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Klear

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.



# United Nations Association of the United States of America

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

Renominate (40)

Charles Barber Jean Benjamin John Bierwirth Ruth Bishop Stephen Boyd R. Carroll Cannon B.C. Christenson Sybil Craig Don Cameron Arthur Downey William Eberle Col. Thomas Fisher, II Douglas Fraser Mary Hall Harold Jacobson Jerome Jacobson Clarice Kaufman Henry Kaufman (Helen Muller)\* Mary Lou Nelson Dean Russell Palmer

Mary Jane Patterson John Petty Sarah Goddard Power Nicholas Robinson Robert Ryan Jack Sheinkman Dick Sloos Helmut Sonnenfeld Fletcher Thorne-Thomsen Leonard Vernon William Woodside Christine Beshar Ruth Steinkraus Cohen William Korev Christopher Phillips Jean Picker Albert Shanker Sidney Willner Edward Winn Michael Witunski

Elevate to <u>National Council</u><sup>+</sup> Frank Bauman Carolyn Shaw Bell Francis Dale (Thomas Farmer)\* Charles MacCormack Irwin Metzger Abe Raskin Danny Weiss (Kenneth Burroughs)\* Samuel de Palma Robert Nathan William Ruder Joseph M. Segal

#### \*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. Gilette*
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)

Pot	ential Nominees
Dor	hald Farber
Jan	nes Leonard
J.	Wayne Reitz*





THE UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

ANNUAL REPORT 1983



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...



THE UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

ANNUAL REPORT 1983

AMERICAN JEWISH A R C H I V E S

> ...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.



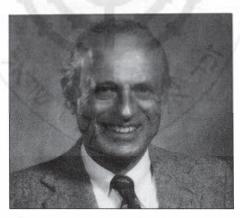
Robert O. Anderson talks with John R. Petty.



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.

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, Ĉĥemical 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



Jean Picker with Richard N. Gardner



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.

NA-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 policymakers 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."

EDMUND S. MUSKIE

DEAN RUSK

JOHN A. SCALI

BRENT SCOWCROFT

CYRUS R. VANCE

ANDREW YOUNG

WILLIAM W. SCRANTON

Secretary of State - 1977-1980

Secretary of State - 1980-1981 WILLIAM P. ROGERS

Secretary of State - 1969-1973

Secretary of State - 1961-1969

National Security Adviser - 1975-1977

Permanent Representative to the UN-1973-1975

Permanent Representative to the UN-1976-1977

Permanent Representative to the UN-1977-1979

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

Paid for by the United Nations Association of the United States of America 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

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.

\* Counted as serving in both positions

5



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.

# 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.

## 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.

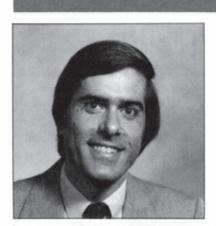
**Seconomic Policy Council** In order to enhance understanding of the evolving world economy and the US role in it, the Economic Policy Council (EPC) conducts panel studies on important international economic issues affecting long-term US relationships with both developed and developing countries. The 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.

### 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.

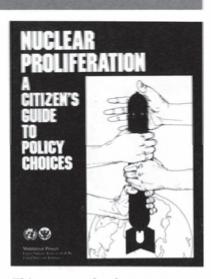
The United Nations Association is in the forefront of foreign affairs organizations committed to the goal of involving citizens in the foreign policy process at both the grass-roots and national levels.



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?

## 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 non-proliferation and ways of enhancing the role of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in slowing the spread of nuclear weapons. A back-ground 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.



#### **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.

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

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.

#### 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

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.

#### 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-



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. 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.

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.

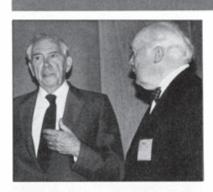
Outreach programs involving prominent members of the UNA group and Japanese government representatives were held in Rochester and Minneapolis. These well-attended sessions brought the conclusions of the study to community leaders, educators, journalists, and local UNA chapters.

#### **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.

# 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

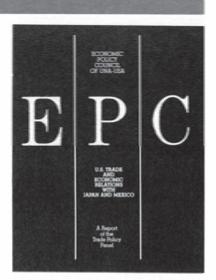
Charles F. Barber Chairman of the Finance Committee ASARCO, Inc.

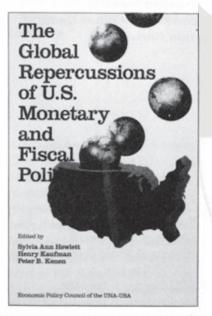
Henry Kaufman Executive Director and Member of the Executive Committee Salomon Brothers Inc

#### 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 workerparticipation 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.

Council of Chapter and Division Presidents (CCDP) Steering Committee

Chairman R. Carroll Cannon (San Diego Chapter)

*Vice Chairmen* Margaret Bates (Sarasota-Manatee Chapter) Ruth Bishop

(Southern New York State Division)

Secretary Larry Stern (North Carolina Division)

Treasurer Jeanne Justus (UNA of Minnesota)

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

### 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.



Edith B. Segall Chairman, Conference of UN Representatives.

# 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.

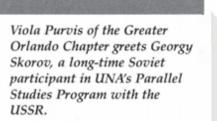
## Multilateral Project

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.



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.







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



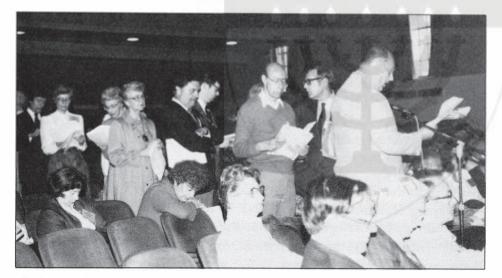
# **UNA-USA's 1983 NATIONAL CONVENTION**

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.





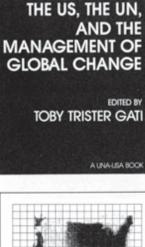
Former Senator Warren G. Magnuson and Dr. Brewster Denny cochairing a session of the Seattle, Washington study group on nuclear proliferation.

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

### ARMS CONTROL: THE MULTILATERAL ALTERNATIVE



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.

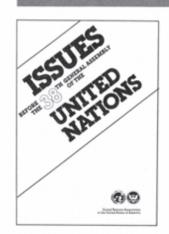
Shaping the Global Agenda: Priorities for US Policy in International Organizations, 1983, 44 pp.

# 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.





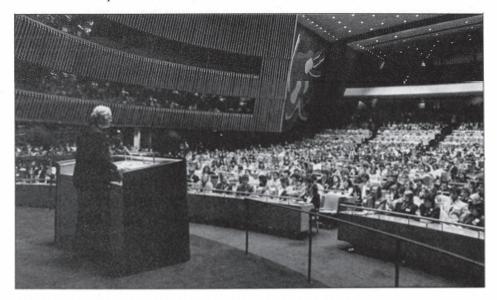
UNA-USA is widely recognized by the international educational community as an invaluable source of information for teaching about the United Nations.

### 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 offthe-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).

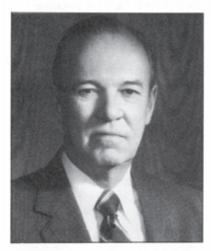
Host: John R. Petty, Chairman, Marine Midland Bank NA.

The Corporate Council for International Policy (CCIP) William S. Woodside, Chairman Member Companies American Can Company American Management Systems, Inc. Aminoil, Inc. Arthur Andersen & Company Atlantic Richfield Corporation Beker Industries Corp. Belco Petroleum Corporation Bethlehem Steel Corporation Blunt Enterprises, Inc. Boles World Trade Corporation Bozell & Jacobs, Inc. Capital Gazette Communications, Inc. Central National Corporation Combustion Engineering, Inc. **Communications Satellite Corporation** Deak & Company, Inc. Deloitte Haskins & Sells Gadsby & Hannah GFE, Ltd. Grumman Corporation Hillsboro Associates, Inc. IBM World Trade Corporation Industrial Training Corporation Internorth, Inc. LITCO Bancorporation, Inc. Marine Midland Bank NA Merrill Lynch International Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. Mitsubishi International Corporation 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.

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



1983 William M. Ellinghaus 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.

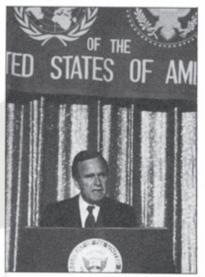
## UN Day Concert and Dinner

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

## Corporations

Allied Corporation American Can Company American Management Systems, Inc. American Telephone and Telegraph Company Arthur Andersen & Company ASARCO, Inc. Atlantic Richfield Company Avon Products, Inc. Bankers Trust Company Bethlehem Steel Corporation The BOC Group The Boeing Company Booz-Allen & Hamilton, Inc. Burroughs Corporation Capital Gazette Communications Inc. CIĜNA CPC International, Inc. Central National Corporation Champion International Corporation Chase Manhattan Bank Chemical Bank Citibank The Coca Cola Company Combustion Engineering Inc. Communications Satellite Corporation Conoco, Inc. Continental Group Inc. Control Data Corporation Coopers and Lybrand Dart and Kraft Inc. The Deak-Perera Group Deloitte, Haskins & Sells

# 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.

# LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS\*

#### **Foundations**

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#### Labor

Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, AFL-CIO Implement Workers of America (UAW) Communications Workers of America, AFL-CIO New York State AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO International Union of Operating Engineers, AFL-CIO International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace & Agricultural United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO

Service Employees International Union, AFL-CIO United Food and Commercial Workers International Union, AFL-CIO

\*In order to respect the confidentiality of individual donors, personal contributions are not listed separately. The generosity of thousands of individ-uals 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\*

12,90

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



#### EXECUTIVE OFFICE

Edward C. Luck President (as of July 1984)

Robert M. Ratner President Emeritus (as of July 1984)

Jean Picker Vice Chairman

Patricia Wilber Margot Nussbaum Marilyn Messer

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Peggy Sanford Carlin Senior Vice President (as of July 1984)

Carol Christian Robert Heffernan

Kevin E. Canavan Celia Levy

Janet Torsney Debra S. Legge Maureen Merriman Marc Mehl Sondra Fife

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Toby Trister Gati Vice President

Lori Howard Torry Cavanagh Hickey

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Frederic Eckhard Vice President (as of July 1984)

Arthur R. Day Michael Doyle Ann Florini Peter Fromuth William C. Powell Marilyn Messer Cheryl Robinson

Washington Office: Steven Dimoff Valerie Stancil

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FINANCIAL DEVELOPMENT Richard B. Wiener

Vice President

Stanley Raisen Gloria Klein Theresa Cherry Kitty Lansdale (Washington Consultant)

ACCOUNTING

Louis J. Provenzale Controller

Ann Lipman Barbara Lawyer Gil Nurse Marge Heller Phyllis Hill

# United Nations Association of the United States of America

# Directors

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

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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)

NA-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 300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017

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Cable: UNASAMER

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 Frederic Eckhard Vice President Financial Development Richard B. Wiener 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 Provenzale, 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, <u>On the</u> Front Lines: The United Nations' Role in Preventing and Containing Conflict; 2) UNA's first <u>Annual Report</u>; 3) a book edited by Henry Kaufman, Peter Kenen, and Sylvia Hewlett on <u>The Global Repercussions of U.S. Monetary and Fiscal</u> Policy; 4) a companion EPC panel report on the same subject; 5) <u>Issues Before</u> the 39th General Assembly; 6) an issue of <u>The Inter Dependent</u>; 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.
    - 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:
        - 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.

- 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.
    - 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.

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- 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 Amual 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, <u>confidential</u> 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:

- 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.

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#### III. A Final Note

1. <u>UNA-USA membership includes some of this country's finest, most capable,</u> <u>best educated and throughly dedicated citizens</u>. 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, Caucasion, middle and upper middle socio-economic 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.



October 31, 1984

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

Dear Leo:

WA-USP

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 mome 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 Elligt L. Richardson Chairman, Board of Governors Orville L. Freeman Chairman, National Council Cyrus R. Vance Vice Chairmer 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 Treasurer 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 lent, 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.



President

Edward C. Luck

Peggy Sanlord Cavin

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

212.697.3232

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.

Cable: UNASAMER

August 30, 1984

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MEMORANDUM

TO: Board of Governors

FROM: Orville Freeman, Chairman

Founding Chairman

Robert S. Benjamin 1909-1979

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. Provenzale

• 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 <u>not</u> 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

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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-bystep. If UNA forgets this simple lesson, then it will never get to where it wants to be.

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# 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.
- <u>Recruitment of former UNA members</u>. 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 <u>Issues Before the General Assembly</u>, 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 casette 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.
- <u>Closer Liaison with National Organizations' Headquarters</u>. 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 cosponsoring 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>

		EXPENSES	**		Actual Net		
Year	Budget	Actual	Difference	Budget	Actual	** Difference	Surplus or (Deficit)
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	(263,381)	( 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>&</sup>lt;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

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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 <u>after</u> 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.

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#### 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

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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.

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					TRENDS IN FUNDING SOURCES			1979-1983					,	
Year	Total	Member- ship Renewals (Dues)	s Rental	Conven- tion Income	Other Program Income	Organi- zations, Unions, Indi- viduals, Chapters	Business	Founda- tions	Special Events	JSMPR Fund	UN Related Agencies			
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	ad 284,982	dvertisin 194,424	g 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.
- 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)

- 2 -

#### II. UNA's POLICY STUDIES PROGRAM

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

- 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.
- 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 implciations 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

 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

- 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.
- 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 <u>US Trade and Economic Relations with Japan and Mexico</u> 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.
  - 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.
- 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.
- 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.



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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 TO: Ed Luck

FROM: Fred Eckhard

RE: Multilateral Project activities since May 21

Summer is traditionally <u>Issues</u> 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 <u>Issues Before the 39th UN General Assembly</u>. 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 proceedingsof 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 limitiations 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. <u>Strengthening the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime: Steps Toward a</u> 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.