of Finance decided to allow freer access to Japanese capital markets and foreign financial institutions. Senator Percy, Chairman of the US Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, credited EPC's report with helping to bring about this change in Japan's policies.

#### IV. MISCELLANEOUS PAST ACHIEVEMENTS

- A) UNA-USA organized an effort which was credited by President Carter with defeating the Helms Amendment. Had this amendment not been defeated, it would have prevented the United States from paying its assessed contribution to the United Nations, which would have been an illegal act.
- B) As a result of recommendations emanating from UNA's report on International Disaster Relief, the State Department's Policy Planning Group developed eleven action policies and legislation in this area.
- C) The American/Soviet Environment Treaty, which was the first complete treaty signed between the two countries, encompassed eleven protocol, six of which had been negotiated by UNA-USA's Panel with its counterpart group in the Soviet Union.
- D) As a result of the economic discussions in the United States-Soviet Parallel Studies Program on Maritime Matters, a U.S. Maritime Commissioner who attended some of the meetings which took place in this country, on her own initiative proposed some changes in the Maritime Code between the Soviet Union and the United States.
- E) The report of UNA's Panel on "Stopping the Spread of Nuclear Weapons" played a major role in helping to break some of the deadlocks in the intergovernmental negotiations in Geneva on the original Non-Proliferation Treaty. The Soviets have commended that report for its helpful recommendations and it was translated into German and distributed to the West German Bundestag at the Bundestag's request.
- F) UNA's Population Study resulted in a complete change in the UN's Population Program and is referred to as "basic legislation" for the UN.
- G) The Secretary-General of the United Nations asked UNA's Panel on "Space Communications" to serve as advisors to him in modernizing the United Nations' International Communications System.
- H) In 1979, after 13 years of its Parallel Studies Program with the Soviet Union, UNA's American Panel (recruiting a few additional policy experts with differing points of views) decided to draw on its years of experience and dialogue and produce a report with a set of recommendations on how the United States should deal with the Soviet Union in the 1980s. The target for these recommendations was whichever party won the election in 1980.
  - 1. During Inauguration Week, this report and its recommendations were discussed at the White House at a meeting chaired by Vice President Bush and attended by then Secretary of State Haig, then National Security Advisor Allen, Ambassador Kirkpatrick, Secretary of Defense Weinberger, Chief of Staff James Baker III, Counsel to the President Edwin Meese and Presidential Assistant Michael Deaver and leaders of UNA's Panel.

2. The Administration group commented that the report would serve as a useful guideline in their future work with the Soviets.
3. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee held a hearing on that same report with nine Senators present, with Governor Scranton UNA's Panel Chairman and Ambassador Richardson, UNA's General Chairman, testifying.
4. Jack Matlock, who was Deputy Chief of Mission to our Embassy in Moscow, the new Ambassador had not yet been appointed at that time, told us that he had distributed our report throughout the Embassy and to his colleagues in American Embassies in the Eastern Bloc countries. That very same Jack Matlock is now Chief of Soviet Affairs on the National Security Council in Washington.
5. Lionel Olmer, Deputy Secretary of Commerce, told UNA that he distributed the report as "must" reading to the section in the Commerce Department which deals with Eastern Bloc trade.

V. ISSUES BEFORE THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

- A) The UN Missions of over sixty governments order the book for their staffs.
- B) The US Mission to the UN gives a copy to each member of its public delegation to the General Assembly.
- C) The Canadian Government buys 100 copies for distribution to all its overseas embassies.
- D) The book is required reading in courses at Columbia University, Dartmouth, Princeton, the University of Michigan and other institutions of higher learning; over 150 colleges and universities ordered the book last year.

VI. THE UNA WASHINGTON OFFICE

- A) UNA worked with Congressional staff and the State Department and White House to 1) secure a memorandum of law pointing out that the Kassebaum Amendment would put the US in violation of its treaty obligations under the UN Charter; and 2) provide information to House/Senate conferees who later modified the amendment to substantially limit its damage. (The amendment would have unilaterally cut US assessed contributions to the UN.)
- B) UNA pressed for passage of the Food Security Act of 1980, establishing an emergency wheat reserve for humanitarian relief in developing countries; the bill passed in the last days of the 96th Congress.



VII. THE PUBLIC INFORMATION SERVICE

- A) Each year for a decade, the Service has hosted a two-day seminar at the UN for American editors. That more balanced, accurate and better-informed writing on the UN is attested to by the hundreds of clips sent in by the participants after they return to their newspapers or radio or TV stations.
- B) Seminars are also done for specialized groups or on a special topic. American Cyanamid underwrote a two-day conference on world food problems for agricultural broadcasters and editors; a conference on social and humanitarian issues was held for editors of religious publications.
- C) UNA published an Editor's Guide to the United Nations which was distributed to every major daily in the country as well as to radio and TV stations, magazines and news agencies.
- D) The service responds to inquiries from the public and the media; it worked closely, for example, with the staff of US News and World Report on an extensive special supplement on the UN published by that magazine in 1980.

\* \* \* \* \*

One overriding factor in considering the above, is the process that went into producing these results. Perhaps the most important accomplishment of all has been the involvement of a broader spectrum of the American people and opinion leaders into shaping United States response to global challenges.

### THE CAMPAIGN

Now, how to translate all this into the "bottom-line" for UNA - - the securing of new and more stable financial resources?

In today's highly competitive arena for tax-exempt contributions from the corporate community, an NGO that can document specific results which came about directly or even indirectly because of its activities, will have a competitive edge. Corporations, by their very nature, are "bottom-line" oriented, and should be more receptive to appeals from an action-oriented Association such as ours.

Foundation executives have already begun to respond to UNA as an organization that gets results and has a proven record. They must be able to show, just as we must, that their funds have been well spent and that concrete results have been achieved by their outlays.

Again, by the same token, individuals should be more responsive for the same reason, with the added fact that they want to do something to help. Unless they are experts or students of a specific discipline, however, they cannot know to what extent their individual contributions accomplish anything until they are shown the specific results of UNA's programs.

Obviously, the same approach applied to membership recruitment. The "band-wagon" syndrome tells us that people like to join a "winning team." They like to be members of an action-oriented organization.

The first step in applying this formula for UNA is to satisfy ourselves of the legitimacy of our claim of accomplishments. Secondly, the Board of Governors should establish its own Fund-Raising Development Committee to oversee the new campaign and take action along the following lines.

- A) To secure an effective Campaign Chairman and help him or her to enlist an effective Campaign Committee.
- B) To personally contribute to the greatest extent possible (corporate and/or individual).
- C) To take on a realistic quota of the amount of financial help each Governor can be counted on to be responsible for each year.
- D) The same (B & C above) will apply to several members of the Board of Directors and the National Council.
- E) The Chapters should be urged to immediately use the "bottom-line" approach for membership recruitment.

To launch the campaign as quickly as possible, each Governor and Director should be asked to supply the National Office with a list of personal contacts he or she believes would be responsive to this kind of approach. Then depending on the potential of the prospect, the Governor or Director should either provide an introduction for UNA's staff "to make the pitch" on a one-on-one basis, or preferably, to join the staff member in making the approach. Positive results from such introductions would be credited to the Governor's or Director's quotas.

After the "boasting" about the accomplishments of the organization, the main pitch should be towards the Multilateral Project, its impact over the first year and its promise for the future.

The second year's Multilateral Program, "On the Front Line - The UN Role in Preventing and Containing Conflict," should provide important talking points in the campaign, which should appeal to corporations and individuals, as well as to Foundations.

#### CONCLUSION

In our opinion, the overall goal and the individual contribution sought should be relatively modest. As previously discussed, history shows that we have been approximately \$250,000 to \$350,000 short of income each year for the past three years. In order to be fiscally responsible, we should seek new and increased regular annual giving of as much as \$250,000 more each year, even as we continue to hold down expenditures. This would provide modest surpluses to help rebuild the James S. McDonnell Permanent Reserve Fund. Only if these efforts are successful should we think about expanding the program not covered by designated contributions.



**United Nations Association of the United States of America**

300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017 212 697 3232

REPORT TO THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS

ON PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

FROM MAY THROUGH AUGUST 1984

For discussion and action by the Board of Governors  
September 17, 1984

August 30, 1984

TO: Ed Luck

FROM: Fred Eckhard

RE: Multilateral Project activities since May 21

August 29, 1984

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Summer is traditionally Issues time, and this year was no exception. Immediately after the last Board of Governors meeting, we held two days of back-to-back seminars (May 22-23) culminating with a session of the Editorial Board for Issues Before the 39th UN General Assembly. The meetings were attended by scholars and UN officials and served to identify the most important items on the UN agenda for this fall. This year's volume has over 30 contributors, and will appear around the opening of the Assembly September 18.

The Multilateral Project's first annual study, on nuclear proliferation, was released June 27. The national attention given the report was documented in a memo sent to the Governors, but the highlights deserve to be repeated. Cy Vance discussed the report with Diane Sawyer for four minutes on the CBS Morning News; the UNA logo and excerpts from the report were beamed on the screen before an audience of millions. The Secretary-General met with Orville Freeman and Vance and said he would take the report with him on his trip to Moscow. Elliot Richardson and Matt Nimetz testified for over two hours on the content of the report before Senators Charles Percy and John Glenn and then met with Vice President Bush to discuss it. Thanks to effective simultaneous press conferences in New York and Washington, the report received broad coverage, including a glowing editorial in the Washington Post which included mention of the UNA address for those wishing to request the report. Over 1,000 copies of the report were distributed or sold.

The Public Information Service is gearing up for its 10th Annual Editor's Seminar September 17-18. About 75 editors from all parts of the country are expected to attend. They will have on-the-record sessions with the Secretary-General and with Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, as well as panel discussions on topics such as Nicaragua and the World Court, UNESCO, "Does the Third World Call All the Shots at the UN?" and nuclear proliferation.

The Washington Office has been monitoring the UNESCO situation, including hearings June 26. The staff provided logistical support for the US National Commission for UNESCO's August 8 press conferences on the release of their UNESCO study. The Stanley Foundation continues to cosponsor Congressional briefing programs with UNA. Two are planned for September: one on the role of the Secretary-General and one on the impact on US educational and scientific communities of a US withdrawal from UNESCO.

The summer has had an intense publishing schedule, which has contributed to ongoing delays in the appearance of The Inter Dependent. The paper, it is hoped, will get back on a regular bimonthly schedule by the end of the year. Meanwhile, the briefing book for the Multilateral Project's second annual study (on UN peacekeeping and the containment of conflict) will appear in September. The proceedings of the May 24-25 Brookings Conference is also due out that month. And thanks to a heroic effort by Toby Gati, who picked up the pieces of a much-delayed project, September should also see the appearance of UNA's first-ever Annual Report.





# United Nations Association of the United States of America

300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017 212 697 3232

August 28, 1984

TO: Edward C. Luck

FROM: Toby Trister Gati, Vice President for Policy Studies

RE: REPORT ON POLICY STUDIES ACTIVITIES FOR BOARD OF GOVERNORS MEETING,  
SEPTEMBER 17, 1984

## Soviet-American Parallel Studies Program

The Arms Control and Security Panel was able to continue a productive dialogue on a number of key issues at the June meeting in Moscow. Among these were nuclear nonproliferation, preventing an arms race in outer space, and the role of the UN in the management of conflict. Each topic was addressed in a serious, substantive manner, with polemics kept to an absolute minimum. Indeed, despite the further erosion of official contacts, the meeting was one of the most interesting in the series.

The future plan of work for the Arms Control Panel will include discussion on four main topics at the next meeting of the two groups, now scheduled for early January 1985 in the United States. The four topics are:

### I. General, Specific and Procedural Norms of Relations Among the Nuclear Powers

In addition to general opening comments on the state of the bilateral relationship, an attempt will be made to define the expectations each side has of the minimal conditions necessary to develop a more stable relationship. Drawing on the political norms, principles, codes of conduct and procedural practices agreed upon during the past two decades, differences in perception and troubling behavior on each side will be analyzed, with the focus of discussion on the future requirements for strategic stability, the changed nature of the military and political competition in the Third World, and areas where efforts to arrive at understandings or norms have either not been attempted or have failed.

### II. Preventing an Arms Race in Outer Space: Comprehensive and Partial Approaches

Having agreed at the June meeting that all possible types of limitations of anti-satellite systems should be analyzed and that "deweaponization" was a far more realistic goal than the "demilitarization" of outer space (more than the two governments have been able to agree upon!) each side will come to the next meeting prepared to present guidelines for discussion on ASAT agreements.

It was clear at the June meeting that the Soviets have not gone very far in considering what a partial ASAT ban might look like, or whether something similar to the "incidents at sea" agreement might be negotiated to minimize the possibility that unexplained or accidental interference with satellites would be seen as deliberately provocative actions by the other side. As has happened on numerous arms control topics, the opportunity to exchange views will give both sides an opportunity to close the distance between their respective positions.

### III. Strengthening the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime: Steps Toward a Comprehensive Test Ban and Related Arms Control Measures

With the approach of the Third Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference next year -- and growing concern on both sides that the non-proliferation regime may begin to unravel -- the Soviets have proposed that both Associations work toward the publication of a joint or parallel statement reaffirming US and Soviet commitment to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and suggesting steps that could be taken to strengthen it.

The basic working document for this paper will be UNA's recently released report, "Nuclear Proliferation: Toward Global Restraint." The Soviets have already received copies of the report and have agreed both to critique it during the next bilateral meeting and to use it as the basis for the joint statement which will be issued shortly before the beginning of the Review Conference next fall.

### IV. Practical Steps to Strengthen the United Nations as an Instrument Fostering International Peace and Security on the Occasion of Its Fortieth Anniversary

Both UN Associations were pleased to return to what has been a long-neglected topic in these discussions. With bilateral consultations so rare and crisis management mechanisms almost non-existent, each side has its own reasons for wanting to take a fresh look at the potentialities of the UN system. We have agreed to mark the upcoming Fortieth Anniversary of the founding of the UN with the publication of a joint statement on a wide range of questions, including the strengthening of the Security Council, the Secretary General, and other crisis management organs of the UN; peacekeeping; mechanisms for developing more effective US-Soviet consultation in the UN; as well as problems of budget and UN management.

The US delegation was particularly pleased at the Soviet willingness to stick to substance, especially in light of the fact that just prior to the joint meeting, UNA's Board of Governors had sent a letter to the Soviet UN Association expressing its deep concern about the fate of Andrei Sakharov. We regarded it as a sign of Soviet commitment to the UNA process that this did not lead to a postponement or cancellation of the joint meeting.

UNA's series of regional outreach meetings on US-Soviet relations is getting under way with meetings in Omaha and Dallas scheduled for September and November. Ambassador Walter Stoessel, Helmut Sonnenfeldt and Arthur Downey will be speaking at the Omaha meeting, which promises to draw over five hundred participants. UNA-USA is cosponsoring the Omaha conference with the local Air Force Association, the University of Nebraska at Omaha, and local UNA chapters. A CCIP dinner hosted by Sam Segnar will be held the night before.

The Dallas Conference will be cosponsored by Southern Methodist University and the Dallas office of Brown Brothers Harriman and Company and will include participants from both the Soviet and American sides of the Parallel Studies Program.

### The Major Powers in East Asia Program

UNA's project on "The Major Powers in East Asia" was launched on June 12 at a preparatory meeting attended by members of all three of the subpanels: the Japanese-American panel on security and arms control, the Chinese-American group on security and arms control, and the US-Japan panel on the future of the global economy. The chairman of the overall project, Governor William W. Scranton, and the chairman of the Japanese-American panel on security relations, Ambassador Richard L. Sneider, acquainted the participants with the proposed activities of each group. The major topics for bilateral and trilateral discussions were outlined.

Membership acceptances have been extremely good, and there is now a very high-level core group of experts, policymakers and businessmen involved in the project.

Discussions with Ambassador Shizuo Saito of the Asia Pacific Association of Japan here in New York resulted in broad agreement on the focus of the project. Both sides agreed that the Japanese-American dialogue on security issues would go beyond a strict bilateral emphasis to a discussion of how Japan and the United States can work together to deal with contemporary and future security problems in third countries, in the East Asian-Pacific region, and at the global level. The Japanese are now in the process of choosing their panel members and beginning preparations for the project, as is the American group.

The first US-Japan bilateral conference will be held in New York on November 3rd through the 5th. Members of both the US-Japan and US-China panel will be invited. Three papers will be exchanged on the following topics: an assessment of East-Asian security; arms control and the role of East-Asian powers; and enduring and emerging issues in Japanese security policy.

Both sides also agreed on early March 1985 as the proposed dates for the China-Japan-US trilateral conference on security and arms control issues. Further discussions with Ambassador Saito in September will focus on organizational and substantive questions concerning the US-Japan panel on the global economy.

To assist in the work of the Japanese-American security panel, Dr. Michael Mochizuki, an Assistant Professor at Yale University and a well-known specialist on East-Asian security, will be serving as a one-day-per-week consultant to the program.

The bulk of the funding for this year for the US-Japan dialogue on security and arms control has now been received from the US-Japan Foundation.



# United Nations Association of the United States of America

300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017 212 697 3232

August 29, 1984

TO: Edward C. Luck

FROM: Daniel F. Burton, Deputy Executive Director, Economic Policy Council

RE: Report on EPC activities for the September 17, 1984 Board of Governors meeting

Since the last Board of Governors meeting, the EPC has been working on 3 interrelated projects: 1) the 1984 Plenary, 2) the publication of our book on The Global Repercussions of U.S. Monetary and Fiscal Policy, and 3) the current cycle of panel studies.

## I. The 1984 EPC Plenary

This year's Plenary, which will be held in Washington, D.C., on September 13 and 14, should be an outstanding event. The program will begin with our traditional policy dinner in the Capitol Building, which will be followed by a roundtable discussion with Thomas Donahue (Secretary-Treasurer, AFL-CIO), Senator Charles Mathias, Senator Ted Stevens, and Senator Claiborne Pell. The international orientation and diverse perspectives featured at the Capitol Hill dinner will also be reflected in our discussions on September 14th: Senator Bob Dole will discuss the budget deficit; Commissioner of Labor Statistics Janet Norwood will discuss the changing world of work; and President of the New York Federal Reserve Bank Anthony Solomon will discuss international financial developments. In addition, we will be holding a labor-management colloquium and panel meetings as part of our Plenary activities. This agenda has generated an enthusiastic response and we expect between 80-100 participants at the Plenary Session.

## II. Publication of The Global Repercussions of U.S. Monetary and Fiscal Policy

The manuscript of this book, the first in the new EPC book series, has been completed and submitted to the publisher, Ballinger Press. It is currently being printed and we expect to have copies available by the end of September. This book contains an impressive collection of papers and it has already elicited an enthusiastic reception. Malcolm Baldrige, Lester Thurow, Henry Wallich, Anthony Solomon, William Brock, Jacques de Larosiere, A.W. Clausen and others have all praised its contents (see attached comments). To quote Secretary Baldrige, this book "...will be a valuable guide to business people who find that world trade and financial markets no longer work as they once did and want to understand why."

## III. Progress of EPC Panels

The financial panel, which is co-chaired by Henry Kaufman and Peter Kenen, will be holding its final panel meeting on September 14th and releasing its report soon thereafter. This report will serve as a companion to the book described above, and we expect a wide readership both among key financial policymakers and the general public.

The world employment project is also making steady progress. The "Jobs in the 1980s" panel, which is co-chaired by John Filer and Doug Fraser, will be completing its work this spring and publishing its report in the early summer. Like the financial panel, the jobs panel report will be accompanied by a book and will explore the problems of the changing world of work and its international implications in-depth and will also include detailed accounts of the perspectives of labor, business, academia, and government. The panel on "Parents and Work: Family Policy in Comparative Perspective," which is co-chaired by Alice Ilchman and John Sweeney, is midway through its deliberations. The panel held an in-depth discussion of the pay equity issue at its June 12th meeting and Professor Peter Sloane, of the University of Aberdeen, Scotland, presented a paper which examined this issue in an international context. At the September 14th panel meeting Sheila Kamerman, Professor of Social Policy at Columbia University's School of Social Work, will be giving an international overview of maternity and parental leaves and benefits. The panel plans to hold several more meetings this fall and next spring to address other family policy issues such as: child care, child allowances, flexible work time, and flexible benefits.



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Comments on the EPC book, The Global Repercussions of U.S. Monetary and Fiscal Policy, edited by Sylvia Ann Hewlett, Henry Kaufman and Peter B. Kenen:

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"The Global Repercussions of U.S. Monetary and Fiscal Policy will be a valuable guide to business people who find that world trade and financial markets no longer work as they once did and want to understand why."

Malcolm Baldrige  
Secretary of Commerce

"Like it or not the American economy has died and been replaced by a world economy. Like it or not because of its size, America has inherited a substantial role as a key manager in that world economy. Global Repercussions provides a good starting point for understanding the issues that this new world economy is going to present to the American public and to American policy makers."

Lester C. Thurow  
Gordon Y. Billard Professor of  
Management and Economics  
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

"Very worthwhile project, with an impressive group of participants. The practicality of most of the recommendations deserves applause."

Anthony Solomon  
President  
Federal Reserve Bank of New York

"The perspective on the debt crisis presented in this book may offer a window on understanding how the United States must adjust to a new place in the world, or rather to a place in the new world where the linkage between domestic actions and foreign reactions is powerful and immediate. The volume provides valuable conclusions and recommendations about how to formulate more effective policies to advance our national and our international interests. Congratulations on a very interesting publication!"

Theodore H. Moran  
Landegger Professor and Director  
Program in International Business  
Diplomacy  
Georgetown School of Foreign Service

"This collection of articles by leading experts makes a valuable contribution to a topic that increasingly is coming into the foreground of discussion: the international repercussions of national economic policies and the possibility that all countries may gain by taking into account their interdependence."

Henry C. Wallich  
Member of the Board  
Board of Governors of the  
Federal Reserve System

"The excellent compendium of studies included in the report on The Global Repercussions of U.S. Monetary and Fiscal Policy make an excellent contribution to the most important policy challenges we face."

William E. Brock  
U.S. Trade Representative

"A quick glance reveals that Henry Kaufman and Peter Kenen have put together a comprehensive and thoughtful analysis of a very important topic."

A.W. Clausen  
President  
The World Bank

"I look forward to sharing the report with colleagues here at the Fund--because Messrs. Kaufman and Kenen are certain to have directed an important contribution to the understanding of this crucial subject."

Jacques de Larosiere  
Managing Director  
International Monetary Fund

UNA-USA  
Interoffice Communication

TO: Ed Luck

FROM: Peggy Carlin

SUBJECT: Council of Organizations activities since  
May Board of Governors meeting

DATE: August 27, 1984

APPROVED:

The two subordinate groups of the Council of Organizations, the Conference of UN Representatives and the Council of Washington Representatives on the UN, held their Annual Meetings in May and June, respectively.

The May 29th meeting of the Conference, under the theme "U.S. Participation in the United Nations: Report to NGOs," featured presentations by Ambassador William vanden Heuvel, Mr. Burns W. Roper and Ambassador Alan Keyes.

The meeting of the Washington Council on June 14th heard Fred Eckhard give a synopsis of the Brookings Institution/UNA Conference on "The UN in World Affairs: Options for the United States."

The chairmen of both groups, Edith Segall, Chairman of the Conference of UN Representatives and Marilou Righini, Chairman of the Council of Washington Representatives on the UN, were re-elected for another term of office.

The Executive Committees of the Conference and the Council met in June and July to plan the program schedule for 1984/85, with particular emphasis on ways to attract new organization members to the Council of Organizations.

The League of Women Voters, by action of its Board of Directors, endorsed the League's cooperation with UNA-USA on the upcoming Multilateral Project topic.

In collaboration with the National Education Association, UNA-USA published A Teacher's Guide to Model United Nations of which 2,000 copies are being distributed by NEA to teachers who conduct Model UNs.

A brochure explaining the Council of Organizations will be mailed at the end of September to a selected list of organizations in an attempt to draw new, mainstream NGOs into the Council of Organizations.

UNA-USA  
Interoffice Communication

TO: Ed Luck and Peggy Carlin

FROM: Kevin Canavan

SUBJECT: Highlights of Chapter Activities Since  
May Board of Governors Meeting

DATE: August 27, 1984

APPROVED: 

Since May, there have been two major events involving the Chapters and Divisions which were coordinated by the National Office.

The first was the Annual Meeting of the Council of Chapter and Division Presidents (CCDP) held June 8-11 at the Seamen's Church Institute in lower Manhattan. A total of 80 chapter representatives attended the meeting. The chapter leaders participated in workshops designed to strengthen their programs and fundraising; attended a dinner program which highlighted the work of three chapters on the Multilateral Project; held a special luncheon honoring Bob Ratner on his retirement; and spent a day at the UN for a series of briefings.

Secondly, numerous chapters organized press conferences on June 27 to coincide with those conducted in New York and Washington regarding the release of the Nuclear Proliferation final report. The 27 community groups which had submitted studies were sent a copy of the galley for the final report for use at their press conferences. All other chapters were sent a press release which contained the Executive Summary of the report.

The most interesting project undertaken by a chapter or division in the past few months was a two-day conference entitled "The Management of Global Change" sponsored by the Iowa Division. Nearly three hundred participants attended the conference, including representatives from WFUNA, UNAs in Great Britain, Canada and Jamaica, and high-ranking representatives from the UN and the U.S. Mission to the UN.

Finally, it should be noted that Carroll Cannon, Chairman of the Council of Chapter and Division Presidents began a nationwide tour of UNA chapters on August 5. He and his wife will be on the road until December 20. During this time, he will be visiting 52 chapters and divisions as well as making a trip to the United Nations University for Peace in Costa Rica and INSTRAW in the Dominican Republic.

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Matthew Nimetz  
Former Under-Secretary of State

Chairman, WFUNA Committee  
Christopher H. Phillips  
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Helmut Sonnenfeldt  
Guest Scholar, The Brookings Institution

Leonard Vernon  
Pacific Chapter, UNA

Franklin H. Williams  
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Michael Witonski  
Staff Vice President, McDonnell Douglas Corp.

# United Nations Association of the United States of America



300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017

212-697-3232

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1909-1979

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National Chairman, UN Day 1984  
(By appointment of  
the President of the U.S.A.)  
Theodore A. Burton, Chairman  
Sun Company, Inc.

TO: MEMBERS OF THE 1985 UNA CONVENTION NOMINATING COMMITTEE

FROM: William J. vanden Heuvel, Chairman

DATE: August 22, 1984

SUBJECT: Plans for our first meeting, September 17, 1984

The task before us is an important one. We will be selecting nominees for UNA officers and members of the Board of Directors who will constitute the core leadership of the Association. If elected, those people we nominate will serve for five years following the 1985 convention.

In addressing our task, we must keep several issues in mind: the image and message which the Association should project; the need for balanced geographical representation; the continuing effort to increase the representation of minorities, women and youth; UNA's precarious financial situation; and the role UNA should play in the national debate about relations with the UN and other multilateral institutions.

Even though the convention will not take place until April 1985, it is essential that we move expeditiously. Our first meeting will be held on Monday, September 17 from 10:30 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. at UNA Headquarters, 300 East 42nd Street, New York City, 8th floor (Second Avenue between 41st and 42nd Street).

To aid our preliminary thinking, attached are lists of Board members indicating whether their terms expire in 1985, the number of terms they have served, and their primary affiliations. Please note that ALL OF OUR DISCUSSIONS MUST BE HELD IN THE UTMOST OF CONFIDENCE. Also, it would be very helpful if you could come to the meeting with a few suggestions about possible additions to the Board.

If you have any comments, questions or suggestions, please call Dan Burton or Carol Christian at (212) 697-3232, who will be the UNA staff people providing support for our Committee's work. Please indicate on the enclosed reply card whether or not you can attend this important meeting. Thanks very much.

I look forward to working with you and hope to see you on September 17th.

Vice President  
Policy Studies  
Toby Trister Gati

Vice President  
Economic Studies  
Sylvia Ann Hewlett

Vice President  
Multilateral Studies  
Frederic Eckhard

Vice President  
Financial Development  
Richard B. Wiener

Assistant Treasurer  
and Controller  
Louis J. Provenzale

\* President Emeritus Robert M. Ratner \*





**United Nations Association of the United States of America**

300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017 212 697 3232

MEMBERS OF THE 1985 UNA CONVENTION NOMINATING COMMITTEE

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Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

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The Hon. William J. vanden Heuvel  
Chairman - Nominating Committee  
United Nations Association of the USA  
300 East 42nd St.  
New York, N.Y. 10017

\_\_\_\_ I will

\_\_\_\_ I will not

be able to attend the meeting of the 1985 UNA  
Convention Nominating Committee to be held on  
Monday, September 17, 1984 from 10:30 a.m. to  
1:00 p.m. at 300 East 42nd St., New York, N.Y.

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Name

Directors whose terms expire in 1985 -- Primary affiliation and number of terms served

[illegible]

\*\* Cameron replaced Terry Herndon at NEA, and has served the last two of Terry Herndon's second term.



#	Name	Bus/Fin/ Professional	Field Ch/Div Orgs	Academic/ Fndn/Media	Current/Former govt/UN	Youth/ Student	Gen UNA Interest	Terms Served
15	Norman Cousins Senior Lecturer--UCLA and President, World Federalists Los Angeles, CA		x					2
16	Sybil S. Craig former President Rochester Assn for the UN Rochester, NY		x					1
17	Francis Dale Publisher Los Angeles Herald Examiner Los Angeles, CA			x				1
18	Samuel de Palma Bethesda, MD						x	2
19	Arthur T. Downey Partner Sutherland, Asbill & Brennan Washington, DC	x						1
20	David A. Dull Los Angeles, CA						x	2
21	William D. Eberle Chairman Ebco, Inc. Boston, MA	x						1

\* Elected to fill vacancy on Board of Directors, subsequently elected once by Convention ballot.

[illegible]

\* Elected to fill vacancy on Board of Directors, subsequently elected once by Convention ballot.





\* Elected to fill vacancy on Board of Directors, subsequently elected once by Convention ballot.

#	Name	Bus/Fin/ Professional	Field Ch/Div Orgs	Academic/ Fndn/Media	Current/Former govt/UN	Youth/ Student	Gen UNA Interest	Terms Served
57	Fletcher Thorne-Thomsen President & CEO Fabsteel Corporation Shreveport, LA	x						1
58	Leonard Vernon former President Pacific Chapter Los Angeles, CA		x					1
59	Raymond Vernon John F. Kennedy School of Government Harvard University Cambridge, MA			x				1
60	Danny A. Weiss elected as youth representative Evanston, IL					x		1
61	Sidney H. Willner Executive Vice President Hilton International Co New York, NY	x						7
62	Edward B. Winn former Chairman Council of Chapter & Division Presidents, UNA Dallas, TX		x					4
63	Michael Witunski Staff Vice President McDonnell Douglas Corporation St. Louis, MO	x						2
64	William S. Woodside Chairman American Can Co Greenwich, CT	x						1

Directors whose terms do not expire in 1985 - Primary affiliation

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]



[illegible]

[illegible]



#	Name	Bus/Fin/ Professional	Field Ch/Div Orgs	Academic/ Fndn/Media	Current/Formal govt/UN	Youth/ Student	Gen UNA Interest	Comments
42	Burns W. Roper Chairman of the Board The Roper Organization New York, NY	x						
43	Arthur Ross Vice Chairman & Managing Dir Central National Corporation New York, NY	x						
44	John Gerard Ruggie Prof. of Intl. Affairs Columbia University New York, NY			x				
45	Rabbi Alexander Schindler President Union of American Hebrew Congregations New York, NY		x					
46	Richard J. Schmeelk Executive Managing Director Salomon Brothers New York, NY	x						
47	Dorothy Schramm Burlington, IA						x	
48	Gen. Brent Scowcroft Vice Chairman Kissinger Associates, Inc. Washington, DC				x			

[illegible]



#	Name	Bus/Fin/ Professional	Field Ch/Div Orgs	Academic/ Fndn/Media	Current/Former govt/UN	Youth/ Student	Gen UNA Interest	Comments
56	Eugene J. Sullivan Chairman Borden, Inc. New York, NY	x						
57	Willard Paul Tice President Southwestern Division Oklahoma City, OK		x					
58	R. E. Turner President & Chairman of the Board Turner Broadcasting System Atlanta, GA	x						
59	Cyrus R. Vance Chairman UNA National Council New York, NY						x	
60	William J. vanden Heuvel Partner Stroock & Stroock & Lavan New York, NY				x			
61	J. B. Walling Chairman Fluid Lift International Fort Worth, TX	x						
62	Barbara M. White former US Alt Rep for Special Political Affairs Washington DC						x	

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Secretary-Treasurer, Amalgamated Clothing  
& Textile Workers Union, AFL-CIO

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Sun Company, Inc.

April 25th, 1984

*Will attend*

TO: THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS

FROM: ROBERT M. RATNER, PRESIDENT

RE: NEXT MEETING, MAY 21st, 1984 from 1:00 to 4:00 PM

Enclosed is a draft of the Minutes of the Board of Governors Meeting held on February 27th, with the Audited Financial Statement for 1983 which was discussed at that meeting.

Also enclosed is a DRAFT AGENDA for the Governors Meeting scheduled for May 21st, with Program Reports. Some of these reports will be elaborated on further at the meeting, and others are just for informational purposes.

As usual, we will start as close to 1:00 PM as possible, with a working lunch.

Please return the enclosed card indicating that you will be able to attend.

I look forward to seeing you on May 21st.

*Handwritten signature: J. F. [unclear]*

Vice President  
Administration and Field  
Peggy Sanford Carlin

Vice President  
Policy Studies  
Toby Trister Gati

Vice President  
Economic Policy  
Sylvia Ann Hewlett

Vice President  
Financial Development  
Richard B. Wiener

Assistant Treasurer  
and Controller  
Louis J. Provenza

UNA-USA BOARD OF GOVERNORS MEETING  
Monday, May 21st, 1984  
1:00 to 4:00 P.M.  
UNA BOARD ROOM

ORVILLE L. FREEMAN - PRESIDING

D R A F T   A G E N D A

BRIEF EXECUTIVE SESSION

- I. MINUTES OF THE MEETING HELD FEBRUARY 27th, 1984
- II. FINANCIAL REPORT
  - A) Current Status
  - B) Spring Special Event
  - C) Corporate Council for International Policy
  - D) Progress on Foundation Grants
  - E) Progress on Annual Report for 1983
  - F) Bequest Program
- III. UNA's TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY
- IV. MULTILATERAL ISSUES & INSTITUTIONS PROGRAM
- V. POLICY STUDIES DISCUSSIONS
  - A) China Trip
  - B) Russian Visit
  - C) Future Russian Trip
  - D) Major Powers - East Asian Program
- VI. OTHER BUSINESS

DRAFT MINUTES  
UNA BOARD OF GOVERNORS MEETING  
MONDAY, FEBRUARY 27th, 1984  
1:00 to 4:00 P.M.

UNA CONFERENCE ROOM - 8th FLOOR

ORVILLE L. FREEMAN - CHAIRMAN

- - - - -

Present: Jean Benjamin, R. Carroll Cannon, Sybil Craig, Patricia K. Di Giorgio, Orville L. Freeman, Mary Hall, Ruth J. Hinerfeld, Estelle Linzer, Jean Picker, Robert M. Ratner, Elliot L. Richardson, Rabbi Alexander Schindler, Richard J. Schmeelk, Brent Scowcroft, Edith B. Segall, Jacob Sheinkman, Helmut Sonnenfeldt, William vanden Heuvel, Franklin H. Williams, Michael Witunski

Staff: Edward C. Luck, Kevin Canavan, Carol Christian, Frederic Eckhard, Toby Trister Gati, Sylvia Ann Hewlett, Louis J. Provenzale, Richard B. Wiener, Margot Nussbaum

AGENDA ITEM I. FINANCIAL REPORTS

Mr. Freeman opened the meeting at 1:10 and called upon Bob Ratner to report on the first item on the Agenda, the Financial Situation for 1983, as well as any changes in the Audited Financial Report for that year.

Bob Ratner pointed out that he had cautioned the Board of Governors at their last meeting, and then at the Board of Directors meeting, that in addition to the \$468,000 accumulated deficit, which he hoped we would be able to cope with through the James S. McDonnell Permanent Reserve Fund, that we would have a deficit in 1983, and that unless some unusual steps were taken, he anticipated that that deficit would be approximately \$300,000. At that time, at Mr. Ratner's suggestion, the Governors launched the UNA FUTURES Campaign, in the hope of involving, as closely as possible, 100% of the Governors, the Directors and the Chapters in a special, extra contribution, so that UNA would have the ability to show some major funding sources that we are restructuring our organization and that the UNA family was taking the necessary steps to cope with our economic problems. It was Mr. Ratner's feeling, that if we could get a sufficient degree of support, both in magnitude and percentage of participation, we would have the opportunity to secure a major transition grant from outside funding sources.

In the meantime, Mr. Ratner had secured permission from Mike Witunski, representing the James S. McDonnell Foundation, to use the necessary assets in UNA's James S. McDonnell Permanent Reserve Fund to eliminate the accumulated deficit, with the understanding that there was no intention of dissolving the Fund, but that we would make every effort to develop future budgets which would produce surpluses which would then be used to rebuild the James S. McDonnell Permanent Reserve Fund.

Mr. Ratner reported that UNA FUTURES Campaign raised only \$142,300, and the deficit for 1983 was \$217,000. He further pointed out that it should be interesting to note that only 18 Governors, or 56% contributed \$54,000; only 34 Directors (excluding the Governors), or slightly more than 34% contributed \$34,000; and only 41 Chapters or Divisions, out of 175, or about 23%, gave about \$10,000. The balance of about \$45,000 came from a miscellaneous group of individual contributors.



In Mr. Ratner's opinion, this was not the kind of a record that could be used to approach funding sources for a transition grant on the original premise we had mentioned, and he indicated that he would be approaching at least four major corporate foundations to try to raise what he called a Combination Working Capital Reserve Fund of \$500,000, by seeking individual contributions of \$125,000 from each corporation.

Mr. Ratner then pointed out that the Audited Financial Statement was changed to reflect the fact that the funds transferred from the McDonnell Fund to the General Fund were such a substantial amount, that they should no longer be characterized as a "contribution" or "loan" as in the past, but simply as a transfer from a Reserve Fund to the General Fund. (See Note 2 in the attached copy of the Audited Financial Statement.)

Mr. Ratner continued that our 1984 Budget had been constructed in such a way as to reduce fixed overhead costs by about \$150,000, to attempt to insure a surplus operation, as we would hope to be the case with all future budgets, so that we can rebuild the McDonnell Reserve Fund as quickly as possible.

He further stated that since our Treasurer, John Petty, could not attend this Governors' meeting, Mr. Petty, Mr. Ratner and Lou Provenzale had reviewed these financial reports last Tuesday, and while Mr. Petty expressed unhappiness with the results, he approved the report.

During the discussion about the 1983 financial figures, it was pointed out that the Special Events were \$150,000 under projection; the CCIP was about \$30,000 short of expectation; the Convention income was \$20,000 under Budget; Special Funding and Corporate Contributions were short about \$120,000, and dues were \$40,000 under income projection. Mr. Ratner explained that this, of course, comes to more than the \$217,000 deficit, but there were some savings on expenses, and some other non-budgeted income.

In answer to a question raised by Rabbi Schindler whether the decline in income from dues reflected a reduction of membership, Mr. Ratner answered that the decline was mainly due to the fact that the anticipated Convention Dues Raise was not put into effect until September. Therefore, the results of the increase were only reflecting November & December.

Kevin Canavan reported that the percentage of total membership indicated some small slippage - perhaps 3 to 4%. However, an additional printout at the end of March would be a more accurate indication.

At the end of this discussion, Chairman Freeman reminded the Board that Mr. Ratner was retiring as President on June 30th, and he was delighted to inform the Board that he and Chairman Richardson and the Compensation Committee had reached an agreement with Bob Ratner's consulting firm to continue as part-time Consultants on a year-to-year basis, commencing July 1st, 1984. He then asked Mr. Ratner to discuss the Current Financial picture and to explain any thoughts he might already have about future fund raising plans.

Bob Ratner pointed out that it was obvious from the results of the Spring Dinners of the last two years, that the event was losing its viability, while the Washington event seemed to be holding up under its present format. So, he described in detail the changes that the Finance Department will be planning, to make up for the poor results of the past two Spring Dinners.

It was determined to reduce the number of Annual Special Events from three to two, to combine the UN Ball and the Spring Dinner as one event, and run it in June, so that we would have one major event in the Spring and one major event in the Fall, and to pattern the Spring event as closely as possible to the successful Washington event.

Mr. Ratner explained that he had secured the Secretary-General's permission to have a Concert performance in the General Assembly Hall of the United Nations on Saturday, June 2nd, which would be followed by the Annual United Nations Ball on that same night at the Waldorf Astoria. He also secured the Secretary-General's agreement to allow UNA to run a Reception at his official residence the night before, Friday, June 1st, for those special contributors to the event and other VIPs similar to the State Department Reception held in Washington each year. The Secretary-General agreed enthusiastically to the entire concept and even refused to allow UNA to pay the expenses for the Friday Evening Reception, which Mr. Ratner had offered to do.

Therefore, Mr. Ratner explained, the first combination Spring Concert and United Nations Ball will take place on June the 2nd, and outlined the program events.

In the General Assembly Hall of the United Nations - the American Symphony Orchestra will play, under the baton of Morton Gould, for the first half of the program. For the second half, the most successful international singing star, who has sold more records and cassettes than any other star in existence, Julio Iglesias, will be the soloist.

The entire event, the Concert and the Dinner, are being tendered in honor of the Secretary-General and the Permanent Representatives to the United Nations. However, because this year is the centennial year of Eleanor Roosevelt - the Concert itself will commemorate that centennial - in order to highlight that great lady's contribution to the world as the architect of the United Nations' Declaration of Human Rights.

Mr. Ratner made a special note here that three of our Vice Chairmen - Estelle Linzer, Ruth Hinerfeld and Jean Picker have been the catalysts for a fantastic series of events for the Eleanor Roosevelt Centennial.

The Concert will be under the Chairmanship of the National UN Day Chairman, to be appointed by President Reagan.

*(Subsequently, the President appointed Mr. Theodore Burtis, Chairman of Sun Company, as National UN Day Chairman.)*

Immediately following the Concert, with special buses, we will transport the entire audience to the Grand UN Ball at the Waldorf.

Since we are combining the two events, we will combine and expand the prospect list of both the UN Ball and the Spring Dinner. Because this is such an unusual event, with such an unusual program and with a good Chairman, we hope to gross between \$450,000 and \$500,000. What's more, we intend to enlarge the potential net proceeds by selling tables of eight for \$2500 as the base price, six tickets for the Corporation, and two tickets for the

honored Ambassadorial guests, while Patrons will contribute \$5,000 and Co-Chairmen \$10,000, for the same table of eight, with better locations both in the General Assembly Hall for the Concert, and at the Ballroom in the Hotel. Previously, we sold tables of ten.

In connection with his report on the Special Events, Mr. Ratner pointed out the difficulty of preparing a Budget for UNA. When we budgeted the expenses for the Special Events, although we had some guidance for the Washington Concert from experience - - we were flying blind when we tried to estimate the expenses for the new Spring Event. We knew we would combine it with the UN Ball and that gave us some guidelines, but at the time we didn't even know we would have a Concert.

Mr. Ratner continued that we tried to budget the expenses for this event, guessing as best we could. When we reviewed the budget with the Finance & Budget Committee, its Chairman said that there was "fat" in the projected expenses for Special Events. As a result, we reduced those projected expenses for both Special Events, by reducing the Budget by a total of \$50,000.

Mr. Ratner pointed out that now we would surely be over-budget expenses of \$18,000 for the Symphony Orchestra, plus the cost of construction of the Platform for the Concert and other miscellaneous items connected with an event of this magnitude. Of course, we'll try to minimize the expenses and maximize the income as mentioned above. But, we will have to gross more than \$425,000 just to meet Budget projections. He continued that in his view, this event should gross between \$500,000 and \$600,000, because we have a terrific program and hopefully a good Chairman. But, he said, once more we would need the help and support of the UNA family, to be able to reach such a figure. This means, according to Mr. Ratner, that there should be no complimentary tickets except for the Secretary-General and the artists. The Ambassadors and UN Dignitaries are paid for by the Corporations. UNA leaders should buy their own tickets and tables. Under those circumstances, Mr. Ratner felt that we have a good chance of reaching that goal.

In addition to the above Special Event, there are now out at several Foundations, appeals for various UNA programs, totalling approximately One Million, Four Hundred Thousand Dollars. The time frame for some of these programs may run, one, two and in some cases, three years long. As far as we can tell, all of these proposals are being looked upon favorably by the Foundations, which we have favored by appealing to them. Some of them have already committed some funds. These appeals cover our Multilateral Program, our Policy Studies Program, our Economic Policy Program, and our Tri-Lateral Major Power Program.

Mr. Ratner then asked Ed Luck to comment on these Foundation proposals in greater detail.

Mr. Luck distributed the attached status report which indicated the magnitude and the types of Foundation proposals that were presently being considered by the Foundations. He pointed out the great number of proposals in the hopper and indications are that most of them would be looked upon favorably by the Foundation considering them. But, he further pointed out that it was inadvisable to try to base a sound financial program on Foundation grants. Foundations often approve a proposal in principle, but by the nature of their own bureaucracies, do not definitely commit a sum to the proposal, nor actually pay it, sometimes for months, or even almost a year from the time a commitment is made. And yet, the Association is



already working on the program and expending funds. That is why it is so important that a firm Working Capital Base be established through ongoing corporate and individual fund-raising programs, as well as Special Events and other income sources, (dues, program income, etc.), to take the greatest advantage of these favorable Foundation proposals.

Mr. Ratner pointed out that funded by one of these Foundation proposals, Ed Luck had arranged for a delegation to visit the People's Republic of China, under the Chairmanship of Brent Scowcroft, with Professor Robert Scalapino and David Packard, Chairman of Hewlett-Packard. It is our hope that Mr. Packard's exposure to UNA through this source, with the additional subtle persuasion on the part of Ed Luck during the trip, will inspire him to understand the importance of UNA's programs to a greater degree than he presently does, and thus we will be able to get him to try to secure funds for our program. Similarly, Ed Luck and Mr. Ratner, with some of the participants from our Parallel Studies Program or other programs, will try to get Ted Turner and other UNA leaders to raise monies in their communities through Dinners, at which UNA's story can be told.

In this manner, Mr. Ratner felt, we could develop a series of Regional Chairmen from the National Hierarchy, who will not only raise funds for the National Program, but will spearhead and supervise local membership campaigns. The new members would be fed into the Chapters in the local areas, and once a year, we would supply the local area with one of our interesting outreach programs.

After these reports, Mr. Ratner continued with a brief description of the need to raise about \$500,000 as a Working Capital Reserve Fund, first to be used to rebuild the McDonnell Permanent Reserve Fund, and second to be used for projects which must move ahead and for which funds must be spent before we actually receive them from the Foundations, even if we get firm commitments.

Mr. Ratner further explained that he has also planned to develop a Deferred Giving Campaign which, of course, would include the initiation of a Bequest Program, and he would have detailed plans for that program later on in the year.

Mr. Ratner then explained the problems UNA was having with the National Charities Information Bureau, a self-styled private organization which purports to report on which charities are worthwhile and worthy of support, and which are not. For the first time in nineteen years, UNA has been placed on its unapproved list. By the way, we are in some good company. Also unapproved are: The Committee For Economic Development, The Eisenhower Exchange Fellowship, the Muscular Dystrophy Association, the National Foundation for Cancer Research, the National Leukemia Association, the Wildlife Society, and several others.

We are classified as not meeting one or more of the NCIB standards. Their objection is on four items:

1. Less than 50% of Board members attend all Board of Directors meetings, and all Board of Governors Meetings. Their condition is that more than 50% of all Board members must attend all meetings.
2. They consider the fact that the President is a member of the Governing Board and is the owner of a personal service corporation which provides services to the Association to be a conflict of interest.

3. They consider that the Association is not financially viable, since at the time of their report, and they were reporting on the year 1982, we had a \$468,000 accumulated deficit, with no Reserve Fund, with the exception of a "Restricted" Reserve Fund.

4. UNA does not publish an Annual Report.

We have been in touch with the NCIB and we have explained to them that they are mistaken in three of the four areas.

The Personal Service Corporation of the President is not a conflict of interest, since it serves no other organization except UNA, and of course, it is a self-liquidating problem, since the President will be retiring at the end of June.

Their financial reporting is incorrect as UNAs Audited Financial Statement for 1983 indicates, since we show an accumulated deficit of \$40,458, and show a transfer from our Reserve Fund to the General Fund, with a balance of almost \$300,000 in the Reserve Fund, so obviously we are a financially viable Association.

UNA has never produced an Annual Report, not only because of the time and effort that producing such a report would take, but mostly because of concern about additional expenditure of funds. However, UNA will produce an Annual Report for 1983, which will be ready in early Spring.

Therefore, the only objection that UNA cannot meet at the moment is the business of more than 50% of Board members attending meetings. This results from our attempt to give broad constituency and geographic representation to UNA Boards. This is a responsibility that every Board member must take seriously to avoid this kind of a situation in the future.

With the documentation that we will be sending them within the next few weeks, the NCIB will no longer send out negative reports on the UN Association.

During the discussion on this issue, Franklin Williams (President of the Phelps-Stokes Fund), and Ruth Hinerfeld, (Immediate Past President of the League of Women Voters, USA), and other Governors who have had previous experience with the NCIB in their own organizations, indicated that they were a difficult organization to get along with, and that we should not be too sanguine that we would be able to satisfy all of their conditions.

Ruth Hinerfeld commented that some organizations have changed their By-Laws and titles of larger governing bodies in order to meet their requirements. Many organizations have been confronted with the same thing because they want to have a large body of people who represent broad geographic diversity, varying interests, financial support, etc., or, do we want a smaller governing body. Sometimes what you have to do is have a smaller governing body and call it the Board of Directors, in order to meet that standard.

Mr. Ratner indicated that such a change would require a change in the By-Laws, and we would have to start right now to work on this for the upcoming Convention next year.

Mr. Freeman wanted to know what the attendance record was of the Board of Governors, and Mr. Ratner answered that it was also not up to standards, although the current meeting was the best attended in a long time.



Mike Witunski mentioned that our organization was not rapped on the knuckles for anything serious like spending undue amounts on fund-raising. Ours was a reprimand of another kind. He believed what UNA was cited for were procedural standards, which were of secondary importance.

Mr. Ratner agreed that it would be relatively easy to meet their demands and remedy our situation, and if we had only one item against us (i.e. poor attendance at Board meetings), he did not believe they would put us on their unapproved list. However, he agreed with Ruth Hinerfeld that we should do something about the size of our Board of Directors - perhaps give it another name - but this would have to be done at the Convention.

Frank Williams said it was most difficult to get off their negative list, as a matter of fact, it was impossible. His organization was on their negative list, and no sooner did they comply with one regulation, then they were cited for another. He had been dealing with them for twelve years, and it was impossible to get off their list.

Ruth Hinerfeld said that the League of Women Voters was also on the list because the NCIB did not like their accounting practices, and the way they presented their Annual Report. However, she felt that it is still important to be on their approved list because there are organizations and individuals who do not make a personal judgment, but who only go by certain lists as a criteria for giving.

After some additional discussion, Carroll Cannon proposed the following Resolution:

"Recognizing that approval of the National Charitable Information Bureau is of primary importance to the Organization, in order to meet its standards, a small committee of the Board of Governors, should be appointed to study the possibility of restructuring the governing bodies of the Association to allow for a higher percentage of attendance at governing board meetings."

The motion was seconded and passed, and Chairman Freeman asked Ruth Hinerfeld and Frank Williams to serve as a Committee of two for this purpose. They both agreed to serve.

The Chairman then directed the Committee to report back to the Board of Governors as quickly as possible, since any recommendations this Committee comes up with might have to be brought before the Convention.

Mr. Richardson pointed out that the problem of attendance existed not only with the Board of Directors, but also with the Board of Governors, and wanted to reinforce Mr. Ratner's point that Governors make a strong effort to attend meetings as well.

## AGENDA ITEM II. THE MULTILATERAL PROJECT

Mr. Freeman then called on Elliot Richardson to report on Agenda Item II A, the meeting of the Executive Council of the Multilateral Project, which had immediately preceded this Board of Governors meeting.

Chairman Richardson commented that Cyrus Vance, Chairman of our National Council, had attended the meeting just concluded, and expressed his apologies at not being able to attend this meeting of the Board of Governors.

Mr. Richardson then reported that the Multilateral Project grew out of the recommendations of this Board's Committee on Program and Structure. A large part of the concept was to provide an opportunity for the chapters to analyze significant multilateral issues and develop recommendations that might realistically be adopted.

The Advisory Group was appointed to select topics and carry out other studies. The first topic chosen was nuclear nonproliferation. The recommendations of the chapters go to the National office to be considered concurrently with those of the national panel. In order to be able to incorporate all these recommendations into a single report with the whole weight of UNA behind it, the Executive Council was created to review and approve the final recommendations. The Executive Council consists of the principal officers of UNA.

The Executive Council met earlier today and reviewed an outline of the national panel's recommendations on proliferation. This is not the final report, because the chapter input is not yet available, but judging from this outline, the non-proliferation project does fit the characteristics we had in mind. The recommendations call for concrete actions that could be adopted, and that are appropriate for a concerted push by UNA and its chapters.

For next year's topic, the Advisory Group narrowed a long list of chapter suggestions down to multilateral peacekeeping, outer space, and hazardous waste disposal. The Executive Council concluded this morning that peacekeeping is the most appropriate topic at this time. He recalled that at the Board of Directors' lunch in December, he said there needs to be a greater focus on containing local conflicts. It makes little sense to focus only on nuclear weapons since they cannot in the foreseeable future be reduced below the level that could trigger nuclear winter. It will be good to have the chapters focus on the topic of preventing the escalation of local conflicts, as this is an area the public tends to neglect.

Mr. Freeman thanked Elliot Richardson for his report and indicated that the project is going forward extremely well. As he saw it, there are three distinct aspects of the program. The first is public education; the second strengthening of multilateral institutions, in this case, the International Atomic Energy Agency, and the third major aspect has to do with the image of UNA. UNA is more than a think tank - it is an action oriented operation which is going to get things done. UNA is important and does tackle gutsy and meaningful issues, both at National Headquarters and in the Field.

At this point, Chairman Freeman, in the absence of Peggy Carlin, Vice President in charge of this program, called on Kevin Canavan, National Field Director, for a report on Agenda Item II B, Progress in the Field.

Kevin Canavan discussed the role of the field in the Multilateral Project. He noted thirty-five chapters and divisions were involved, many of which had organized very distinguished panels in their communities. He pointed out that numerous chapters involved groups and individuals who had not participated in UNA activities in the past. Edith Segall pointed out that both the Conference of UN Representatives and Council of Washington Representatives had organized study groups for the project.

Carroll Cannon said that at the CCDP meeting coming up in June, three different Models of reports of what had been done in the Field would be available, so other chapters will have an opportunity to see them.

Edith Segall mentioned that the very next day, February 28th, the NGOs would have open hearings, and then we would be able to see what their response is.

Mr. Richardson added that there were two things suggested by Fred Eckhard to be done. One is to include regional press conferences which would involve the people who have been connected with the study, and to convey to chapters the feeling that something is being done and they are making an impact.

Next year, concurrently with the work of the chapters on Multilateral Peacekeeping, the Advisory Group will focus on more effective Administration and Management of the United Nations and its affiliated organizations, and we should be working with the UN on useful ideas on how to correct them.

Mr. Freeman then called on Fred to discuss the balance of the items listed under Agenda Item II, and to identify the meaningful actions which have been taking place in the program.

Fred Eckhard reported that, after three meetings, the Advisory Group of the Multilateral Project had forged a collective identity with a strong and unified sense of how the new program's goals should be pursued. The Group is quite comfortable with an advocacy posture, but will not shy away from the role of the informed critic. It wants to narrow the focus of its study agenda in order to zero in on those UN-related issues that are most politically central in the United States. Consequently, it has decided to pursue two avenues of inquiry: One is the peace and security area, asking why nations don't naturally take a multilateral option in time of crisis (through case studies of Lebanon, Grenada, Chad and the Falklands), and the second in the area of UN management and finance, which has recently become the target of potentially very damaging legislation such as the Kassebaum amendment. The Group will soon form a working panel on each of these topics. As the management and finance topic is something of a multiheaded monster, we would welcome any suggestions the Board might have on how to approach it.

In addition, a third project will be the annual study exercise which the Group will conduct simultaneously with community panels around the country. Our first annual cycle is nearing completion; a report on nuclear proliferation and the IAEA will be released in June.

The Multilateral Project will be engaged in other activities as well. Working with a small group of UNA lay leaders still to be formed, its staff will draft a platform statement on the UN to be presented to the two parties this Spring. We will also be producing occasional papers along the lines of the one on UNESCO put out in the names of staff authors, if this Board feels comfortable with that format and procedure. Finally, we will be conducting a regular series of briefings in Washington for key Congressional aides. In that connection, we seek the advice of the Board of Governors on a decision that is before us. We have been approached by staff of the Heritage Foundation about the idea of co-sponsoring UN-related programs on the Hill. The issue is whether by working with them we give them additional status and credibility in their anti-UN crusade, or whether they are not already so well-established and influential that we cannot ignore them and might even benefit from working directly with them in this way.



Mr. Freeman then summarized that Fred is asking for guidance in four areas.

1. General comment about overall approach to Multilateral Project.
2. Occasional papers, using one on UNESCO as a model for future papers.
3. Study of UN management and finance.
4. Heritage Foundation - what UNA's basic policy and strategy should be.

Estelle Linzer questioned at what point the Platform Committee statement would go to the Board of Governors or responsible bodies for any UNA statement.

Elliot Richardson replied that the only matter discussed vis-a-vis the Platform Committee would be the matter of nonproliferation which will be a UNA Paper, but that we could ask Platforms to say something positive about the UN problems.

Ed Luck felt that the Platform statement should be a UNA-USA statement issued by the Executive Committee or Board of Governors on what the United States Policy should be toward the United Nations.

Orville Freeman queried the Board on the Working Paper on UNESCO, which is the product of the working staff.

Ruth Hinerfeld felt that the Paper was very good, with a balanced viewpoint, and very helpful. She questioned its reception because it is staff signed. Perhaps this kind of paper, which is largely explanatory rather than advocacy, should be staff signed.

Fred Eckhard explained that the paper was distributed with a cover note from Elliot Richardson. The reaction was that it was viewed as a balanced paper. Most responses were positive, and it was viewed as a UNA paper. The loudest complaint came from the representative of UNESCO in New York.

Ed Luck mentioned a complimentary letter received from Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Lawrence S. Eagleburger. He pointed out that the Heritage Foundation pieces on the United Nations are all signed by individual staff members, with a disclaimer that this does not necessarily represent the view of the Heritage Foundation.

Carroll Cannon said that from the Field's point of view, it was important that UNA-USA take positions. He feels the Paper is excellent, but we need to distinguish for the Field the position that UNA is taking. If UNA feels 75% for something and 25% against it, we have to go to battle for it.

Elliot Richardson explained that we have a real problem in UNA in taking positions on controversial issues. In extreme cases, do we not react at all and be inert, or do we jump in at the cost of generating dissent and static. What we are trying to do is to feel free to make public statements. i.e. What we did in reaction to statement about getting the United States out of the United Nations. We took the initiative by getting former Secretaries of State and former U.S. Ambassadors to the United Nations to sign a statement which we never could have done had we to submit that to entire Board of Governors, Directors, or membership.

In the recommendations on proliferation, we endeavor to create a series of recommendations that are recommendations of UNA as a whole. Since we had neither the quality of mandate reflected in the Statement signed by the Secretaries of State, nor internal machinery we have in the case of nonproliferation, the result was an in between one, a sort of limbo represented by the Statement on UNESCO.

The Statement was discussed, and on conclusion, we decided that it would be done by the staff, we would not attack the position of the Administration, but instead we would focus on what the things are that could be done to correct it. The chapters should keep the distinction in mind that this is a policy statement concept.

Mr. Freeman commented that Mr. Richardson's outline is helpful, that we are moving ahead with good judgment and good sense, but that we must have flexibility.

Mr. vanden Heuvel pointed out that missing from every discussion of UNESCO, and even our paper, was a list of what UNESCO has accomplished. He felt that UNA should take a position, but does not at this time know what that position should be. He mentioned that the State Department has designated a Committee of nine to review the Presidential decision. Our own Governor, Arthur Ross, is on that Commission, therefore he would hope that we would have some input into the Committee's recommendations.

Fred Eckhard mentioned that he was doing a more thorough analysis of the UNESCO situation in the next issue of THE INTER DEPENDENT which would state a good deal about the positive work of UNESCO.

As far as the Heritage Foundation is concerned, the Board felt that we needed more information as to exactly what they had in mind, what ground rules would be followed, etc. Therefore, the Board asked the staff to get more specific information before they could make a decision.

Orville Freeman then thanked Fred for the very interesting information he had provided for the discussion, and called on Ed Luck to discuss the Brookings Conference.

Ed Luck explained that the Brookings Institution had approached UNA and asked us if we would be interested in running a joint two-day Conference with them towards the end of May (May 24th & 25th) at Brookings, on "The UN in World Affairs: Option for the US." The Conference and its subsequent publications would be designed to reach three crucial constituencies, the shapers and makers of US foreign policies, key diplomats and officials in the UN community, and through media coverage and follow-up activities, the American public.

Naturally, we were quite pleased to respond affirmatively to this request, and we are quite confident that we would be able to raise the funds for it. 50% of the costs of the Conference were to be covered by each organization, either in cash or in kind. Bill Scranton has agreed to Chair the meetings, and the Secretary-General has agreed to be the principal speaker at the Luncheon scheduled for Friday, May 25th. We intend, of course, to have the highest level participants as discussion leaders from the UN, the US and the private sector, and we anticipate that this will be a very successful event. The participants will include 90 representatives of the Congress, the Administration, the media, the foreign policy community, and business and labor.

We are confident that we can raise the \$11,000 cash that is necessary to see to it that an excellent publication is printed and most broadly distributed following the event.

### AGENDA ITEM III. ECONOMIC POLICY COUNCIL

Chairman Freeman asked Sylvia Hewlett to lead the discussion about the Economic Policy Council.

Mrs. Hewlett reported that the EPC recently released two major reports, one on The Productivity Problem: U.S. Labor Management Relations and the other on U.S. Trade and Economic Relations with Japan and Mexico.

These reports were widely disseminated to high level corporate executives, members of Congress and the media. The response has been excellent (see sample quotes in *italics*), and EPC is now planning an extensive outreach program.

On March 29th, the EPC will be holding a productivity outreach program in Houston, Texas in conjunction with the Mayor of the City of Houston. In addition to members of the EPC, participants will include members of the UNA Chapter in Houston, representatives from the private sector and senior public administrators and other officials from Houston, Chicago, Massachusetts, Arizona, North Carolina and Michigan.

Mayor Kathy Whitmire will preside over the program, which includes a variety of experts on productivity issues. EPC's productivity panel co-chairman, Ray Marshall (economist and former Secretary of Labor) will make a presentation highlighting the conclusions of EPC's productivity report.

Following the conference, which will last from 9:00 AM to 4:00 PM, we hope to hold a Reception for the Houston Chapter. At this Reception, there would be an in-depth discussion of our productivity study and other EPC activities of interest to chapter members.

We are also holding an outreach program for our trade report, which will be held on May 7th in Chicago. It will be sponsored by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, the Japan America Society and the Chamber of Commerce's Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry. This will be a luncheon program that will include a panel discussion. The panel's two chairmen, Bob Ingersoll (former U.S. Ambassador to Japan) and Lynn Williams (Temporary President, United Steelworkers of America) will lead the discussion, while two very active members of the trade panel, Hugh Patrick (Director, Economic Growth Center, Yale University) and Ray Vernon (Clarence Dillon Professor of International Affairs, Harvard University) will follow-up with commentaries.

Members of the UNA-USA Chapter in Chicago will be participating in this event, along with the EPC and the other cosponsors of the event. After this meeting, we hope to hold a Reception for members of the UNA Chapter and the EPC.

Both forums will provide an excellent opportunity to present the panel's recommendations to a wider audience than we have been able to tap to date.

The EPC panel on "The Global Repercussions of U.S. Monetary and Fiscal Policy" co-chaired by Henry Kaufman and Peter Kenen, is drawing to a successful conclusion. Plans are to pull together the panel's recommendations by early Fall when a Ballanger Press book and a panel report will be released.

The 1984 Annual Plenary Session of the EPC will be held in Washington, D.C. on September 13th and 14th.



SAMPLE COMMENTS ON EPC REPORTS

"My overall impression of the study on U.S. labor-management relations is that it is both very timely and well focused...the EPC report outlines important concepts which can be adopted by every business to enhance productivity. The success of these concepts of worker productivity in foreign corporations, and the domestic corporations included in the EPC study, reinforce the importance of their adoption on a larger scale...I enjoyed reviewing the study and would appreciate receiving subsequent studies of the Economic Policy Council."

JOHN HEINZ, United States Senator

"The Report reinforces my conviction that an important part of the solution to our competitive problems rests on our ability to tap the tremendous pool of unused talent represented by the U.S. work force...Your report serves as a valuable reminder of the critical importance of the programs we have implemented, and that decades of mistrust can not be overcome in a few years. A long-term commitment from both management and labor is necessary. I agree with your findings that this commitment will be rewarded with improved quality of worklife for our employees, and improved product quality and lower cost for our customers...please congratulate the Productivity Panel for their excellent work. The significance of cooperative labor-management relations in promoting greater efficiency and job satisfaction deserves the attention your report gives to these issues."

ROGER B. SMITH, Chairman, General Motors Corporation

"Thank you for a copy of the EPC report on U.S. Labor Management Relations. It will be a great use as the Commission addresses solutions to issues in its deliberations."

EGILS MILBERGS, Executive Director, President's Commission on Industrial Competitiveness

"The policy recommendations contained in the EPC's productivity report offer a viable approach toward the solution of our productivity problem."

MARK SHEPHARD, Jr., Chairman, Texas Instruments

"The committee has certainly done an excellent research job on the effects that labor/management relations has and can have on productivity."

L.W. LEHR, Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer, 3M

"The (trade) panel should be highly commended for the breadth and balance of its report and recommendations... Overall I find the recommendations exceptionally responsible and constructive... The views of such a distinguished and diverse panel deserve wide readership."

CHARLES H. PERCY, Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations

"I appreciate the effort the Economic Policy Council went to in reviewing our economic and trade relations with these two countries...Your report indeed reflects the hard work and thoughtfulness that I know went into its preparations! ..It is interesting and informative, and I have circulated it within the Department."

LIONEL H. OLMER, Under Secretary for International Trade, United States Department of Commerce

In reporting on the status of current Foundation grants to EPC, Mrs. Hewlett mentioned that the Ford staff member expressed the hope that UNA was continuing to be as diligent with its affirmative action program as it always has been and should be.

The Governors briefly discussed this issue and unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved that UNA continue to support the principle of affirmative action and reaffirm its commitment to this goal by having the staff prepare an affirmative action statement for circulation and follow-up action."

#### AGENDA ITEM IV. POLICY STUDIES PROGRAM

Mr. Freeman then called on Toby Trister Gati, Vice President for Policy Studies, to update the Board on this program.

Toby Gati reported that this has been an active period for all the Parallel Studies Programs. UNA-USA and the Soviet UN Association have agreed to hold several smaller meetings during the next few months on bilateral and global economic relations (in March), and on arms control later this Spring, as well as a larger session in late November after the Presidential election on various political and security issues.

There have also been numerous contacts with the Soviet Mission in New York to initiate an informal, high-level meeting on preventing an arms race in outer space. Due to the uncertainty following Andropov's death, there has been some delay in getting the dialogue underway, but we consider this to be a very significant initiative, indicating a serious Soviet interest in the problem. In UNA meetings with high-level government officials in the Department of State and Defense and in the National Security Council, we have been encouraged to proceed with these talks. There seems to be a growing appreciation in Washington of the unique opportunities for informal exchanges provided by programs like those organized by UNA.

The UNA program on the Major Powers in Asia is now getting underway, both financially and substantively. At the end of March, Lt. General Brent Scowcroft is leading a group to Beijing, the second group to visit the People's Republic of China under UNA sponsorship, to discuss such diverse topics as the state of bilateral relations, Soviet policies in Asia, and Japan's role in regional security problems. Ed Luck will be meeting in Japan with representatives from the Asia-Pacific Association both before and after the meetings in Beijing.

Mrs. Gati commented that it is interesting to note that not only is UNA unique in having these Parallel Studies Programs with the USSR and the People's Republic of China, but that they will be meeting at exactly the same time.

The outreach component of the Parallel Studies Programs has also been developing nicely. A rather interesting program on US-Soviet relations is scheduled in Omaha in late September, to be co-hosted by the University of Nebraska, the Air Force Association, and UNA. We have been working on several other possibilities for outreach as well.

Another way in which our programs are known to the public is through our access to the media. Just recently, for example, a preparatory meeting of the American Arms Control Panel of the Parallel Studies Program with the Soviet Union was filmed by The MacNeil-Lehrer News Hour for use on a future program on non-governmental, bilateral US-Soviet exchanges. UNA's Parallel Studies Program will be used as an example of how these bilateral exchanges operate, what they seek to accomplish, and how they may influence policy over the long term.

Mrs. Gati concluded her remarks by indicating that major funding for the Parallel Studies Programs has been secured from various foundations, and additional sources of support are actively being sought.

#### AGENDA ITEM V. 1985 CONVENTION

In Peggy Carlin's absence, Mr. Freeman asked Carol Christian, Director for Field Administration, to discuss the 1985 Convention.

Mrs. Christian stated that Spring is the most agreeable time for UNA-USA's National Convention from the standpoint of the constituency that attend. (Five of the seven Conventions have been held in the Spring.)

One of the major hotels in New York suggested that April would be the most advantageous month, for we could negotiate the lowest possible room rates for April, 1985.

The Board of Governors approved the dates of April 22nd to 24th, 1985 for the National Convention and Convocation on the 40th Anniversary of the United Nations. Since the Convention will coincide with the 40th Anniversary of the UN, it is appropriate for the Convention to be held either in New York, the Host city, or in San Francisco, where the United Nations was born. For reasons of economy, the Board of Governors approved the New York site over the San Francisco proposal, since that city would require considerable expense over the Convention budget, because of the need to bring a working staff from the National Office across the country and house them and feed them for a number of days.

The Board of Governors felt that the selection of the Hotel, as well as other details, should be left to the discretion of the National Staff.

#### AGENDA ITEM VI. OTHER BUSINESS

A motion was made by Mr. Ratner to elect Robert I. Lipp, President of the Chemical Bank, to fill a vacancy on the Board of Governors which had been created by the resignation of C. W. Carson. The motion was unanimously adopted.

After reviewing the specific language, the Board unanimously passed a resolution to adopt the following statement suggested by B'nai B'rith International, and requested the staff to distribute that resolution to our Chapters and Divisions and the National Organizations associated with UNA.

"A troubling development at the 38th Session of the United Nations General Assembly was the recurrence of manifestations of racist rhetoric by several member states. For example, certain attacks against Israel degenerated again into blatant anti-Semitism.

We are disturbed that surprisingly few delegations bothered to object. But the Secretary-General did issue a timely statement which took issue with...'the use in the General Assembly of epithets and slurs of a racial, religious, or personal nature, even in the heat of the debate'...The Secretary-General appealed...'to all members to refrain from language unbecoming to serious international debate,'...and we strongly endorse his appeal."

Mrs. Patricia DiGiorgio from San Francisco raised the concern that the Herbst Auditorium, an historic building in San Francisco, where the UN Charter was signed, was about to be demolished to provide office space for the museum which occupies space above it.

Mrs. DiGiorgio urged that UNA Board members write to Mayor Diane Feinstein, City Hall, San Francisco, urging that she take whatever action is necessary to preserve the Herbst Auditorium not only because of its historic architectural value in the City of San Francisco, but specifically because of the historic role it has played in the world, due to the fact that the UN Charter was signed in that Auditorium.

Mrs. DiGiorgio also pointed out that 1985 would be the 40th Anniversary of the United Nations, and that she had an appointment with the Secretary-General to discuss the possibility of a celebration in San Francisco in commemoration of that anniversary. She said that the Secretary-General was entirely in favor of the idea and she urged UNA's Governors to give some thought to an appropriate type of 40th Anniversary celebration.

Ed Luck then reported that Mr. Hans Danelius, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the United Nations Voluntary Fund for Victims of Torture asked the United Nations Association if it would be willing to accept contributions for the work of the Voluntary Fund. Having looked into the material supplied by Mr. Danelius, the Board agreed that this was a very worthwhile effort and following past precedents of allocating special contributions received for educational and charitable purposes of the United Nations, the Board agreed to accept such contributions on behalf of the United Nations Voluntary Fund, and in turn, UNA would award such contributions to the program for that purpose.

Mr. Freeman then quickly reviewed the meeting dates for the balance of the year, as follows, and asked everyone to mark their calendars accordingly.

Monday, May 21st, September 17th and November 19th, all from  
1:00 to 4:00 PM.

The Chairman then thanked all for attending, and adjourned the meeting at 4:00 P.M.





# United Nations Association of the United States of America

300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017 212 697 3232

CONFIDENTIAL

STATUS REPORT

February 27, 1984

## FOUNDATION FUND RAISING

### Foundation-Dependent Programs

<u>Stage</u>	<u>Soviet</u>			<u>East Asia</u>			<u>Multilateral Project</u>			<u>Total</u>
	'84	'85	'86	'84	'85	'86	'84	'85	'86	
Commitment (Definite)	153	--	--	54	104	--	120	120	120	671
Mature (Probable)	63	179	135	100	100	74	43	13	--	707
Early (Possible)	--	--	--	--	--	--	353	362	392	1107
<hr/>										
Total	216	179	135	154	204	74	516	495	512	2485

Notes: Totals in thousands of dollars

Commitment = written or oral confirmation by responsible foundation official

Mature = specific proposal under discussion with foundation for some time and informal indication of positive response

Early = specific program area under discussion with specific foundation with some indication of promise, but no certainty

### Sources of funding:

Soviet - commitments from Ford, Rockefeller, General Service Foundation and Harriman, mature proposals to Alton Jones for '84-'85 and mature discussions with Ford and Rockefeller for '85 and '86

East Asia - commitments from Asia Foundation and Rockefeller Brothers Fund for '84 and '85, mature proposal to US-Japan Foundation for '84 - '86 and mature discussions with Asia Foundation for '86

Multilateral Project - commitments from McDonnell Foundation and Hammer Foundation for '84 - '86, mature proposal to Alton Jones for '84 - '85, early proposals to Carnegie Corporation and Ford Foundation for '84 - '86

### Other Programs

EPC: foundation grants supplement core funding from members and primarily cover additional research and publication costs; commitments from German Marshall Fund for \$11,000 in '84 and \$2,000 in '85, and from Ford Foundation for \$18,000 and Rockefeller Foundation for \$18,000 (both to cover '84-'85 costs), and early consideration of approaching Sloan Foundation for \$20,000 for future research

Field Program: has had relatively little success in the past in direct foundation appeals, so now outreach functions are included in most proposals submitted by UNA's other programs, thus indirectly underwriting the Association's outreach activities





## United Nations Association of the United States of America

300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017 212 697 3232

April 25, 1984

TO: Robert M. Ratner

FROM: Sylvia Ann Hewlett, Vice President, Economic Policy

RE: EPC Progress Report for the May 21, 1984 Board of Governors Meeting

The EPC outreach program for 1984 is off to a successful start. On March 29, the EPC held its first outreach in Houston, Texas on The Productivity Problem: U.S. Labor-Management Relations. The agenda featured Ray Marshall, the co-chairman of the EPC productivity panel, who was joined by Mayor Ed Koch and others. This program was held in conjunction with the Mayor of Houston's office and attracted over 400 participants, including public administrators, local UNA members, business professionals, and EPC members. The EPC report received such an enthusiastic reception that we exhausted all of the copies on hand and now have a backlog of approximately 100 orders. This event also elicited good media coverage, and we followed up the outreach by placing an editorial about the work of the EPC productivity panel in The Houston Chronicle.

Our second outreach on U.S. Trade Relations with Japan and Mexico will be held in Chicago on May 7 in conjunction with the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, the Japan-America Society and the Chicago Council of Commerce and Industry. Both Robert Ingersoll and Lynn Williams, the two EPC panel co-chairmen for this project, will be on hand to comment on this report, and they will be joined by two prominent panel members. We are working closely with the Chicago UNA chapter on this project. Over 3,000 invitations have been sent out for this event, and we anticipate a good attendance and extensive media coverage.

The EPC also held its Steering Committee meeting this spring, which was attended by all of the members of the Steering Committee, which is comprised of Charles Barber, Henry Kaufman, Ray Marshall and Jack Sheinkman. At this meeting, we reviewed EPC membership (which has grown to more than 100 members), topics for our next round of panels, EPC editorial policy, and the possibility of expanding the Steering Committee.

The current cycle of EPC panels is making excellent progress. The panel on "The Global Repercussions of U.S. Monetary and Fiscal Policy" is drawing to a successful conclusion. We will be circulating the final draft of the panel for approval at our meeting on June 27 and intend to release the panel report in September. We have submitted all of our manuscripts to Ballinger Press and so far are ahead of schedule, which means that the book that will accompany the final report of this panel will be released in the early Fall of 1984. This panel has already elicited a great deal of excitement both at national policy levels and in multilateral organizations, and we anticipate that our findings will receive widespread attention in both the public and private sectors.

Meanwhile, our world employment project is progressing well. The panel on "Jobs in the 1980s," which is co-chaired by Douglas Fraser and John Filer, will be addressed at its next meeting by Nobel Laureate Wassily Leontief, Dr. Pat Choate

of TRW, and John Lloyd, the Labor Editor of The Financial Times of London. These speakers will discuss how technology, trade and demographics will affect jobs during the next decade and the policy implications of these trends. Because of the enthusiasm of the panel members, this panel is now on an accelerated agenda and hopes to release its final report in the Spring of 1985.

Rounding out our world employment project is the panel on "Parents and Work: Family Policy in Comparative Perspective," which is co-chaired by John Sweeney and Alice Ilchman. At the panel's last meeting, Anna-Greta Leijon, the Swedish Minister of Labor, gave a lucid presentation of the Swedish experience in this area. Continuing our examination of the international perspective on this issue, Professor Peter Sloane of Paisley College in Scotland will be addressing the panel on June 12th. This panel is off to a good start and will be continuing its deliberations into 1985.

Planning for the EPC Plenary is also progressing smoothly. This year's Plenary will be held in Washington, D.C. on September 13 and 14. Anthony Solomon, the Chairman of the New York Federal Reserve Bank, and Janet Norwood, the Executive Director of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, have already given early notification that they will be able to speak at this event, and we are currently awaiting responses from several cabinet members and congressional leaders. We will be holding our traditional policy dinner on Capitol Hill and also hope to sponsor a major colloquium on current labor-management relations as part of our Plenary program.



# United Nations Association of the United States of America

300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017 212 697 3232

April 23, 1984

TO: Robert M. Ratner

FROM: Peggy Sanford Carlin, Vice President for Administration & National Field Program

RE: REPORT ON FIELD ACTIVITIES FOR BOARD OF GOVERNORS MEETING, MAY 21, 1984

## I. Chapters and Divisions

### 1. Annual Meeting of the Council of Chapter and Division Presidents (CCDP)

Preparations are under way for the annual CCDP meeting to be held June 8 to 11 at the Seamen's Church Institute in lower Manhattan. The 4-day meeting will begin with plenary and meetings of task forces of the CCDP Steering Committee, which will consider a number of items related to standards, procedures, funding and programs of UNA's 175 chapters and divisions throughout the country. The Steering Committee will also appoint a Nominating Committee for the election of CCDP leadership at its next meeting. The full CCDP meeting on Sunday, June 10th will discuss pressing chapter concerns and hear presentations on UNA-USA's Multilateral Project. Several workshops will be set up to go into greater detail of items that are of particular interest to chapters.

A full day at the United Nations, with briefings by outstanding experts, will conclude the 4-day session.

### 2. Chapter Activities on the Multilateral Project

Close to 40 chapters participated in the study of nuclear proliferation. Some of them - among them the Capital Area Division and Pasadena - have done an outstanding job and have involved local experts and others not usually associated with the chapter. A state-wide conference in Iowa dealt with the topic of nuclear proliferation under the theme "The Management of Global Change", and attracted a wide audience. National organizations affiliated with UNA Council of Organizations were asked to inform their Iowa leaders of the Conference and urge their attendance.

The positive response of chapters to the Multilateral Project encourages us to believe that the next topic will see greatly increased participation.

### 3. San Francisco Program on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination

On March 21, the day proclaimed by the General Assembly as the "International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination", the San Francisco Chapter held a dinner that involved every segment of the community in its organization. Assistant-Secretary-General James O. Jonah accepted the Eleanor Roosevelt Human Rights award on behalf of the Secretary-General. Outstanding San Franciscans who had contributed to the protection of human rights were given awards. The chapter will attempt to make this an annual event, even though in 1985 the 40th anniversary of the United Nations will fully occupy the chapter.

## II. Council of Organizations

### 1. International Association of Lions Clubs

On March 19th, over 100 national and international leaders of Lions Clubs from all over the world came to the United Nations for the 6th annual "Lions Day at the UN." We had arranged a full-day program, involving the Secretary-General and other prominent speakers, and including a luncheon to which a dozen ambassadors from UN member states were invited.

The Lions leadership again affirmed their commitment to UN programs on drug abuse control, and their continuing support for UNA-USA.

### 2. Conference of UN Representatives and Council of Washington Representatives on the UN Work on the Multilateral Project

Both groups, consisting of representatives of organizations affiliated with UNA's Council of Organizations produced papers of recommendations on the nuclear proliferation issue. The Conference of UN Representatives in New York presented the draft paper of a Working Group to non-governmental organizations at an "Open Hearing"; the Washington group established a committee of experts who produced the paper. The final paper was circulated among both groups to inform members of the work that had been done by both study groups.

### 3. Conference of UN Representatives and Council of Washington Representatives Meetings on UNESCO

On February 22nd, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs and Doudou Diene, Director of the UNESCO Office at UN Headquarters were invited by the Council of Washington Representatives to debate the U.S. decision to withdraw from UNESCO. A similar meeting was held on April 10th in New York, arranged by the Conference of UN Representatives to hear Leonard Sussman of Freedom House and Nancy Reisser, member of the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO. The paper on UNESCO, prepared by the Multilateral Project staff formed the basis for the discussion and strategy planning.

The above are brief examples of Field activities during the past 3 months.





**United Nations Association of the United States of America**  
300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017 212 697 3232

TO: Robert M. Ratner

April 23, 1984

FROM: Carol Seifert, Director, Corporate Council for International Policy (CCIP)

RE: Update on the CCIP for the Board of Governors Meeting, May 21, 1984

Since our last report to the Board of Governors, the Corporate Council for International Policy has grown from twenty to thirty-eight member companies. They are listed below; (\*) indicates new members since March 1983.

Allbritton Communications, American Can Company, American Management Systems, Inc., Aminoil, Inc., Arthur Andersen & Company\*, Atlantic Richfield Corporation, Beker Industries Corporation\*, Belco Petroleum Corporation\*, Bethlehem Steel Corporation, Blunt Enterprises, Inc.\*, Capital Gazette Communications, Inc.\*, Central National Corporation, Combustion Engineering, Inc.\*, Communications Satellite Corporation\*, Dannenbaum Engineering\*, Deak & Company, Inc., Deloitte Haskins & Sells, Estee Lauder\*, Ferguson Bryan & Associates\*, Gadsby & Hannah\*, GFE, Ltd.\*, Grumman Corporation, Hillsboro Associates, Inc., IBM World Trade Corporation, Industrial Training Corporation\*, Internorth, Inc.\*, LITCO Bancorporation, Inc.\*, Marine Midland Bank, N.A., Merrill Lynch Capital Markets, Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., Mitsui & Co. (U.S.A.), Inc.\*, New York Mercantile Exchange, Northern Telecom Limited\*, Salomon Brothers, Inc., Muriel Siebert & Co., Inc.\*, Sun Chemical Corporation, Touche Ross International, United Telecommunications, Inc.\*

The CCIP meetings, summarized below, illustrate our method of keeping members abreast of the UNA's policy work while providing the kind of program which we hope will interest new business leaders in membership.

- September 21, 1983      Speaker: Lt. General Brent Scowcroft\* (USAF Ret.),  
Chairman, President's Commission on Strategic Forces. Reviewed the goals of the Commission's new look at arms control in its recommendations for the placement of the MX missile.
- Host: Ivan Selin\*, Chairman, American Management Systems, Inc.  
Dinner meeting, Cosmos Club, Washington, D.C.
- New members: Blunt Enterprises, Combustion Engineering, Comsat
- November 9, 1983      Speaker: Guy F. Erb, Chairman, US-Mexico Policy Committee  
Discussed the situation in Mexico since President de la Madrid took office and the possibilities for trade between the US and Mexico.
- Host: Paul H. Henson, Chairman, United Telecommunications, Inc.  
Luncheon meeting, Kansas City Club, Kansas City, MO.
- New members: Internorth, Inc., Industrial Training Corporation
- November 17, 1983      Speaker: Helmut Sonnenfeldt\*, Guest Scholar, The Brookings Institution and former Counselor, US Department of State. Reviewed the changing relationship between the Soviet Union and the NATO countries, particularly in light of the November missile deployment in Europe.
- Host: Charles G. Steele\*, Chairman, Deloitte Haskins & Sells  
Dinner meeting, Links Club, New York City.
- New members: Beker Industries Corp., Gadsby & Hannah



January 24, 1984

Speaker: Richard Colino, Director General, Intelsat  
Emphasized the need for international cooperation  
in the use of telecommunications satellites.

Host: Irving Goldstein, President, Comsat  
Dinner meeting, Comsat, Washington, D.C.

New member: Muriel Siebert & Co.

February 16, 1984

Speaker: John Silber, Member of the President's National  
Bipartisan Commission on Central America.  
Reviewed the goals of the Kissinger Commission  
report and discussed his views on the US posture  
in Central America.

Host: Sam F. Segnar, Chairman, Internorth, Inc.  
Dinner meeting, Board Room Club, New York City.

New member: Belco Petroleum

March 15, 1984

Speaker: John R. Block, Secretary of Agriculture  
Discussed the links between the US farm policy and  
the US economy as a whole.

Host: Michel D. Marks, Chairman, New York Mercantile Exchange  
Dinner meeting, Windows on the World, New York City.

April 3, 1984

Speaker: Vadim N. Kirichenko, Director of the Economic Research  
Institute of Gosplan. Presented the Soviet view of  
major global economic trends.

Host: Philip Merrill, Chairman, Capital Gazette Communications,  
Dinner meeting, Cosmos Club, Washington, D.C.

New member: Estee Lauder

April 9, 1984

Speaker: Robert A. Scalapino, Director of the Institute of East  
Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley.  
Reviewed the broad range of political, security, and  
economics issues that the four-member UNA Delegation  
to China (March, 1984) discussed with Chinese  
officials in Beijing.

Host: Harry W. Knight<sup>#</sup>, Chairman, Hillsboro Associates, Inc.  
Dinner meeting, Sky Club, New York City

New members: Follow-up in process

In addition to the dinner meeting series, the Corporate Council has continued  
its series of one-page bulletins summarizing the more extensive reports and  
studies of the UNA's policy units. The vast majority of last year's members  
have renewed.

We will report on our May and June dinners at the September meeting of the  
Board of Governors.

#Member UNA Board of Governors or Directors



# United Nations Association of the United States of America

300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017 212 697 3232

## MEMO

TO: Robert M. Ratner

FROM: Fred Eckhard, Executive Director, The Multilateral Issues and Institutions Program

RE: Report on the Multilateral Project for  
the Board of Governors meeting, May 21, 1984

25 April 1984

The following activities have taken place since the last meeting of the Board of Governors.

### I. The Annual Study Project

1. 1984-Nuclear Proliferation and the IAEA. A total of 31 reports on this subject were turned in -- 27 from chapters or divisions, 1 each from the New York and Washington representatives of the Council of Organizations, 1 from the UNA staff at headquarters in New York, and 1 from an independent group in Rochester, New York. Studies Director Ann Florini has drafted a synthesis of these and the report of the national panel headed by Advisory Group Chairman Matthew Nimetz. She will be in Europe in mid-May where she will meet with IAEA officials in Vienna to discuss the recommendations. The final report will appear in booklet form in late June. Promotion planning is well-advanced.

The 27 field responses were by and large of exceptional quality, especially where guidelines were followed and a prominent panel appointed. Most striking was the fact that several small chapters with limited resources were among the strongest performers. In Syracuse, New York, for example, the Post-Standard ran an extraordinary editorial publicizing the project (see attached), a strong community panel was put together and a solid report produced. Ann Florini was invited to speak, gave a press conference and appeared on the six o'clock news on all three network TV stations. The Syracuse model suggests that the Multilateral Project has program potential that can be exploited for significant community impact by virtually all of the 175 chapters and divisions.

2. 1985-Flashpoints: The UN and a World of Wars. Preliminary research is already underway on the subject of UN peacekeeping and conflict resolution as the next annual study topic. Ann Florini will serve as rapporteur to Brian Urquhart at a Ditchley conference on the subject in London in mid-May. A "Citizen's Guide" briefing book, modelled on the very successful one on nuclear proliferation, will appear in September.

### II. The Ongoing Studies Program

1. Peace and Security. Pete Day is directing this study project which focuses on multilateral approaches to the prevention, containment and resolution of conflict. Papers looking into how multilateral approaches were used or why they were not used in a variety of regional conflicts are now being commissioned. They will likely be published as a book in about a year's time. The study was formally launched at a meeting of the Advisory Group April 9 which featured two speakers on the subject: former Assistant Secretary of State Harold H. Saunders and Brian Urquhart's deputy George L. Sherry.

2. UN Administration and Finance. Still in the planning stage, this study is expected to focus on UN management, personnel and finance over a period of a few years during which a series of occasional papers will be published. Matt Nimetz chaired a meeting of an ad hoc planning group April 10 which included Richard N. Gardner, Frank Loy and Harold K. Jacobson. Loy, the President of the German Marshall Fund, has been asked to be one co-chair of the study panel that is to be formed.

### III. The Brookings Conference

Governor William W. Scranton and Ambassador Elliot L. Richardson each will chair a portion of this two-day conference May 24 and 25 which is expected to bring high visibility to the UN in the Washington community. A book of the proceedings will be published later this year.

### IV. The Public Information Service

1. 1984 Editors' Seminar at the UN. Bill Powell has begun planning for this annual fall event which coincides with the opening of the General Assembly. Nuclear proliferation and the IAEA will be made part of the program.

2. Fact Sheets. Two six-panel factsheets were issued in March, one on UN Financing by Editorial Director Peter Fromuth and one on UN structure by Ann Florini. Ann is also working on a fact sheet on the Women's Decade which will appear in May.

### V. Progress with Funding

The Peace and Security project is the focus of an \$862,125 grant proposal to the Carnegie Corporation for a three year period. Carnegie has reacted positively to the proposal while indicating that they could not fund the full amount. Staff review should be complete by early summer at which time we should know our chances. Board action would come in October.

The Administration and Finance project has attracted the interest of Ford Foundation. A proposal is being drafted and indications are that Ford could act on it this year.

The UN Department of Public Information has indicated that they will once again fund our annual Editors' Seminar. A budget of about \$16,000 is being drawn up.

### VI. Issues of the Moment

1. UNESCO. The Administration has named a bipartisan review panel--one of the recommendations of our UNESCO position paper--with UNA Governor Arthur Ross a member. Both the paper and the coverage in The Inter Dependent continue to garner compliments; the UNESCO New York office says it distributed the ID article widely. The Washington Office of UNA is planning a series of Congressional briefings on UNESCO; Sam de Palma has agreed to chair a panel discussion some time in May. UNA has been invited to testify on UNESCO before two House subcommittees in joint session May 2.

2. Platform Hearings. Bob Ratner testified at Democratic Platform Committee hearings in New York April 9. The platform statement, drawn from earlier UNA

statements and reports, will also be submitted to the Republican Platform Committee and given wide distribution to the public and press.

#### VII. The Washington Office

1. Congressional Workshops. In addition to the special series on UNESCO, the Washington Office has an ongoing program for Congressional aides in part consponsored by the Stanley Foundation. The current agenda: Under-Secretary-General William B. Buffum did a GA wrap-up February 17; former Congressman J. William Scranton discussed the World Bank April 27; James P. Grant will talk on UNICEF and children's health in mid-May. Peace-keeping will be the topic in June.

2. Washington Weekly Report. The newsletter has kept a steady and objective eye on important developments concerning foreign aid legislation, US contributions to the UN, IFAD, IDA, UNESCO, etc.

3. Ongoing work of the Office. Steve Dimoff arranged a meeting with top House Foreign Affairs Committee aides March 28 to discuss The Multilateral Project and the role of the new UNA in Washington. Did same with State Department IO Bureau deputy Don E. Eller. Steve addressed a Ralph Bunche Institute (CUNY) luncheon April 11 on the subject of Congress and the UN. Office also ran or participated in briefings for chapters, Council of Organizations and others.

#### VIII. Other activities of Note

1. Anti-Americanism at the UN was the theme of a research paper coauthored by Ed Luck and Peter Fromuth and delivered by Peter March 23 at a conference at the University of Pennsylvania. It will be published as part of a book of the proceedings; a spin-off essay will be published as a UNA occasional paper.

2. Coordination of Research on the UN. Baron Rudiger von Wechmar, the West German Ambassador and former President of the General Assembly, called together representatives of several US organizations with an interest in the UN, including Joseph Slater of the Aspen Institute and Max Stanley of Stanley Foundation. Fred Eckhard of UNA attended as did the new head of UNITAR, Michel doo Kingue. It was agreed that there would be regular meetings hosted by UNITAR for the purpose of coordinating research programs and avoiding overlap or duplication.

3. Should the US Restrict Its Participation in the UN? will be the topic of a debate in the program of the annual meeting of the National Association of Student Councils in Rhode Island June 30. Fred Eckhard will go up against Roger Brooks of the Heritage Foundation before approximately 2,000 students and teachers at the event.

4. Educating Americans for Responsible Choices is the theme of what is expected to be one of the largest national assemblies ever convened on the subject of global education. It will be held in Washington May 17-19 and will include a panel presentation on the Multilateral Project's nuclear proliferation study, featuring C. William Maynes of the Advisory Group, Fred Eckhard and a participant in the excellent community panel on proliferation from Seattle, Washington.



# POST-STANDARD

SYRACUSE, N.Y. WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1984

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## The Editorial Page

### Nuclear Proliferation Study

The United Nations Association of Central New York is looking for people who have the expertise, energy and/or the desire to study one of the most pressing problems of our time: nuclear weapons proliferation.

In this age of high technology and instant communication, it may surprise you to know that only five countries have nuclear arsenals — the U.S., the U.S.S.R., Great Britain, France and China. Considerable credit for limiting the spread of weapons belongs to two modern institutions: the International Atomic Energy Agency, formed by the United Nations in the '50s at President Eisenhower's urging, to ensure the peaceful application of nuclear energy technology; and the Non-Proliferation Treaty of 1968, by which "nuclear" nations promise not to export weapons technology, and "non-nuclear" nations pledge not to acquire the bomb.

Now that 121 nations have signed the NPT, and with the IAEA safeguarding the peaceful use of nuclear power, one might well ask: is there really a danger of nuclear proliferation?

The answer is a reluctant but definitive "yes". For one thing, compliance with the IAEA is voluntary, and nations can theoretically hide nuclear facilities from IAEA inspectors. For another, some key nations have not signed the NPT, including France and the People's Republic of China, both "nuclear" nations, as well as countries like Argentina, Brazil, Israel and South Africa, whose advanced technologies may already enable them to build a bomb if they wish. In some parts of the globe, joining the "nuclear club" is viewed as a status symbol. India, also a non-signer of the NPT, exploded a "peaceful" nuclear device in 1974. Though the government insists it has no intention of building bombs, a high-ranking Indian official said in 1981: "If we make the bomb, the United States will realize that they cannot ignore a nation of 700 million with nuclear weapons."

At the last conference on the NPT in 1980, the Americans and the Soviets were accused of failing to live up to Article VI of the NPT, which commits the signatories to pursue an end to the arms race and a treaty on "general and complete disarmament".

The current breakdown in nuclear arms negotiations between the superpowers, and the hectic pace of nuclear bomb construction here and in the Soviet Union, suggests another kind of "nuclear proliferation".

How to prevent a small nation bent on obliterating its regional rival from building and exploding a nuclear bomb? Could a terrorist group get hold of the necessary materials and technology to build its own bomb and hold the world hostage? Will the proliferation of nuclear power plants ultimately make it easier for everyone to join the macabre club?

These and other questions are on the agenda of the local chapter of the United Nations Association, a volunteer group committed to improving international relations. Under the direction of Dr. Walter Meyer, energy chair at Syracuse University and an expert on nuclear engineering, the UNA study project is to focus on at least three specific areas: Article VI of the NPT; the problem of nuclear waste disposal; and the system of international safeguards.

Why study nuclear proliferation in Central New York, far from the power centers where nuclear policy is made? The reasons lead in two directions. One is educational — to alert us all to the threat of nuclear proliferation, including the need to dispose safely of the lethal waste products of nuclear power plants like those right here in Central New York.

The second reason for the local study project is to draw on the resources of sensible men and women outside the "think tanks" and government councils. Similar advisory panels are going to work around the country. The results of their efforts will be presented in their communities, and forwarded to the UNA's executive council, chaired by Elliot Richardson, former Cabinet member. A final report is to be issued in the spring.

If you would like to contribute to this worthy project, or find out more about it, call the local United Nations Association office in Syracuse; or attend the next meeting of the advisory panel, scheduled for Feb. 9, from 5 to 6:30 p.m. in the Marine Midland Bank at 360 South Warren St.





## United Nations Association of the United States of America

300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017 212 697 3232

April 24, 1984

TO: Robert M. Ratner

FROM: Toby Trister Gati, Vice President for Policy Studies

RE: REPORT ON POLICY STUDIES ACTIVITIES FOR BOARD OF GOVERNORS MEETING, MAY 21, 1984

Long-term contact with the Soviets, Chinese, and Japanese gives UNA's Parallel Studies Program a continuity and sense of purpose that allows these programs to flourish during periods of good relations and to weather the storm when relations deteriorate. The March meeting of the Soviet-American Parallel Studies Program is a particularly good example of the unique quality of the Policy Studies process. Despite an almost total freeze on the official level (and the disastrous recent experience of another non-governmental exchange which was unable to engage in serious discussion of political or arms control issues during a three-day session in Moscow), the March meeting on bilateral and global economic issues was perhaps the best that UNA has ever had.

The Soviet participants, all extremely high-level and substantively first-rate, were able to engage the American panel members in in-depth discussion of topics such as the long-term impact of the debt crisis in East Europe and the Third World, future prospects for currency convertability, the difficulties technological innovations present to the Soviet planner, and the foreign trade strategy of the USSR.

During the discussion on US-Soviet economic relations, the two groups were joined by Congressman Sam M. Gibbons, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Trade of the House Ways and Means Committee, who was able to give the group a unique perspective on the prospects for bilateral relations as seen by the Congress. In addition to the formal meetings, there were many opportunities to discuss the state of the bilateral relationship and to hear Soviet views on both Chernenko's leadership and the 1984 Presidential election.

After the three days of meetings, the Soviets were able to see some of Florida (and to spend a day at EPCOT as guests of the Orlando Chapter of UNA) and then go on to Washington, DC where meetings with Senator Charles McC. Mathias and senior Executive Branch representatives were arranged. In addition, a CCIP dinner in honor of the Soviet delegation was hosted by Philip Merrill, Chairman of Capital Gazette Communications, Inc.

Scheduling problems prevented an April meeting of the two arms control panels, but plans are now under discussion for a late June meeting in Moscow. A three-point agenda has already been agreed upon by both sides and will include discussion of preventing an arms race in outer space, developing norms of political relations between the two superpowers, and steps towards a Comprehensive Test Ban.

While the Soviets were in the US, a UNA delegation was in the People's Republic of China for a second round of discussions on arms control and Asian security. Chaired by Brent Scowcroft, the delegation included David Packard, Robert Scalapino, and Edward Luck. The group met with Defense Minister Zhang Aiping, Vice Foreign Minister Han Xu, and other top officials in addition to

holding meetings with the Beijing Institute for International Strategic Studies. The visit played a direct role in helping to lay the foundation for a successful trip by President Reagan. The UNA group was briefed at a very high-level in Washington before the trip and, after returning, General Scowcroft and Professor Scalapino were invited to lunch with the President and Mrs. Reagan to discuss the President's upcoming visit.

The UNA-USA group held meetings in Tokyo with the Asia Pacific Association before and after visiting China in order to lay the groundwork for a trilateral Japanese-Chinese-American program on arms control, security, and relations among the four major powers in Asia. The Japanese are now enthusiastic about proceeding with the project and the Chinese have tentatively agreed to proceed as well. Governor William W. Scranton, who will head the new trilateral program, and Ambassador Richard Sneider, who will lead a parallel Japanese-American set of discussions, met recently with the UNA staff for a detailed planning session. It is anticipated that the first trilateral conference will be held in March 1985.

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, INCORPORATED

FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1983

with

REPORT OF CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS



ARTHUR YOUNG



A MEMBER OF ARTHUR YOUNG INTERNATIONAL

# ARTHUR YOUNG

277 Park Avenue  
New York, New York 10172  
Telephone: (212) 407-1500  
Telex: TRT-177704

The Board of Directors  
United Nations Association of the  
United States of America, Incorporated

We have examined the accompanying balance sheet of the United Nations Association of the United States of America, Incorporated at December 31, 1983 and the related statements of support, revenue and expenses and changes in fund balances (deficit) and functional expenses for the year then ended. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards and, accordingly, included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances.

In our opinion, the statements mentioned above present fairly the financial position of the United Nations Association of the United States of America, Incorporated at December 31, 1983 and the results of operations and changes in fund balances (deficit) for the year then ended, in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles applied on a basis consistent with that of the preceding year.

*Arthur Young & Company*

February 10, 1984

UNITED NATION  
UNITED STATES OF

BAL

December 31, 1983 with

	<u>ASSETS</u>	<u>LIABILITIES</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1982</u>
Current assets:				
Cash and cash equivalents			\$175,000	\$ 300,000
Accounts receivable			<u>229,789</u>	<u>187,407</u>
Pledges receivable				
Pledges receivable due within (UNA's Five Year Funding Pro			404,789	487,407
Other current assets				
			222,500	260,000
Total current assets			<u>-</u>	<u>126,000</u>
Pledges receivable due after one year (UNA's Five Year Funding Pro			627,289	873,407
Furniture, fixtures and leasehold assets, at cost, less accumulat ion and amortization of \$9,000 1983 and \$83,250 in 1982			214,000	430,000
			-	153,000
			<u>(40,458)</u>	<u>(468,461)</u>
Total unrestricted assets			800,831	987,946
Cash and cash equivalents			<u>80,171</u>	<u>69,370</u>
			<u>\$881,002</u>	<u>\$1,057,316</u>
Cash			\$291,835	\$1,137,332
Certificates of deposit				
Interest receivable				
Due from unrestricted current fu				
Investment in bonds, at cost (ma				
\$782,789 in 1982)			<u>\$291,835</u>	<u>\$1,137,332</u>

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UNITED NATIONS A  
UNITED STATES OF AM

STATEMENT OF SUPPORT,  
AND CHANGES IN FUND

Year ended Dec  
with comparative

	Connell serve 2)	<u>Total all funds</u>	
		<u>1983</u>	<u>1982</u>
General support and revenue:			
General support:			
Contributions			
Annual special events (net of tributors of \$221,714 in	-	\$1,426,874	\$1,367,196
Total general support	=	<u>576,778</u>	<u>630,143</u>
	-	<u>2,003,652</u>	<u>1,997,339</u>
Revenue:			
Membership dues, program sal	-	593,391	553,938
Interest and dividends	5	<u>53,435</u>	<u>76,626</u>
Total revenue	5	<u>646,972</u>	<u>630,564</u>
Total support and revenue	5	<u>2,650,624</u>	<u>2,627,903</u>
Expenses:			
Program services:			
Program activities			
Services provided to members	-	1,370,074	1,307,202
Total program expenses	=	<u>583,451</u>	<u>459,536</u>
	-	<u>1,953,525</u>	<u>1,766,738</u>
Supporting services:			
Management and general			
Fund raising and membership	-	506,913	558,884
Total supporting expenses	=	<u>554,305</u>	<u>530,291</u>
Total operating expenses	=	<u>1,061,218</u>	<u>1,089,175</u>
Loss on sale of securities	-	3,014,743	2,855,913
Total expenses	5	<u>53,375</u>	-
	5	<u>3,068,118</u>	-
Excess (deficiency) of general s	0	(417,494)	(228,010)
Fund balance (deficit), beginning	2	668,871	896,881
Interfund transfers (Note 2):			
Regular transfer	0)	-	-
Special transfer	0)	-	-
Elimination of interfund payab	7)	-	-
Fund balance (deficit), end of y	2	<u>\$ 251,377</u>	<u>\$ 668,871</u>

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UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, INCORPORATED

BALANCE SHEET

December 31, 1983 with comparative balances for 1982

<u>ASSETS</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>CURRENT FUNDS</u>	<u>LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCE (DEFICIT)</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1982</u>
			<u>Unrestricted</u>			
Current assets:				Current liabilities and deferred revenues:		
Cash and cash equivalents	\$ 49,272	\$ 31,418		Notes payable to bank (Note 5)	\$175,000	\$ 300,000
Accounts receivable	8,978	11,028		Accounts payable and accrued expenses	<u>229,789</u>	<u>187,407</u>
Pledges receivable	229,103	166,991		Total current liabilities	404,789	487,407
Pledges receivable due within one year (UNA's Five Year Funding Program)	222,500	260,000		Deferred contributions due within one year (UNA's Five Year Funding Program)	222,500	260,000
Other current assets	<u>25,084</u>	<u>35,583</u>		Due to James S. McDonnell Permanent Reserve Fund (Note 2)	<u>-</u>	<u>126,000</u>
Total current assets	534,937	505,020		Total current liabilities and deferred revenues	627,289	873,407
Pledges receivable due after one year (UNA's Five Year Funding Program)	214,000	430,000		Deferred contributions due after one year (UNA's Five Year Funding Program)	214,000	430,000
Furniture, fixtures and leasehold improve- ments, at cost, less accumulated depre- ciation and amortization of \$96,486 in 1983 and \$83,250 in 1982	51,894	52,926		Due to James S. McDonnell Permanent Reserve Fund (Note 2)	-	153,000
				Commitments (Note 3)		
				Deficit	<u>(40,458)</u>	<u>(468,461)</u>
Total unrestricted assets	800,831	987,946		Total unrestricted liabilities and deficit	800,831	987,946
			<u>Restricted</u>			
Cash and cash equivalents	<u>80,171</u>	<u>69,370</u>		Contributions received for future years	<u>80,171</u>	<u>69,370</u>
	<u>\$881,002</u>	<u>\$1,057,316</u>			<u>\$881,002</u>	<u>\$1,057,316</u>
			<u>JAMES S. McDONNELL PERMANENT RESERVE FUND (Note 2)</u>			
Cash	\$ 1,222	\$ 1,115		Fund balance	\$291,835	\$1,137,332
Certificates of deposit	280,000	-				
Interest receivable	10,613	24,367				
Due from unrestricted current fund	-	279,000				
Investment in bonds, at cost (market - \$782,789 in 1982)	<u>-</u>	<u>832,850</u>				
	<u>\$291,835</u>	<u>\$1,137,332</u>			<u>\$291,835</u>	<u>\$1,137,332</u>

See accompanying notes.

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, INCORPORATED

STATEMENT OF SUPPORT, REVENUE AND EXPENSES  
AND CHANGES IN FUND BALANCES (DEFICIT)

Year ended December 31, 1983  
with comparative totals for 1982

	Year ended December 31, 1983				Total all funds	
	Current funds			James S. McDonnell Permanent Reserve Fund (Note 2)	1983	1982
	Unrestricted	Restricted	Total			
General support and revenue:						
General support:						
Contributions	\$ 698,544	\$728,330	\$1,426,874	\$ -	\$1,426,874	\$1,367,196
Annual special events (net of direct costs benefiting contributors of \$221,714 in 1983 and \$203,102 in 1982)	576,778	-	576,778	-	576,778	630,143
Total general support	1,275,322	728,330	2,003,652	-	2,003,652	1,997,339
Revenue:						
Membership dues, program sales and fees	593,391	-	593,391	-	593,391	553,938
Interest and dividends	146	-	146	53,435	53,435	76,626
Total revenue	593,537	-	593,537	53,435	646,972	630,564
Total support and revenue	1,868,859	728,330	2,597,189	53,435	2,650,624	2,627,903
Expenses:						
Program services:						
Program activities	642,544	727,530	1,370,074	-	1,370,074	1,307,202
Services provided to membership and national organizations	582,651	800	583,451	-	583,451	459,536
Total program expenses	1,225,195	728,330	1,953,525	-	1,953,525	1,766,738
Supporting services:						
Management and general	506,913	-	506,913	-	506,913	558,884
Fund raising and membership development	554,305	-	554,305	-	554,305	530,291
Total supporting expenses	1,061,218	-	1,061,218	-	1,061,218	1,089,175
Total operating expenses	2,286,413	728,330	3,014,743	-	3,014,743	2,855,913
Loss on sale of securities	-	-	-	53,375	53,375	-
Total expenses	2,286,413	728,330	3,014,743	53,375	3,068,118	-
Excess (deficiency) of general support and revenue over expenses	(417,554)	-	(417,554)	60	(417,494)	(228,010)
Fund balance (deficit), beginning of year	(468,461)	-	(468,461)	1,137,332	668,871	896,881
Interfund transfers (Note 2):						
Regular transfer	200,000	-	200,000	(200,000)	-	-
Special transfer	500,000	-	500,000	(500,000)	-	-
Elimination of interfund payable/receivable	145,557	-	145,557	(145,557)	-	-
Fund balance (deficit), end of year	\$ (40,458)	\$ -	\$ (40,458)	\$ 291,835	\$ 251,377	\$ 668,871

See accompanying notes.

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, INCORPORATED

STATEMENT OF FUNCTIONAL EXPENSES

Year ended December 31, 1983  
with comparative totals for 1982

	Program Services		Supporting Services		Total expenses	
	Program activities	Services provided to membership and national organizations	Management and general	Fund raising and membership development	1983	1982
Salaries	\$ 502,288	\$172,524	\$213,325	\$191,413	\$1,079,550	\$1,047,625
Employee benefits and payroll taxes	<u>100,816</u>	<u>42,531</u>	<u>67,619</u>	<u>59,012</u>	<u>269,978</u>	<u>249,516</u>
Total salaries and related expenses	603,104	215,055	280,944	250,425	1,349,528	1,297,141
Professional fees and contract service payments	115,094	18,119	60,232	93,681	287,126	301,769
Supplies	26,998	12,560	13,798	7,785	61,141	55,469
Telephone and telegraph	30,757	11,788	6,637	16,531	65,713	67,747
Postage and shipping	43,344	25,900	3,380	12,872	85,496	81,649
Occupancy	97,659	33,994	43,342	45,204	220,199	221,974
Conferences, conventions, meetings	236,635	73,836	38,640	51,754	400,865	347,298
Printing and publications	164,724	32,898	6,473	72,387	276,482	233,468
Grants and support payments	5,000	11,185	-	-	16,185	10,217
Payments to chapters and divisions	-	146,622	-	-	146,622	134,586
Interest	-	-	38,668	-	38,668	52,617
Miscellaneous	<u>46,759</u>	<u>1,494</u>	<u>1,563</u>	<u>3,666</u>	<u>53,482</u>	<u>37,100</u>
Total expenses before depreciation and amortization	1,370,074	583,451	493,677	554,305	3,001,507	2,841,035
Depreciation and amortization	-	-	<u>13,236</u>	-	<u>13,236</u>	<u>14,878</u>
Total expenses	<u>\$1,370,074</u>	<u>\$583,451</u>	<u>\$506,913</u>	<u>\$554,305</u>	<u>\$3,014,743</u>	<u>\$2,855,913</u>

See accompanying notes.

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, INCORPORATED

NOTES TO FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

December 31, 1983

1. Organization and significant accounting policies

Organization

The United Nations Association of the United States of America, Incorporated (the "Association") is an independent, nonprofit, nonpartisan organization established to:

- heighten United States public awareness and increase public knowledge of world issues and their relation to the United Nations system and other multilateral agencies;
- encourage, where appropriate, multilateral approaches in dealing with these issues;
- build public support for constructive United States policies on matters of worldwide concern; and
- enhance the effectiveness of the United States in the United Nations and other international institutions.

To achieve these goals, the Association carries out a wide range of research, publication and public education programs dealing with international institutions, multilateral diplomacy and U.S. foreign policy.

Pledges receivable

It is the Association's policy to record all pledges for future years' contributions; these are reflected as pledges receivable and related deferred contributions. The Association recognizes unrestricted pledges and contributions in income in the years covered by the pledge, and restricted pledges and contributions in income in the year in which designated expenditures are made.

UNA's Five Year Funding Program is a fund raising campaign to provide a financial base to expand the Association's programs and increase the scope of its educational activities. Such contributions are to be received over a five year period.



UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, INCORPORATED

NOTES TO FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

December 31, 1983

1. Organization and significant accounting policies (Cont'd)

Furniture, fixtures and leasehold improvements

Furniture, fixtures and leasehold improvements are recorded at cost. Depreciation expense is computed on the straight-line method, based on estimated useful lives (8 to 10 years). Amortization of leasehold improvements is provided on the straight-line method based on estimated useful lives, not to exceed the remaining life of the lease.

Expense allocations

Functional expenses which are not specifically attributable to a particular component of program services or supporting services are allocated to the components of these services based on various allocation factors.

Tax status

As a publicly funded nonprofit research and educational organization, the Association is exempt from federal income tax pursuant to Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code.

Investments

Investments are reported on the basis of cost. Realized gains or losses on disposal of investments are determined on the basis of the average cost of investments sold.

Cash equivalents

Cash equivalents include U.S. Treasury Notes at cost, which approximates market, of \$36,375 and \$61,672 at December 31, 1983 and 1982, respectively.

Summarized financial information for 1982

The financial information at December 31, 1982 and for the year then ended, presented for comparative purposes, is not intended to be a complete financial statement presentation. Certain reclassifications have been made to the 1982 information to conform with the financial statement presentation used in 1983.

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, INCORPORATED

NOTES TO FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

December 31, 1983

2. James S. McDonnell Permanent Reserve Fund

The James S. McDonnell Permanent Reserve Fund (the "Fund") was established in 1978 to provide general support for the Association's programs. As initially structured, income and principal was to be made available for general operations through 1987, at the discretion of the Management Committee of the Fund (the "Committee"), provided that the balance in the Fund would be no less than \$1,000,000 at January 1, 1988. The Committee consists of selected members of the Board of Governors of the Association.

Over the last several years, the Association has experienced difficulty in generating increased corporate contributions due, in large part, to the general economic downturn. As a result, despite strict cost controls, the Association has incurred operating deficits in its current unrestricted fund.

During 1983, the Board of Governors determined that a special transfer of assets from the Fund was needed in order to offset the accumulated deficit. Accordingly, after reaching an understanding with a representative of James S. McDonnell, the principal donor to the Fund, that:

- (1) there was no intention to dissolve the Fund,
- (2) the contemplated transfer was within the competence of the Association, and
- (3) it was the Association's intention to replenish the Fund from future current fund surpluses,

the Board of Governors authorized the special transfer of \$500,000 to the current unrestricted fund. In addition, since repayment of the unpaid portion of a prior year's advance will be made only to the extent of available current fund surpluses, the management of the Association has elected to eliminate the interfund receivable and payable. This amount (\$145,557) is reflected as an interfund transfer in the accompanying statement of support, revenue and expenses. The "regular" transfer of \$200,000 represents the final contribution under a previously agreed-to schedule which had been established to provide the current unrestricted fund with the funds needed to repay the aforementioned advance.

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, INCORPORATED

NOTES TO FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

December 31, 1983

3. Commitments

Rent expense, principally for office facilities, for the year ended December 31, 1983 was approximately \$210,000. As of December 31, 1983, the approximate minimum annual rentals on lease obligations aggregate \$437,000 and are payable as follows: 1984 - \$149,000; 1985 - \$147,000; 1986 - \$141,000. Lease obligations for the rental of office space are subject to escalation charges for increases in operating expenses, real estate taxes and the cost of electricity.

During 1981, the Association subleased a portion of its office facilities for a five-year period. Under the terms of the sublease agreement, annual rental income will approximate \$72,000 through 1986.

4. Employee retirement plan

All salaried employees are covered by the Association's defined contribution retirement plan following the third anniversary of their employment and attaining age 25. The Association's policy is to fund pension costs accrued by depositing funds in fully vested individual annuity contracts with an insurance company. There is no unfunded past service cost under the plan. Total pension expense for the year ended December 31, 1983 was approximately \$110,000.

5. Notes payable to bank

The Association's notes payable to a bank becomes due on February 1, 1984. Interest is payable monthly at 1% over the prime rate charged by the bank. In connection with these loans, the Association has agreed to manage the assets of the James S. McDonnell Permanent Reserve Fund such that there will be at all times a current market value of marketable or short-term investment securities equal to the amount of the Association's liability to the bank.

Chairman of the Association  
 Elliot L. Richardson  
 Chairman, Board of Governors  
 Orville L. Freeman  
 Chairman, National Council  
 Cyrus R. Vance  
 Vice Chairman  
 Ruth J. Hinerfeld  
 Past President, League of Women Voters, USA  
 Harry W. Knight  
 Chairman, Hillsboro Associates, Inc.  
 Estelle Linzer  
 Southern New York State Division, UNA  
 Jean Picker  
 US Representative, UN Social  
 Development Committee (1969-1977)  
 Richard J. Schmeelk  
 Executive Managing Director,  
 Salomon Brothers Inc.  
 Brent Scowcroft  
 Vice Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.  
 Secretary  
 William J. vanden Heuvel  
 Partner - Strock & Strock & Lavan  
 Treasurer  
 John R. Petty  
 Chairman, Marine Midland Bank, N.A. Inc.  
 Chairman, Finance & Budget Committee  
 Ivan Selin  
 Chairman, American Management Systems, Inc.  
 Chairman, Corporate Council for  
 International Policy  
 William S. Woodside  
 Chairman, American Can Company  
 Chairman, Policy Studies Committee  
 Robert A. Roosa  
 Partner - Brown Brothers Harriman & Co.  
 Chairman, Economic Policy Council  
 Robert O. Anderson  
 Chairman of the Board,  
 Atlantic Richfield Company  
 Chairman, Soviet Parallel Studies Program  
 Walter J. Stoessel, Jr.  
 Former Deputy Secretary of State  
 Chairman, WFUNA Committee  
 Christopher H. Phillips  
 President, The National Council for  
 US-China Trade  
 Governors  
 Jean Benjamin  
 John C. Bierwirth  
 Chairman, Grumman Corporation  
 R. Carroll Cannon  
 Chairman, Council of Chapter &  
 Division Presidents  
 C. W. Carson, Jr.  
 Vice Chairman, Chemical Bank  
 Sybil Craig  
 Rochester Chapter, UNA  
 Arthur T. Downey  
 Partner - Sutherland, Asbill & Brennan  
 Patricia K. Di Giorgio  
 President, San Francisco Chapter, UNA  
 Mary Hall  
 St. Louis Chapter, UNA  
 Dr. Armand Hammer  
 Chairman, Occidental Petroleum Corporation  
 Ulric Haynes, Jr.  
 Vice President, International Business Planning  
 Cummins Engine Co.  
 Jerome Jacobson  
 Vice Chairman, Burroughs Corporation  
 Leo Nevas  
 Vice President, International League for  
 Human Rights  
 Russell E. Palmer  
 Dean, The Wharton School  
 The University of Pennsylvania  
 Arthur Ross  
 Vice Chairman & Managing Director  
 Central National Corporation  
 Rabbi Alexander Schindler  
 President, Union of American Hebrew  
 Congregations  
 Edith B. Segall  
 Chairman, Conference of UN Representatives  
 Jacob Sheinkman  
 Secretary-Treasurer, Amalgamated Clothing  
 & Textile Workers Union, AFL-CIO  
 Helmut Sonnenfeldt  
 Guest Scholar, The Brookings Institution  
 Leonard Vernon  
 Pacific Chapter, UNA  
 Franklin H. Williams  
 President, Phelps-Stokes Fund  
 Michael Witonski  
 Staff Vice President, McDonnell Douglas Corp.

# United Nations Association of the United States of America



300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017  
 212-697-3232 Cable: UNASAMER

President  
 Robert M. Ratner

Founding Chairman  
 Robert S. Benjamin  
 1909-1979

Chairman Emeritus  
 James S. McDonnell  
 1899-1980

Honorary Chairman  
 Arthur J. Goldberg

National Chairman, UN Day 1983  
 (By appointment of  
 the President of the U.S.A.)  
 William M. Ellinghaus, President  
 American Telephone & Telegraph Co.

October 21st, 1983

## MEMORANDUM

TO: UNA's BOARD OF GOVERNORS

FROM: ROBERT M. RATNER, PRESIDENT

RE: NEXT MEETING, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 21st, 1:00 to 4:00 PM  
 AT UNA HEADQUARTERS, 300 East 42nd Street

Enclosed is a draft of the Minutes of the Board of Governors Meeting held on September 19th, with attachments.

Orville Freeman, Chairman of our Board of Governors, has asked me to remind you that the next meeting will be held on Monday, November 21st, from 1:00 to 4:00 PM in UNA's Board Room. It would seem that most of the discussion will be devoted to the 1984 Budget, as well as the Agenda for the Directors Meeting scheduled for December 5th.

The Finance and Budget Committee will meet on November 7th to review the staff's draft of the 1984 Budget. As soon as possible after that meeting, we will send you a copy of the F&B's approved Budget so that you will have time to study it before the Governors Meeting. As in the past, our meeting will start with a sandwich lunch. Please return the enclosed card to let us know if you can attend.

The past month has been a busy time for all of UNA's programs.

The 1983 Editors' Seminar at the United Nations, which was held on September 19th and 20th, was attended by upwards of 100 editors, editorial writers and news directors from all parts of the country. An unusual feature of this year's Seminar was the press conference at which announcement was made of the results of the Roper Poll on U.S. public opinion on the United Nations which had been commissioned earlier in the Summer by UNA.

Executive Vice President  
 Edward C. Luck

Vice President,  
 National Field Program  
 Peggy Carlin

Vice President,  
 Financial Development  
 Richard B. Wiener

Assistant Treasurer  
 and Controller,  
 Louis J. Provenzale

*request*  
*on calendar*  
*local try*

On September 21st, our colleague Ivan Selin, Chairman of American Management Systems, hosted a meeting of our Corporate Council for International Policy, (CCIP). General Brent Scowcroft addressed a group of 20 chief executives over dinner. He led a fine discussion concerning the President's Commission on Strategic Forces and the new direction for arms control that his commission recommended. These off-the-record discussions are a particularly successful aspect of the CCIP's program.

Under the chairmanship of Carroll Cannon, the Steering Committee of the Council of Chapter and Division Presidents (CCDP), concluded a successful series of meetings in San Diego from September 23rd to 25th. The main focus of the session was the development of strategies to best implement the new Multilateral Issues and Institutions Program in the field, and how the Steering Committee members could aid that process.

The new Multilateral Project got into high gear in October with back-to-back meetings of its Advisory Group and its Executive Council. Under the chairmanship of Matthew Nimetz, the Advisory Group met on the 11th and enthusiastically endorsed nuclear nonproliferation as the first UNA-wide study topic. It also showed itself to be eager to take on, through the formation of subpanels, a variety of other topics. The tone of that well-attended meeting made it clear that this group wants to be active on both the short-term and long-term issues. The Executive Council, chaired by Elliot Richardson, met on the eve of the EPC Plenary on the 12th to discuss its role. It also heard encouraging news from Carroll Cannon about growing chapter response to the new program. As I write, the staff, in consultation with Elliot and some members of the Advisory Group, are working hard behind the scenes in New York and Washington to defuse the controversial Kassebaum amendment to the State Department authorization bill which threatens serious cutbacks in US assessed contributions to the UN and, ultimately, loss of the US vote in the General Assembly if those assessed obligations are not met.

As the Economic Policy Council's Agenda forecast, the EPC's two-day Plenary in Washington on October 12th and 13th was even more successful and exciting than we could have hoped for. You will be hearing and reading more details about this at the meeting, and in future reports.

Despite the fact that a temporary indisposition prevented the Secretary-General from attending our UN Ball on October 14th, we had one of the most successful Balls we have ever had. At this writing, we are anticipating an equally successful Washington Concert and Dinner on October 29th. We expect both Vice President George Bush and Secretary of State George Schultz to attend.

- - - - -

I have also enclosed some recent materials which indicate how innovative, responsive and visible your Association has been in relation to recent



events around the UN. While there is no question that the UN has been at its lowest ebb up until this recent period, and UNA relatively quiescent in its response as well, I believe this material will indicate that we have turned the corner with a "bang!" and it is certainly our intention to keep this momentum going.

We intend to urge our Directors and our Chapters to take advantage of all this excellent material for membership recruitment and to keep UNA steadily visible.

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We look forward to seeing you on November 21st.

DRAFT MINUTES  
UNA-USA BOARD OF GOVERNORS MEETING  
MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 19th, 1983 - 1:00 to 4:00 PM  
UNA CONFERENCE ROOM

ORVILLE L. FREEMAN - PRESIDING

Present: R. Carroll Cannon, Sybil Craig, Arthur T. Downey, Orville L. Freeman, Mary Hall, Ruth J. Hinerfeld, Jerome Jacobson, Harry W. Knight, Estelle Linzer, Leo Nevas, Jean Picker, Robert M. Ratner, Richard J. Schmeelk, Ivan Selin, Edith B. Segall, William J. vanden Heuvel, Franklin H. Williams.

Staff: Edward C. Luck, Peggy Sanford Carlin, Frederic Eckhard, Toby Trister Gati, Sylvia Ann Hewlett, Louis J. Provenza, Richard B. Wiener and Margot Nussbaum.

*(It would be most helpful if the Governors would reread the Minutes of the Governors Meeting of May 16th for a clearer understanding of the sequence of events and the discussions and conclusions covered by the Minutes of the September 19th Meeting.)*

The meeting, Chaired by the Chairman of the Board of Governors, was opened at 1:05, and Agenda Items I, II and III were held in Executive Session.

Chairman Freeman opened the meeting by introducing the new members of the Board of Governors to each other and to the veterans. He then called on Secretary Bill vanden Heuvel to secure the approval of the Minutes of the Meeting held on May 16th, which were unanimously approved.

At this point he departed from the Agenda to take up a draft resolution which had been submitted as a potential statement for the Governors to issue on the shooting down of the Korean 747 by the Soviets. The discussion centered on approving President Reagan's action in bringing the matter before the Security Council, and further emphasized the capacity of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), another UN institution, to investigate the tragedy, report credible findings and seek the multilateral agreement that would prevent a recurrence of the disaster. Attached to these Minutes is a copy of the Resolution as adopted by the Board of Governors.

Agenda Item II - Chairman Freeman briefly reviewed for the Governors the fact that when Bob Ratner had notified the Board of his intention to retire as a full-time President on July 1st, 1984, he had strongly recommended Ed Luck to be his successor. At the February 28th meeting of the Board of Governors, Ed Luck was elected Executive Vice President and was given the responsibility of developing a memorandum which would show how UNA could be restructured organizationally and programmatically so that it could operate more efficiently on a reduced budget, in accordance with the plans that Bob Ratner and Ed had been discussing with the Governors previous to that meeting. The Governors specifically did not designate him as the successor to the President when the President retires on July 1st, 1984, because they wanted to be able to evaluate the plans that Ed came up with and to take the time that Bob had provided in his long advance notice to evaluate Ed's performance.

The Chairman went on, saying he felt that the Board had had sufficient time to do that, that the staff restructuring had been accomplished, that the program

had been reorganized, that the Multilateral Issues & Institutions Program had been initiated, and he asked Bob to elaborate on why he felt it was appropriate at this time and at this meeting to officially designate Ed as his successor as of July 1st, 1984.

Mr. Ratner felt that sufficient time had gone by since Ed's election as Executive Vice President and Ed's action during that period had more than proven him capable of being the President of the Association. Mr. Ratner stated that while discussing Ed's plan with him, he deliberately restrained himself from interfering. Ed held all the discussions with the staff on the new program and directly put into effect the reorganization and the restructuring while at the same time he was developing and circulating new proposals to Foundations for substantial grants to the Association based on our newly developed program. Mr. Ratner also said that he included Ed Luck in many other Presidential activities and that Ed's active leadership role was so apparent that any further delay of the official confirmation would be detrimental to the Association.

The Chairman then suggested that it might be a good idea to take up Agenda Items II A and II B together and called on Ivan Selin, Chairman of the Finance and Budget Committee, for comments on what Bob's continuing relationship with the Association might be at the point where he stepped down as President on July 1st, 1984.

Mr. Selin first mentioned that he had established a new Compensation Committee consisting of our Treasurer John Petty and Bill Woodside and Harry Knight who had been on the old Compensation Committee, and that he was in the process of establishing a Finance & Budget Committee, which would meet before the next meeting of the Board of Governors scheduled for November 21st, to review the staff's draft budget for 1984.

Mr. Selin went on to say that the reason Item II B was on the Agenda at all was because of Bob's sensitivity, that he had originally anticipated, almost a year ago, a larger saving than would apparently now be the case. As a result, he felt the Board should have an opportunity to reconsider its decision that he stay on as a Consultant. Mr. Selin stated that the reason the Governors had confidence in the whole concept of the projected staff restructuring was Bob's assurance that he would be willing to continue as a Consultant for special gifts and for other projects and policy matters that would be useful to the Board. He felt that in his own view, UNA was going to have the best of both worlds, since Bob indicated that he would feel a full time responsibility as a Consultant. He recommended that Bob be given the title of Executive Vice Chairman and that the compensation aspect of it be handled later on by the Compensation Committee.

After a good deal of discussion, the Board officially elected Ed Luck to become the President of the Association on July 1st, 1984 when Bob retires from that position, and the Board further designated Bob Ratner to be a Consultant at that time, with the title of Executive Vice Chairman.

At this point Ed Luck was called into the meeting and the Chairman notified him of the Board's unanimous decision to officially designate him as President of the Association as of July 1st, 1984, and congratulated him.

Mr. Luck expressed appreciation and assured the Board that he would devote all his efforts to deserve the confidence that the Board had placed in him.

Agenda Item III - Mr. Freeman then pointed out that other title changes would be required relating to new program responsibilities. These included:

The election of Peggy Carlin as Vice President for Administration and Field until July 1, 1984, at which time she would become Senior Vice President;

Toby Trister Gati to be elected as Vice President for Policy Studies;

Sylvia Ann Hewlett to be elected as Vice President for Economic Policy.

Mr. Freeman mentioned that Frederic Eckhard had already been appointed by Bob and Ed as Executive Director of the Multilateral Issues & Institutions Program and that possibly, after an appropriate period, if he should prove to be as effective and successful with that program as everyone anticipates, that it might be appropriate to elect him a Vice President sometime later on as well.

The Board discussed these title changes and the various responsibilities of the individuals, and unanimously elected each of these individuals to the respective positions outlined above.

The Chairman then invited the other staff participants into the meeting and congratulated those who had been promoted. The then moved on to the next Agenda Item, the Financial Report.

Agenda Item IV - In the absence of our Treasurer John Petty, Chairman Freeman called on Ivan Selin to start the comments on this Agenda Item. Ivan Selin pointed out that the Association is obviously not functioning on a firm financial basis, that we had a \$468,000 accumulated deficit about which we have been hearing a great deal. Mr. Selin pointed out that in Bob Ratner's discussion of the financial situation at the last two meetings, he had indicated that the only way we could manage the cash-flow situation, as well as get ourselves back on a financially sound footing, was to get permission from the James S. McDonnell Foundation to agree to sell the bonds in UNA's JAMES S. McDONNELL PERMANENT RESERVE FUND so that we could pay off our \$500,000 bank loan which had been required to cover cash-flow shortages and our deficit. Mr. Selin was pleased to point out that Bob had arranged with our new Governor, Mike Witunski of the James S. McDonnell Foundation, that as long as we had no intention of dissolving the JAMES S. McDONNELL PERMANENT RESERVE FUND, which of course we do not, that it was within the competence of the appropriate committees to sell the bonds. This was done and the bonds produced a net of approximately \$780,000. The Chemical Bank loan of \$500,000 was paid off and UNA took CDs at the Chemical Bank with the balance. A line of credit of \$280,000 was also established at the Chemical Bank, comparable to the CDs, from which UNA has already borrowed \$170,000. However, it is expected that the fall income will provide the funds to repay that sum.

In the meantime, while Bob was on vacation, stimulated by Bill vanden Heuvel's comments about a transition fund from outside sources, he came up with the plan entitled "UNA's FUTURE - A DEVELOPMENT PROJECT," about which we all know by this time. Although it was started in the middle of August, not the best time to start any program, it was beginning to pick up momentum and indeed, by the end of the year, Bob felt confident that a substantial sum would be raised from the Governors, Directors and Chapters within the organization. However, what was equally important, was the contact that was being made between the Board members and the Chapters. Mr. Selin then asked Bob Ratner to give any further details he thought were necessary related to the financial report.

Mr. Ratner pointed out that the review of the six-months figures were encouraging. Despite the \$97,000 budget loss from the Spring Dinner, a very rough analysis showed that if no new (unbudgeted) funds were to be received in the second half of the year, and all other income and expense projections were on target, we would have a \$200,000 deficit at the end of the year. These figures were encouraging because during the comparative time period in 1982, the projected deficit was \$500,000 for that year. As you know, UNA ended the 1982 Calendar Year with an operating deficit of \$99,000. We are hopeful that new, unbudgeted funds, particularly with the new campaign, "UNA's Future - A Development Project," will help reduce the projected deficit for 1983.

He then asked Dick Wiener to give the projection of the Special Events for this year. Mr. Wiener reported that the UN Ball, scheduled for October 14th, budgeted at \$200,000, had grossed \$125,000 to date. The Washington Concert, scheduled for October 29th, budgeted at \$400,000, has so far grossed a little over \$200,000. With any kind of luck, we ought to come close to reaching both budgeted figures.

Mr. Ratner then pointed out that it was his firm conviction that in order to be able to secure transition funds from outside sources, we had to show that everything had been done by the organization itself, by its members, its boards, its committees, etc. As you know by this time, "UNA's Future - A Development Project," plan encompasses the necessity to call on all elements of the Association, including the Governors, the Directors, Chapters, to make a one-time contribution to the project.

Mr. Ratner expressed confidence that most of the Governors and Directors would be willing to participate by making their own contributions and by securing contributions from others as well as from chapters whom they were asked to contact, and that by the end of the year there would be sufficient ammunition with which to go to Foundations and other outside funding sources to completely eliminate the accumulated deficit and hopefully to raise additional funds to give UNA some working capital.

Chairman Freeman then pointed out that not only was this an excellent fund-raising tool, but that all Directors should be encouraged to continue the relationship they had established with chapters throughout the year to be a liaison between each individual chapter and the Board.



Carol Cannon mentioned the Steering Committee Meeting of the CCDP to be held in San Diego from September 23rd to 26th, one purpose of which was the development of a volunteer Senior Advisor Program for the chapters to include individuals who have played an active leadership role in UNA to implement the multilateral issues program and enhance field programs.

Agenda Item V - Chairman Freeman pointed out that Elliot Richardson and Ed Luck had had a meeting with the Secretary-General on August 17th, at a time when neither he nor Mr. Ratner were available. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the plans for UNA's new reorganization and its Multilateral Issues and Institutions Program, and to get the Secretary-General's ideas on how best our organization could be helpful to what he was trying to accomplish. Mr. Freeman then asked Ed Luck to report on that Meeting.

Mr. Luck reported that the Secretary-General expressed appreciation for the work of UNA and particularly for the new Multilateral Issues and Institutions Program. In response to their requests about how the program could be most useful, the Secretary-General referred to, among other things, a study of how his own role could be strengthened and made more useful and how to deal with the media and American public opinion. The Secretary-General was pleased that the two of them were going to meet Under Secretary-General Ruedas of the Dept. of Administration and Management, since he expressed considerable concern about the need to increase the efficiency of the UN's management. At that meeting with Mr. Ruedas, who is heading a UN task force examining administrative reforms, there was considerable discussion about how UNA could assist the effort to identify better management techniques.

Agenda Item VI - The Chairman then stated that the Heritage Foundation, which had been issuing so many biased anti-UN reports, has attacked the United Nations Association through its Model UN programs. He pointed out that in the kits distributed at the meeting, was a rebuttal of the major distortions, lies, omissions and out-of-context statements that were in the Heritage Foundation report and raised with the Governors what actions they thought UNA ought to take.

Among the actions that were discussed were - sending the material out to Congress, the Media, the schools related to the Model UN Program, asking Rabbi Schindler to send the material to the Jewish organizations and press. The Governors asked Chairman Elliot Richardson to face Frank Shakespeare, the Chairman of the Heritage Foundation, with the evidence that we had compiled, to ask for some kind of satisfaction. If not to be mailed by the Heritage Foundation itself, at least to let UNA have the mailing list so that we could mail the material to those recipients of the original report, with a copy of the Roper Poll Survey.

Agenda Item VII - Chairman Freeman then called on Fred Eckhard to report on the progress of the Multilateral Issues and Institutions Program.

First Mr. Eckhard proposed that the program title now in use, The Multilateral Issues and Institutions Program, be shortened to The Multilateral Project. Orville Freeman expressed reservations about the change, as did Leo Nevas, arguing that the longer title was more descriptive. Fred suggested that the

shorter title might be accompanied by a subtitle, such as "An ongoing UNA study of global issues and institutions." Orville concluded that the decision should be left to the newly-formed Advisory Group of the program.

Fred explained that the Advisory Group, chaired by former Under Secretary of State Matthew Nimetz, would be responsible for first giving shape to the program and then guiding it. Its first meeting would be held in New York on October 11th.

The program's major field component, consisting of an annual study project, would be focused on the topic of nuclear proliferation and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in the first year. A briefing book on the subject had been prepared during the summer and all UNA field units had been alerted to prepare for a launching of the study this fall. Chapters, Divisions and affiliated organizations have been invited to participate, working toward a deadline of March 15th, 1984 for submission of policy recommendations.

The Advisory Group will conduct a concurrent study of the same topic. Its conclusions and those submitted from the field are to be synthesized as one set of recommendations to be issued in the name of UNA in all its parts. This would be done through an Executive Council made up of UNA's top lay leaders.

Fred announced further that the Executive Council had been formed under the chairmanship of Elliot Richardson. It consists of leaders of all elements of UNA's constituencies, including Chairman of the Board of Governors, Orville L. Freeman, Chairman of the Council of Chapter and Division Presidents, Carroll Cannon, Chairman of the Council of UN Representatives, Edith Segall, Joseph S. Nye, Jr., of the Policy Studies Committee, Robert O. Anderson, Chairman of the Economic Policy Council, Cyrus R. Vance, Chairman of the National Council, and of course, including Matthew Nimetz, Chairman of the Advisory Group. This group would meet in Washington on October 12th.

The UNA Washington Office, now part of the Multilateral Project, has begun jointly-sponsored luncheon speaker programs for Congressional aides with the Stanley Foundation.

In addition, the integration theme of the reorganization effort at UNA could be seen in this and other aspects of the activities now being conducted by the new program. For example, the guest Editor of Issues Before the General Assembly, Donald J. Puchala, was to be the first speaker in the UNA-Stanley series on October 6th. The most recent issue of The Inter Dependent gave thorough treatment of the nuclear proliferation issue to help prepare UNA members for participation in the annual study project on that topic. And the staff was discussing the idea of making the annual study project the substance of the National UN Day Program.

Fred concluded by saying that the Multilateral Project was well-launched and promised to quickly become a generative force for all of UNA.

Mr. Freeman thanked Fred Eckhard for his report, and moved on to the next Agenda Item, the Economic Policy Council.

Agenda Item VIII - Chairman Freeman then asked Sylvia Hewlett to update the Board on what was happening in the Economic Policy Council.

Sylvia Hewlett reported that the EPC is looking forward to its ninth annual Plenary Session to be held at the Four Seasons Hotel in Washington on October 12th and 13th (see Agenda attached.)

At this time, EPC aims to publish its reports on "The Productivity Problem: U.S. Labor-Management Relations" chaired by Ray Marshall and Richard Schubert and "U.S. Trade and Economic Relations with Japan and Mexico" chaired by Robert S. Ingersoll and Lynn R. Williams.

Dr. Hewlett continued that later this week, the Economic Policy Council will launch a new panel on "Jobs in the 1980s" chaired by John Filer (Chairman of Aetna Life & Casualty Company) and Douglas A. Fraser (President Emeritus, International Union, United Auto Workers).

She continued that she was pleased to announce that EPC had just signed a contract with Ballinger Press which is to publish two books with the EPC. One, which will come out of our Kaufman-Kenen panel on "The Global Repercussions of U.S. Monetary and Fiscal Policy" and one which will come out of the jobs panel. This will be part of a larger UNA series.

After some discussion, Mr. Freeman moved on to the next Agenda Item, Policy Studies.

Agenda Item IX

Toby Trister Gati reported on the work of the Parallel Studies Program with the Soviet Union, noting that after the joint meeting held earlier this year, numerous debriefings had been arranged for top foreign policy experts, the State Department, the Department of Defense, the National Security Council, as well as several foundations. Copies of the Minutes from both the January Arms Control and the February meeting on Economic Relations were circulated widely.

During the Spring, renewal of the Parallel Studies Program's two major grants from the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation was secured, enabling the Program to continue its important work.

This Fall, the Soviet Ambassador to the United Nations, Oleg Troyanovsky, has agreed to co-host a series of meetings with UNA on nuclear non-proliferation. This is an area in which both sides have cooperated in the past and it remains one of the few where common interests outweigh differences. In the wake of the Soviet downing of the Korean airliner, it may, however, prove difficult to get a US Chairman for these meetings. Plans also call for two subgroup meetings early next year in the United States, to be followed by a plenary session in Moscow shortly after the 1984 Presidential elections.

Ed Luck commented on the plans for a major new program on the Major Powers in Asia, which would address relations among the US, Soviet Union, China and Japan in the multilateral arena. It would build on the current parallel

studies programs and would culminate with a trilateral conference among Chinese, Japanese, and American participants. In the first stage, beginning early next year, three panels would be formed: 1) a US-Japanese dialogue on the future of the global economy to be chaired by Governor William Scranton; 2) a US-Japanese dialogue on quadrilateral relations and arms control, to be chaired by Ambassador Richard Sneider; and 3) a US-Chinese dialogue on quadrilateral relations and arms control, to be chaired by General Brent Scowcroft. At the end of the second year of the program, there would be a trilateral discussion of the arms control and quadrilateral themes. Mr. Luck noted that Governor Scranton had recently agreed to serve as the overall Chairman of the program, which should insure its success since he was an extraordinarily effective chairman of the Soviet parallel studies program for five years.

Mr. Luck also reported on his efforts to secure full foundation funding for this very ambitious program, amounting to a little over one-half million dollars for the next two years. If secured, these funds would provide substantial relief for existing fixed overhead expenses as well as covering the direct costs of the program. The Asia Foundation had already agreed to cover a portion of the expenses relating to the Chinese-American dialogue, and officials at the Ford Foundation, the US-Japan Foundation, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, and the Luce Foundation have expressed strong interest in the program.

Mr. Luck noted that the proposed program, like all new policy research projects, would have a substantial public outreach component, including conferences in a number of cities across the country. The program would include the publication of several reports and possibly one or two books. If sufficient funding can be obtained this Fall, the program will get underway early in 1984.

Mr. Freeman thanked Toby and Ed for their reports, and moved on to Agenda Item X, the World Federation of United Nations Associations, (WFUNA).

Agenda Item X - Mrs. Carlin reported that the Plenary Assembly of WFUNA would be held in Geneva from October 3rd to 8th. Concurrent with the plenary would be an International Symposium dealing with the topic "The Role and Future of the United Nations." UNA-USA had submitted a paper on the subject, and also papers to the two plenary Commissions on political and security matters, and on economic matters.

Since the WFUNA Delegation requires approval of the Board of Governors, on behalf of Christopher Phillips, UNA's WFUNA Committee Chairman, Peggy Carlin submitted the following proposed delegation for approval:

Head of Delegation, Executive Vice President Edward C. Luck; (Ambassador Phillips would be unable to attend,) Virginia Mueller, Lawyer, Sacramento California, UN Representative, Soroptomist Federation; Leo Nevas, Board of Governors, UNA-USA, Connecticut; William vanden Heuvel, Secretary, UNA-USA, New York; Sidney Willner, President of WFUNA, New York.

ALTERNATE DELEGATES - Frank Bauman, Board of Directors, UNA-USA, Oregon; Ernest Gross, Lawyer, National Council UNA-USA, New York; Clarice Kaufman, Lawyer, Board of Directors, UNA-USA, California; Allen Lynch, Graduate Student, Massachusetts; Helen McGuire Muller, Board of Directors, UNA-USA, Switzerland.

The Governors unanimously approved the slate as submitted.

Mrs. Carlin said that Mr. Sidney Willner, President of WFUNA, had circulated a letter stating that he would not seek re-election as President. He endorsed the candidacy of Dr. Davidson Nicol (Sierra Leone) who had indicated that he would be willing to serve.

Mrs. Carlin also reported that efforts were being made to protect UNA-USA's voting rights at the Plenary even though dues to WFUNA for 1982 had not been paid in full. Approximately \$20,000 were still owing, plus all dues for 1983.

Chairman Freeman thanked Mrs. Carlin for her report, and moved on to the last Agenda Item, Other Business.

Agenda Item XI - The Chairman reminded the Governors of their next meeting on Monday, November 21st, the Directors meeting on Monday, December 5th, thanked all for attending, and adjourned promptly at 4:00 PM.





# **United Nations Association of the United States of America**

300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017 212 697 3232

## **BOARD OF GOVERNORS MEETING**

**MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 19th, 1983 - 1:00 to 4:00 PM**  
**UNA's CONFERENCE ROOM**

**ORVILLE L. FREEMAN - PRESIDING**

## **A G E N D A**

### **AGENDA ITEMS I, II, & III IN EXECUTIVE SESSION**

- I. MINUTES OF MEETING HELD MAY 16, 1983
- II. A) DISCUSSION OF THE SUCCESSION PROCEDURE WHEN BOB RATNER  
GIVES UP HIS PRESIDENTIAL RESPONSIBILITIES AS OF 7/1/84  
B) DISCUSSION OF BOB RATNER's CONTINUING RELATIONSHIP  
AFTER 7/1/84
- III. OTHER EXECUTIVE CHANGES
- IV. FINANCIAL REPORT
- V. MEETING WITH THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON AUGUST 17th, 1983
- VI. HERITAGE FOUNDATION REPORT ATTACKING MODEL UN's AND UNA
- VII. REPORT OF THE PROGRESS OF THE NEW MULTILATERAL ISSUES &  
INSTITUTIONS PROGRAM
- VIII. PLANS FOR THE EPC PLENARY OCTOBER 12th & 13th, 1983
- IX. UPDATE ON POLICY STUDIES ACTIVITIES
- X. WFUNA
- XI. OTHER BUSINESS
  - A) REACTION TO THE CONVENTION
  - B) ADJOURNMENT



## **United Nations Association of the United States of America**

300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017 212 697 3232

### UNA-USA BOARD OF GOVERNORS ADOPTS

### RESOLUTION ON KOREAN AIRLINER TRAGEDY

The Board of Governors of the United Nations Association of the United States of America at its September meeting adopted a resolution commending President Ronald Reagan's prompt action in bringing the shooting down of the Korean Airliner before the United Nations Security Council.

Noting that the matter has also been brought before the International Civil Aviation Organization, a United Nations' Agency, the Board of Governors urged the strengthening of international machinery and the adoption of multilateral conventions in the field of civil aviation which would prevent the repetition of such tragedies in the future.

Following the adoption of the resolution, Orville L. Freeman, Chairman of UNA's Board of Governors, noted that one of the Association's major new projects would study how international institutions could be strengthened and made more effective. "This appalling tragedy," Mr. Freeman commented, "should make us all more aware of the interdependent world in which we live, of the importance of the rules of international law, and of stronger institutions to encourage and oversee their enforcement."

September 19th, 1983

# United Nations Association of the United States of America

300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017

212-697-3232

Cable: UNASAMER

Elmer L. Richardson

Orville L. Freeman

Cyrus R. Vance

Estelle Linzer  
President, Southern New York State  
Division, UNA

Leo Nevas  
Vice President, International League  
for Human Rights

Jean Pickel  
US Representative, UN Social  
Development Committee (1969-1977)

Robert V. Roosa  
Partner - Brown Brothers Harriman & Co

Richard J. Schmeelk  
Executive Managing Director,  
Salomon Brothers Inc.

Kenneth R. Burroughs  
President, Burroughs and Tischer Corp

Harry W. Knight  
Chairman, Hillsboro Associates, Inc.

William S. Woodside  
Chairman, American Can Company

John R. Petty  
President, Marine Midland Bank, N.A.

Christopher H. Phillips  
President, The National Council for  
US China Trade

William W. Scranton  
US Ambassador to the United Nations, 1976-77

Robert O. Anderson  
Chairman of the Board  
Atlantic Richfield Company

Jean Benjamin

Marjorie Craig Benton  
US Representative to UNICEF

John C. Bierwirth  
Chairman, Grumman Corporation

C.W. Carson, Jr.  
Vice Chairman, Chemical Bank

Lisle C. Carter, Jr.  
President, University of the District of Columbia

Patricia K. DiGiorgio  
Past President, San Francisco Chapter, UNA

William D. Eberle  
Chairman, EBCO, Inc.

Thomas L. Farmer  
Partner - Plathner, Seeger, Doolittle & Farmer

Dr. Armand Hammer  
Chairman, Occidental Petroleum Corporation

Ruth J. Hinerfeld  
Past President, League of Women Voters, USA

Philip M. Klutznick  
Klutznick Investments

Russell E. Palmer  
Managing Partner and CEO  
Touche Ross & Co

Arthur Ross  
Vice Chairman and Managing Director  
Central National Corporation

William Ruder  
President, Wm. Ruder & Co., Inc.

Stanley H. Rittenberg  
President, Rittenberg, Friedman,  
Kilgallon, Gutches & Associates

Ivan Selin  
Chairman, American Management Systems, Inc.

Jacob Sheinkman  
Secretary Treasurer, Amalgamated  
Clothing & Textile Workers Union, AFL-CIO

Helmut Sonnenfeldt  
Guest Scholar, The Brookings Institution

O. Pendleton Thomas  
Chairman and President, FenVest, Inc.

William J. vanden Heuvel  
Partner - Stroock & Stroock & Lavan

Leonard Vernon  
President, Pacific Chapter, UNA

Edward B. Winn  
Chairman, Council of Chapter and  
Division Presidents, UNA

Robert M. Fattner

Robert S. Benjamin  
1909-1979

James S. McDonnell  
1899-1980

Arthur J. Goldberg  
Henry Cabot Lodge

Robert Anderson, Chairman  
Rockwell International Corporation

September 27, 1983

Mr. Frank Shakespeare  
President  
RKO General  
1440 Broadway  
New York, New York 10018

Dear Frank:

I am writing to you in your capacity as Chairman of the Heritage Foundation to express astonishment and dismay at the recent Heritage Backgrounder, "The Model U.N. Program: Teaching Unreality," which attacks the United Nations Association and the materials we supply to Model UNs. In my years of working with public organizations, I have never read a piece that was so full of distortions, bizarre assertions, deliberate omissions and misrepresentations.

While we as individuals and as organizations may have different views, beliefs and philosophies about many things, including the way our country should conduct its foreign affairs, it seems to me those differences ought to be judged objectively and a case made on its merits. We should never depart from accepted norms of honesty and integrity, even to make or emphasize a point in support of a particular ideology.

Let me make myself perfectly clear. The Heritage Backgrounder on UNA is shoddy sensationalism at its worst. Its inaccuracies are legion and its accusations border on the libelous. It certainly makes no contribution to the public debate on foreign affairs.

When I first read the Heritage piece, I asked the UNA staff for all the material supplied in the Model UN Kits and began to check UNA literature against the assertions in the Heritage Report. A point-by-point rebuttal was prepared by the staff, making certain that each assertion could be backed up with

Arthur R. Day

Peggy Carlin

Edward C. Luck

Richard B. Wiener

Louis J. Provenza

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- 2 -

quotations from the documents to which your Heritage investigator, Mr. Gulick, referred.

I enclose along with our rebuttal to the Heritage piece the very same documents referred to by Mr. Gulick. I urge you to read them with care and to understand the enormity of the distortions and misrepresentations contained in the Heritage Backgrounder.

Out of sheer common decency, the Heritage Foundation should offer a public apology and should supply UNA with the mailing list of those who receive the Backgrounder so that the Association can send them a copy of this material.

Despite our own philosophical, or ideological differences, I cannot believe that, as Chairman of the Heritage Foundation, you condone this kind of mud-slinging. Nor can I believe that the members of your Board of Trustees, to whom I am sending a copy of this letter with the accompanying material, would want to associate themselves with such shoddy work.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,



Elliot L. Richardson

Enclosures

Arthur R. Day

Peggy Carlin

Edward C. Luck

Richard B. Wiener

Louis J. Provenza



## United Nations Association of the United States of America

300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017 212 697 3232

September 16, 1983

### LIES, DISTORTIONS, AND NONSENSE FROM THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION

With the publication of "The Model UN Program: Teaching Unreality," the Heritage Foundation's biased and sensational UN Assessment Project has hit a new low. Purporting to be an analysis of the nationwide Model United Nations conferences for high school and college students and of the materials produced by the United Nations Association of the USA (UNA-USA) for their use, the report is riddled with distortions, inaccuracies, and falsehoods. UNA-USA welcomes serious, objective critiques of its publications, but objects strongly to such malicious and systematic misrepresentations. It is the Heritage Foundation which is guilty not only of "teaching unreality," but of engaging in a shoddy, scurrilous and thoroughly unprofessional attempt to discredit a highly successful program which has stimulated hundreds of thousands of Americans to think critically about world affairs. The materials described and criticized by the Heritage Foundation bear little resemblance to the materials actually produced by UNA-USA.

Before noting some of the more glaring errors in the Heritage Foundation report, four points should be stressed.

One, the various Model UN programs across the country operate independently and are not affiliated with UNA-USA, which simply offers the background materials for sale and organizes seminars for leaders of some of the programs. UNA-USA does not have and does not want to have a "monopoly of Model UN teaching materials," as charged by the Heritage Foundation. In fact, the Guide to Delegate Preparation produced by UNA-USA stresses that "it is not meant to and should not comprise the entirety of a delegate's preparation, for only with thorough research will students be able to understand the complexity of international issues" (Preface, p. iv) and that "if you wish to truly understand international affairs you should not limit yourself to this guide, nor to studying issues only within the context of the UN" (Introduction, p. 1). The cover letter accompanying the "Model UN Survival Kit" reminds students: "Remember, these materials should be used as a starting point; further research is necessary to be adequately prepared for a Model UN conference." The widespread use of UNA-USA materials attests to their quality and objectivity, not to any imagined "monopoly."

Two, UNA-USA is a broad-based membership and research organization, which is not associated with any single political perspective or point of view. Its distinguished leadership and nationwide membership include Americans of many different political persuasions. UNA-USA, which has frequently and regularly criticized the failings of the UN as well as noting its successes, has no hidden agendas or political messages to sell.



to Model UN participants, as charged repeatedly in this misleading report, other than to encourage wider public understanding of the UN and multilateral diplomacy.

Three, the Heritage Foundation makes little effort to hide the bias behind this UN Assessment Project, which two years ago was launched, according to its President, "to uncover, document and publicize the U.N. abuses." At that time he wrote: "Because of the new conservative mood in the U.S., this is an especially propitious moment to catalog the travesties carried on under the cover of the U.N.'s humanitarian ideal. This is the time for a re-interpretation and re-evaluation of U.S. involvement in the U.N." These conclusions were reached before its "research" project got underway, so the Heritage Foundation is in a very poor position to charge that materials produced by other organizations are "one-sided" or "biased."

Four, at no point does the Heritage Foundation pamphlet offer a comprehensive review of the materials offered by UNA-USA for use by Model UNs. Instead, it selects a handful of quotations out of context from one of the four publications included in the UNA-USA Model UN Survival Kit--completely ignoring the other three--and from two Economic Policy Council reports which are not part of the kit and which are three and five years old respectively. The Heritage Foundation's choice of materials for comment is bizarre at best, if its true purpose is to present a fair critique of Model UN materials.

The extreme selectivity of the Heritage Foundation authors at points leads them to simply ludicrous conclusions. For example, in their eagerness to show that UNA-USA materials are preoccupied with North-South issues without taking into account the realities of Soviet foreign policy, they cite as evidence a teacher's guide published by the National Education Association (NEA), not UNA-USA, and completely ignore UNA-USA's own 1981 report on US-Soviet Relations: A Strategy for the '80s, which has been widely hailed for its balanced, realistic approach by top officials of the Reagan Administration. The citation of the NEA material is particularly odd, since UNA-USA has not recommended it as a Model UN resource, as falsely claimed by the Heritage Foundation.

Rather than commenting on the errors and omissions which occur throughout the Heritage Foundation report, the following focuses on its distorted description of UNA-USA materials on four major issues: one, the proposed New International Economic Order (NIEO); two, the Middle East; three, Southern Africa; and four, the proposed New World Information Order (NWIO). UNA-USA has also prepared a short statement describing the purposes of the Model UN Programs and how the Heritage Foundation has misrepresented them.

#### New International Economic Order (NIEO)

The claim of the Heritage Foundation that the NIEO constitutes "the core curriculum" for Model UNs and "the central theme of many of UNA-USA's Model UN research materials" and that UNA-USA and Model UN programs are "biased in favor of the NIEO" is utter nonsense. Global economic issues, including the dated, utopian proposals for a New International Economic Order, occupy only one sub-section of the broad spectrum of issues addressed in the UNA-USA materials. Only one of the seven fact sheets provided to

Model UNs is devoted to "The Changing International Economic Order" and the topic of "Economics and Development" is only one of seven chapters in Issues Before the General Assembly, which is included in every Model UN Survival Kit to provide more detailed substantive information.

The Heritage Foundation statement that the arguments put forth in The Global Economic Challenge, a five-year old report of the UNA-USA Economic Policy Council, support the NIEO is patently false. The NIEO is mentioned only once (on page iii) as a confrontational debate that serves the interests neither of the less developed countries nor of the developed countries. What the Heritage Foundation fails to mention, but the book does, is that US economic interests are interdependent with those of many other countries, as noted by Secretary of State Shultz, Secretary of the Treasury Regan, Federal Reserve Board Chairman Volcker, The Wall Street Journal, and hundreds of prominent economists. The UNA-USA book focuses on possible mutual gains, not the massive net transfer of resources once envisioned by some supporters of the NIEO. US objectives --full employment, price stability and economic growth--are the central themes of the Economic Policy Council report, but unlike the one-dimensional thinking of the Heritage Foundation, this study recognizes that the US must work with other industrial and developing countries to achieve these objectives. It would have been far more constructive if the Heritage Foundation had addressed the substance of international economic relations rather than attacking the empty NIEO slogan, which even the non-aligned countries find increasingly irrelevant to their real needs.

It is absurd to suggest, as the Heritage Foundation has, that recommendations in the UNA-USA report, "could lead to a planned, semi-socialist global economy outlined in the NIEO" that "would be paid for by US and western tax dollars but administered by UN managers." The UNA-USA Economic Policy Council study was the consensus product of a group of America's top business and labor leaders. It makes no reference to any such economic system or to the possibility of management by UN personnel. The report's recommendation for a "soft loan pool" is designed not simply to help less developed countries at US expense, but rather to foster economic growth in the US through greater economic growth and prosperity in the LDCs, which represent the fastest growing market for US products.

The UNA-USA report, in noting "the responsibility of governments to distribute more equitably the gain from trade both between nations and within countries," makes no reference to either foreign aid or welfare payments as claimed by the Heritage Foundation. Instead, this statement refers to effective safeguards and Orderly Marketing Arrangements (OMAs), which the US has established in its own self-interest for such goods as shoes and televisions.

The Heritage Foundation treatment of the UNA-USA Economic Policy Council publication, The Growth of the US and World Economies Through Technological Innovations and Transfer, is equally distorted. The publication mentions the New International Economic Order only once in

passing and certainly does not support the principles of the NIEO as asserted by the Heritage Foundation. The report does not recommend that technology be simply "given" to Third World nations, as contended by the Foundation. Instead it notes that "transfer of technology takes place only when mutual advantage and confidence prevail between the supplier and recipient." Rather than encouraging technological handouts to less developed countries, it calls on developing nations to "link with the international business community," the antithesis of the "planned semi-socialist" NIEO relationships that the Heritage Foundation accuses UNA-USA of supporting.

The Heritage Foundation is equally off-base in claiming that this report "strongly implies that the U.S. should adopt a U.N. Code of Conduct for Transnationals including 'disembodied' technology transfer to LDCs without a corresponding allowance for private investment by Western business firms." To repeat, the UNA-USA book encourages less developed countries to "link with the international business community," which obviously includes private investment. For some reason, the Heritage Foundation objects to the report's list of Third World economic "powerhouses." Since the UNA-USA report does not support the NIEO nor recommend planned economies, this list represents an implicit recognition of the potential dynamism of free market economies. Likewise, the Heritage Foundation introduces a straw man argument in objecting that the report does not pay more attention to the internal problems of developing countries. The focus of the report is on how the US could best handle issues of technology, not how technology can be absorbed by less developed countries. The primary concern of the study is the implications of technology transfer for the US economy and it certainly does not reflect a Third World perspective nor support the tenets of the NIEO, as asserted by the Heritage Foundation.

#### The Middle East

The Heritage Foundation's distortions regarding the Model UN materials on the Middle East are especially malicious given the great sensitivity and importance of the issues involved. It is the height of irresponsibility to claim that the UNA-USA materials present the problems of the Middle East "in an explicitly one-sided manner" and to claim, as has the Heritage Foundation, that "young Americans, for instance, are being gently persuaded by the Model UN that Israel and South Africa are pariahs" and "that Israel is just about the sole cause of Middle East tension." The authors of the Heritage Foundation report have resorted to gross distortions, omissions and selective quotations out of context.

The Heritage Foundation commentary focuses entirely on one chronology of UN actions relating to the Middle East, which is entitled "The UN and the Arab-Israeli Conflict." This section of the Guide to Delegate Preparation makes no pretense of analyzing the Middle East situation in depth, but rather limits itself to actions taken by the United Nations, which are not evaluated and certainly not endorsed in the sub-section. In every Model UN Survival Kit, however, is a copy of UNA-USA's publication,

Issues Before the General Assembly, which analyzes the Middle East situation in much greater detail and provides a full account of the Israeli as well as the Arab positions on the issues. Somehow, the Heritage Foundation has failed to even note in passing that this publication is included in the kits.<sup>1</sup>

The Heritage Foundation critique of the chronology of UN activities fails to mention that the list includes explicit reference to occasions when Arab and PLO forces attacked Israel, as well as instances when Israel struck first. The chronology also notes that Israel has had reason to be skeptical about the ability of the UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) "to prevent PLO attacks launched from Lebanon against Israel." Thus, the Heritage Foundation claim that "nothing is said about UNIFIL's almost total failure to prevent PLO attacks on Israeli towns" is an obvious falsehood. The chronology does not use the terms PLO and Palestinian interchangeably as charged by the Heritage Foundation, but rather refers to each one as appropriate in the context of the situation. The chronology certainly does not give "the impression that the PLO is justified when it claims to be the sole representative of the Palestinian people." The question of Palestinian representation is not addressed in the summary, which is devoted to UN actions, not Palestinian politics.

By quoting one phrase out of context, the Heritage Foundation falsely claims that the chronology attempts to "sanitize" the infamous 1975 General Assembly resolution equating Zionism with racism. The chronology notes that "US Ambassador to the United Nations, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, called the resolution 'an obscene act.'" It should be noted for the record, moreover, that UNA-USA took the lead at that time in trying to prevent the passage of the resolution and then in condemning it as "repugnant and dangerous." In fact, this unprecedented statement by the leaders of UNA-USA was quoted by Senator Moynihan in his speech before the General Assembly on the Matter.<sup>2</sup>

The Heritage Foundation is also wrong to claim that the chronology "almost entirely ignores the central issue of the Middle East conflict--the challenge to Israel's right to exist as a sovereign state." The chronology in fact refers repeatedly to both the need to recognize Israel's right to exist and the importance of diplomatic recognition as a key to peaceful resolution of issues in the Middle East. "Throughout the history of the conflict, the western nations have supported the right

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<sup>1</sup>It should be noted that a member of the Heritage Foundation staff participated, at UNA-USA's invitation, in last year's Issues Conference, which is held annually to air a variety of viewpoints on the topics to be addressed in this annual publication. It is thus particularly galling that the Heritage Foundation has failed to even mention the existence of this publication.

<sup>2</sup>"The United Nations Association of the United States," noted Ambassador Moynihan, "has for the first time in its history appealed directly to each of the 141 other delegations in New York not to do this unspeakable thing."



of Israel to exist in peace" states the chronology, which notes that the United States "opposes dealing with the PLO unless it accepts Israel's right to exist."

The chronology recognizes the anti-Israel tone of many resolutions passed by various UN bodies, which reflect the political leanings of their member countries. For example, the chronology notes that the US vetoed three resolutions in the Security Council in 1976 that it considered to be "unbalanced against Israel." It notes that in 1979, "continuing the established trend, further anti-Israel resolutions were adopted by various UN bodies." It was in this latter context--not as falsely claimed by the Heritage Foundation "without a balancing qualifier"--that the chronology refers to charges against Israel made by the UN Human Rights Commission in 1979.

The Heritage Foundation, with characteristic selectivity, complains that the chronology does not refer to charges that the PLO has misused refugee camps. The Heritage Foundation conveniently ignores the fact that Issues Before the General Assembly, which as noted above is also included in the kits, catalogs the complaints made by Israel last year regarding this matter. It should be noted, however, that the UN does not run any refugee camps in the Middle East and that the UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) provides support for the camps but does not have authority over them and cannot police them. The responsibility for the conduct of the camps lies with governments on whose territory they are located and with the refugees themselves.

Thus, all the points raised by the Heritage Foundation regarding the Middle East materials provided by UNA-USA to the Model UN programs are either outright falsehoods or blatant distortions. In no way has the Heritage Foundation attempted to give an accurate description of the contents of the UNA-USA materials. This would be obvious to anyone who has actually read the materials or is familiar with the work of UNA-USA. The great danger of slanderous statements, such as those issued by the Heritage Foundation, is that some people may take them at their face value without ever having reviewed the original materials themselves.

#### Southern Africa

The Heritage Foundation commentary touches on the topic of Southern Africa briefly, but with its customary distortions and falsehoods. According to the Heritage Foundation, the chronology prepared by UNA-USA "makes no mention, however, of such critical strategic considerations as the 25,000 Cuban combat troops occupying Angola, the training of Angolan police by East Germans, or the training of Angolan troops by Soviet advisors." At best, this blatant untruth suggests that the author did not read the UNA-USA chronology carefully, since page 15 devotes three paragraphs to the Cuban troops in Angola and the Soviet and East German presence there. In addition, Issues Before the General Assembly discusses these and related issues in considerable detail.



### The New World Information Order (NWIO)

The brief section of the Heritage Foundation statement on the NWIO contains similar distortions. The Heritage Foundation claims that "UNA's Guide for Model U.N. Delegates exhibits a pro-NWIO bias, for instance, by comparing the NWIO to the Associated Press struggle to break into the international news service cartel 80 years ago when it was dominated by Reuters and the German Wolff agencies." This is a classic case of distorting a statement by taking it out of context, since the UNA-USA publication notes that this comparison is made by "Third World spokesmen in their campaign for a New World Information Order." UNA-USA has not endorsed that statement here or elsewhere; it simply mentions some of the arguments of those favoring a NWIO as well as arguments of those opposing it.

Similarly, the Heritage Foundation falsely states that the UNA-USA publication fails "to note the grave threat posed to press freedom by NWIO under the shibboleth of 'protection of journalists' (i.e., licensing of western newsmen in the Third World)." The UNA-USA paper in fact points out that the UNESCO Commission for the Study of Communications Problems (the MacBride Commission) underlined that "to propose a licensing system for journalists was dangerous since it would require someone to stipulate who would be entitled to claim such protection. Journalists, the Commission observed, will be fully protected only when everyone's rights are guaranteed." The UNA-USA publication also notes that the Soviet member of the Commission dissented on a recommendation that "censorship or arbitrary control of information should be abolished." It is absurd to assert, as the Heritage Foundation has done, that the UNA-USA materials exhibit a pro-NWIO bias. As before, the obvious case of bias is in the Heritage Foundation's account of the UNA-USA materials.

It should be noted that UNA-USA in March 1981 issued the following statement regarding UNESCO's consideration of the proposed New World Information Order: "The United Nations Association of the United States of America stands fully behind the freedom of the press and totally rejects any attempt at government control of the media....If UNESCO, despite US efforts, ultimately makes decisions that interfere with press freedom, serious questions would inevitably be raised about U.S. participation in the organization." Moreover, UNA-USA has organized a series of national and regional seminars to increase discussion of the potential implications of a New World Information Order, with some of the most prominent and articulate defenders of a free press participating. When the World Federation of UNAs held an international symposium on the topic in 1981, UNA-USA ensured that this point of view had the strongest possible representation in the international dialogue.

### Conclusions

As this evidence makes abundantly clear, the Heritage Foundation is guilty of more than shallow research and sloppy copy-editing. Its attack

on UNA-USA and the Model UN Programs displays a consistent pattern of gross misrepresentations and outright falsehoods. Indeed, its whole UN Assessment Project series has amounted to little more than malicious mud-slinging, as could have been expected given the slanted assumptions with which it was undertaken. Rather than presenting the kind of balanced, hard-headed analysis which every national and international organization needs from time to time, the Heritage Foundation has chosen instead to let its own biases carry its campaign into the gutter.

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# 1983 EDITORS' SEMINAR

## AT THE UNITED NATIONS

sponsored by

**The United Nations Association of the United States of America**

for

American Newspaper Publishers Association  
American Society of Newspaper Editors  
Associated Press Managing Editors Association  
National Conference of Editorial Writers  
Radio-Television News Directors Association

SEPTEMBER 19-20, 1983

MONDAY, September 19

AT THE UNITED NATIONS

8:30 a.m. **Registration**

Delegates Entrance  
45th St. and U.N. Plaza (1st Ave.)

9:00 a.m. **Opening Breakfast**

Delegates Dining Room, 4th Floor

**"THE UNITED NATIONS — A WEST GERMAN VIEWPOINT"**

H. E. Mr. Guenther van Well  
*Permanent Representative of the Federal Republic of Germany*

10:45 a.m. **PRESS CONFERENCE ON THE ROPER POLL**

Mr. Burns Roper  
*Chairman of the Board, The Roper Organization*  
Mr. Orville L. Freeman  
*Chairman, Board of Governors, UNA-USA*

11:30 a.m. **"COVERING THE UNITED NATIONS"**

Ms. Anne Weill Tuckerman  
*Agence France-Presse*  
Ms. Raghida Dergham  
*The Middle East (London) and Al-Hawadess (Beirut)*  
Mr. Claude Robinson  
*Inter Press Service*

12:30 p.m. **MEETING WITH THE SECRETARY-GENERAL**

H.E. Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar

1:00 p.m. **Reception and Luncheon  
with U.N. Ambassadors**

West Terrace, 4th Floor

2:45 p.m. **"WORLD POPULATION — A CRISIS SOLVED?"**

Mr. Rafael M. Salas  
*Executive Director, United Nations Fund for Population Activities  
and Secretary-General, International Conference on Population*

3:45 p.m. **"DOES THE UNITED NATIONS HAVE A FUTURE IN THE MIDDLE EAST?"**

Mr. Brian Urquhart  
*Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs*

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4:45 p.m. **"THE ROLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND IN THE WORLD ECONOMY"**

Mr. Charles S. Gardner  
*Deputy Director, External Relations Department International Monetary Fund*

6:00 p.m. **Roundtable Discussion**

AT THE U.S. MISSION TO THE U.N.  
799 U.N. Plaza at 45th St.

The Honorable Jeane Kirkpatrick  
*Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations*

7:00 p.m. **Reception at the United Nations**

West Terrace, 4th Floor

TUESDAY, September 20

9:00 a.m. **Breakfast**

Delegates Dining Room, 4th Floor

**"THE UNITED NATIONS — A SOVIET UNION VIEWPOINT"**

H.E. Mr. Vladimir Viktorovich Shustov  
*Deputy Permanent Representative of the USSR to the United Nations*

10:45 a.m. **"THE UNITED NATIONS AND NAMIBIA"**

Mr. Martti Ahtisaari  
*Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Namibia*  
Mr. Brajesh C. Mishra  
*Commissioner for Namibia*

11:45 a.m. **"THE THIRD WORLD AND THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS"**

H.E. Mr. Farooq Sobhan  
*Deputy Permanent Representative of Bangladesh to the United Nations*  
H.E. Mr. George A. Maciel  
*Permanent Representative of Brazil to the United Nations*  
H.E. Dr. O.O. Fafowora  
*Deputy Permanent Representative of Nigeria to the United Nations*

1:15 p.m. **Reception and Luncheon**

West Terrace, 4th Floor

Informal discussion with Senior Secretariat Officials

2:45 p.m. **V.I.P. Tour of the U.N. (Optional)**

3:30 p.m. **Attendance at the Opening of the Thirty-Eighth Session  
of the General Assembly (Optional)**

\* \* \* \* \*



**United Nations Association of the United States of America**

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P L E N A R Y   S E S S I O N

Washington, D.C.

October 12th and 13th

A G E N D A

Wednesday, October 12th  
6:00 p.m. - 10:00 p.m.

DINNER ON CAPITOL HILL  
(Capitol Building--Senate Side  
Rooms 205 and 207)

6:00 p.m.

Reception--S-205

6:45 p.m.

Dinner--S-207

7:45 p.m.

Roundtable Discussion

Introduction - Robert O. Anderson  
Chairman of the Board  
Atlantic Richfield Co.

Trade Panel Co-Chairmen

Lynn R. Williams  
International Secretary  
United Steelworkers of America,  
AFL-CIO-CLC

Robert S. Ingersoll  
Life Trustee  
University of Chicago

Address by:

Representative Stephen Solarz  
House Subcommittee on Asian and  
Pacific Affairs, Chairman

Commentary --

Ambassador Michael Smith  
Deputy U.S. Trade Representative,  
USTR



Representative Thomas J. Downey  
House Subcommittee on Trade, Member

Discussion

9:00 p.m.

Productivity Panel Co-Chairman  
Ray Marshall  
Bernard Rapoport Professor of  
Economics & Public Affairs  
University of Texas at Austin

Commentary --

Senator Lloyd Bentsen  
Senate Subcommittee on Economic  
Goals & Intergovernmental Policy  
Vice Chairman

Marc E. Leland  
Assistant Secretary of Treasury for  
International Affairs

Richard T. McCormack  
Assistant Secretary of State for  
Economic and Business Affairs

Discussion

10:00 p.m.

Concluding Remarks - Robert O. Anderson

Thursday, October 13th

FULL DAY SESSION AT THE FOUR SEASONS HOTEL  
(2800 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.)

Morning Session

Salon A

9:00 a.m.

Continental Breakfast

9:15 a.m.

Introductory Remarks  
Robert O. Anderson

9:30 a.m.

Panel Progress Reports  
Henry Kaufman  
Managing Director and Member of  
the Executive Committee  
Salomon Brothers Inc

John Filer  
Chairman  
Aetna Life & Casualty Company

10:00 a.m.

Introduction - Ray Marshall

Address by:

Douglas A. Fraser  
President Emeritus  
International Union--United Auto  
Workers

Commentary --

Dr. Thomas A. Vanderslice  
President and Chief Operating Officer  
GTE

Discussion

10:40 a.m.

Panel Meetings

THE GLOBAL REPERCUSSIONS OF U.S. MONETARY  
AND FISCAL POLICY (Smithson Room)  
Henry Kaufman

JOBS IN THE 1980s (Douglass Room)

John H. Filer  
Douglas A. Fraser

12:10 p.m.

Reception

12:30 p.m.

Lunch

1:30 p.m.

Introductory Remarks

John J. Sweeney  
International President  
Service Employees International  
Union, AFL-CIO-CLC

Address by:

Faith Whittlesey, Assistant to the  
President for Public Liaison

Commentary --

Ruth J. Hinerfeld, Past President,  
League of Women Voters of the U.S.

Robert D. Schmidt, Vice Chairman of  
the Board  
Control Data Corporation

2:10 p.m.

GLOBAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND ISSUES

Introductory Remarks

Charles F. Barber, Chairman of the  
Finance Committee  
ASARCO, Inc.

Address by:

Robert O. Anderson, Chairman  
Atlantic Richfield Company

Henry Kaufman, Managing Director  
and Member of the Executive  
Committee  
Salomon Brothers Inc

Commentary --

Robert R. Nathan, Chairman  
Robert R. Nathan Associates, Inc.

Richard N. Gardner, Professor of  
Law and International Organiz-  
ation  
Columbia University School of Law

Discussion

3:15 p.m.

Coffee Break

3:30 p.m.

Introduction - Katharine Graham,  
Chairman  
The Washington Post Company

Address by:

Martin Feldstein  
Chairman of the Council of  
Economic Advisers

Commentary --

Jack Sheinkman, Secretary-Treasurer  
Amalgamated Clothing & Textile  
Workers Union, AFL-CIO

Jerome Jacobson, Vice-Chairman of  
the Board  
Burroughs Corporation

Discussion

4:30 p.m.

Concluding Remarks - Robert O. Anderson

Thursday evening, October 13th  
6:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.

DINNER AT THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND  
(700 19th St., N.W.)

6:00 p.m.

Reception

6:30 p.m.

Introduction - Robert O. Anderson

Address by:

Jacques de Larosiere  
Managing Director of the IMF

Commentary --

John R. Petty, Chairman  
Marine Midland Bank, N.A.

George J. Clark, Executive Vice  
President  
Citibank, N.A.

Discussion

7:30 p.m.

Dinner

8:20 p.m.

Concluding Discussion - Leo Van Houtven  
Secretary  
IMF

8:45 p.m.

Closing Remarks - Robert O. Anderson

NEW FROM UNA-USA

# Arms Control: The Multilateral Alternative

EDWARD C. LUCK, editor

This book is the first major American study of the critically important subject of multilateral approaches to arms control on both the regional and global levels.

These essays, commissioned by the United Nations Association of the USA and reviewed by a joint governmental-private study group, were written by leading arms control and defense experts. Combining historical, political, and military analyses, the book outlines a series of recommendations for American and international policies concerning both nuclear and conventional arms control. It includes an assessment of the Second UN Special Session on Disarmament in 1982, extensive analyses of Soviet-American relations, of divisions within the Western alliance, and of non-aligned perspectives, as well as a bibliography, and a Foreword by Elliot L. Richardson.

**Edward C. Luck** is Executive Vice President of the United Nations Association of the USA.

*"This book brings to bear a unique and revealing perspective on arms control. It shows the problems to be global in scope and to merit a serious review by the international community of the priority they deserve."*

**Paul C. Warnke**

Former Director of the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and Former Chief Negotiator for SALT II

*"This collection of essays will make an important contribution to the public's understanding of these long-neglected issues. The analyses of conventional arms control and nuclear proliferation are particularly insightful!"*

**Barry M. Blechman**

Vice President for International Affairs,  
Roosevelt Center for American Policy Studies  
and Former Assistant Director, US Arms Control  
and Disarmament Agency

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NEW FROM UNA-USA

# The US, The UN, and The Management of Global Change

TOBY TRISTER GATI, editor

American expectations of the UN have changed greatly over the past four decades, leading to increased concern and confusion about what the organization can and cannot do and how the United States should use the United Nations. Can the UN still serve US foreign policy interests? Or is the increased skepticism about its value warranted?

This important reassessment of the relationship between the United States and the United Nations is the first book to be published since the Reagan Administration refocused attention on the world organization. Published under the auspices of the United Nations Association of the United States, it offers an in-depth discussion of the development of the UN system, a look at some current problems, and a discussion of US policy at the United Nations—have we used the organization well or is American foreign policy there erratic and even counterproductive to America's long-term objectives in the international system?

**Toby Trister Gati** is Deputy Vice President of Research and Policy Studies of the United Nations Association of the USA.

*"If the US is to use the UN effectively, the public has to know what goes on there and why. This book is an excellent place to start."*

**William W. Scranton**

Former Governor of Pennsylvania and  
Former United States Ambassador to the  
United Nations

*"This collection of first-rate essays provides a balanced and realistic assessment of the UN system. The book will be stimulating and helpful reading for courses in international politics and organization and in US foreign policy."*

**Harold K. Jacobson**

Professor of Political Science and  
Research Scientist, University of Michigan

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FROM

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**PRIORITIES FOR US POLICY IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS**

**A Report by the United Nations Association of the USA,  
its Chapters and Affiliated Organizations**

Maximizing the effective use of international organizations and energizing US leadership in the United Nations are urgent requirements for dealing with the political and economic crises facing the world today. This report, the first in a series to be published by UNA's Program on Multilateral Issues and Institutions, brings together the views of policymakers and concerned citizens throughout the country and points a new direction for international action based on a sensitivity both to US national interests and the national concerns of other states.

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From the Desk of  
**ROBERT M. RATNER**

We all know that the UN has been under severe attack in recent weeks -- its basic purposes have been questioned, not-too-subtle suggestions have been made that it leave New York, and now efforts are being made in Congress to cut UN funding.

To counter these anti-UN sentiments, UNA has produced and distributed a wide range of materials. These include publication in The New York Times of a Statement of Support signed by senior foreign policymakers, publicizing the results of the Roper poll on public attitudes towards the UN, the placing in major American newspapers of OP-Ed pieces signed by UNA's top leadership, distribution of sample editorials and letters to the editor for use by our Chapters, and ensuring that our point of view is represented on radio and TV shows dealing with the UN.

As a result, we are now reaching out to a much wider public than ever before and are recognized as an indispensable source of information on the UN.



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### **BROAD PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR UN UNDERScoreD BY ELLIOT RICHARDSON IN TESTIMONY BEFORE HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE**

Appearing before the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on Tuesday, September 27th, Ambassador Elliot L. Richardson forcefully reaffirmed the value of the United Nations to US foreign policy and the importance of having the headquarters of the United Nations in this country. "Whether we like it or not," he noted, "our fate is indissolubly bound up with the actions of countries with different economic, political, and social systems....Scarcely any important American interest, and no serious threat to our well-being, is within our power to manage or control by ourselves or with a few friends." Faced with that reality, the United States must "employ every available means, including the use of multilateral organizations" to manage global problems.

Ambassador Richardson began his testimony by reading a statement signed by six former Secretaries of State, four former National Security Advisers, and seven former US Permanent Representatives to the UN affirming the important role the United Nations plays in the conduct of US foreign policy. Asserting that their experience in various governmental positions had underscored the importance of the United Nations in providing this country "with a forum for protecting and promoting our own interests as well as for seeking solutions to problems we share with other countries," this distinguished bipartisan group also stressed the importance of having the United Nations remain headquartered in the United States.

# THE UNITED NATIONS: A STATEMENT OF SUPPORT

*The following statement on the importance of the United Nations in the conduct of U.S. foreign policy has been endorsed by 6 former U.S. Secretaries of State, 4 former National Security Advisers and 7 former Permanent Representatives to the U.N.:*

*"The United Nations is an important instrumentality in the conduct of American foreign policy. Our experience, both in our public and private roles, has brought this home to us.*

*The United Nations provides this country with a forum for protecting and promoting our own interests as well as for seeking solutions to problems we share with other countries.*

*It is appropriate as well that this country should be the site of the United Nations, given the vision that has guided us as a nation and given the role we play, on all levels, in the world today.*

*We all recognize the shortcomings of the United Nations, but we live in a very imperfect and increasingly dangerous world and we must make the best use possible of whatever means we have for managing the problems that beset us."*

**GEORGE W. BALL**

Permanent Representative to the UN - 1968

**ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI**

National Security Adviser - 1977-1981

**McGEORGE BUNDY**

National Security Adviser - 1961-1966

**ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG**

Permanent Representative to the UN - 1965-1968

**ALEXANDER M. HAIG**

Secretary of State - 1981-1982

**HENRY A. KISSINGER\***

Secretary of State - 1973-1977

National Security Adviser - 1969-1974

**DONALD F. McHENRY**

Permanent Representative to the UN - 1979-1981

**DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN**

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\* Counted as serving  
in both positions



STATEMENT OF  
THE HONORABLE ELLIOT L. RICHARDSON  
Before the  
Subcommittee on Human Rights  
and International Organizations  
of the  
Committee on Foreign Affairs  
US House of Representatives  
September 27, 1983

It is a pleasure for me to testify once again before this subcommittee. I congratulate you on holding these hearings at this moment. The relationship between the United States and the United Nations is an important one that involves profound issues of this country's view of itself and of the world at large. As President Reagan once again reaffirmed in his speech to the opening session of the UN General Assembly yesterday, this country has been supportive of the UN since its founding. "Our goals are those that guide this very body," he said, adding "Our ends are the same as those of the UN's founders." The President emphasized that, "The UN has a proud history of promoting conciliation and helping keep the peace....The UN and its affiliates have made important contributions to the quality of life on this planet, such as directly saving countless lives through its refugee and emergency relief programs."

Nevertheless, many people continue to question the usefulness of the world organization, and the Senate recently voted to make debilitating cuts in US support for the UN. In recent days there has been a series of intemperate remarks about the UN, going so far as to question whether it should remain in the United States. These comments have been unfortunate, it seems to me, in all respects but one, namely that they do provide an opportunity for reflection on the underlying causes of the problem and the true attitudes of the American people.

I should like at this time to read to the subcommittee a brief statement on these issues by six former Secretaries of State, seven former United States Permanent Representatives to the UN, and four former National Security Advisers:

"The United Nations is an important instrumentality in the conduct of American foreign policy. Our experience, both in our public and private roles, has brought this home to us. The United Nations provides this country with a forum for protecting and promoting our own interests as well as for seeking solutions to problems we share with other countries. It is appropriate as well that this country should be the site of the United Nations, given the vision that has guided us as a nation and given the role we play, on all levels, in the world today. We all recognize the shortcomings of the United Nations, but we live in a very imperfect and increasingly dangerous world and we must make the best use possible of whatever means we have for managing the problems that beset us."

Those who have authorized me to make this statement on their behalf include many of the distinguished individuals who have served this country so well in high level policy positions. Needless to say, I heartily concur with the sentiments of this distinguished bipartisan group.\*

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\*Copy of statement is appended.

other attempts to adjust to the realities of global interdependence, the UN is the target of a sense of frustration and resentment. These feelings spring from a number of simplistic assumptions, all of them wrong:

- that the US is still consistently able, as we like to think it once was, to protect and promote its own interests solely by its own efforts;
- that organized, multilateral means of solving or dealing with problems are not only in the main unnecessary, but are to be distrusted; and
- that unilateralism is forced on us by an essentially hostile world.

This is a crippling vision of the world for a superpower with global responsibilities. Whether we like it or not, our fate is indissolubly bound up with the actions of countries with different economic, political and social systems, as well as with other developed Western countries. In today's world, scarcely an important American interest, and no serious threat to our well-being, is within our power to manage or control by ourselves or with a few friends. Native American pragmatism, faced with that reality, would see only one sensible course--to employ every available means, including the use of multilateral organizations, to bring to bear on these concerns the joint efforts of the countries necessary to their successful management.

Fortunately, the American people continue to show the common sense and pragmatism they are known for. A public opinion poll conducted this past summer by the Roper Organization for the United Nations Association demonstrates once again that a clear majority of the public believes that the UN is important, that the US should maintain or increase its participation in it, and that the organization is a place where we can hope to work out acceptable solutions to important problems. Only a small minority characterizes the UN--as do the neo-isolationists--as an anti-American organization where a hostile majority consistently comes to decisions against US interests. Roughly the same number (19%) would have the US give highest priority to answering attacks on this country in the UN rather than on working for agreements on major global issues.

Mr. Chairman, I will submit the poll results and their analysis for the record, since I believe they are significant and relevant to this discussion. Let me here note a few of them that are most indicative.

When they were asked which of three statements came closest to their feelings about the UN today, by far the greatest number (49 percent) agreed that "Although the US is frequently outvoted, enough common ground exists on most issues for the US to work within the UN." Asked whether the UN should be given more power or less power to cope with seven major global issues, 67 percent wanted the UN to have more power to deal with reducing the superpower confrontation and with supporting human rights, 64 percent advocated giving it more power to conserve natural resources, and 55 percent wanted the UN to do more to help poor countries develop.



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### **UN STILL WINS APPROVAL OF MOST AMERICANS, ROPER POLL REPORTS**

By a sizable majority, Americans believe that enough common ground exists in the UN to make it worthwhile for the US to work within the organization and that decisions taken at the UN are largely compatible with US interests. In addition, a near majority of those polled want the US Government to pursue policies in the UN aimed at reaching agreements acceptable to the broadest possible number of countries. Only 19 percent give highest priority to answering attacks on the US, and less than one-fourth think the United Nations has become an anti-American organization.

These are the major conclusions of a Roper Poll commissioned by the United Nations Association (UNA-USA) to gauge public support for the UN. Also included in the Poll is a survey of UNA's members' attitudes towards the UN.

After releasing the Poll, Orville L. Freeman, Chairman of the Board of Governors of UNA-USA stated: "The message to Washington is clear: if the US takes the lead in defining what it wants from the United Nations, the American public is prepared to see the UN assume a more active role in resolving global problems."

Heavy majorities of those polled thought the UN should be given more power to reduce the possibility of superpower confrontation, strengthen human rights, conserve natural resources, and promote economic development. In addition, fewer people appear to be dissatisfied with the UN than was true in past polls, although a majority would withhold US contributions to

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## UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA

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### DIRECTIONS FOR THE UN:

#### US Public Opinion on the United Nations

Results of the 1983 Roper Poll  
Commissioned by UNA-USA

Background Paper Prepared by UNA-USA, September 1983

#### Summary of the Findings

Americans have once again reaffirmed their belief that the United Nations plays a constructive role in US foreign policy. They recognize a tremendous need for enhancing international stability and promoting economic development and see the UN as an appropriate vehicle for accomplishing these tasks. A clear majority of the American people finds that "enough common ground exists on most issues to make it worthwhile for the US to work within the UN" or that "decisions taken by UN members are largely compatible with our own interests." In addition, a near majority wants the United States to pursue active engagement in the UN in order to "work for agreements on major global issues that are acceptable to the broadest number of countries possible."

In terms of the American public's agenda for the UN, the results are rather clear cut -- strive for consensus agreements in the UN to reduce the danger of superpower conflict, strengthen human rights, conserve natural resources, and speed economic development.



These are the major conclusions of a poll recently conducted by the Roper Organization for UNA-USA. This poll was commissioned in June 1983 as part of UNA's program on Multilateral Issues and Institutions and updates an earlier 1980 survey of American perceptions of the UN and the US role in the United Nations.

Also included in this report are the conclusions of a similar survey of over 1,000 of UNA's 20,000-member national constituency in which UNA members responded to the same questions presented to the national sample. This second survey gives additional insights into the views of a particularly politically active, internationalist segment of the American people.

The attitudes of UNA's membership underscore the general trends outlined in the nationwide Roper Poll: support for active US engagement in the UN's search for consensus agreements on problems that concern the entire international community. Eighty percent of UNA members favor increasing US participation in the UN. By a similar margin, they believe that enough common ground can be found to warrant bringing important problems to the UN. Although a greater percentage of UNA members feels the UN is doing a good job than among the general public, almost one-fourth of those polled believe the UN is not performing as well as it could. With a few exceptions, the UNA membership poll comes closest to the views expressed by the political activist subgroup in the Roper Poll. UNA members represent a highly educated, politically vocal segment of the population, people who can often exert considerable influence both in their local communities and in national politics.

A detailed analysis of the Roper Poll and the survey of UNA's membership follows.



Among the UNA sample, almost four-fifths (79%) believe that sufficient common ground exists to warrant a significant commitment by the United States to active participation in the UN and an additional 13% feel the basic orientation of the UN is compatible with US national interests. This compared favorably with the opinions expressed by the college educated, liberals, and the political activists polled by the Roper Organization.

#### QUESTION:

Here are three different approaches the United States could take in the UN. If the United States could only do one of these three things, which one would you most like to see us do?

Answer more directly attacks on the United States  
that are made in the UN.....19%

Work behind the scenes with friendly  
countries to have our point of view prevail.....19%

Work for agreements on major global issues  
that are acceptable to the broadest number of  
countries possible.....48%

Don't know.....14%

The clearly preferred approach for US foreign policy in the UN is to work for consensus agreements with allies and other countries. Taken together, the latter two choices, both of which presuppose compromise and active participation in the UN's work, account for 67% of the total. Only one person in five favors directly confrontational tactics, a policy which presumably would make it difficult to achieve the compromise agreements implied in the other two choices.

Support for compromise and consensus is strongest among younger people (those under 45), in the Midwest and West, and among the more highly educated and politically active. There is no significant difference between Democrats, Republicans and Independents on this question, although liberals do appear to be stronger adherents of the consensus approach and there is greater support for answering attacks on the United States in a more forceful manner among Republicans.

By a lopsided majority (80%), UNA members favor compromise and consensus building as opposed to an aggressively offensive US policy in the United Nations. An additional 11% prefer behind the scenes efforts to gather support for American policy initiatives. These preferences correspond most closely to those expressed by executives/professionals, college graduates, liberals, and political activists in the Roper sample.

Age is an important factor in determining the level of support for an activist US policy in the UN: the youngest age group (those under 30) favors increased participation by a significantly greater margin than do people in their forties and fifties (37% to 29%) and by an even greater spread over those in the 60 and over group (37% to 22%). As household income and educational level rises, so does the number of people in favor of increased US participation in the United Nations. For example, only a quarter of those earning \$10,000 per year or less favor increasing the US role in the UN, while 36% of those earning \$30,000 or more favor this course of action. The Northeast and the West are the regions most supportive of a greater US role in UN affairs, while the South clearly emerges as the region least supportive of the US commitment to the UN. One-third of those polled, regardless of their political affiliation, reaffirmed support for greater US involvement in the UN; however, Republicans stand out in the larger number calling for less participation (31% vs. 24% for Democrats and 22% for Independents), as do conservatives (29% vs. 22% for moderates and 23% for liberals). Liberals are generally characterized by a significantly higher level of support for increased US participation in the UN (37% as compared with 31% for moderates and 30% for conservatives).

Over four-fifths of the UNA sample would increase the US role in the UN, while only 4% would decrease US participation in the UN. This is significantly greater than any of the groups included in the Roper sample, reflecting the internationalist orientation and commitment to multilateral institutions that one would expect from those who choose to be members of an organization like UNA-USA.

#### QUESTION:

In general, do you feel the UN is doing a good job or a poor job in trying to solve the problems it has to face?

	<u>1983</u>		<u>1980</u>	<u>1977</u>
(Sample divided into two halves)				
	<u>More in-depth response</u>	<u>Trend sample</u>		
Good job	21%	35%	30%	32%
Poor job	37%	42%	53%	39%
In between (volunteered)	25%	xxx <sup>3</sup>	xxx <sup>3</sup>	xxx <sup>3</sup>
Don't know	16%	23%	18%	29%

As in 1980, more people feel the UN is doing a poor job than a good job. However, the "good job" percentage in the half of the sample comparable to polls taken in previous years (the trend sample)

<sup>3</sup>Volunteered "in between" answer category not provided thus forcing people into "good job," "poor job" or "don't know."

the UN is doing a good job as opposed to 35% of the 18-29 year olds and 39% of those from 30-44. On the other hand, the number of people responding that the UN is doing a poor job is relatively consistent for the four age groups polled. As income, educational and occupational levels rise, so does dissatisfaction with the job the UN is doing. Nearly one-half of the executive/professional, college-educated, and \$30,000-plus income groups think the UN is doing a poor job. These are the same groups, it should be recalled, that expressed stronger sentiment for increasing US participation in the UN in the previous question. The Northeast and West give the UN the highest marks, while the response of those in the South is the most uniformly negative: only 32% of Southerners believe the UN is doing a good job and 45% say it is performing poorly. Members of all political parties and all political philosophies give the UN approximately the same approval rating (the range is from 33-37%), but Republicans and conservatives do show a considerably higher level of dissatisfaction with the UN. Fifty-two percent of Republicans and 47% of conservatives feel the UN is doing a poor job whereas only 39% of the Democrats and Independents and 38% of the moderates feel the same way. Liberals are to be found midway between the two, with 43% indicating that the UN is doing a poor job. The highest level of dissatisfaction by far comes from those who see themselves as political activists -- 56% of this group think the UN is doing poorly.

Turning to the revised, more in-depth response to the question, in which respondents were able to select an "in between" choice in assessing the UN's performance, there is a marked shift in the assessment made by many of the subgroups. In some cases, the changes are quite dramatic, with as many as a third of the respondents in any one category changing their views. The largest shift is usually among those who say the UN is doing a good job -- approximately twice as many in this group changed their answer from "good" to "in between" as shifted from "poor" to "in between." The largest shifts occurred among blacks, Southerners, non-high school graduates, and political activists.

Only in the case of the politically active groups and among Republicans did the percent change from "poor" to "in between" equal the percent shift from "good" to "in between." (Thirty-two percent of the politically active shifted to an "in between" response, as did 22% of the Republicans in the poll.) This supports the hypothesis that even with those groups registering the strongest opinions about the UN in the trend question (in these two cases, negative opinions), the more nuanced answer is more reflective of their true views of the UN. In addition, when the good and "in between" answers of these two groups are combined, then 52% of the political activists and 45% of

Dissatisfaction with the United Nations is most vividly expressed in the question concerning when and how the US should contribute to various UN programs. While some subgroups are less inclined to withhold US financial support for certain UN activities than are other groups -- primarily the higher income and occupational groups, the liberals and the independents -- 39 of the 40 subgroups tabulated are more inclined to withhold contributions than not. Of all the categories polled, only people in executive/professional occupations are more inclined not to place conditions on US contributions to the UN -- and then only by one percentage point (46% to 45%). Conservatives would withhold US contributions by a margin of almost 2:1 and Republicans by a 5:3 margin.

Age is not nearly as significant a variable as it is on other questions in the poll -- the youngest and oldest groups differ by only 3% (50% to 53%) in their belief that the US should restrict its contribution to the UN under certain circumstances. Whites are more inclined to withhold funds than are blacks (52% to 43%). People from the Northeast and South are more strongly in favor of withholding US contributions, while the strongest sentiment for continued support of the UN, even when its activities seem objectionable, comes from the Western parts of the country.

Among UNA members, the question of financial contributions does not appear to be linked to approval or disapproval of the UN's performance as expressed in the previous two questions. Eighty-five percent of UNA's constituents would not punish the UN when its member states take actions with which the US Government may disagree, while only 9% would withhold US financial contributions to express disapproval with the UN. This opinion may be prompted by concern that such a policy could lead to institutional paralysis or tit-for-tat politics, thus interfering with the UN's work across the board.

The desire to exercise greater control over US contributions to the UN is very strongly and widely felt, but it does not indicate a lessened commitment to the UN when it tackles important international issues, as the results of the next question clearly indicate.



area. Particularly suggestive of this conclusion is the significantly greater opposition to UN refugee-related work in the Southern areas of the country -- where only 31% favor giving the UN more power to deal with the problem and 40% want it to have less power -- and the low level of support for UN efforts among non-high school graduates and those earning under \$10,000, the very groups that would be most threatened economically by waves of new immigrants.

Black American opinion differs significantly from whites on issues of war and peace as well as those involving economic development. Blacks are more supportive of the UN's work in several areas. Eighty-one percent of blacks and only 64% of whites want the UN to do more to strengthen human rights, 63% of black Americans and 54% of whites want the UN to help poor countries more, and half the blacks but only two-fifths of the whites want the UN's role in resolving local conflicts to be enhanced. Only on the issue of conserving natural resources are blacks less supportive of strengthening the UN than whites (59% of blacks vs. 65% of whites).

Respondents in the UNA poll also favor increasing the UN's power to resolve political conflicts and spur economic development. In all cases, they do so by even larger margins than do those polled by the Roper Organization. They give highest priority to strengthening the UN's ability to manage the superpower competition, advance human rights, conserve natural resources, and aid less developed countries -- exactly the same four issues singled out by the general public and the political activists as most important. Only very small percentages would favor reducing the UN's power to deal with the seven issues cited. The largest discrepancy between the answers given by the general public and those provided by UNA members concern aid to refugees -- over 80% of UNA members but only 37% of the general public favors increasing UN efforts in this area. The very different response to this question may mean that the domestic and international concerns outlined above influence the opinion of UNA's membership significantly less than they do that of the public at large. It may also reflect greater knowledge of what the UN actually does to alleviate the suffering of refugee populations.

The seven issues presented in the poll cover a wide range of UN activities in the political, economic, and humanitarian fields, representing areas where the UN already plays an active role and where the track record is already there to examine. Therefore, it is particularly revealing that with the exception of only three subgroups in one of the questions (aid to refugees), the number of respondents in both the Roper Poll and the UNA poll wanting to either increase or maintain current levels of UN activity constitutes an absolute majority in all cases.



## U.S. Role in the U.N. Is Debated

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 9 — Two Congressional hearings that were intended to examine whether the United Nations should stay in New York evolved instead into a forum on continued American involvement in the world organization.

The House Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations heard testimony from three speakers on Sept. 27 and Oct. 3.

Senator Nancy Landon Kassebaum, Republican of Kansas; Elliot L. Richardson, chairman of the United Nations Association of the United States, and Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, the chief United States representative at the United Nations, expressed wide-ranging concerns about the United States' role in the United Nations.

The hearings came in the aftermath of a statement by Charles M. Lichenstein, an American representative at the United Nations, who, in an angry retort to a Soviet criticism on Sept. 19, suggested that United Nations delegates consider leaving the United States if they were unhappy with American hospitality.

In his testimony, Mr. Richardson read a five-sentence statement supporting continuation of a United States-based United Nations. It was signed by former Secretaries of State Alexander M. Haig Jr., Henry A. Kissinger, Edmund S. Muskie, William P. Rogers, Dean Rusk and Cyrus R. Vance; by Zbigniew Brzezinski, McGeorge Bundy and Brent Scowcroft, all former national security advisers, and by George W. Ball, Arthur J. Goldberg, Donald F. McHenry, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, John A. Scali, William W. Scranton and Andrew Young, former representatives at the United Nations.

The statement later appeared in an advertisement in The New York Times.

In addition, a recent New York Times/CBS News Poll showed that Americans favored, by a 3 to 1 ratio,

keeping the United Nations headquarters in New York City.

Despite the concern over where the United Nations should be situated, the focus of the hearings shifted to the United States' financial commitment to the international organization.

Mrs. Kassebaum outlined an amendment the Senate had approved, 66 to 23, that would slash the United States contribution to the United Nations and its agencies by nearly \$500 million over the next four years. The United States contribution represents 25 percent of the United Nations' budget, which was \$722 million last year and is expected to be \$784 million this year.

"I would hope that this amendment would lead to new thoughts about priorities for and spending by the United Nations," Mrs. Kassebaum said.

Mrs. Kirkpatrick voiced concern that a majority of countries were paying a disproportionately small share of the budget, leaving the United States to pay a lion's share despite its objections to the adopted final budget.

"Those countries who have the votes don't pay the bills, while those who pay the bills don't have the votes," she said.

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## ELLIOT L. RICHARDSON

Guest columnist

# Strengthen the U.N., don't undermine it

NEW YORK — Underlying the recent spate of attacks on the U.N. is a vague uneasiness about the state of the world and the USA's role in it. The U.N. has become a convenient scapegoat on which to blame the world's ills and the shortcomings of our own policy.

The most far-fetched suggestion has been that we would be better off if the U.N. left American soil. It is as if we should shut our doors — and our ears — to the rest of the world.

Those who would advocate such shortsighted foolishness are blinded by a mixture of isolationism, ideology and ignorance. Unaware or unmindful of the realities of global interdependence, they would substitute illusion for reality and rhetoric for strategy.

They would have us retreat from the tradition of openness that has contributed so much to this country's greatness and hide our heads in the ground like a frightened ostrich.

It has served American honor and interests to have the leaders of the world assemble here to discuss their differences, read our publications, meet our citizens, absorb our culture and buy our products.

The New York City economy alone gains almost as much revenue annually from the U.N.'s presence as the USA contributes to the U.N. budget, not to mention the large portion of the U.N.'s outlays overseas that is spent on American technology, goods and expertise.

Fortunately, the American public is sensible enough to recognize the U.N.'s importance.

A recent Roper poll reveals

*Elliot L. Richardson, veteran of several Cabinet posts, is chairman of the United Nations Association of the USA.*

that three-fifths believe that enough common ground exists in the U.N. to make it worthwhile for the USA to work within the organization, or that decisions taken at the U.N. are largely compatible with U.S. interests.

Nearly half want the U.S. government to pursue policies in the U.N. aimed at reaching agreement acceptable to the broadest number of countries, while only 19 percent feel that the highest priority should be answering attacks on the USA. And less than one-fourth believe that the U.N. has become an anti-American organization.

The poll showed that most Americans believe that the U.N. should be given more power to deal with reducing risks of war (67 percent), supporting human rights (67 percent), conserving natural resources (64 percent), and helping poor countries develop (55 percent).

The American people recognize that the U.N. is no panacea, that it has serious shortcomings and needs U.S. leadership. But they also realize that it is the only global forum with which to develop a safer, saner and more just world.

At a time of growing violence in Lebanon, of Soviet duplicity and aggression, of an escalating arms race, and of a shaky world economic system, we should be searching for ways to strengthen and improve the United Nations, not undermining it with frivolous and unrealistic suggestions.



## Point of View

### The UN Does Make A Difference

By Elliot L. Richardson

This year it is not business as usual at the United Nations. The Organization is caught up in a storm of controversy over Korean and Soviet airplanes, over the value of the UN to the United States foreign policy, and, indeed, over whether the UN should stay in New York or leave the country.

Some of the questioning raises legitimate issues about the way the UN conducts its business and about the business which it chooses to conduct. Some, however, expresses a narrow nationalism—once called isolationism—which appears to be directed at the UN, but is in reality an attack on the whole idea of cooperative efforts to deal with global problems.

It is dangerous for the U.S. to make the UN the target of our frustrations and resentment when other countries do things with which we disagree. Whether we like it or not, scarcely an important American interest, and no serious threat to our well-being, is within our power to manage or control by ourselves or with a few friends. The UN is a place where we can bring our concerns to the attention of the world community.

Those charged with implementing U.S. foreign policy during the past twenty-five years are keenly aware of the need to use every available means, including the use of multilateral organizations, to further U.S. interests and to manage global problems. A statement recently endorsed by six former Secretaries of State, four former National Security Advisors, and seven former U.S. Permanent Representatives to the UN, stresses the importance of the UN as a "forum for protecting and promoting our own interests as well as

for seeking solutions to problems we share with other countries."

The public, too, has a keen sense of the UN's importance. It is not true that most Americans are fed up with the UN. A recent public opinion poll conducted by the Roper Organization for the United Nations Association reminds us of the innate good sense and pragmatism for which Americans are well-known. It shows that Americans appreciate the need for global institutions and want to see them given more authority even while they recognize that they are far from perfect.

*Elliot L. Richardson served as Secretary of Defense January-May 1973, and is currently Chairman of the United Nations Association.*

For instance, three-fifths of those polled believe that enough common ground exists in the UN to make it worthwhile for the U.S. to work within the organization or that UN decisions are largely compatible with U.S. interests. Less than a quarter see the UN as an anti-American body where a hostile majority consistently comes to decisions opposed to U.S. interests.

When asked which one of three approaches they would most like to see the U.S. take in the UN, more than two-thirds of those polled preferred policies which would encourage cooperation with other nations of the world.

Of these, almost half (48%) preferred working for agreements that are acceptable to the broadest number of countries. Less than a fifth (19%) gave the highest priority to answering more directly attacks made in the UN against the

U.S.

More impressive, perhaps, were the heavy majorities that thought the UN should be given more power to deal with reducing the danger of superpower confrontation, supporting human rights (67% each), conserving natural resources (64%), and helping poor countries develop (55%).

Bridging the gap between public expectations and the UN's actual performance can only be accomplished by an increased commitment from UN member states to use the United Nations for solving problems. Ways must be found to make the United Nations work better and to adapt existing institutions to the needs of a rapidly changing international system.

The focus of debate in this country about the UN should be on these practical issues, but it too seldom is. Instead, we hear intemperate remarks about booting the UN out of the country and our politicians rush to make debilitating cuts in U.S. financial support for the UN.

Such a cavalier attitude towards the United Nations will not help us generate constructive national policies or build multilateral institutions capable of dealing with global problems.

The United Nations Association of the USA has underway a major new program to reinvigorate the UN and stimulate constructive courses of action for U.S. policy. This, in turn, should spur universities, public affairs institutions, and the Government to plan for the future instead of dwelling on the past. As political conflict becomes more acute and economic development falters, there are few tasks more urgent. ★

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Edith B. Wilkie  
Executive Director

October 4, 1983

TO Interested Members, Press Secretaries, LAS  
FROM Edith Wilkie  
RE Response to recent United Nations controversies

The National Republican Congressional Committee has distributed a press release charging that Members who called for Ambassador Lichenstein's resignation were "critizing America...."

Ironically, the comments of Ambassador Lichenstein, along with those of Mayor Koch and the amendment of Senator Kassebaum to reduce U.S. funding for the U.N., have provoked some strongly supportive statements on the U.N. -- often not highly publicized and often from unlikely sources. Of special interest:

\* Public opinion: Support for the U.N. is still strong. ABC's scientific news poll conducted after the Lichenstein statement (in contrast to non-scientific "phone-ins" on ABC's "Nightline" show) revealed that 72 percent support the U.N. being in the U.S., and only 28 percent oppose it. A CBS/New York Times poll released last week shows that 89 percent believe the U.S. should stay in the U.N.

\* Statement by six former Secretaries of State: On September 27, the following statement was released by Hon. Elliott Richardson, on behalf of former Secretaries of State Haig, Kissinger, Muskie, Rogers, Rusk and Vance:

"The United Nations is an important instrumentality in the conduct of American foreign policy...(It) provides this country with a forum for protecting and promoting our own interests as well as for seeking solutions to problems we share with other countries. It is appropriate as well that this country should be the site of the U.N., given the vision that has guided us as a nation and given the role we play, on all levels, in the world today. We all recognize the shortcomings of the U.N., but we live in a very imperfect and increasingly dangerous world and we must make the best use possible of whatever means we have for managing the problems that beset us."



\* Statements by President Reagan: After expressing agreement with Amb. Lichenstein, President Reagan appeared to reverse himself:

--The U.S. is "proud to be the home" of the U.N., the New York Times quoted the President as having told a group in New York, prior to his U.N. address;

--"The U.N. at its best can help us transcend fear and violence and can act as an enormous force for peace and prosperity ... The U.N. has a proud history of promoting conciliation and helping keep the peace ... We give our unwavering support to the peacekeeping efforts of this body." (U.N. speech, 9/28/83)

--"The U.N. and its affiliates have made important contributions to the quality of life on this planet, such as directly saving countless lives through its refugee and emergency relief programs." (U.N. speech, 9/28/83)

\* Testimony of Ambassador Kirkpatrick: In a hearing on October 3, U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick stated she was "opposed" to, and "would have voted against" the Kassebaum Amendment; and said its enactment would provoke a "very negative" reaction among other U.N. members.

\* Column by Senator Moynihan: A New York Times Op-Ed piece by former U.N. Ambassador Moynihan called on President Reagan to "U.N.do the Damage," by using his influence to restore funds reduced by the Kassebaum Amendment -- noting that if the U.S. defaults on its commitments, the U.N. might be transferred to Geneva or Vienna.

\* Some additional points on the U.N.: The U.N. is the preferred - if not the only - instrument leading the search for political solutions to international problems. In some cases, it has closed the door on Soviet mischief, as when it provided a vehicle for Zimbabwe's independence, and when its Security Council laid the basis for the Camp David negotiations. Although the U.N. is a popular whipping boy, some statistics tell a different story:

--Although the U.S. does bear the largest cost share of U.N. operations, when contributions to the U.N. are figured as a percentage of a nation's GNP, the U.S. ranks 53rd of 154 nations. As Ambassador Kirkpatrick said in 1982, "we pay four one-hundredths of one percent of our GNP to the U.N."

--On a per capita basis, the U.S. is the 12th largest contributor to the U.N.

--Over the past 35 years, the U.N. has dealt with over 70 cases involving a breach of peace. In the Middle East alone, troops from over 21 countries have served in U.N. peacekeeping forces.

--U.N. specialized agencies have, for example, resettled 70,000 Indochina refugees; eradicated smallpox (saving \$1 billion a year in unnecessary vaccines and controls); and provided the only international safeguards for international nuclear non-proliferation.



# U.S. support for the U.N. questioned

Reagan to reassure members in speech

By SAUL FRIEDMAN  
Herald Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — In 1968, California Gov. Ronald Reagan declined a request for his state to take part in the observance of United Nations Day on Oct. 24, the anniversary of its founding. An aide explained to the national U.N. Day chairman that such a declaration might be "interpreted as a blanket endorsement by [Reagan] of the total United Nations concept and operation."

But each year since he has been president, Reagan has appointed a U.N. Day chairman. And on Monday, Reagan will address the General Assembly in order, said a senior official who briefed reporters, to "reaffirm the strong United States support for the United Nations."

The official added that Reagan, in an effort to set the tone of the 38th General Assembly as the first head of state to speak, will outline "proposals for positive change," including new American positions on arms control and an explanation of American policies in Central America and the Middle East.

Reagan's appearance, however, comes at a time when the traditional American commitment to the United Nations is in doubt among members of Congress, scholars and foreign policy specialists.

Indeed, the official who anonymously briefed reporters acknowledged that recent events made it necessary to reassure members of the United Nations as well as the American people of continued U.S. support for the organization.

Last week, in what U.N. officials and at least one State Department aide described as a violation of the U.N. treaty, the United States



Lichenstein

placed restrictions on Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko's annual journey to the General Assembly, and Gromyko canceled. When a Russian delegate suggested that the United States should not be the host country for the United Nations, Deputy U.S. Representative Charles Lichenstein told him and other delegates that the United States "will put no impediment in your way" if they wished to move.

Although 24 House Democrats asked for Lichenstein's resignation and administration officials explained that his remarks were personal, President Reagan told a group of journalists Wednesday that Lichenstein "had the hearty approval of most people in America in the suggestion that we weren't asking anyone to leave, but if they chose to leave, goodbye."

Then, Thursday, over the objections of the President and Republican leaders, the Senate voted 66-23 to cut the U.S. contribution to the United Nations by \$480 million over the next five years.

The statements by Lichenstein and Reagan, as well the official U.S. actions, came in reaction to the Soviet downing of the Korean Air Lines plane and the Russian refusal to acknowledge error or offer compensation to the families of the 269 victims.

But questions about the administration's attitude toward the United Nations predate the airline tragedy.

The Heritage Foundation, a conservative think-tank with considerable influence in the administration, said in a January 1982 study that "the worth of the U.N. is more suspect than at any time in its history. . . . There are questions . . . as to whether the U.S. is benefiting from its U.N. membership, given the paralysis of the Security Council and the anti-American, anti-Western, anti-industrial, anti-capitalist majority in the General Assembly."

The effect of the conservative view of these agencies is noted in a new volume, *The U.S., the U.N. and the Management of Global Change*, published by the United Nations Association and edited by Toby Gati, its vice president for policy and research.

It said that in recent years, but especially since the beginning of the Reagan Administration, the United States has "begun to hinder U.N. operations by imposing conditions on the use of U.S. assessed financial contributions, a clear violation of treaty obligations." The Soviet Union and some other nations have similarly refused to contribute to U.N. programs with which they disagree.

The U.N. association's study suggested that one reason for hostility to the United Nations is Reagan's view that virtually all evil originates with the Soviet Union.

"The U.N. cannot be effective on issues which involve the superpowers," Gati said. "Thus when every debate is placed within the context of East-West relations, other nations decline to take sides, because of their own interests, and problems cannot be solved. Thus the U.N. seems to be helpless."

"I don't think the U.S. ought to roll over and play dead for the Soviets. The U.S. ought to raise hell, but what good does it do to keep the Soviets from the forum? Where can we talk to the Russians now? There is no divorce in a nuclear world."

The following two articles were carried as a feature on page by the UPI on Sunday, September 25, 1983. The UNA article, at least, was requested by the UPI, and written without seeing the Broomfield piece.

THE NEWS AMERICAN, September 27, 1983

# No! This is an essentially frivolous question

by Arthur R. Day  
United Press International

NEW YORK — There are good reasons for Americans to want the United Nations to be located in their country, and no good reasons for wanting it to leave.

The question, however, is an essentially frivolous one that really has to do with our basic attitude toward the United Nations and international cooperation, but is framed in a way to divert us from serious discussion of these issues.

In strictly financial terms, playing host to the United Nations is good business. The United Nations, and the diplomatic community it attracts to New York, contributes roughly \$700 million annually to the city's economy, far more than the \$22 million in additional costs resulting from the organization's presence.

Much more important, however, having the preeminent world organization in the United States makes sense, given the role that this country plays in the world.

The United States is not a provincial state absorbed only with its own purposes and limited by narrow horizons of outlook. It is the leading country of the world in every major respect. It is a country with close ties and important interests throughout the world, heavily dependent on conditions and developments outside its borders. At the same time, it is a country with enormous impact on the rest of the world.

It is completely fitting that such a country should accept and exercise the responsibilities of host to the United Nations. It is singularly unfitting that fits of petulance should be permitted to diminish the seriousness of purpose with which the country addresses its historic role.

It is not what the American people think of themselves; it is not what the American people are.

That the American people take the United Nations seriously and value its activities and potential has, in fact, been reaffirmed by a poll conducted this past summer by the Roper Organization for the United Nations Association of the U.S.A.

By substantial majorities the public wanted the United States to remain active in the United Nations or increase its activity. It declined to accept the isolationist view of the United Nations as an essentially hostile organization and saw it as a body within which worthwhile results could be achieved.

The public called for increased U.N. powers to deal with a number of key issues, such as reducing the danger of superpower confrontation and supporting human rights. It recognized that the United Nations was not doing as

good a job as it should, but it also recognized that the United States needed the organization to help deal with problems it could not deal with alone.

As the American people seem to understand, we cannot escape from the world by getting out of the United Nations or by getting the United Nations out of the United States.

By getting out of the United Nations, we would only deny ourselves one important way of dealing with a difficult and dangerous world. By urging the United Nations to leave, we would only show ourselves as bumpkins unable to sustain the role of the leading country in the world.

• Arthur R. Day is vice counsellor of the United Nations Association, a non-profit private group that supports the United Nations. This article, written for United Press International, was distributed by the UPI.



# United Nations Association of the United States of America

300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017 212 697 3232

URGENT

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September 21, 1983

## MEMO

TO: Chapters and Divisions  
FROM: Kevin Canavan, National Field Director  
RE: ENCLOSED MEDIA INFORMATION

In response to the current coverage of the UN we are forwarding the enclosed material for IMMEDIATE distribution to radio, television and newspapers in your community. It is urgent that this information be delivered by hand to the local media in order that a balanced picture of the UN be presented to the public.

Enclosed you will find:

1. A draft cover letter for you to use in submitting this information to the local media.
2. The results of the 1983 Roper Poll commissioned by UNA-USA entitled Directions for the UN: U.S. Public Opinion on the United Nations. (not enclosed here)
3. A press release describing the results of the survey. (not enclosed here)
4. An op-ed piece discussing the above. NOTE: This should be prepared on your chapter stationery and submitted to your local newspaper signed by the chapter president or a prominent citizen in your community.
5. A draft editorial you can submit to local editors for their consideration.

Additional information on the poll is available from the National Office.



**United Nations Association of the United States of America**

300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017 212 697 3232

Draft Cover Letter to  
Be Used in Sending Material  
to Local Editors

( Date )

Dear \_\_\_\_\_:

The opening of the General Assembly of the United Nations has been greeted with a wave of news events unparalleled in recent times. Perhaps the one with the greatest long-term significance is the debate that has resurfaced concerning whether the UN should get out of the U.S.

With this in mind, we are forwarding the results of a recent Roper Poll, commissioned by UNA-USA, which reaffirms the belief of the American public that the UN plays a constructive role in U.S. foreign policy. We believe that you will find this information most useful and suggest that you consider using the enclosed draft editorial.

Sincerely,

Chapter President



## United Nations Association of the United States of America

300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017 212 697 3232

NOTE: The following is a suggested editorial you should send to the local newspaper for their consideration. Simply detach at the dotted line and forward with a note. Or, you can have the Chapter president sign it and send it in as an op-ed piece.

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As the General Assembly goes into session, newspaper headlines are filled with stories concerning the United Nations. Stories concerning the downing of the Korean airliner were quickly replaced with stories of Mr. Gromyko's inability to get to the United Nations. This, in turn, was replaced with stories concerning the remarks of U.S. Ambassador Charles M. Lichenstein that, perhaps, the UN should get out of the U.S. Thus, we have gone, in the space of one week, from turning to the UN during a time of crisis to suggesting that it pack its bags.

The Ambassador's angry comments raise a refrain heard many times in the past. As the reasoning goes, the American public is fed up with the UN and the abuse heaped upon its government, it sees no useful purpose for the organization and would prefer to see it go elsewhere.

All very heady stuff; but is it what the American public believes? We think not. A nationwide poll recently conducted by the respected Roper Organization on behalf of the United Nations Association of the United States indicates the American public is much more appreciative of what the UN can do and much more positive in its assessment of what it has done. For example, heavy majorities of those polled thought the UN should be given more power to reduce the possibility of superpower confrontation, strengthen human rights, conserve natural resources, and promote economic development. In addition, fewer people appear to be dissatisfied with the UN than was true in past polls.

According to Burns Roper, head of the Roper Organization, "The American people display a highly realistic view of the United Nations. While people feel the UN has done a far from perfect job, they nevertheless support the UN and would give it more scope and greater power because of the crucial areas in which it operates."

We agree. The off-the-cuff comments of an American Ambassador may appeal to the emotional frustration we all experience concerning the United Nations. But cool heads must prevail in these times. This is what the American public wants and clearly deserves. The world is too dangerous to base our foreign policy on anger and frustration.





## United Nations Association of the United States of America

300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017 212 697 3232

**URGENT**

NOTE: The U.S. Mission to the UN announced that letters are running 30 to 1 in favor of getting the UN out of the U.S. Below is a sample letter you Chapter leadership and members can use to send to the Mission.

---

H.E. Mrs. Jeane J. Kirkpatrick,  
Permanent Representative to the United Nations  
United States Mission to the United Nations  
799 United Nations Plaza  
New York, N.Y. 10017

Dear Madam Ambassador:

I want to express my strong support for keeping the United Nations in the United States. I believe the comments by Ambassador Charles Lichenstein were inappropriate and not representative of the feelings of most Americans.

Sincerely,

☐ NATIONAL SERVICE

300 East 42 Street  
New York, N. Y. 10017  
697-3232

# UNAGRAM

## RAPID MESSAGE

☐ INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

VIA:  
FIRST CLASS ☐  
AIR MAIL ☐  
SPEC. DELIVERY ☐

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

TO: Council of Organizations, Chapters and Divisions

FROM: Edith Segall, Chairman, Conference of UN Representatives  
Marilou Righini, Chairman, Council of Washington Representatives  
Carroll Cannon, Chairman, Council of Chapter and Division Presidents

ON OCTOBER 4TH WE URGED YOU TO TAKE ACTION ON THE KASSEBAUM AMENDMENT, WHICH CUTS BACK U.S. ASSESSED CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE UN AND FOUR SPECIALIZED AGENCIES (UNESCO, WHO, FAO, AND ILO) FOR FY 84 TO THEIR 1980 LEVELS. S 1342, THE FULL STATE DEPARTMENT AUTHORIZATION BILL, CONTAINING THE AMENDMENT, IS BEING VOTED UPON BY THE SENATE ON OCTOBER 19TH, AND THE SENATE-HOUSE CONFERENCE COMMITTEE WILL MEET SOON AFTERWARDS.

WE'RE COUNTING ON YOU, AS THE PERSON WHO FOLLOWS UN AFFAIRS MOST CLOSELY, TO RELAY THIS MESSAGE TO YOUR CHAPTER. URGE YOUR MEMBERS TO EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS NOW, IF THEY HAVE NOT ALREADY DONE SO, AND USE THE ATTACHED FORM TO TELL US WHAT YOU DID.

### Background

Reduction of FY 84 funding to 1980 levels, as called for by the Kassebaum Amendment, would mean a 21% cut in U.S. assessed contributions to the UN, severely reducing its ability to carry out much-needed programs and perhaps sparking similar actions by other countries. The stipulation in the amendment that funding be cut by an additional 10% for each of the calendar years 1985, 1986, and 1987, would bring total cumulative reductions to nearly one-half billion dollars. Furthermore, the amendment provides that no payment be made unless the authorized payment is accepted by these organizations as payment in full for that year, but it is doubtful that the U.S. can duck its treaty obligations to pay its share of the UN's assessed budget (currently 25%) in this way.

Since the Senate adopted the Kassebaum Amendment by a lopsided 66-23, restoring the cuts to the level of the House-passed authorization may be a lengthy process that requires more than one legislative step. Therefore, it will be useful to contact all members of the Senate Foreign Relations and House Foreign Affairs committees, as well as Ambassador Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, who is perhaps the most effective person within the Administration on UN matters.

Tell them how you think these unilateral, across-the-board cutbacks will affect UN operations and the ability of the U.S. to influence what happens there.

Senate Foreign Relations Committee

Charles H. Percy (R-IL), Chmn.  
Howard H. Baker, Jr. (R-TN)  
Jesse Helms (R-NC)  
Richard G. Lugar (R-IN)  
Charles McC. Mathias, Jr. (R-MD)  
Nancy Landon Kassebaum (R-KS)  
Rudy Boschwitz (R-MN)  
Larry Pressler (R-SD)  
Frank Murkowski (R-AK)

Claiborne Pell (D-RI)  
Joseph R. Biden, Jr. (D-DE)  
John Glenn (D-OH)  
Paul S. Sarbanes (D-MD)  
Edward Zorinsky (D-NE)  
Paul E. Tsongas (D-MA)  
Alan Cranston (D-CA)  
Christopher J. Dodd (D-CT)

House Foreign Affairs Committee

Clement J. Zablocki (D-WI), Chmn.  
Dante Fascell (D-FL)  
Lee Hamilton (D-IN)  
Gus Yatron (D-PA)  
Stephen Solarz (D-NY)  
Don Bonker (D-WA)  
Gerry Studds (D-MA)  
Andrew Ireland (D-FL)  
Daniel Mica (D-OH)  
Michael Barnes (D-MD)  
Howard Wolpe (D-MI)  
George Crockett (D-MI)  
Sam Gejdenson (D-CT)  
Mervyn Dymally (D-CA)  
Tom Lantos (D-CA)  
Peter Kostmayer (D-PA)  
Robert Toricelli (D-NJ)  
Lawrence Smith (D-FL)

Howard Berman (D-CA)  
Harry Reid (D-NV)  
Meldon Levine (D-CA)  
Robert Garcia (D-NY)  
Edward Feighan (D-OH)  
Ted Weiss (D-NY)  
William S. Broomfield (R-MI)  
Larry Winn, Jr. (R-KS)  
Benjamin Gilman (R-NY)  
Robert Lagomarsino (R-CA)  
Joel Pritchard (R-WA)  
Jim Leach (R-IA)  
Toby Roth (R-WI)  
Olympia Snowe (R-ME)  
Gerald Solomon (R-NY)  
Douglas Bereuter (R-NE)  
Mark Siljander (R-MI)  
Edwin Zschau (R-CA)

To reach your Senators write: U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510. Letters to Representatives: U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515. Telegrams, mailgrams, and telephone calls are also appropriate. Western Union's "Mailgram" service provides next-day delivery of a message: first 50 words, \$4.95; each additional 50 words or less, \$2.25.

10/18/83

**United Nations Association of the United States of America**

300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017 212 697 3232

# UNAGRAM

FEEDBACK FORM

Organization or Chapter \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Subject of UNAGRAM \_\_\_\_\_

Action Taken: (Please attach copies of communications to members and public.)

Contact Person for Follow-up: \_\_\_\_\_

10/83

# NEWS-RECORD

of Maplewood and South Orange, New Jersey

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## Should the UN pack its bags?

As the General Assembly goes into session, newspaper headlines are filled with stories concerning the United Nations. Stories concerning the downing of the Korean airliner were quickly replaced with stories of Mr. Gromyko's inability to get to the United Nations. This, in turn, was replaced with the stories concerning the remarks of U.S. Ambassador Charles M. Lichenstein that, perhaps, the United Nations should get out of the United States. Thus, we have gone, in the space of one week, from turning to the United Nations during a time of crisis to suggesting that it pack its bags.

### Be our guest

By Durward Brannigan

The ambassador's angry comments raise a refrain heard many times in the past. As the reasoning goes, the American public is fed up with the United Nations and the abuse heaped upon its government. It sees no useful purpose for the organization and would prefer to see it go elsewhere.

All very heady stuff; but is it what the American public believes? I think not. A nationwide poll recently conducted by the respected Roper Or-

ganization on behalf of the United Nations Association of the United States indicates the American public is much more appreciative of what the United Nations can do and much more positive in its assessment of what it has done. For example, heavy majorities of those polled thought the United Nations should be given more power to reduce the possibility of superpower confrontation, strengthen human rights, conserve natural resources, and promote economic development. In addition, fewer people appear to be dissatisfied with the United Nations than was true in past polls.

According to Burns Roper, head of the Roper Organization, "The American people display a highly realistic view of the United Nations. While people feel the United Nations has done a far from perfect job, they nevertheless support the United Nations and would give it more scope and greater power because of the crucial areas in which it operates."

I agree. The off-the-cuff comments of an American ambassador may appeal to the emotional frustration we all experience concerning the United Nations. But cool heads must prevail in these times. This is what the American public wants and clearly deserves. The world is too dangerous to base our foreign policy on anger and



## York E. Langton

Apt. 102 4425 Chowen Ave. So.  
Minneapolis, Minn. 55410  
Telephone 927-9167 - Area 612

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Established 1867

Roger Parkinson Publisher and President

Joel R. Kramer Executive Editor

Frank Wright Managing Editor/News

Tim J. McGuire Managing Editor/Features

Robert J. White Editorial Editor

12A.

Saturday, September 24, 1983

### Useful U.N.

We have seen recently the tremendous importance of having the United Nations as a place to bring the case of the airliner shot down by the Soviets. The tragedy came before the Security Council, which was set up for just this purpose.

While 85 percent of U.N. work is social and economic and not generally known to the public, this dispute over the downed civilian plane showed the importance of having of a Security Council in action where the whole world could see what was taking place — York E. Langton, Minneapolis.

October 5, 1983

## In defense of the UN

**A**s the General Assembly of the United Nations goes into session in New York, newspaper headlines are filled with stories concerning the United Nations. Stories concerning the downing of the Korean Airliner were quickly replaced with stories of Mr. Gromyko's inability to get to the United Nations. This in turn was replaced with stories concerning the remarks of U.S. Ambassador Charles M. Lichtenstein that perhaps the UN should get out of the United States.

Thus we have gone in the space of 10 days from turning to the UN in time of crisis to suggestions that it pack its bags.

The ambassador's comments raises a refrain heard many times in the past. As the reasoning goes, the American public is fed up with the UN and the abuse heaped upon the U.S. government. The public sees no useful purpose for the organization and would prefer to see it go elsewhere.

Is this what the American public believes? A nationwide poll recently conducted by the respected Roper Organization on behalf of the United Nations Association of the USA indicates that the American public is much more appreciative of what the UN can do and much more positive in its assessment of what it has done. For example, heavy majorities of those polled thought the UN should be given more power to reduce the possibilities of superpower confrontation that might lead to nuclear war, strengthen human rights, conserve natural resources, and promote economic development. In addition, fewer people appeared to be dissatisfied with the UN than was true in past polls.

Off the cuff comments of an American ambassador may appeal to emotional frustration we experience concerning the UN. But cool heads must prevail in these times. This is what the American public wants and clearly deserves. The world is too dangerous to base our foreign policy on anger and frustration.

ARTHUR PRITCHARD  
Media Chairman  
East Bay Chapter  
United Nations Association  
Berkeley

OCTOBER 1, 1983

## 4A Comment

Guest opinion

# Americans realistic about UN's role

By DOROTHY M. PAUL

As the General Assembly goes into session, newspaper headlines are filled with stories concerning the United Nations. The downing of the Korean airliner was quickly replaced with stories of Mr. Gromyko's inability to get to the United Nations. This was replaced with U.S. Ambassador Charles M. Lichenstein who said that delegates were free to leave and "sail into the sunset." Even Dick Dougherty of the Gannett News Service, discovered the sunset would take the delegates to New Jersey and that they really should "sail into the sunrise" (*Press-Citizen*, Sept. 24). Thus, we have gone, in the space of a few weeks, from turning to the UN during a time of crisis to suggesting that it pack its bags.



DOROTHY PAUL

The ambassador's angry comments raise a familiar refrain heard many times in the past. The reasoning goes that the American public is fed up with the UN and the abuse heaped upon its government. It sees no useful purpose for the organization and would prefer to see it go elsewhere.

All very heady stuff. But is it what the American public believes? A nationwide poll recently conducted by the respected Roper Organization on behalf of the United Nations Association of the United States indicates the American public is much more appreciative of what the UN can do and much more positive in its assessment of what it has done. For example, heavy majorities of those polled thought the UN should be given more power to reduce the possibility of superpower confrontation, strengthen human rights, conserve natural resources and promote economic development. In addition, fewer people appear to be dissatisfied with the UN than was true in past polls.

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The off-the-cuff comments of an American ambassador may appeal to the emotional frustration we all experience concerning the United Nations. But cool heads must prevail in these times. Our world of today is too dangerous a place to live to base our foreign policy on anger and frustration.

We also want Dick Dougherty to know that the Iowa UN Association "doesn't get sore." A reality is that there isn't anything else but the United Nations. If the United Nations isn't good enough — and it isn't — the United Nations is also not some separate entity imposing its will or falling on its face. It is really the sum of its 157 members today, a reflection of where they are now in the progress of human kind.

Dorothy M. Paul is executive director of the United Nations Association of Iowa.



**NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE**

186 REMSEN STREET • BROOKLYN HEIGHTS, NEW YORK 11201 • TEL. 212 865-0300

October 7, 1983

Dear Friends and Colleagues:

October 24 is United Nations Day. In this regard, my letter in the October 6th New York Daily News may be of some interest to you. Deleted from its text was my reference to Charles Lichenstein as a "seat warmer" for the U.S.'s UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick (smile).

With best wishes, I remain

Yours sincerely,

Michael Meyers  
Assistant Director

CAD

## VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

### Rips unzipped lip of Lichenstein

Brooklyn: Who appointed Charles Lichenstein as guardian of American soil? As an American I am deeply offended by the egregious remarks of Lichenstein as a U.S. delegate to the United Nations when he bade the UN to leave the U.S. if its members do not like their treatment here.

Such an invitation, besides misrepresenting official U.S. policy, was a stark reminder that not everyone in the U.S. Mission to the UN respects that body's role in fostering dialogue and peaceful resolution of disputes among nations.

Lichenstein ought to be setting an example of responsible communication, raising

the standards instead of lowering them. He need not bait nor answer in kind the outrageous barbs uttered by others at the UN.

The rhetoric in UN sessions is often harsh and strident but it is better the talks go on than the forum itself be assailed or removed to other shores. This nation is supposed to be the citadel of free speech, what better place in all the world is there for a deliberative body? Lichenstein's comments were out of place and he should have been reprimanded, not applauded, for his conspicuous leap into the company of UN castigators.

Michael Meyers

(Please include name and address with letter. We will withhold both on request.)

## DAILY NEWS

220 E. 42d St. New York, N.Y. 10017 (212) 945-1200

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# National Board YWCA of the U.S.A.

Fourth Floor  
135 West 50th Street  
New York, NY 10020

212-621-5115

Cable: Emissarius, NY

October 6, 1983

The National Board of the YWCA representing 2½ million members in all regions of the U.S., along with recent national YWCA Conventions, has repeatedly expressed its dismay at the declining quality of U.S. government participation in the United Nations. Now confusing signals from the Administration seem to have encouraged the Congress to hasten this deterioration through proposed cuts in the regular U.N. budget and those of some of its associated agencies. Our concern has several dimensions:

- We are shocked at the readiness of U.S. Senators to violate terms of the treaty governing U.S./U.N. relations for which the Senate is responsible, specifically provisions for sharing support of the U.N. budget as determined by a committee of which the U.S. is a member. As you are aware, the U.S. share is already less in terms of national wealth than that of other countries.
- We sense that much of the political difficulty the United States has encountered in the United Nations can be attributed to the low status of U.N. activities on the scale of U.S. foreign relations, measured not alone in budget figures but in terms of official interest and attention. Instances when the U.S. has participated fully and constructively have demonstrated the positive responsiveness of the U.N. and its agencies to U.S. initiatives.
- Equally, we deplore the proposed cuts in the regular budgets of agencies, also governed by international agreements. Their stimulation of economic and social development in poverty-ridden countries is indisputable and obviously in the U.S. national interest.

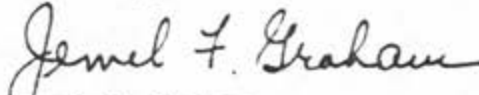


Affiliated with the World YWCA

in the struggle for peace and justice, freedom and dignity for all people

Each downgrading of U.S. participation in these international organizations downgrades U.S. influence in the world, especially in the emerging arena of world public opinion. We strongly urge you to use your good offices to see that this matter is given more consideration before budget cuts which have such drastic implications are approved.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Jewel F. Graham".

Jewel F. Graham  
President

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Mrs. Sara-Alyce P. Wright".

Mrs. Sara-Alyce P. Wright  
Executive Director

SAW/ko

URGENT ACTION TO RESTORE ASSESSED U.S. CONTRIBUTION TO UNITED NATIONS

Mailing addressed to:

- . President Ronald Reagan
- . The Hon. George Shultz, Secretary of State
- . The Hon. Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, Permanent Representative,  
United States Delegation to the United Nations
- . The Hon. Gregory Newell, Assistant Secretary of State,  
Bureau of International Organization Affairs
- . Senator Charles H. Percy (R-IL), Chairman, Senate Committee  
on Foreign Relations
- . Senator Claiborne Pell (D-RI), Ranking Minority Member,  
Senate Foreign Relations Committee
- . Representative Clement J. Zablocki (D-WI), Chairman, House  
Committee on Foreign Affairs
- . Senator Larry Pressler (R-SD), Chairman, Sub-Committee on  
International Operations, Senate Foreign Relations Committee
- . Representative Dante Fascell (D-FL), Chairman, House Sub-  
Committee on International Operations

With copies to other relevant members of the House and Senate, United Nations officials and representatives of non-governmental organizations and members of the World Relations Committee, National Board, YWCA.

# Ideas

## The UN Has Helped Create a Better World

*The United Nations has stopped aggression in Korea, set up peacekeeping forces in many countries — and even eradicated smallpox.*

**By William J. vanden Heuvel**

President Reagan's speech at the opening of the 38th General Assembly of the United Nations was a brilliant and effective example of public diplomacy.

He properly recalled the idealism that motivated the founding of the UN. He fortified the cornerstone of American foreign policy that every president since Franklin D. Roosevelt had asserted before him, namely peace through strength. He properly chastised the nonaligned movement for not being nonaligned. The hopes he voiced for the UN were eloquent and undoubtedly sincere.

But the President's speech also will allow his spokesmen to continue a policy of hostile criticism without a definition of attainable objectives. My profound concern is that the American interests in the United Nations today are represented by spokesmen whose intellectual beliefs are rooted in concepts of isolationism and "Fortress America," who reject the notion of the basic interdependence of states, who regard the developing nations and most of the world as unimportant and unnecessary for American purposes.

It is important to remind the world of what the United Nations could be. It is more important at this time and place, however, to understand the present reality of the UN.

It is not a sovereign entity. The United Nations is a collection of sovereign entities. The United Nations is not a government. It is an association of governments. It is not an executive, it is not a legislature that can command the peoples of the world by its laws. It is not a court that can adjudicate and then enforce its decisions.



Those things it is not. But what it is, is in itself extraordinarily useful. It is a diplomatic conference of all the nations of the world in permanent session.

Recognizing the straitjackets of that reality, in the clear understanding that the United Nations is a mirror of a very imperfect world, knowing that the United Nations can do only what its members permit it to do, the real question to be asked is whether the United Nations has served the desperate need of mankind to create a better world. I would suggest that the answer is yes, resoundingly yes. A few examples:

- The UN's response in Korea in 1950 was a glimpse of what a world united for peace can do to stop military aggression against nations.

- When the United Nations was founded, there were 51 member governments. There are 158 sovereign members of the UN today. We have gone through one of the most revolutionary periods in the history of mankind. The United Nations has been the midwife of this new era of self-determination, presiding over the end of colonialism.

We have seen the United Nations give a sense of respect, dignity and identity to the peoples and new nations of the world. Historians of centuries to come will marvel that these political results could have been achieved without tearing apart the world.

- The United Nations peacekeeping forces have been crucial, effective instruments in resolving crises. In 1956, under the leadership of President Eisenhower, the first of the peacekeeping forces was dispatched to the Suez to be a buffer between the warring forces of Egypt and Israel. Those peacekeeping forces have played a vital and useful role in the Middle East and Africa and could be even more effective if we permitted it.

Let those who are looking today at the tragedy of Lebanon with bewilderment, and let those who will count the bodies of the victims of violence in Lebanon tomorrow, reflect briefly on the achievements of the United Nations Interim Forces in Lebanon, soldiers from 15 countries that have served so effectively in southern Lebanon. Had UNIFIL's achievements been recognized instead of undermined, had

—Continued on Page 10

*William J. vanden Heuvel was a deputy permanent representative of the United States to the UN from 1979 to 1981.*

# The UN Has Made a Better World

—Continued from Page 1

its mandate been strengthened instead of weakened, it is possible that peace in Lebanon and security for Israel would be closer to our reach. The truce that was announced in Beirut last Sunday is based on the planned presence of UN peacekeeping forces.

• Is there a forum where the differences between our system and that of the Soviet Union have been better displayed to the nations and peoples of the world than in the United Nations? I cite but two examples.

On Nov. 2, 1956, the Security Council was in session. The Freedom Fighters of Hungary had liberated their country. A new leader, Imre Nagy, pleaded with the United Nations to lend its help to cause Soviet troops to withdraw. The Security Council went into continuous session to discuss the issues. In the late afternoon of Nov. 3, the Soviet spokesman asked for an adjournment because the representatives of the Soviet Union and Hungary were meeting to resolve their differences.

Before midnight of that day, Soviet armies had crossed into Hungary, and Pal Maleter, the leader of the Freedom Fighters, had been taken from the negotiating meeting and summarily executed. Imre Nagy was forced to take refuge in the Yugoslav embassy, from which he was subsequently released on the absolute assurance of the Soviets that he would not be harmed. The Soviets executed him. No, the United Nations did not save liberated Hungary. Nor did the United States (which had more flexible options available to it) save liberated Hungary. But every member of the United Nations then understood the true measure of Soviet ruthlessness.

Another example of the UN as a forum where the nature of the Soviet system can best be revealed brings us to this very day. We saw the limited options available to the President of the United States as he dealt with the criminal act of the Soviet destruction of the Korean Air Lines Flight 007. The most effective move available to him was taking the case to the Security Council of the United Nations.

If it were not for the presence of the Soviet representatives there, forced to listen to evidence proving the case against them, it is possible that the Soviets would never have had to admit their responsibility. Where will the "black box" of that ill-fated plane be taken? It will go to a United Nations agency of the International Civil Aeronautics Organization, which has officially condemned what the Soviets have done and is conducting the international investigation, to which all the evidence can be sent.

And when the tempers cool, ICAO will work to see that such tragedies do not happen again; it may even be able to get compensation for the victims' families. Is that not worth our involvement?

\* To all of those who think they have triumphed in keeping the foreign minister of the Soviet Union out of the United States: Whose interests could have been better served than ours were he present in the General Assembly to hear the universal condemnation regarding the Korean 747?

I would not have believed it possible that U.S. representatives could have transformed the debate in the General Assembly from a focus on the Soviets' criminal act to whether the United States wants the United Nations in New York.

• Many Americans are unaware of the work of

the specialized agencies of the United Nations. Just one example: In 1978, the director general of the World Health Organization, Hafdan Mahler, announced the eradication of smallpox. It was a short story on the back page of many of the world's newspapers, but in truth it is one of the most important stories of this century. By working together, the nations of the world were able to eradicate, under UN leadership, an epidemic illness that had scourged nations and had killed millions of people.

• The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have helped stabilize the international economy and worked out programs to assist both the developing and the industrial nations in defining their interdependence.

There are countless other achievements that could be mentioned. And what is the financial cost of the United Nations? The annual assessed cost of the United Nations to the United States under its treaty obligation is approximately \$300 million. This is less than the cost of the flight deck of the aircraft carrier Nimitz. We save more than that each year in the United States because we no longer have to give smallpox vaccinations in our public schools because the UN has eradicated that dreadful illness.

This \$300 million was irresponsibly taken out of the budget by a Senate that acted without deliberation at a time when that same Senate will probably approve requests from this administration for \$1.5 trillion for military expenditures. Not million. Not billion. Trillion. One-and-a-half trillion dollars is what our nation is being asked to spend in the next five years for military expenditures — and we are reluctant to spend \$300 million a year in the investment for peace that the United Nations represents!

We will be shamed in the eyes of our children, humiliated in history by our misjudgment if we fail to reach out to the United Nations with these funds.

The United Nations should be used for what it can do. It should not be undermined and destroyed for not doing what its member governments do not allow it to do. It is the oldest trick in politics to pretend that you have a racehorse that can win the Kentucky Derby — and when it does not run successfully, to call it a camel and start shooting at it.

The UN is not a racehorse. More likely, the world created a camel. But it is a broad desert of human despair that we have to cross. The camel rather than the racehorse may be the better transport in the long journey ahead of us. Properly led, the United Nations can serve greatly the interests of the free peoples of the world.

Leadership in the United Nations means the mastery of diplomatic skills. It means a decent respect for the opinions of mankind. It means an audacity of purpose and a vision that brings together American ideals with confidence in ourselves and in our history and in our moral, spiritual, economic and military strength.

It does not take a genius to organize a priority agenda of items that the United Nations can accomplish if the United States were to lead it. It does, however, take commitment. It is not in the history or nature of our great country to surrender to frustration, to disappointment, to apathy and arrogant self-indulgence. The vision of those who created the United Nations was not wrong. That vision is worth our striving.



UNA  
USA

*Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler*

October 17, 1983

Editor  
The Jewish Week &  
The American Examiner, Inc.  
One Park Avenue  
New York, New York 10016

Dear Editor:

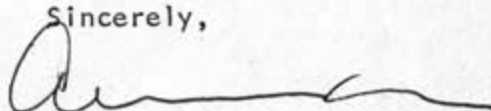
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The report attacked the materials produced by the UNA-USA for the use of Model United Nations programs in high schools and colleges across the country, claiming in part that UNA-USA presents the problems of the Middle East in a one-sided manner. As a member of the UNA-USA's Board of Governors, I can assure you that the UNA-USA materials are in fact balanced and accurate. The authors of the Heritage Foundation reported to gross distortions, omissions, and selective quotations out of context to support their false charges.

I would like to emphasize that this is not merely a matter of difference of opinion or perspective between the two organizations. There is simply no truth to the Heritage Foundation's charges. I would not be on the Board of Governors of UNA-USA if there were a shred of evidence that UNA-USA was in any way anti-Israel or biased in its view of the Middle East. UNA-USA is not the U.N. and maintains an independent position on all issues, including actions of the U.N. itself.

I appeal to you to read the rebuttal carefully. The original Model U.N. materials are available from UNA-USA if you would like to consult them for yourself. I have no doubt that you will be persuaded that the Heritage Foundation report is a scurrilous and unjustified attack.

Sincerely,



Alexander M. Schindler

October 17, 1983

Editor  
The Jewish Week &  
The American Examiner, Inc.  
One Park Avenue  
New York, New York 10016

Dear Editor:

You have recently received a report from the Heritage Foundation, accusing the United Nations Association of the USA of spreading anti-Israel propaganda. I am writing to you, in my private capacity as a Governor of the UNA-USA, to ask you to read the enclosed rebuttal by UNA-USA, which clearly proves that the Heritage report was based entirely on major inaccuracies and distortions. If you have published any stories based on the Heritage report, those stories were based on erroneous information.

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Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

*for [unclear]*

MEMO

FROM: FRITZ BAMBERGER

TO:

*A 10*

if a paper hasn't published it why bring to the fore?  
why not just write to jewish week, which did have an  
item, and any others who carried story...

*I called Ratner  
It was as*

*6 That's why  
I would like you  
to call Ratner -  
only where it  
was published.*

*Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler*

October 17, 1983

Dear  Friend

You have recently received a report from the Heritage Foundation, accusing the United Nations Association of the USA of spreading anti-Israel propoganda. I am writing to you, in my private capacity as a Governor of the UNA-USA, to ask you to read the enclosed rebuttal by UNA-USA, which clearly proves that the Heritage report was based entirely on major inaccuracies and distortions. If you have published any stories based on the Heritage report, those stories were based on erroneous information.

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I appeal to you to read the rebuttal carefully. The original Model U.N. materials are available from UNA-USA if you would like to consult them for yourself. I have no doubt that you will be persuaded that the Heritage Foundation report is a serious and unjustified attack.

Sincerely,



*angels*  
*Paul*  
DRAFT TO THE JEWISH PRESS

*@ (Soul?) of the  
UNA*

*Article*

You have recently received a report from the Heritage Foundation, accusing the United Nations Association of the USA of spreading anti-Israeli propaganda. *in my private capacity as a member of the* I am writing to ask you to read the enclosed rebuttal by UNA-USA, which clearly proves that the Heritage report was based entirely on major inaccuracies and distortions. If you have published any stories based on the Heritage report, those stories were based on erroneous information.

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*Am S member of Board of Governors*

Eryk Spektor

I was sorry to see your remarks criticizing the United Nations Association of the USA for its alleged anti-Israeli bias. I'm afraid those remarks were based on a report that was filled with distortions and omissions. The Heritage Foundation report attacked the materials produced by UNA-USA for the use of Model United Nations programs, claiming that UNA-USA presents the problems of the Middle East in a one-sided manner. As a member of the Board of Governors of UNA-USA, I can assure you that the charge is entirely inaccurate.

I am writing to ask to to read the enclosed rebuttal by UNA-USA, which clearly proves that the Heritage report relied on gross distortions, omissions, and selective quotations out of context to support the false charges. I would like to emphasize that this is not merely a matter of a difference of opinion or perspective between the two organizations. There is simply no truth to the Heritage Foundation's claims. I would not be on UNA-USA's Board of Governors if there were a shred of evidence that UNA-USA was in any way anti-Israeli or biased in its view of the Middle East.

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Ally M 5  
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## Jobless project

BONN (JTA) — Some 70 unemployed youths from Bremen in north Germany will go to Israel to participate in a program called "Preparation for Jobs." They will stay in moshavim for three months. The program was initiated by the local authorities and an association for promoting understanding called Shalom-Salam. The project also includes a six-month study and training period before and after the stay in Israel.

It will include theory and practice in agriculture, gardening, maintenance of vehicles and housekeeping.

## UN Association scored for bias on Israel

Eryk Spektor, national chairman of the Herut Zionists of America, blasted the United Nations Association of the U.S. for "teaching hatred of Israel and spreading misinformation to thousands of American teen-agers." Spektor's remarks follows a recent study published in Washington by the Heritage Foundation.

In the study, "The Model UN Program: Teaching Unreality," policy analyst Thomas G. Gulick found that the association's "Model UN Survival Kit" is widely used by schools participating in the national program, which sees some 115 model UN conferences held nationwide each year. "Young Americans," Gulick wrote, "are being greatly persuaded by their Model UN that Israel and South Africa are pariahs (and) that Israel is just about the sole cause of Middle East tensions..."

Gulick also cited the association's "Guide to Delegate Preparation" as a source of anti-Israel propaganda presented to students as objective fact. The guide's five-page summary of the Middle East conflict repeatedly accuses Israel of "invading" and "attacking" its Arab neighbors, while making only one isolated mention of PLO attacks on Israel.

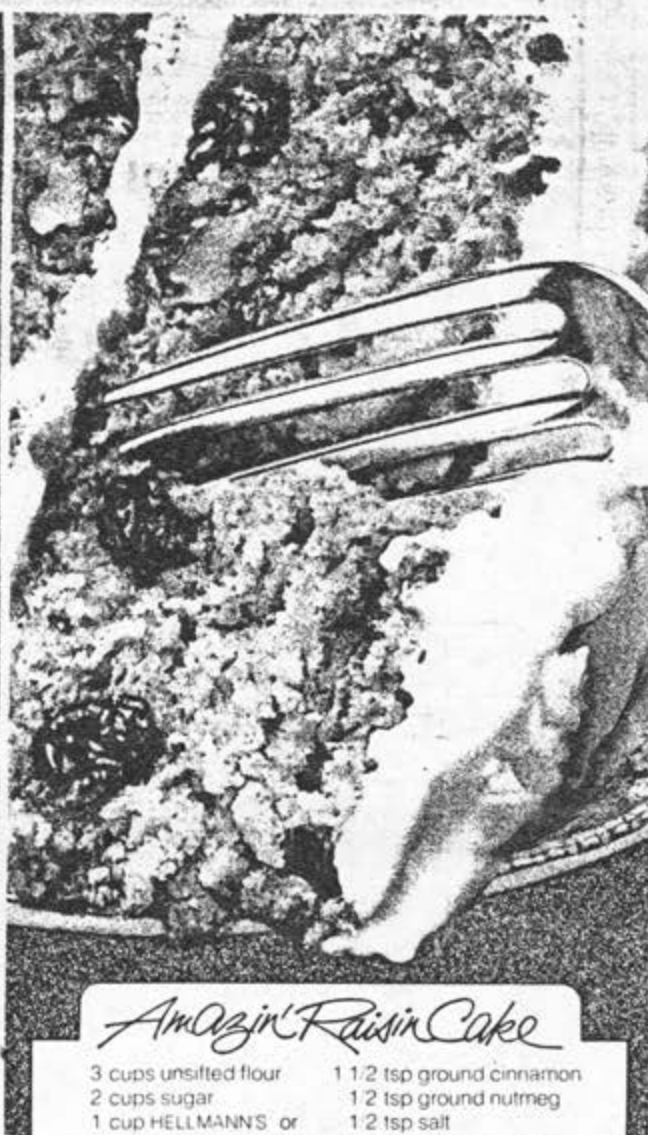
The PLO's record of terror is ignored, and the central issue of the Middle East conflict — the Arab world's refusal to live in peace with Israel — is never mentioned, he added. It describes a UN commission's findings that Israel shows a "disregard for basic human rights" and tells of another UN commission's findings that Israel is guilty of war crimes, without noting that both commissions were stacked with anti-Israel delegates.



### Lemon Delight Cheesecake

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1 pkg (8 oz) cream cheese, softened               | 3 eggs                                    |
| 1/2 cup HELLMANN'S or BEST FOODS' Real Mayonnaise | 2 tsp grated lemon rind                   |
| 1/2 cup sugar                                     | 1 Tbsp lemon juice                        |
|   | 1 tsp vanilla                             |
|   | 1 pkg graham cracker pie crust (about 9") |

In large bowl with mixer at medium speed beat cream cheese and Real Mayonnaise until smooth. Gradually beat in sugar. Beat in eggs, one at a time. Beat in lemon rind, juice and vanilla. Pour into pie crust; place on cookie sheet. Bake in 350°F oven 30 to 35 min or until set. Chill 4 hr. If desired, garnish with fruit.




### Amazin' Raisin Cake

- |   |                               |
|---|-------------------------------|
| 3 cups unsifted flour                           | 1 1/2 tsp ground cinnamon     |
| 2 cups sugar                                    | 1/2 tsp ground nutmeg         |
| 1 cup HELLMANN'S or BEST FOODS' Real Mayonnaise | 1/2 tsp salt                  |
| 1 3/4 cup milk                                  | 1 1/4 tsp ground cloves       |
| 2 eggs  | 3 cups chopped, peeled apples |
| 2 tsp baking soda                               | 1 cup seedless raisins        |
|   | 1/2 cup chopped walnuts       |

Grease and flour 2 (9") round baking pans. In large bowl with mixer at low speed beat first 10 ingredients 2 min, scraping bowl frequently, or beat vigorously 300 strokes by hand. (Batter will be very thick.) With spoon stir in apples, raisins and nuts. Spoon into pans. Bake in 350°F oven 45 min or until tester inserted in center comes out clean. Cool in pans 10 min. Remove; cool. Fill and frost with 2 cups whipped

al --- thinks it would be irresponsible for you to respond -- didn't read  
original --- have neither time nor patience, inclination to go over all data  
jewish community coming down on side of heritage--- be careful --- send all  
data to norma levitt ....our un person



all ~~compro~~ — 7/10.  
Molde Whop. Shern Kay

re response

info — av.

305-

576-4330

Rabbi Dennis Wald —

Miami

Shern  
Can't

697.3232



Al -

I would like to  
accommodate Rotner's  
request -

Please read with  
some care.

Should I send the  
letters he suggests?

Any  
please return -- only copy I have.

Chairman of the Association  
 Elliot L. Richardson  
 Chairman, Board of Governors  
 Orville L. Freeman  
 Chairman, National Council  
 Cyrus R. Vance  
 Vice Chairmen  
 Ruth J. Hinerfeld  
 Past President, League of Women Voters, USA  
 Harry W. Knight  
 Chairman, Hillsboro Associates, Inc.  
 Estelle Linzer  
 Southern New York State Division, UNA  
 Jean Picker  
 US Representative, UN Social  
 Development Committee (1969-1977)  
 Richard J. Schmeelk  
 Executive Managing Director,  
 Salomon Brothers Inc.  
 Brent Scowcroft  
 Vice Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.  
 Secretary  
 William J. vanden Heuvel  
 Partner - Strock & Strock & Lavan  
 Treasurer  
 John R. Petty  
 Chairman, Marine Midland Bank, N.A. Inc.  
 Chairman, Finance & Budget Committee  
 Ivan Selin  
 Chairman, American Management Systems, Inc.  
 Chairman, Corporate Council for  
 International Policy  
 William S. Woodside  
 Chairman, American Can Company  
 Chairman, Policy Studies Committee  
 Robert V. Roosa  
 Partner - Brown Brothers Harriman & Co.  
 Chairman, Economic Policy Council  
 Robert O. Anderson  
 Chairman of the Board,  
 Atlantic Richfield Company  
 Chairman, Soviet Parallel Studies Program  
 Walter J. Stoessel, Jr.  
 Former Deputy Secretary of State  
 Chairman, WFUNA Committee  
 Christopher H. Phillips  
 President, The National Council for  
 US-China Trade  
 Governors  
 Jean Benjamin  
 John C. Bierwirth  
 Chairman, Grumman Corporation  
 R. Carroll Cannon  
 Chairman, Council of Chapter &  
 Division Presidents  
 C. W. Carson, Jr.  
 Vice Chairman, Chemical Bank  
 Sybil Craig  
 Rochester Chapter, UNA  
 Arthur T. Downey  
 Partner - Sutherland, Asbill & Brennan  
 Patricia K. Di Giorgio  
 President, San Francisco Chapter, UNA  
 Mary Hall  
 St. Louis Chapter, UNA  
 Dr. Armand Hammer  
 Chairman, Occidental Petroleum Corporation  
 Ulric Haynes, Jr.  
 Vice President, International Business Planning  
 Cummins Engine Co.  
 Jerome Jacobson  
 Vice Chairman, Burroughs Corporation  
 Leo Nevas  
 Vice President, International League for  
 Human Rights  
 Russell E. Palmer  
 Dean, The Wharton School  
 The University of Pennsylvania  
 Arthur Ross  
 Vice Chairman & Managing Director  
 Central National Corporation  
 Rabbi Alexander Schindler  
 President, Union of American Hebrew  
 Congregations  
 Edith B. Segall  
 Chairman, Conference of UN Representatives  
 Jacob Sheinkman  
 Secretary-Treasurer, Amalgamated Clothing  
 & Textile Workers Union, AFL-CIO  
 Helmut Sonnenfeldt  
 Guest Scholar, The Brookings Institution  
 Leonard Vernon  
 Pacific Chapter, UNA  
 Franklin H. Williams  
 President, Phelps-Stokes Fund  
 Michael Witunski  
 Staff Vice President, McDonnell Douglas Corp.

# United Nations Association of the United States of America



300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017  
 212-697-3232 Cable: UNASAMER

President  
 Robert M. Ratner

Founding Chairman  
 Robert S. Benjamin  
 1909-1979

Chairman Emeritus  
 James S. McDonnell  
 1899-1980

Honorary Chairman  
 Arthur J. Goldberg

National Chairman, UN Day 1983  
 (By appointment of  
 the President of the U.S.A.)  
 William M. Ellinghaus, President  
 American Telephone & Telegraph Co.

October 6th, 1983

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
 President  
 Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
 838 Fifth Avenue  
 New York, N.Y. 10021

Dear Alex:

Despite the fact that I know how busy you are, I am bothering  
 you again to urge you to read the rebuttal material (another  
 copy of which I have enclosed) to the Heritage Foundation's  
 charges.

When you read it you will see how unfairly UNA has been  
 treated and how much damage we can suffer if this kind of thing  
 goes on unchecked. I have taken the liberty of drafting the  
 kind of letter you might want to send to the Jewish Press, as  
 well as a draft for Mr. Spektor.

Many thanks in advance for your help.

Sincerely,

RMR:mn  
 encs.

Robert M. Ratner  
 President

P.S. I did not want to burden you with another copy of all  
 the printed material in the kit.

Executive Vice President  
 Edward C. Luck

Vice President,  
 National Field Program  
 Peggy Carlin

Vice President,  
 Financial Development  
 Richard B. Wiener

Assistant Treasurer  
 and Controller,  
 Louis J. Provenza



## United Nations Association of the United States of America

300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017 212 697 3232

September 16, 1983

### LIES, DISTORTIONS, AND NONSENSE FROM THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION

With the publication of "The Model UN Program: Teaching Unreality," the Heritage Foundation's biased and sensational UN Assessment Project has hit a new low. Purporting to be an analysis of the nationwide Model United Nations conferences for high school and college students and of the materials produced by the United Nations Association of the USA (UNA-USA) for their use, the report is riddled with distortions, inaccuracies, and falsehoods. UNA-USA welcomes serious, objective critiques of its publications, but objects strongly to such malicious and systematic misrepresentations. It is the Heritage Foundation which is guilty not only of "teaching unreality," but of engaging in a shoddy, scurrilous and thoroughly unprofessional attempt to discredit a highly successful program which has stimulated hundreds of thousands of Americans to think critically about world affairs. The materials described and criticized by the Heritage Foundation bear little resemblance to the materials actually produced by UNA-USA.

Before noting some of the more glaring errors in the Heritage Foundation report, four points should be stressed.

One, the various Model UN programs across the country operate independently and are not affiliated with UNA-USA, which simply offers the background materials for sale and organizes seminars for leaders of some of the programs. UNA-USA does not have and does not want to have a "monopoly of Model UN teaching materials," as charged by the Heritage Foundation. In fact, the Guide to Delegate Preparation produced by UNA-USA stresses that "it is not meant to and should not comprise the entirety of a delegate's preparation, for only with thorough research will students be able to understand the complexity of international issues" (Preface, p. iv) and that "if you wish to truly understand international affairs you should not limit yourself to this guide, nor to studying issues only within the context of the UN" (Introduction, p. 1). The cover letter accompanying the "Model UN Survival Kit" reminds students: "Remember, these materials should be used as a starting point; further research is necessary to be adequately prepared for a Model UN conference." The widespread use of UNA-USA materials attests to their quality and objectivity, not to any imagined "monopoly."

Two, UNA-USA is a broad-based membership and research organization, which is not associated with any single political perspective or point of view. Its distinguished leadership and nationwide membership include Americans of many different political persuasions. UNA-USA, which has frequently and regularly criticized the failings of the UN as well as noting its successes, has no hidden agendas or political messages to sell

Model UNs is devoted to "The Changing International Economic Order" and the topic of "Economics and Development" is only one of seven chapters in Issues Before the General Assembly, which is included in every Model UN Survival Kit to provide more detailed substantive information.

The Heritage Foundation statement that the arguments put forth in The Global Economic Challenge, a five-year old report of the UNA-USA Economic Policy Council, support the NIEO is patently false. The NIEO is mentioned only once (on page iii) as a confrontational debate that serves the interests neither of the less developed countries nor of the developed countries. What the Heritage Foundation fails to mention, but the book does, is that US economic interests are interdependent with those of many other countries, as noted by Secretary of State Shultz, Secretary of the Treasury Regan, Federal Reserve Board Chairman Volcker, The Wall Street Journal, and hundreds of prominent economists. The UNA-USA book focuses on possible mutual gains, not the massive net transfer of resources once envisioned by some supporters of the NIEO. US objectives --full employment, price stability and economic growth--are the central themes of the Economic Policy Council report, but unlike the one-dimensional thinking of the Heritage Foundation, this study recognizes that the US must work with other industrial and developing countries to achieve these objectives. It would have been far more constructive if the Heritage Foundation had addressed the substance of international economic relations rather than attacking the empty NIEO slogan, which even the non-aligned countries find increasingly irrelevant to their real needs.

It is absurd to suggest, as the Heritage Foundation has, that recommendations in the UNA-USA report, "could lead to a planned, semi-socialist global economy outlined in the NIEO" that "would be paid for by US and western tax dollars but administered by UN managers." The UNA-USA Economic Policy Council study was the consensus product of a group of America's top business and labor leaders. It makes no reference to any such economic system or to the possibility of management by UN personnel. The report's recommendation for a "soft loan pool" is designed not simply to help less developed countries at US expense, but rather to foster economic growth in the US through greater economic growth and prosperity in the LDCs, which represent the fastest growing market for US products.

The UNA-USA report, in noting "the responsibility of governments to distribute more equitably the gain from trade both between nations and within countries," makes no reference to either foreign aid or welfare payments as claimed by the Heritage Foundation. Instead, this statement refers to effective safeguards and Orderly Marketing Arrangements (OMAs), which the US has established in its own self-interest for such goods as shoes and televisions.

The Heritage Foundation treatment of the UNA-USA Economic Policy Council publication, The Growth of the US and World Economies Through Technological Innovations and Transfer, is equally distorted. The publication mentions the New International Economic Order only once in

Issues Before the General Assembly, which analyzes the Middle East situation in much greater detail and provides a full account of the Israeli as well as the Arab positions on the issues. Somehow, the Heritage Foundation has failed to even note in passing that this publication is included in the kits.<sup>1</sup>

The Heritage Foundation critique of the chronology of UN activities fails to mention that the list includes explicit reference to occasions when Arab and PLO forces attacked Israel, as well as instances when Israel struck first. The chronology also notes that Israel has had reason to be skeptical about the ability of the UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) "to prevent PLO attacks launched from Lebanon against Israel." Thus, the Heritage Foundation claim that "nothing is said about UNIFIL's almost total failure to prevent PLO attacks on Israeli towns" is an obvious falsehood. The chronology does not use the terms PLO and Palestinian interchangeably as charged by the Heritage Foundation, but rather refers to each one as appropriate in the context of the situation. The chronology certainly does not give "the impression that the PLO is justified when it claims to be the sole representative of the Palestinian people." The question of Palestinian representation is not addressed in the summary, which is devoted to UN actions, not Palestinian politics.

By quoting one phrase out of context, the Heritage Foundation falsely claims that the chronology attempts to "sanitize" the infamous 1975 General Assembly resolution equating Zionism with racism. The chronology notes that "US Ambassador to the United Nations, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, called the resolution 'an obscene act.'" It should be noted for the record, moreover, that UNA-USA took the lead at that time in trying to prevent the passage of the resolution and then in condemning it as "repugnant and dangerous." In fact, this unprecedented statement by the leaders of UNA-USA was quoted by Senator Moynihan in his speech before the General Assembly on the Matter.<sup>2</sup>

The Heritage Foundation is also wrong to claim that the chronology "almost entirely ignores the central issue of the Middle East conflict--the challenge to Israel's right to exist as a sovereign state." The chronology in fact refers repeatedly to both the need to recognize Israel's right to exist and the importance of diplomatic recognition as a key to peaceful resolution of issues in the Middle East. "Throughout the history of the conflict, the western nations have supported the right

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<sup>1</sup>It should be noted that a member of the Heritage Foundation staff participated, at UNA-USA's invitation, in last year's Issues Conference, which is held annually to air a variety of viewpoints on the topics to be addressed in this annual publication. It is thus particularly galling that the Heritage Foundation has failed to even mention the existence of this publication.

<sup>2</sup>"The United Nations Association of the United States," noted Ambassador Moynihan, "has for the first time in its history appealed directly to each of the 141 other delegations in New York not to do this unspeakable thing."



### The New World Information Order (NWIO)

The brief section of the Heritage Foundation statement on the NWIO contains similar distortions. The Heritage Foundation claims that "UNA's Guide for Model U.N. Delegates exhibits a pro-NWIO bias, for instance, by comparing the NWIO to the Associated Press struggle to break into the international news service cartel 80 years ago when it was dominated by Reuters and the German Wolff agencies." This is a classic case of distorting a statement by taking it out of context, since the UNA-USA publication notes that this comparison is made by "Third World spokesmen in their campaign for a New World Information Order." UNA-USA has not endorsed that statement here or elsewhere; it simply mentions some of the arguments of those favoring a NWIO as well as arguments of those opposing it.

Similarly, the Heritage Foundation falsely states that the UNA-USA publication fails "to note the grave threat posed to press freedom by NWIO under the shibboleth of 'protection of journalists' (i.e., licensing of western newsmen in the Third World)." The UNA-USA paper in fact points out that the UNESCO Commission for the Study of Communications Problems (the MacBride Commission) underlined that "to propose a licensing system for journalists was dangerous since it would require someone to stipulate who would be entitled to claim such protection. Journalists, the Commission observed, will be fully protected only when everyone's rights are guaranteed." The UNA-USA publication also notes that the Soviet member of the Commission dissented on a recommendation that "censorship or arbitrary control of information should be abolished." It is absurd to assert, as the Heritage Foundation has done, that the UNA-USA materials exhibit a pro-NWIO bias. As before, the obvious case of bias is in the Heritage Foundation's account of the UNA-USA materials.

It should be noted that UNA-USA in March 1981 issued the following statement regarding UNESCO's consideration of the proposed New World Information Order: "The United Nations Association of the United States of America stands fully behind the freedom of the press and totally rejects any attempt at government control of the media....If UNESCO, despite US efforts, ultimately makes decisions that interfere with press freedom, serious questions would inevitably be raised about U.S. participation in the organization." Moreover, UNA-USA has organized a series of national and regional seminars to increase discussion of the potential implications of a New World Information Order, with some of the most prominent and articulate defenders of a free press participating. When the World Federation of UNAs held an international symposium on the topic in 1981, UNA-USA ensured that this point of view had the strongest possible representation in the international dialogue.

### Conclusions

As this evidence makes abundantly clear, the Heritage Foundation is guilty of more than shallow research and sloppy copy-editing. Its attack

Chairman of the Association  
Elliot L. Richardson  
Chairman, Board of Governors  
Orville L. Freeman  
Chairman, National Council  
Cyrus R. Vance  
Vice Chairmen  
Ruth J. Hinerfeld  
Past President, League of Women Voters, USA  
Harry W. Knight  
Chairman, Hillsboro Associates, Inc.  
Estelle Linzer  
Southern New York State Division, UNA  
Jean Picker  
US Representative, UN Social  
Development Committee (1969-1977)  
Richard J. Schmeelk  
Executive Managing Director,  
Solomon Brothers Inc.  
Brent Scowcroft  
Vice Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.  
Secretary  
William J. vanden Heuvel  
Partner - Strock & Strock & Lavan  
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# United Nations Association of the United States of America



300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017  
212-697-3232 Cable: UNASAMER

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August 31, 1983

UNA  
USA

## MEMORANDUM

Held for my  
if Ago.

TO: THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS

FROM: ROBERT M. RATNER, PRESIDENT *RmR.*

Orville Freeman asked me to send you the enclosed copy of the most recent Heritage Foundation report which attacks Model UN's and UNA. The report is biased, full of distortions, inaccuracies, deliberately misleading statements and deliberate omissions.

Orville would like to discuss this report at our Governors meeting on the 19th, at which time we will substantiate all of the above charges in detail. (If you cannot attend the meeting, this material will be sent to you immediately following the meeting, before you receive the Minutes of the meeting.)

Enclosed you will find a new draft Agenda with two items added: VI. the Heritage Foundation report, and V. a discussion on the meeting Chairman Richardson and Ed Luck had with Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar on August 17th.

If you have not already notified us whether or not you will be able to attend, please do so now.

I look forward to seeing you on the 19th.

Executive Vice President  
Edward C. Luck

Vice President,  
National Field Program  
Peggy Carlin

Vice President,  
Financial Development  
Richard B. Wiener

Assistant Treasurer  
and Controller,  
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# United Nations Association of the United States of America

300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017 212 697 3232

## BOARD OF GOVERNORS MEETING

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 19th, 1983 - 1:00 to 4:00 PM

UNA'S CONFERENCE ROOM

ORVILLE L. FREEMAN - PRESIDING

### AGENDA ITEM I, II, III TO BE CONDUCTED IN EXECUTIVE SESSION

- I. MINUTES OF LAST MEETING ON MAY 16, 1983  
(You should have recieved these Minutes in the mail the latter part of June.)
- II. A) DISCUSSION OF THE SUCCESSION PROCEDURE WHEN BOB RATNER GIVES UP HIS  
PRESIDENTIAL RESPONSIBILITIES AS OF JULY 1, 1984  
B) DISCUSSION OF BOB RATNER'S CONTINUING RELATIONSHIP AFTER JULY 1, 1984
- III. OTHER EXECUTIVE CHANGES
- IV. FINANCIAL REPORT
- V. MEETING WITH THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AUGUST 17, 1983
- VI. HERITAGE FOUNDATION'S REPORT ATTACKING MODEL UN'S AND UNA
- VII. REPORT OF THE PROGRESS OF THE NEW MULTILATERAL ISSUES & INSTITUTIONS PROGRAM
- VIII. PLANS FOR THE ECONOMIC POLICY COUNCIL PLENARY OCTOBER 12th & 13th
- IX. UPDATE ON POLICY STUDIES ACTIVITIES
- X. WORLD FEDERATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION (WFUNA)
- XI. OTHER BUSINESS
  - A) REACTION TO THE CONVENTION
  - B) ADJOURNMENT

## A United Nations Assessment Project Study

August 11, 1983

### **THE MODEL U.N. PROGRAM: TEACHING UNREALITY**

#### INTRODUCTION

As high school and college students return to class this fall, another cycle of Model United Nations conferences will be starting. The mock United Nations has become a very popular event, involving over 50,000 students yearly in over 2,000 U.S. schools. At these schools, the Model U.N. program introduces young Americans to the U.N., one of the world's most important multinational bodies.

Yet there is considerable evidence that the young participants in the program are not being taught the full truth about the U.N., its role in the world, or its impact on the United States. Instead, students are being led to believe that the structure, practices, and issues of the U.N. accurately reflect global reality. The students are not being taught that on many key issues the U.N. distorts reality and even exacerbates tensions. The fact that many U.S. public schools are not presenting a balanced picture of the U.N. is very serious. It raises questions about how carefully parents and school officials monitor what takes place in their schools' Model U.N. projects.

There is shocking unreality in the U.N. roles faithfully acted out by the students playing delegates from the United States, the USSR, Great Britain, East Germany, Saudi Arabia, Brazil, and the whole cast of 158 U.N. member states. As they re-create the debates and speeches of the U.N. General Assembly, the special political committee sessions, and the forums of specialized agencies like UNESCO, the students are led to believe that the East-West conflict and the battle between the values of the free world and those of communist world somehow have abated and are now replaced with the "North-South Dialogue." The students find themselves in the frustrating world of the U.N.'s one-nation, one-vote protocol, where the free nations of the West (which pay over 65 percent of the total U.N. budget) are constantly vilified by the undemocratic



its function as a resource bank, training center and internship program for refining and nurturing the Model U.N. Conference. This it does quite well. A Heritage Foundation survey of 25 Model U.N. programs nation wide, including the National High School and College Model U.N.s in New York and the large annual Harvard University Model U.N., found that about 72 percent use the UNA "Model U.N. Survival Kit" and/or other UNA curriculum and research materials. Almost 25 percent of these Model U.N.s are run by those closely linked to UNA's Model U.N. and Youth Department.

UNA tends to have a strong influence on the American Model U.N. educational event through two avenues: its research materials, publications on Model U.N. teaching and its UNA backgrounders on U.N. issues; and its intern and Model U.N. training program, which tends to produce the student managers who run the bigger Model U.N. national competitions. UNA really has no rival as a Model U.N. consultant. What is most serious is that no consultant to the Model projects balances UNA by approaching the U.N. from a skeptical or analytically critical perspective.

It is the drama of the Model U.N., the careful acting out of actual U.N. working session protocol, complete, in some cases, with native costumes like Arabic headdresses and Cuban battle fatigues, that makes the Model U.N. fun for students. UNA has filled a vacuum by helping schools dramatize the U.N. version of international diplomacy in as much detail as a Model U.N. group cares to undertake.

UNA hosts an annual "Secretariat Seminar" at its New York City headquarters at the end of the school year in late May. The seminar invites the student Secretaries General of Model U.N. conferences and their advisors from all over the U.S. for a two-day training session on how to run Model U.N. simulations. This year's seminar featured a day of meetings at the United Nations itself, where U.N. officials from the International Labor Organization, the U.N. Human Rights Commission and other agencies addressed the group. The discussion centered on simulating U.N. specialized agencies like the International Labor Organization, UNESCO, and the World Health Organization, in addition to the usual Model U.N. staging of mock General Assemblies and Security Councils. Attendees included about 40 high school and college students and teachers as well as some representatives of state departments of education. Jordan Horvath, coordinator of the UNA Model U.N. and Youth Department, notes that the seminar usually draws about 50 participants.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Heritage Foundation was invited to attend this year's Secretariat Seminar by UNA's Gail Reiss, but one week later the invitation was abruptly withdrawn.



There is no analysis of the internal problems that many developing countries create for themselves--such as the socialist and price control policies of a Tanzania. According to many experts, these are the real causes of underdevelopment. The UNA booklet does not tell its student readers that many specialists on economic development fear that NIEO policies could strangle growth and thus sentence a developing country to remain permanently underdeveloped.

#### THE BIAS IN THE UNA MODEL U.N. CURRICULUM

"Teaching About the United Nations," a UNA manual for Model U.N. teachers and students, illustrates some of the worst bias and blindspots in UNA's (and NEA's) Model U.N. editorial policy. By highlighting the artificial "North-South Dialogue," while largely disregarding the East-West conflict in this booklet and other Model U.N. materials, UNA does students the disservice of covering up one of the major geopolitical realities of the age.

Faithfully described, however, is the U.N.'s concentration on two issues, which are raised in virtually every U.N. forum from the General Assembly to UNESCO: Israel and South Africa. UNA's Model U.N. research materials encourage support for the U.N.'s continual condemnation of these two countries. In today's U.N., the Soviet bloc nations and their allies in the Group of 77, the Third World voting bloc now consisting of over 120 nations, consistently censure the policies of Israel while promoting the policies of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Though widely recognized as a terrorist group, the PLO is never criticized at the U.N. for its terrorist tactics. In addition, PLO indebtedness to the Soviet Union for arms and training is openly admitted by PLO leaders themselves. But the use of the PLO as a surrogate subversive force by the Soviet Union to destabilize Israel and the Middle East is never mentioned at the U.N. Nor is it mentioned by UNA in its Model U.N. publications for students and teachers.

#### Middle East

The UNA "Guide to Delegate Preparation," designed for briefing Model U.N. students and their teacher advisors, treats "the U.N. and the Arab-Israeli conflict" in an explicitly one-sided manner. Though this may mirror what goes on at the U.N., it is not an honest guide if it ignores what really has happened in the Middle East. Examples:

\*The UNA's five-page summary of the conflict repeatedly points an accusing finger at Israel for "invading" or "attacking" its Arab neighbors. Only once does the UNA handbook mention PLO attacks on Israel.

\*The summary is silent about the well-documented PLO record of terrorism. Nothing is said about the unrelenting war that the PLO has conducted against Israel, which not only has included attacks on civilian settlements, but also on Israeli athletes at the 1972 Olympics.

\*There is no mention here of the extensive U.N. funding of Marxist guerrilla groups, including the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan African Congress (PAC--actually a Maoist group) and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). Both ANC and SWAPO have strong ideological and military ties to Moscow. Since 1975, the U.N. has given at least \$130 million to the ANC, PAC, SWAPO, the PLO and other Marxist and Maoist national liberation movements, including the MPLA (now the Marxist government of Angola) and FRELIMO (now the Marxist government of Mozambique).

\*Conversely, there is no mention by UNA of the fact that such non-Marxist liberation movements as the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, which now controls large parts of Angola, and the Mozambique National Resistance, now fighting FRELIMO in Mozambique and controlling large areas of that country, including rail lines and transportation routes, receive no U.N. aid of any kind.

### The New World Information Order (NWIO)

NWIO, one of the key political debates at UNESCO, is a Soviet bloc inspired strategy, which encourages Third World countries to threaten Western news agencies with expulsion and taxation in order to secure more favorable Western news coverage and increased foreign aid for mass communications from the industrialized Western nations.

\*UNA's Guide for Model U.N. delegates exhibits a pro-NWIO bias, for instance, by comparing the NWIO to the Associated Press struggle to break into the international news service cartel 80 years ago when it was dominated by the Reuters and the German Wolff agencies.

\*UNA neglects to say that the NWIO, unlike AP, is based on the idea of massive Western aid (\$15-\$20 billion is the suggested figure) to Third World news agencies. Nor does UNA deem it necessary to note the grave threat posed to press freedom by NWIO under the shibboleth of "protection of journalists" (i.e., licensing of Western newsmen in the Third World).<sup>3</sup>

\*No mention is made of the heavy leftist and Marxist bias of the newly formed UNESCO media aid bureau, the International Programme for the Development of Communication, both in rhetoric and in funding approval for Third World mass communication projects.<sup>4</sup>

### OTHER CURRICULUM AIDS SUGGESTED BY UNA

#### Population

In Gail Reiss's "U.N. Supplement," published by UNA for "Great Decisions '83," the social studies guide for teachers

<sup>3</sup> Thomas G. Gulick, "The IPDC: UNESCO vs. the Free Press," Heritage Foundation Background #253, March 10, 1983, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 1-3.

## Disarmament

UNA also recommends a new NEA teacher's guide called "Choices: A Unit on Conflict and Nuclear War" as a Model U.N. resource. "Choices" focuses students' attention on the horrors of nuclear war and the notion of deterrence. The need for an adequate U.S. defense to check the Soviet buildup is almost ignored; it is suggested that this is too expensive. Therefore, the favored "choices" offered the student by this booklet emphasize nuclear weapons negotiations. It is strongly implied that the Soviets want disarmament and peace very badly, and indeed have no other "choice." Completely omitted is the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the use of Cuban proxies in Africa and the Soviet buildup in Central America. The fact that the USSR is expanding its nuclear and conventional arsenal is a choice not recognized in "Choices." UNA material on this critical question leaves out a number of contrasting "choices" faced by those concerned about their nation's security, such as the choice to discourage an enemy through a superior defense force.

## U.N. Peacekeeping

UNA calls U.N. Peacekeeping operations "the most controversial, the most highly publicized, and in many respects the most constructive and successful of its peace and security activities."<sup>8</sup> In an attempt to substantiate this, UNA offers a woefully inadequate summary of why U.N. peacekeeping activities are so controversial and actually ineffective. For example, in recounting for students the history of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), UNA never alludes to UNIFIL problems such as its inability to control PLO attacks and even its collaboration with the PLO to supply intelligence and explosives to PLO guerrillas.<sup>9</sup> Nor does UNA provide overall analysis of U.N. peacekeeping efforts such as the fact that the U.N. has failed to prevent the outbreak of some 93 armed conflicts occurring between 1945 and 1977. This is despite an expenditure of at least \$3 billion (\$1 billion contributed by the United States) of U.N. funds on peacekeeping since the U.N. founding.<sup>10</sup>

## Human Rights

Another U.N. research leaflet recommended for Model U.N. students is entitled "The U.N. and International Human Rights Instruments." This four-page summary gives flattering portraits of such U.N. documents as "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights" of 1948, of which it says:

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<sup>8</sup> "Guide to Delegate Preparation" (New York: United Nations Association, 1982-83 edition), p. 10.

<sup>9</sup> Roger A. Brooks, "U.N. Peacekeeping: An Empty Mandate," Heritage Foundation Background #262, April 20, 1983, pp. 14-15.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., pp. 1-2.



To wit: the U.S. and the Western nations are wealthy because they have "exploited" the natural resources of the Third World. Therefore, the West must expiate its guilt by giving more foreign aid--with no strings attached.

No other view of why the Third World is poor or why the West is economically successful is offered to the Model U.N. student. All he or she gets is an implicit condemnation of the free market system and the idea that the global socialism of the NIEO will rescue the Third World from poverty.

### Model U.N. Conferences

This May, Heritage attended the U.S. High School Model United Nations conference, held at the New York Hilton. Participating were 1,700 students from 150 schools. All the hotel conference rooms and ballrooms were abuzz with over twenty U.N. simulations, ranging from the General Assembly to the Commission on Transnational Corporations, from the U.N. High Commission for Refugees to regional meetings of NATO and the League of Arab States.

The debate and caliber of students were honor roll level and above. The Director of the General Assembly was a veteran of eight such National High School tournaments. He wielded the gavel, reeled off the parliamentary procedure with a blasé air and reminded the high schoolers of their 1 a.m. curfew. He is nowadays a lawyer, still in his twenties, who likes these Model U.N. meetings and keeps coming back for more. Up to a third of the participants are returnees. When the Model U.N. high schoolers go to college, many return to act as conference officials and moderators. The national conference is as much a social event as it is a Model U.N. conference.

But the U.N. is acted out to the maximum. In the General Assembly, messengers hurry from delegation to delegation. There are endless speeches and caucuses. In the press room, students mimeograph copies of delegate resolutions. On a table is a briefing book from last year's national model U.N. for the "Special Session on the Progress of the New International Economic Order." It advises the high school delegates that, on the question of "Sovereignty over Natural Resources.... The crucial issue... concerns the laws and regulations over transnational corporations which exploit natural resources in a host country." UNA reference materials are available for student delegates in the press room.

UNA does not run the National High School Model U.N., but many of the key officials are former UNA interns or graduates of the UNA Secretariat Seminar. The Director-General this year was Jordan Horvath, UNA's Model U.N. coordinator.

The National Model U.N. for college students draws about 1,400 students from 140 colleges and universities; it was held this year at the New York City Grand Hyatt Hotel. David Bederman, a Princeton student and National Model U.N. veteran, graduate of

The reaction of teachers at the Philadelphia World Affairs Model U.N. to the Model U.N. teaching device is probably typical of teacher advisors nation wide. They agreed that the main purpose of the Model U.N. is to educate students concerning current events and diplomacy. The trouble is that the U.N. sees "current events" through its NIEO filter. As for learning the "rudiments of diplomacy," the U.N. is a better laboratory for study of power bloc voting and socialist propaganda tactics than for study of "diplomacy."

The composite picture obtained from more than two dozen Model U.N.s is that the project tends to cast the U.S. as a capitalist villain and the West in general as the exploiter of the Third World. Nationalism, the free market and defense spending are generally associated with exploitation and imperialism at the Model U.N.s. Support for the New International Economic Order and global economic development administered by the U.N. and its agencies is the implicit theme of most Model U.N.s. These are offered to the Model U.N. student as probably "the only way" of solving Third World underdevelopment and the world economic crisis. The very nature of today's U.N. and the Model U.N. policy of replicating the real United Nations as closely as possible naturally lead the student to see the NIEO and the United Nations administration of a NIEO global welfare state as the only solutions to securing peace and ending warfare among the nations.

This is a distorted view of international economics and Third World development. It does not show that the West is already generous with its loans and foreign aid credits. It does not acknowledge the important role of private investment. And it fails to tell students that individual liberty is usually repressed in those countries advocating NIEO.

## CONCLUSION

Today's Model United Nations program in the U.S. is uncritical of the United Nations and biased in favor of the NIEO because of the strong influence of UNA, NEA and their affiliates. A balanced program in international affairs for U.S. high school and college students is urgently needed. A healthy alternative to the Model U.N. program that could provide high school and college students with a realistic picture of today's geopolitics would be to conduct a "mock East-West Summit." Students could act out the actual diplomatic battle of the U.S. and its Western allies versus the Soviet Union and its Eastern bloc satellites. Third World countries would be either participants or observers. Pro-Western national liberation movements would be represented as well as Marxist-oriented groups and they could debate each other. Multiple meetings could be held under the Summit Meeting banner on subjects as diverse as defense, education, human rights, global ecology, use of space, natural resources and trade and foreign policy.



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Orville L. Freeman

Chairman, National Council  
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Vice Chairman  
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National Chairman, UN Day 1983  
(By appointment of  
the President of the U.S.A.)  
William M. Ellinghaus, President  
American Telephone & Telegraph Co.

August 17th, 1983

## MEMORANDUM

TO: THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS

FROM: ROBERT M. RATNER, PRESIDENT

RE: NEXT MEETING, MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 19th, 1983 - 1:00 to 4:00 PM

I hope you are having a pleasant summer.

If you have read the minutes of the meeting of May 16th, you are aware that these summer months at UNA probably have been the most hectic we have ever gone through. We have completed a restructuring of the staff and a reorganization of our program.

While we still face enormous financial hurdles, we have temporarily solved what could have been a disastrous cash flow situation. It took some adroit maneuvering and the cooperation of a Governor to do this. As a matter of fact, we have even launched a new fund-raising campaign, although we don't call it that, which could put our financial situation on a more even keel. You should have all received the materials around which this campaign is based.

As you can see from the enclosed Agenda, it may be necessary to make some decisions now, which we thought could be postponed for a while.

I am sure you will be interested in learning about the progress of our reorganized program, and particularly about the development of our Multilateral Issues and Institutions Program. There have also been very interesting developments in the Policy Studies area, there are very exciting plans for the upcoming EPC Plenary, and this will be the first Governors' meeting since one of our most effective Conventions.

As you can also see, Orville Freeman will be Chairing the meeting.

I hope you will make every effort to attend this meeting, and would appreciate it very much if you would return the enclosed postal card letting us know that you will be with us.

As in the past, we plan to make it a working lunch, starting at 1:00 PM and concluding by 4:00 PM. I look forward to seeing you on September 19th in UNA's CONFERENCE ROOM.

Executive Vice President  
Edward C. Luck

Vice President,  
National Field Program  
Peggy Carlin

Vice President,  
Financial Development  
Richard B. Wiener

Assistant Treasurer  
and Controller,  
Louis J. Provenza



# United Nations Association of the United States of America

300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017 212 697 3232

## BOARD OF GOVERNORS MEETING

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 19th, 1983 - 1:00 to 4:00 PM

UNA's CONFERENCE ROOM

ORVILLE L. FREEMAN - PRESIDING

### AGENDA ITEMS I, II, and III TO BE CONDUCTED IN EXECUTIVE SESSION

- I. MINUTES OF LAST MEETING ON MAY 16, 1983.  
(You should have received these Minutes in the mail the latter part of June.)
- II. A) DISCUSSION OF THE SUCCESSION PROCEDURE WHEN BOB RATNER GIVES UP HIS PRESIDENTIAL RESPONSIBILITIES AS OF JULY 1, 1984  
B) DISCUSSION OF BOB RATNER's CONTINUING RELATIONSHIP AFTER JULY 1, 1984
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  - A) REACTION TO THE CONVENTION
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 President, Pacific Chapter, UNA

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# United Nations Association of the United States of America

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 (By appointment of  
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 Robert Anderson, Chairman  
 Rockwell International Corporation

UNA/USA

February 22, 1983

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler  
 President  
 Union of American Hebrew  
 Congregations  
 838 Fifth Avenue  
 New York, New York 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

The Nominating Committee of the United Nations Association has completed its work on the slate of Officers and Directors to be submitted at the Convention of UNA/USA on May 28-31, 1983. I am pleased to inform you that you have been nominated for re-election to the Board of Directors for a 5-year term.

As a current Director, you are automatically privileged to be a delegate at the Convention. I hope you will attend some or all of the sessions of the Convention about which you will be receiving more details shortly.

Your service to the Association in past years has meant a great deal to the achievement of the organization's programs. I look forward to your continued interest in the coming years.

Sincerely,

Ivan Selin  
 Chairman  
 Nominating Committee

Executive Vice President  
 Arthur R. Day

Vice President,  
 National Field Program  
 Peggy Carlin

Vice President,  
 Research and Policy Studies  
 Edward C. Luck

Vice President,  
 Financial Development  
 Richard B. Wiener

Assistant Treasurer  
 and Controller,  
 Louis J. Provenzale

UNA-USA National Convention, May 28-31, 1983, Tarrytown, New York